

# SECONOMICS

## Media Analysis, Security Measures and Salience of CCTV Cameras in Urban Public Transport: Policy Paper

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## 1. Introduction

In an effort to address the tension between security and privacy within public transport, we studied the salience of the CCTV cameras issue in media. As the reports D4.3, D4.4, D4.5 showed, the attention paid to CCTV cameras in the public space differs. The US, Italy, Mexico, and, to some extent, Spain, are countries with low interest in the debate about CCTV cameras. We found great variation within the sampled countries, from high support and acceptance of CCTV cameras (in Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Italy), to low attention paid to the issue, to rather negative attitudes towards the use of CCTV in public space (Germany and Great Britain).

We can also see dynamic developments in public opinion after dramatic events, as happened in the US after the attack on the Boston marathon in April 2013. According to our analysis, the perception of the CCTV cameras experiences a radical shift towards more acceptance every time some kind of terrorist attack occurs, but tolerance of the surveillance measures tends to vanish just as rapidly after the information about the attack leaves the media discourse (for more detail see Gawrecká et al. 2014). In the some countries, such as Spain and Italy, we didn't see any broad discussion or controversy in the media.

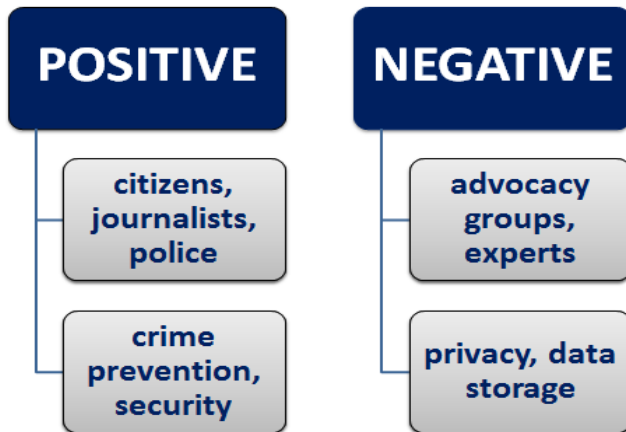
## 2. CCTV cameras - All of Big Brother's Eyes?

This section analyses media coverage and perception of closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras. The aim is to compare and describe main tendencies and specific factors in the debate on surveillance cameras, the arguments of the most salient actors, and also to contextualise the topics and justifications that appeared in the newspapers of ten countries.

We found that CCTV cameras received more attention than the cases of 3D body scanners and the computer virus Stuxnet. Among the countries under study, there was no dominant country which shaped the debate in the European and worldwide context or framed the discourse for others. Unlike Stuxnet and 3D body scanners, CCTV cameras were not particularly salient issues in the US media. On the contrary, Polish, Slovakian and German debate was rich, vivid and heterogeneous. In Poland and Germany, CCTV cameras were the centre of much media controversy. Poland belonged to the strongest proponents of CCTV cameras while German articles revealed a mainly negative attitude towards these devices. In Italy, Spain and Mexico, the debate was poorest and the most shallow of the ten countries under study with no broader discussion or controversies in the media.

CCTV cameras were considered a domestic issue whose influences and effects existed within the confines of each country. Newspapers rarely quoted information from foreign media or press agencies and relied on their own sources. Articles on cameras were predominantly informative and mostly shorter than in the cases of 3D body scanners and Stuxnet. The media mainly focused on specific crimes that were captured by CCTV cameras, with no broader reflection of the cameras' advantages and disadvantages.

Figure 1 summarises opinions of the most important actors (both proponents and opponents) of CCTV cameras. In the second box in each column, the most salient actors in the debate are mentioned. The third box presents their arguments and concerns.



Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

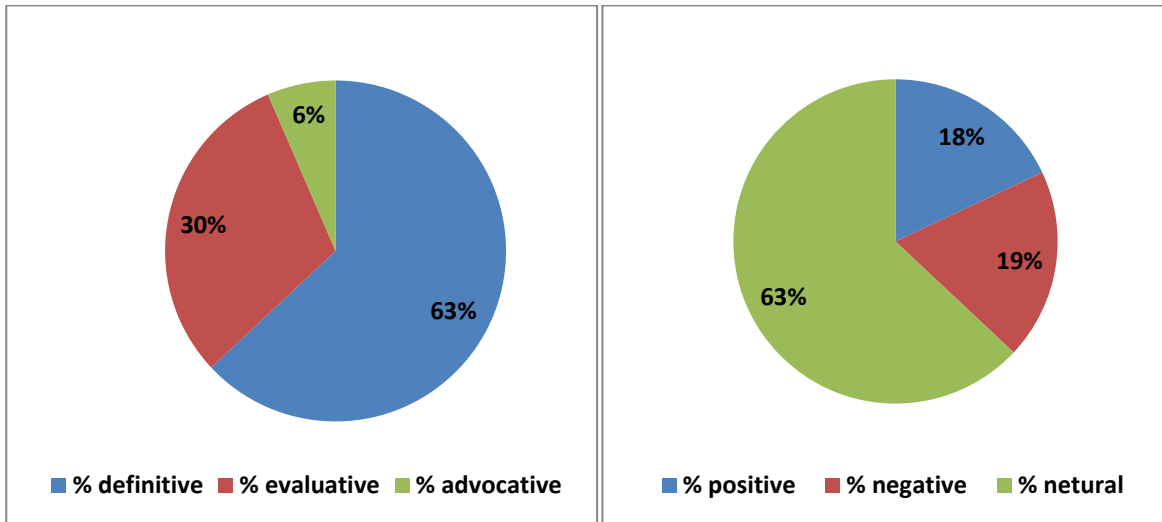
Figure 1 - General tendencies: Evaluation of CCTV cameras by the most important actors

In Figure 1 we can see that the coverage of CCTV cameras was framed mainly by the opinions of ‘journalists’ who dominated the debate in seven countries. They did not inform the public in a neutral tone and directly influenced the debate by offering their mostly positive opinions and commentaries on CCTV cameras. Other salient actors who made statements in articles about CCTV cameras were various ‘state institutions’, ‘police’ ‘passengers’ and ‘citizens’ who mostly supported the installation of these devices by pointing toward increases in security.

Civil society and advocacy groups were not presented among the top actors in the articles about CCTV cameras. Despite this, they played a salient role in the debate because of their critical view on cameras. Psychologists, university professors and other experts posed similar opinions against monitoring in the debate as advocacy groups.

The dominant narrative strategy used in the articles was definitive and the prevailing tone of evaluation was neutral. Nevertheless, discussion surrounding CCTV cameras contained a relatively high number of evaluations<sup>1</sup> in comparison to Stuxnet and 3D body scanners. Negative evaluation of CCTV cameras prevailed slightly over positive evaluations. Nonetheless, this difference was not significant and the number of arguments between opponents and supporters was more or less balanced (see Figure 2).

<sup>1</sup> One third of the coded statements were evaluative.

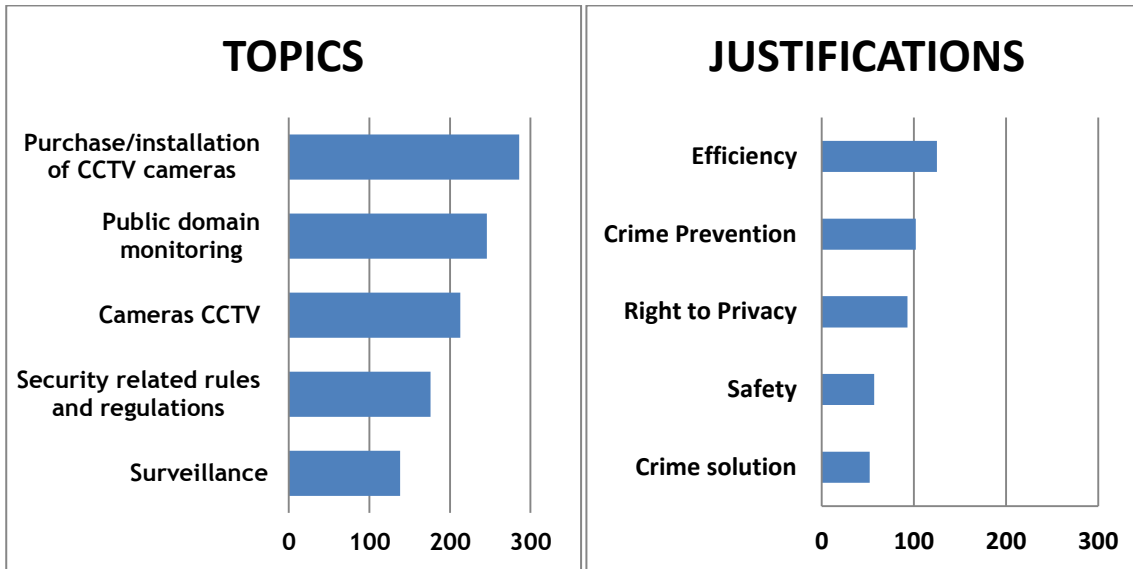


Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

Figure 2 - Argumentative strategies of and evaluations of CCTV cameras

The prevailing topics discussed in the analysed articles were the ‘purchase and installation of cameras’ and ‘public domain monitoring’, which appeared mainly in short and non-analytical articles and were often connected with the justifications of ‘efficiency’, ‘crime prevention’ and ‘privacy’. Other salient topics were ‘surveillance’ and ‘security related rules and regulations’, which were often mentioned together. Newspapers also paid attention to ‘security rules and regulations’ connected with negative aspects of surveillance technologies, for example the endangerment of privacy. The media in this regard called for better legal regulations of CCTV cameras.

The dominant justifications used by proponents of CCTV cameras were the ‘efficiency’ of camera systems in the fight against crime and their ability to strengthen security (see Figure 3). The security aspect of CCTV cameras was salient for more than half of the countries in our comparison (Germany, the USA, Spain, Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic). Nevertheless, the efficiency of cameras was often questioned. In Italy, newspapers pointed to the fact that the camera's costs were often subsidized and that is why camera systems were sometimes installed regardless of their efficiency. Opponents of CCTV cameras often pointed to the fact that camera systems endangered rights to ‘privacy’ and personal freedom. Similar to 3D body scanners, issues of data storage and their potential misuse were mentioned.



Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

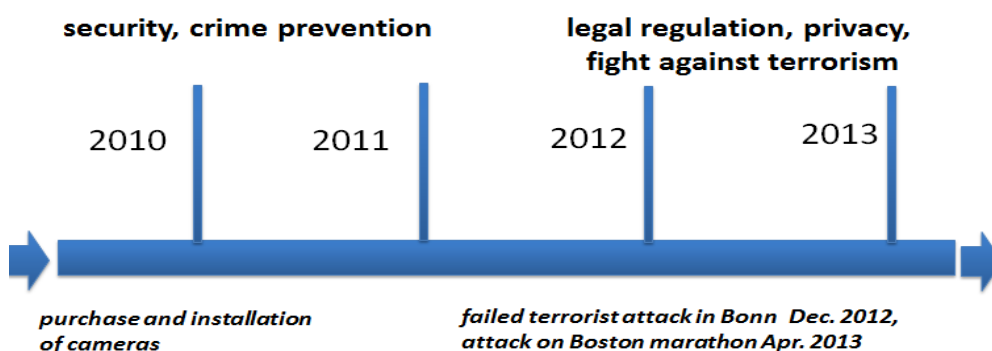
Figure 3 - Comparative assessment of salience by main topics and justifications related to CCTV cameras

Analysis of topics and justifications revealed that the media were aware of the trade-offs between security and privacy in regard to CCTV cameras. Nevertheless, opinions on the surveillance of actors differed on a security-privacy axis from country to country as well as the price of security that they were willing to pay. This price depended on following five dominant factors which framed the debate and (de)legitimised the extensive use of cameras in public eye:

- (1) **CAMERAS AS A TOOL OF PROGRESS, MODERNISATION AND SECURITY.** In this aspect, a division was visible between old and new EU member states. New member states of the EU, especially Poland (which represented a rather uncritical view on security technologies in the debate), Slovakia and partly also the Czech Republic focused heavily on the CCTV cameras issue. They exhibited an especially high level of interest in the cameras' purchase and installation. Particularly in Poland, cameras became a symbol of social status and modernisation. Citizens were almost proud of being monitored because they considered it to be modern. In other words, CCTV cameras were a part of the discourse of 'catching up with the West'. However, since 2012 (see Figure 4) the debate has become deeper and more sophisticated. Newspapers have questioned the efficiency of cameras, pointed to the lack of privacy, and emphasised the need for clear legislative regulation.
- (2) The opposite trend of **SECURITY TECHNOLOGIES AS A POTENTIAL THREAT** was typical for the old EU member states and was clearly visible in Germany and the UK.

These countries, which have long-term experience with CCTV cameras, were aware of their advantages and disadvantages and reflected more on the issue of balance between security and personal freedom and on the negative aspects of camera use. This cautious attitude toward surveillance technologies and methods is a typical feature of the German security debate and is sometimes called ‘Deutsche Angst’ (German hesitancy).

- (3) **PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH TERRORISM** was another aspect influencing the acceptance of CCTV cameras. It was visible in the United States and Germany, where public opinions on cameras have undergone a dynamic development due to terrorist attacks or their attempts. At the beginning of the studied period, CCTV cameras were perceived rather negatively in the United States and citizens did not pay much attention to the issue. After the attack at the Boston Marathon in April 2013, where CCTV cameras played an important role in the identification of the culprits, the general public started to be more tolerant towards CCTV cameras. Similarly, public acceptance of CCTV cameras increased slightly in Germany after an attempted attack at the main train station in Bonn in December 2012 (see Figure 4.).



Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

Figure 4 - Timeline of development of topics and justifications

- (4) **LOCATION OF MONITORING** played an important role in media acceptance of CCTV cameras. The attitude of the press towards ‘private domain monitoring’ in schools, hospitals, work places, housing estates, and prisons was much more critical than towards the monitoring of public spaces such as streets, traffic infrastructure or public transport. This difference between public acceptance and refusal of private monitoring was particularly salient in Slovakia, Poland and Spain.
- (5) The last aspect influencing media perception of CCTV cameras was a **BAD INNER-SECURITY SITUATION**, either real (as in the case of Mexico which has faced long-term

problems with high crime rates and a war between drug cartels and the police) or perceived (less serious crimes such as acts of vandalism, pickpocketing, or violence in football stadiums which were particularly reflected in media debates in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia).

### 3. Case study of salience of security measures: Barcelona Metro

In this topic, the Spanish media analysis national case study (Pereira-Puga, Hronešová 2013) will have an additional function. In the next stage the findings of the Spanish media analysis will be combined with the customer attitude survey of TMB in order to test the (possible) interaction between media saliency and customer attitudes towards security issues.

Spain has suffered severely from the financial crisis since its onset in 2008. The consequences of the world crisis have been more serious for southern Europe due to the structure of its economy, which is dependent on several commodities and services that were severely hit. Spain's unemployment rose from 2,590,000 in 2008 to 5,769,000 in 2012, and then to over 6 million in 2013 (INE's Encuesta de Población Activa, EPA). Economic issues, and especially unemployment, thus outweigh security issues in the minds of most Spaniards<sup>2</sup> (see Pereira-Puga and Hronesova 2013).

In our analysis of the salience of security measures on public transportation, we connect the media analysis results with the TMB data on reported security incidents and customer complaints and analyse them to provide insights into public acceptance of security measures.

Of the issues covered in our media analysis (see D.4.4.), CCTV camera systems were highly relevant to the TMB and was the most discussed issue in Spain. In fact it was even more frequently discussed in Catalonia, as demonstrated by the coverage of the issue in the Catalan daily newspaper, *La Vanguardia*. Unlike in the case of the body scanners, the debate on privacy vs. security was completely missing in media debates on the use of CCTV in Spain. The issue is uncontroversial, and CCTV cameras are quite well accepted by the majority of citizens, as long as data protection laws are not infringed. The main findings can be summarised as follows (for a more detailed analysis see Pereira-Puga and Hronesova 2013). First, state institutions, including the Catalan Data Protection Agency, the Madrid-based Commission of Surveillance, as well as city councils are quoted many times by journalists, providing information on the installation of new CCTV cameras in public places. Second, citizens support CCTV systems as a good

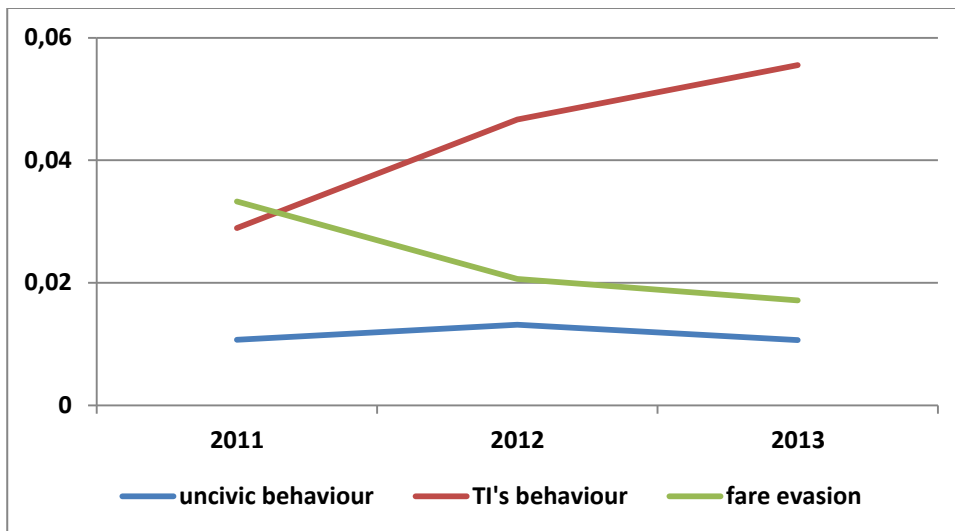
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<sup>2</sup> This is an important change in Spain. Over a long history of violence and terrorism, Spanish governments have always placed security at the top of their political agendas. Indeed, even Spain's recent history includes plenty of acts of political violence. Nationalist groups such as the ETA in the Basque Country and the EPC in Catalonia, extreme left-leaning groups as the GRAPO, as well as extreme right-leaning bands as the GCR, have all mounted attacks in recent decades. Furthermore, Spain suffered the biggest jihadist attack in Europe in March 2004 when several bombs exploded on suburban trains in Madrid, causing almost 200 deaths (Sánchez-Cuenca 2007: 290).



measure to fight petty crimes. Nevertheless, it could be suspected that Spanish media try to muffle citizens' critiques of this technology. Third, the majority of actors quoted support the implementation of CCTV camera systems. And fourth, stakeholders consider video-surveillance to be a good defence strategy in the face of threats such as burglary or vandalism. However, they hardly mention terrorism as one of the potential risks.

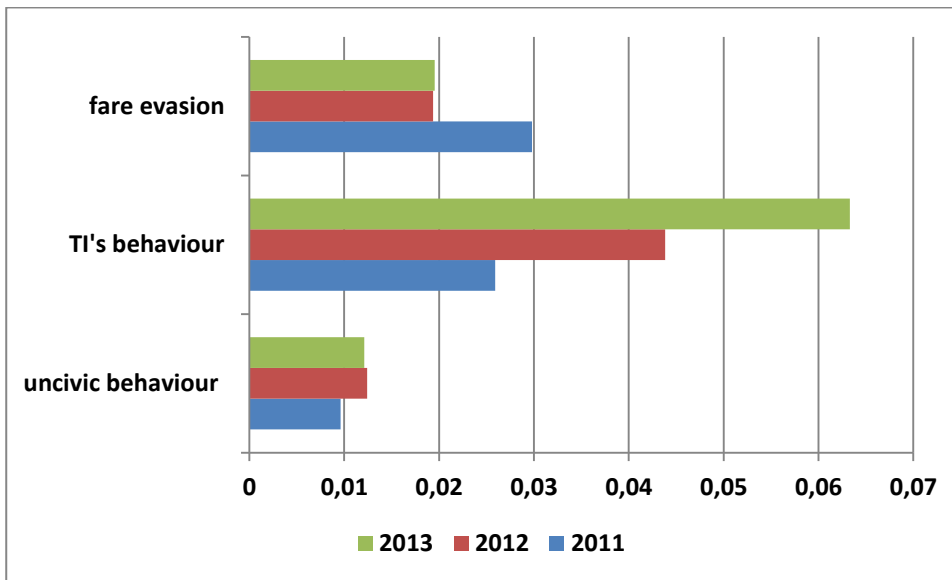
The Critical Salience Index (Figure 5) is based on the annual data of the number of complaints combined with the annual data of the number of reported incidents per year and expresses the critical attitudes (i.e. negative salience) of passengers towards selected security issues. Overall, we identify very low negative salience for all three issues. However, one can identify variation among the individual issues over. The main findings can be summarized as follows: 1) over time the critical perception/rejection of uncivic behaviour and especially of fare evasion decreases significantly; 2) critical perception of ticket inspector's behaviour grows over time.



Source: data TMB, analysis IS AS CR

Figure 5: Critical Salience of selected security issues over time (in degree of salience)

Further analysis will show the extent to which the critical salience is influenced by macro societal factors, such as the on-going crisis in Spain, or by specific factors, such as rising ticket prices on TMB. Furthermore, the critical salience index will be analysed along with customer satisfaction survey data from the TMB to provide further insight into the salience of security issues among TMB customers.



Source: data TMB, analysis IS AS CR

Figure 6: Comparing passenger complaints (negative salience) 2011-2013 (in degree of salience)

Figure 6 above provides more insights into the relevance of the selected issues among the overall complaints addressed to TMB by customers. Overall, the selected issues do not represent the main body of customers' concerns. Significant variation can be found among the three issues, with ticket inspectors' behaviour being perceived most critically by TMB customers and uncivic behaviour least critically. The number of complaints regarding fare evasion decreased significantly over time and hints at growing social tolerance of this form of behaviour. In the context of the on-going economic crisis in Spain, it can be hypothesized that fare evasion is more tolerated as the economic crisis affects customers. Along the same line of argument, in times of economic hardship customers become more aware of the costs of the ticket and their expectation of TI's behaviour rises, leading to more critical attitudes.

#### 4. Conclusion: New approaches to policy communication

The present study highlights the crucial role of media in providing information and (to a large degree) in shaping public opinion on security issues and measures (cf. Mazur 2006). The public transport case study emphasizes existing and emerging threats, actual and perceived security, measures adopted to avoid these, and provision of good and reliable service. Simultaneously, it also considers security costs and the sociological impacts of security measures and policy decisions, and takes into account the public's reactions.

To address the tension between security and privacy in public transport we have identified the use of CCTV cameras as a salient issue present in the media in most countries. The use of CCTV cameras is highly relevant for the Transports Metropolitans de Barcelona (TMB) and it was a dominant issue in the Spanish media. The issue is not

controversial, and CCTV cameras are quite accepted by the majority of citizens as long as the data protection law is not infringed. Combining the analysis of the media coverage of security issues of two leading Spanish papers with the TMB security data and categorized complains data, the results of our analysis point to the following trends. First, economic issues prevail over security concerns due to the on-going financial crisis, though privacy remained a highly salient concern for Spanish citizens (specifically in regards to CCTV image data storage and sharing). Second, although security as a topic of concern has been supplanted by growing economic problems such as unemployment, the Spanish public is still very interested in maintaining its privacy.

As for the application of our salience model to the public transport case, the main findings of the critical salience can be summarized as follows. First, CCTV cameras show high positive salience and are thus a readily accepted crime-prevention measure. Second, considering the most important categories of passengers' complaints, CCTV cameras are the best tool to address these problems. Third, overall we find low negative salience (complaints). Forth, there is a large degree of correlation between incidents and complains over time. This hints at the fact that an in-depth qualitative analysis of complaints could provide important insights into passenger's (security) concerns.

To conclude, our study highlights the distinction between actual and perceived security, as well as the difference between punitive and preventive security. Both have the potential to improve or weaken perceived security. It is therefore crucial, that transport operators take into consideration not only the possible effects of proposed measures on actual security, but also asses its acceptance and perception by passengers.

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