

# Who Watches the Watchmen? Risk Perception and Security vs. the Privacy Dilemma in the Czech Press<sup>1</sup>

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**Daniela Gawrecká**

*Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*

*Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1, Czech Republic,*

*Email: [daniela.gawrecka@soc.cas.cz](mailto:daniela.gawrecka@soc.cas.cz)*

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## **Abstract:**

This paper analyses the perception of security related issues such as computer virus Stuxnet, 3D body scanners and CCTV cameras, and aspects of public surveillance e.g. the dilemma between security, privacy and personal dignity in Czech media. It focuses on the following questions (1) What are the perceived trade-offs between security and privacy? (2) How much attention is paid to security and risk in the Czech media content? (3) Who are the proponents and opponents of security vs. freedom? (4) How are the security related issues communicated with the citizens via media? The paper concentrates on analysis of discourses and justifications of security and risk in domestic media in comparative perspective. It is based on qualitative content analysis of Czech most influential broadsheets done by Atlas.ti programme. The study is part of 7FP project SECONOMICS, mapping the socio-economic aspects of security and risk.

**Key words:** Media, Methods, Qualitative Comparative Analysis, Security

## **1. Introduction:**

Who Watches the Watchmen? This fundamental philosophical puzzle of Western political thought, first put forward by Roman poet Juvenal, currently seems more topical

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than ever before. Public and private surveillance has increased in recent years due to better technological development and IT devices.

*'Over the past half-century, digital technology has become deeply embedded in the fabric of political and economic life. Networked computers underwrite the performance of the global financial system, industrial services and manufacturing, public utilities and government bureaucracy, and military surveillance and power projection'* (Lindsay 2013: 369).

New methods of surveillance have also been created in response to the new kinds of security threats faced by postmodern societies (Beck 1992), such as terrorism, cyber-terrorism and espionage and the development and deployment of nuclear and biological weapons. These threats are very complex, sophisticated and they are not temporally, spatially and socially circumscribed (Beck 1992; Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013: 6). Similarly, methods of public monitoring are more efficient than in the past and they do not respect state, cultural or socio-political boundaries. Therefore, surveillance itself is dangerous. Despite its obvious successes and benefits in strengthening security, it poses a threat to people's privacy, dignity and even health (Davies and Silver 2004; Cavallaro 2008).

The aim of the analysis is to describe the overall media perception and coverage of security topics and various aspects of surveillance in the Czech Republic and put it to the broader context. Paper focuses on the media perception of security issues because the media are one of the key actors in secondary socialisation (McNair 2004; Burton and Jiráček 2003). By framing security issues media shape public discourse on security threats, fear and risk perception (Altheide 1997; Kalvas, Váně, Štípková, Kreidl 2012). *'Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and above all, how it will not be discussed'* (Altheide: 650). Media also introduce new issues into the public debate and influence the form of this debate, which is called 'agenda setting' (McCombs 2004).

For purpose of the analysis, three security-related issues were chosen (1) Stuxnet computer virus (which represents cyber terrorism), (2) CCTV cameras (a security tool which can threaten people's privacy), and (3) 3D body scanners (representing security measures against terrorism and organized crime, though with possible negative impact on passengers' health). Stuxnet, CCTV cameras and 3D body scanners are self-standing issues of high relevance in the debate about security and the negative aspects of public monitoring. Furthermore, they have recently been discussed in the Czech and international press.

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

This paper was written within the international research project SECONOMICS ‘Socio-Economics Meets Security’. The goal of SECONOMICS is to link socio-economics and security methods in order to generate precise, actionable knowledge that can be used to strengthen transport and critical infrastructure security (SECONOMICS 2013a). Within this project, the ‘Prague Graduate School in Comparative Qualitative Analysis’ was organised from 13 to 18 May 2013. The graduate school focused on international, comparative, qualitative media research on various aspects of surveillance and its media coverage (SECONOMICS 2013; Mansfeldová and Guasti 2013).

The outcome of this summer school is a set of national reports covering this topic in the newspapers of old European Union (EU) member states (Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and Spain) new EU member states (Czech Republic Slovakia, and Poland), and non-European countries (Mexico, the USA, and Turkey) and Mexico. The Czech Republic is one of the countries included in this comparative research. This paper is based on the results of a comparative analysis of Czech press (Gawrecká 2013). The ‘freedom-security’ dilemma is better studied from the wider international perspective because in this way I can frame my findings context. Therefore I compare the results of my analysis for the Czech Republic with results from other national reports from above mentioned European and also non-European countries (Belakova 2013a,b; De Gramatica 2013; Gawrecká et al. 2014; Hronešová, Guasti, Caulfield 2014; Nitzche 2013; Pereira-Puga 2013; Sojka 20123; Vamberová 2013).

## 2. Contextualizing Stuxnet, CCTV Cameras and 3D Body Scanners:

First security-related issue ‘Stuxnet’ is the computer virus, which was discovered in 2010. It is the first computer virus which caused physical damage across international boundaries (Lindsay 2013; Collins and McCombie 2012). The virus mainly targeted critical infrastructure in Iran (centrifuges for uranium enrichment in the city Natanz) and also in other countries (i.e. Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt). Stuxnet was developed by the United States and Israel during the programme ‘Olympic games’ which started under President George W. Bush and continued also under the Barack Obama administration (Lindsay 2013).

Media compared Stuxnet to *‘the cyber equivalent of the dropping of the atom bomb’*<sup>2</sup> and *‘a new era of warfare’* (Lindsay 2013: 365) and to the *‘revolution in cyber-attacks’* (Collins and McCombie 2012: 80). Fortunately, no cyber-attack by Stuxnet has been reported in the Czech Republic (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic 2013). Nevertheless, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic has pointed out that the growing dependence on information and communications technologies increases the vulnerability of the Czech Republic and its citizens to future cyber-attacks.

Existing literature on Stuxnet (e.g. Lindsay 2013; Collins and McCombie 2012; Farwell and Rohozinski 2011) focuses mainly on technical aspects of this cyber weapon but does not

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Israeli IT expert Yuval Elovici warned that the next *“Stuxnet-like” attack against critical infrastructure would have a greater impact than several atomic bombs being released on a major city* (Collins, McCombie 2012: 80).

reflect the wider consequences of Stuxnet such as the questions of surveillance and negative impact of cyber weapons on the life of ordinary people and their perception of potential risk.

Second security-related issue are 'CCTV cameras' which have been sharply increasing worldwide in recent years. For example, in Great Britain, there are more than 4 million CCTV cameras and the people in London are in average caught on CCTV cameras 300 times a day (Cavallaro 2007: 166). The main purpose of camera installation is to increase security and prevent crime, but sometimes it is ignored that *'the unresponsive eye of the CCTV camera cannot stop violence; it can only observe and record'* (Jones 2005: 1). Nevertheless, negative aspects of CCTV cameras are often ignored. Despite their obvious advantages in the fight against crime (Keval, Sasse 2011; Mazerolle, Hurley, Chamlin 2000), CCTV cameras could also be a risk to our privacy (Mackey 2006; Brooks 2005). Firstly, citizens for the most part do not realise that they are being monitored and do not know the purpose of the monitoring (Granick 2006). Secondly, there is the matter of the storage of such data and the potential threat of these records being misused.

Comparing with two other security issues, the most of scientific articles is available on CCTV cameras. Presumed reason is that CCTV cameras are presented in public space long time and directly affect the life of citizens. The most of articles on cameras dealt with security dimension of CCTV camera use (e.g. crime reduction and prevention), technical aspects and their effectiveness, e.g. Keval and Sasse (2011) explored the effectiveness of CCTV camera systems in Surry. Another example is a research of Mazerolle, Hurley, Chamlin (2000) who examined how cameras influenced the citizens' behaviour in public space in Cincinnati. Nevertheless, there are not many articles (except Brooks 2005; Mackey 2006) dealing with the CCTV camera systems in relation to privacy protection, risk perception and civil rights.

Third security-related issue are '3D body scanners'. Body scanners have been introduced in civil aviation as a defence against terrorism and against smuggling and human trafficking. Some countries started to install them after the failed terrorist attempt on the flight from Amsterdam to Detroit on 25 December 2009 (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic). Scanners were introduced in the USA (where 450 body scanners were at 78 airports), Great Britain and Germany (Mackey, Smith 2012).

*'The scanners employ backscatter technology, which uses low-power energy beams to produce a very detailed and revealing image of the target. The scanning machine does not produce a typical X-ray image but makes any items on the outside of the body visible to the machine operator. Clothing is thus rendered transparent to the screener operator'* (Mackey, Smith 2012: 372).

Despite its obvious advantages for detecting metallic and non-metallic objects that could be hidden under clothing, there have disadvantages to them as well. They can increase the risk of cancer and may represent an intrusion on human dignity and privacy (ibid., Mackey 2007). Like CCTV cameras, the problems of data storage and the misuse of records could arise.

Literature dealing with 3D body scanners emphasises technical aspects of scanning procedures (e.g. Balan, Black 2008) but some publications (Mackey 2007; Mackey, Smith 2012) concerns also with legal, social and health aspects of scanners.

### **3. Media in the Czech Republic:**

The degree of media freedom in the Czech Republic is considered to be high. Freedom of speech and the press, the right to information as to the prohibition of censorship are guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (1993), which is part of the Czech constitutional order. Czech journalism also has a relatively good reputation worldwide. According to the Press Freedom Index (2013), media in the Czech Republic are in good condition. The Czech Republic scored 10.17 on a scale from zero to 100, where 100 is the lowest score. The Czech Republic ranked in 16th place, above Germany, and below Ireland in 15th place (ibid.).

Although the Czech media are considered to be free and relatively independent, two important factors influencing the scale of press indecency should not be ignored: (1) the ownership structure and (2) political pressures. Media owners, especially if they have strong political or business ambitions, may try to influence newspapers according to their own interests. These interventions may be either direct or indirect; and selfcensorship can also occur in the newsrooms (Macháček 2013).

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

The most popular Czech newspaper is the tabloid Blesk (Flash), which has a circulation of 413,652 and an estimated average daily readership of 1,223,000 people which is almost twice that of the most popular Czech broadsheet MF Dnes (Young Front Today). Blesk focuses on tabloid topics from showbusiness, politics, sport and crime. Mladá fronta Dnes is the most popular Czech right-leaning broadsheet with a circulation of 266,808 and an estimated readership of 804,000 people per day. The most influential left-wing broadsheet in the Czech Republic is daily Pravo (Right) (with its circulation of 171,053 and an estimated readership of 377,000) (Publishers Union 2013, Media Project 2013).

Currently, all the main Czech dailies declare themselves to be politically independent and not affiliated with any political party. In the Czech Republic, the absence of an open political affiliation is often construed as signifying objectivity and balance. Nevertheless, this may be dubious way of looking at things. A strong tradition of political (albeit good quality) presses has existed since the start of modern Czech journalism in the 19th century (Osvaldová, Halada 2002; Urban 1982). Although nowadays there are no overt political affiliations, there is still a division in the press between the right-leaning tabloids Blesk and Aha, the broadsheets MF DNES and Hospodářské noviny (Economic News), the centrist

Lidové noviny (People’s Paper), the left-leaning Právo and the far left Haló noviny (Hello Newspaper). In my opinion, it is better when readers know the basic political orientation of the papers and journalists than when the papers pretend an impartiality that is not entirely possible.

**Table 1. Top nine daily newspapers in the Czech Republic**

	Name in English	Name in Czech	Circulation rate					Political affiliation
			2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
1	Young Front Today	MF Dnes	365815	330280	291415	304737	266808	right
2	Right	Právo	198295	192957	184910	177650	171053	left
3	Economic News	Hospodářské noviny	74686	73970	60934	58216	53409	right
4	People’s Paper	Lidové noviny	105843	93272	79035	73729	60657	centre-right
5	Hello Newspaper	Haló Noviny	not available	not available	not available	not available	not available	extreme left
6	The Journal	Deník	386657	323862	287294	263668	236567	regional newspaper centrist
7	Flash	Blesk	569369	534017	500544	473424	413652	tabloid: right
8	Aha	Aha	167941	161072	148069	142924	118838	tabloid: right- centrist
9	Sport	Sport	85665	79883	77227	67283	61814	none: sport news

Sources: created by the author, (ABC ČR - Audit Bureau of Circulations Czech Republic 2013; Publishers Union 2013).

#### 4. Methodology:

To find out how two most influential Czech right-oriented newspapers MF DNES and left-oriented daily paper Právo<sup>3</sup> reported on security topics, a comparative qualitative analysis (CQA) of media content was used. This kind of analysis was chosen, despite its limitations, because it provides us with an in-depth look and detailed description of the issue in its causal complexity. In contrast to quantitative methods, a CQA can work without substantial data reduction (Hendl 2008; Rihoux 2009). As a tool of analysis, the computer-assisted qualitative software Atlas.ti was used, which is an easy, speedy and reliable method of data processing and visualisation that is able to work with an unlimited amount of qualitative data (Konopásek 2007; Rihoux 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Overview of selected newspaper in other countries from comparison offers Table 2 in the Appendix.

For the purpose of gathering the overall sample, I first established the mention of CCTV cameras, Stuxnet and 3D body scanners in *Právo* and *MF DNES* between 1 January 2010 and 30 April 2013.<sup>4</sup> In total, there were published 246 articles about all the three security issues in *MF Dnes* and *Právo* (see Table 3). An overview of all the articles selected for analysis in Table 1 in the Appendix and Distribution of all the articles on CCTV, Stuxnet a 3D Body scanners 2010-2013 for the Czech Republic in Figures 1-3 and for international comparison in Figures 4-6 in the Appendix.

Amount of data analysed were limited for comparative purposes, which means that only a final sample of 40 articles published between 1 January 2010 and 30 April 2013 were selected. All these 40 articles were carefully read in order to find and mark the relevant quotations. A relevant quotation was each text segment – sentence or several sentences – that represented one idea about selected security issues and an answer to the question WHO (actor), WHAT (topic), HOW (argumentative strategy), and, if possible, also WHY (justification).

Quotations were further coded according to a coding scheme. Each of the selected three security issues had its own coding scheme, which was the same for all countries covered in this study. Predefined categories from the coding scheme were used in order to reduce personal bias and subjectivity and to make the results internationally comparable.

**Table 2. Coding scheme model**

Pre-defined categories	
<b>Actor</b> (who is speaking about the topic)	
<b>Topic</b>	
<b>Argumentation strategies</b> (the way actors communicate the topic)	a) definitive b) evaluative c) advocative
<b>Direction of argument</b> (actor's opinion on the topic)	a) positive b) negative c) neutral
<b>Justification</b> (arguments supporting actor's opinion)	
<b>Interaction</b> (between actors)	a) cooperation b) confrontation
<b>Actor's origin</b> (country)	

<sup>4</sup> The Czech Media database Anopress IT (Anopress Media Database2013) was used to find most of the articles (195 articles). The rest of the overall sample (51 articles) was detected via the internal search engines of *Novinky.cz*, which is the online version of *Právo*, *idnes.cz*, and *Technet*, the online version and online supplement dealing with cyber technologies in *MF DNES*, as well as via Google.

<b>Political orientation of a paper</b>	a) left-leaning b) right-leaning
<b>Country code</b> (newspaper's origin)	

Source: created by Petra Guasti and by the author.

**Table 3. Total number of articles found for each topic and newspaper 2010-2013**

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

Source: created by Petra Guasti and by the author.

## 5. Analysis:

### 5.1 CCTV cameras:

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

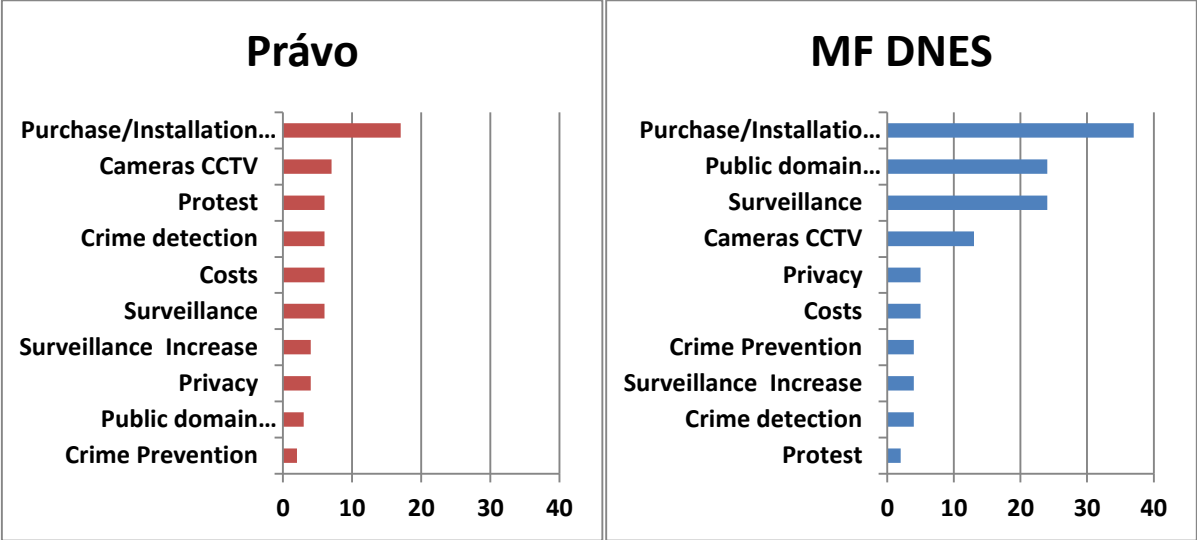
This quote from Jiří Straus, the head of the Department of Criminology at the Czech Police Academy, provides a good illustration of the general tendencies on CCTV cameras in the Czech Republic. A qualitative content analysis of the two papers revealed that increased surveillance is a fair price for strengthening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

Of all three security topics the most media coverage in both newspapers was devoted to CCTV cameras. It is not surprising that a large number of articles were devoted to security cameras considering that security cameras are becoming more rapidly and more increasingly prevalent in the public space in areas such as the streets and squares of Czech cities, and in schools, libraries, children's playgrounds, town and city halls and other state institution. The language of the coded article was mainly neutral. In the left-leaning Právo, 'Big brother' was mentioned twice as a metaphor for CCTV cameras, but surprisingly without negative connotations.



The dominant topic was the purchase and installation of CCTV cameras followed by the topic of surveillance. There were no big changes in the topics covered in the articles over time in either MF DNES or Právo.

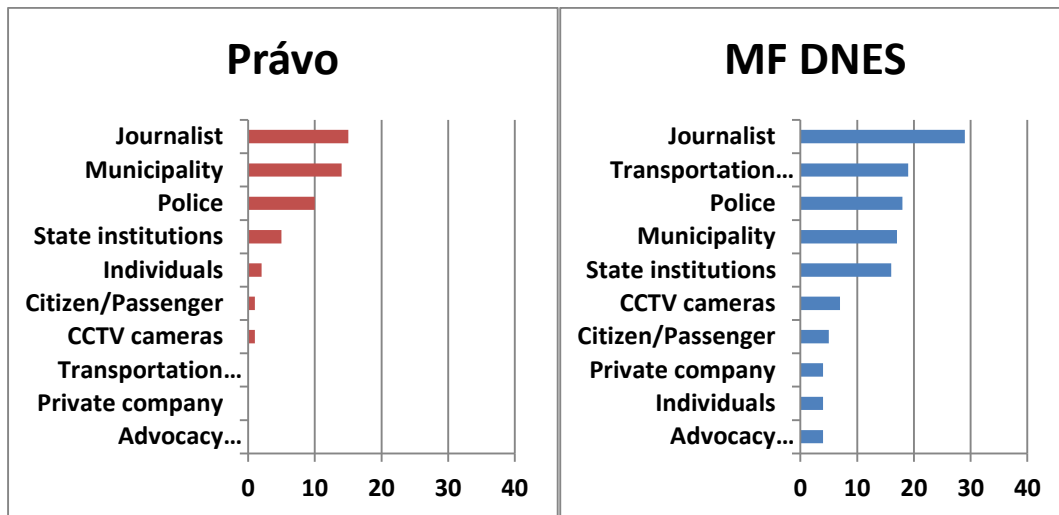
Figure 1. Top ten topics connected with CCTV cameras in Právo and MF DNES



Source: created by the author.

The actors who were the sources of the statements – most of whom were journalists and police officers – offered a general description of the given issue. Almost all main actors identified during the coding process were supporters of CCTV cameras. If they evaluated it, their opinions were mainly positive. Similarly, passengers and citizens (with one exception) greatly appreciated the installation of cameras. They were installed to prevent vandalism, pickpocketing in public transport and to strengthen security in road traffic. Journalists were the dominant actors in both newspapers (see Figure 2). Journalists most often figured as actors in the informative articles. Sometimes they also presented their opinions on CCTV cameras, and most of the time their opinions were positive.

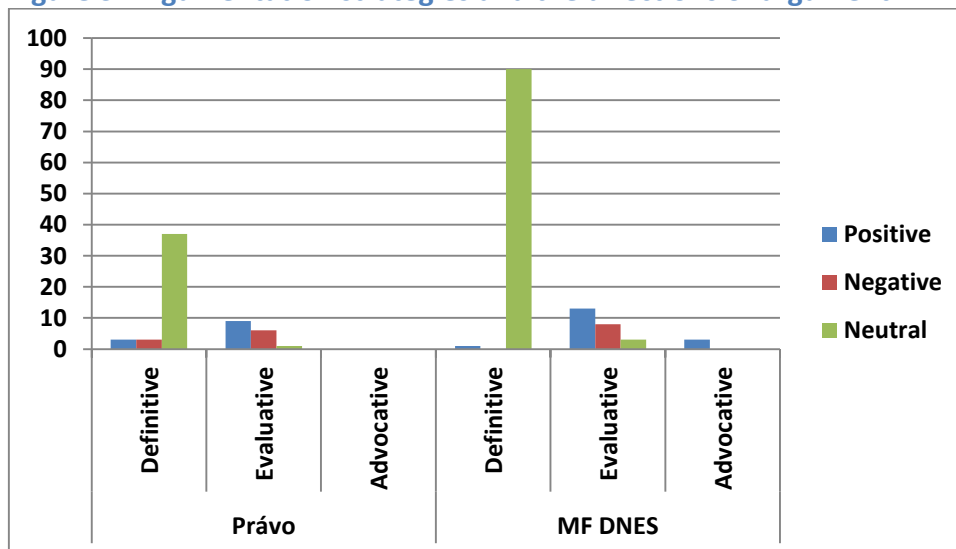
Figure 2. Top ten actors connected with the topic of CCTV cameras in Právo and MF DNES



Source: created by the author.

The analyses did not confirm my assumption that there would be striking differences in the directions of argument according to the left-right political affiliation of the daily papers. I expected that the left-leaning Právo would report on CCTV cameras more negatively whereas the right-leaning MF DNES would evaluate CCTV positively. In fact, a preponderance of positive evaluations was found in both papers. Nevertheless, Právo criticised CCTV cameras slightly more than MF DNES. For example, Právo pointed to the invasion of privacy they represent. MF DNES reported more on the economic aspects of surveillance; for example, on the fact that real estate prices tended to rise in areas monitored by cameras.

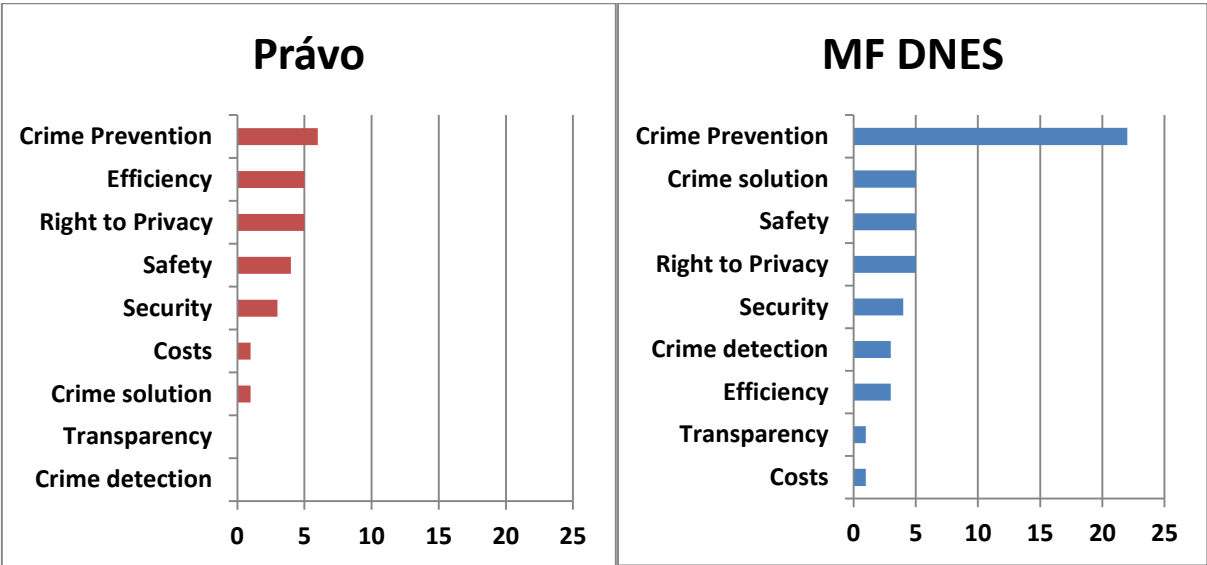
Figure 3. Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in Právo and MF DNES



Source: created by the author.

The justifications employed to substantiate the actors' views differed slightly between right- and left-leaning papers. Crime prevention was the prevailing justification in both papers. In MF DNES, there is a big gap between the prevalence of the first justification, crime prevention, and the rest, while the distribution of justifications in Právo is more equal (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Nine justifications for the use of CCTV



Source: created by the author.

Table 4 offers international comparison of the Czech Republic with other nine countries from the sample according to the topics. For comparative purposes, saliences was selected which signifies the degree of the degree of acceptance (positive salience) and the degree of rejection (negative salience).

Of all the countries analysed, Poland wrote the most about CCTV cameras. The press in Spain and Great Britain approached CCTV cameras from informative perspective, often because of high interest in CCTV cameras themselves was reported in these countries. Nevertheless, Spanish and British newspapers did not often justify their arguments, so the debate about scanners was not as sophisticated as, for example, in Slovakia and Germany. New member states of EU, such as Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, focused on this issue a lot, though they were not particularly interested in 3D body scanners and Stuxnet. On the other hand, the lowest interest and shallowest debate about cameras was reported in Italy and Mexico (Belakova 2013a,b; De Gramatica 2013; Gawrecká et al. 2014; Hronešová, Guasti, Caulfield 2014; Nitzche 2013; Pereira-Puga 2013; Sojka 20123; Vamberová 2013).

Table 4. Comparison of topics according to salience 2010-2013

	Purchase/ installation of CCTV cameras	Public domain monitoring	Cameras CCTV	Security related rules and regulations	Surveillance
high salience	Spain	Spain	Germany	Spain	Czech Republic
	Czech Republic	Poland	Poland	Poland	Poland
	Slovakia	Slovakia	Slovakia	Slovakia	Germany
		UK	UK	UK	UK
		USA			USA
		Czech Republic			
medium salience	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico		Slovakia
	Poland		Czech Republic		

	Germany		Italy		
			Spain		
low salience	UK	UK	USA	USA	Spain
	USA	Italy		Italy	Italy
				Mexico	Mexico
				Germany	
				Czech Republic	

Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

### 5.2 Stuxnet

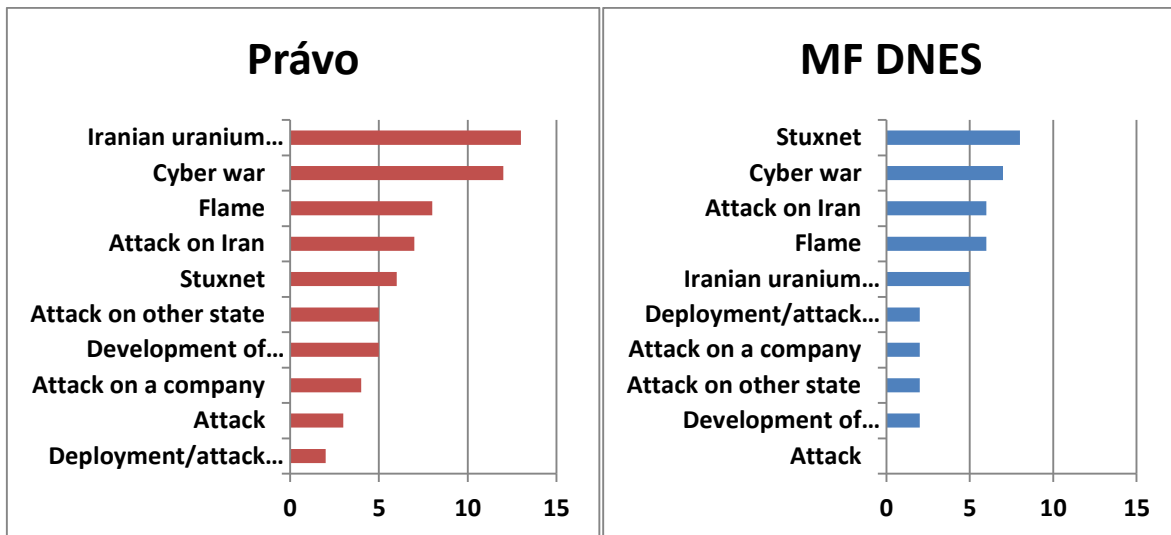
*'It is one of the most complex threats that we have ever faced' (Kužník 2012).*

These are the words Roel Schouwenberg, an executive at Kaspersky Lab, used to describe the Flame virus. Flame is an improved successor to Stuxnet. The left-leaning Právo focused slightly more on Stuxnet than the right-leaning MF DNES. Czech newspaper paid to the Stuxnet least attention from all the three security issues. Perhaps the Czech media did not consider Stuxnet to be an issue of much relevance to the Czech Republic and for this reason reported little on it.

The coded articles about Stuxnet were overwhelmingly informative. To obtain information about Stuxnet, both newspapers relied on a broad range of international resources and the opinions of foreign and Czech cyber-security experts. Expert contributions were necessary for the articles in both papers to report on the complexity and technical details of Stuxnet. The newspapers also cited international press agencies and foreign media such as The New York Times and the BBC. Articles about Stuxnet provide the most in-depth look at the issue of cyber-espionage and viruses, in contrast to the articles on CCTV cameras, which were numerous, but shorter and less factually based.

Nevertheless, both papers expressed concerns about the potential abuse of Stuxnet and other cyber-weapons. The content analysis has shown that the prevailing topic relating to Stuxnet was cyberwar and attacks. This topic dealt with the following three sub-issues: (1) an attack on Iran and its nuclear programme, (2) an attack on other states (Syria, Israel), (3) viruses as cyber-war weapons (mention was made of the Stuxnet, Flame, and Stars Duqu viruses), (4) the origin of the virus (which was ascribed to the USA and Israel).

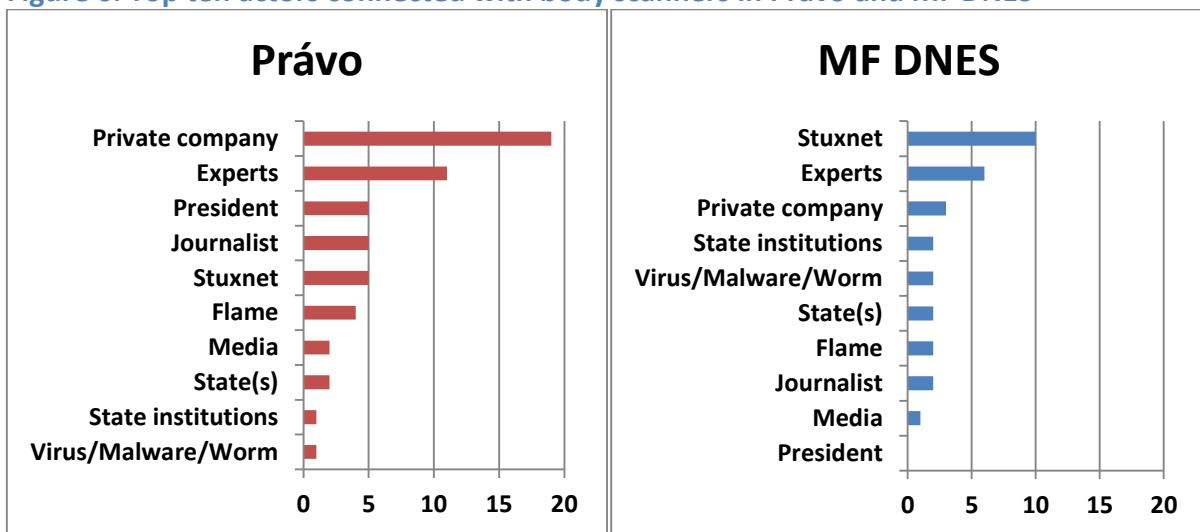
Figure 5. Top ten topics connected with Stuxnet in Právo and MF DNES



Source: created by the author.

Considerable space was also devoted to expert opinion in both papers. Experts were the second most common actor referred to in both dailies. The experts were in most cases anonymous, referred to in the newspapers in formulation such as ‘according to the expert/s’, ‘some experts claim’, ‘experts believe’, but in most cases they did not cite any specific names.

Figure 6. Top ten actors connected with body scanners in Právo and MF DNES

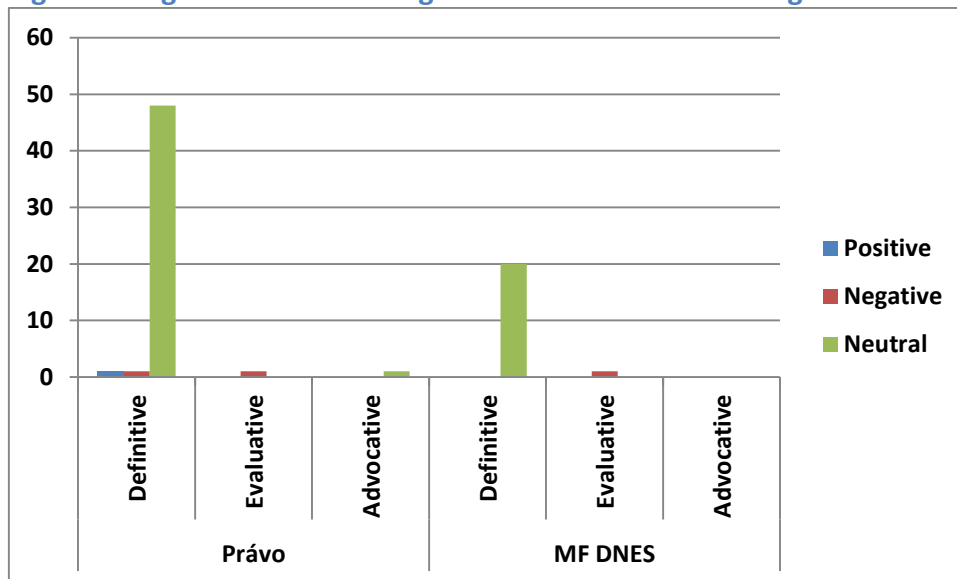


Source: created by the author.

The articles were dominated by statements that employed a neutral tone (68 statements out of 73 in total). Only two statements were evaluative, and both evaluations were negative. In Právo, one article pointed out the possible dangers of Stuxnet. The fact that views they published on the third security topic, the Stuxnet virus, were rather neutral. I think that this topic seems remotely relevant to the Czech security context because Stuxnet has not attacked critical Czech infrastructure. Nevertheless, Stuxnet was mentioned in

recent discussions of the Edward Snowden affair. On the other hand, the Snowden affair started after the time of our analysis so it is not so relevant for the context.

**Figure 7. Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in Právo and MF DNES**



Source: created by the author.

No justifications of opinions on the use of Stuxnet were expressed in almost any of the topics connected with Stuxnet. Only three justifications were presented in the two papers (two in MF DNES and one in Právo).

In Table 5 comparison of the Czech Republic with other countries from the sample is available. In some countries, such as the United States, Germany, and, to some extent, Slovakia, one can see a sophisticated and detailed debate about Stuxnet. Nevertheless, in the most states, including the Czech Republic, Poland, Great Britain and Spain, media published mainly descriptive articles about Stuxnet but these lacked the wider context and justifications. In other words the broader debate about virus consequences and impact was mostly missing there (Belakova 2013a,b; De Gramatica 2013; Gawrecká et al. 2014; Hronešová, Guasti, Caulfield 2014; Nitzche 2013; Pereira-Puga 2013; Sojka 2012,3; Vamberová 2013).

**Table 5. Comparison of topics according to salience 2010-2013**

	Attack on Iran	Iranian uranium enrichment program	Deployment /attack using Stuxnet	Stuxnet	Cyber war
<b>high salience</b>	Spain	UK	USA	USA	Spain
	Great Britain	USA	Slovakia	UK	Czech Republic
		Slovakia	Spain	Germany	USA
		Spain			UK
<b>medium salience</b>	Slovakia	Poland	Italy	Czech Republic	Germany
	Germany	Czech Republic	Mexico	Italy	Poland

	USA			Mexico	Italy
					Mexico
low salience	Czech Republic	Germany	Germany	Spain	
	Italy	Italy	UK	Poland	
	Mexico	Mexico	Czech Republic		
	Poland				

Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

### 5.3 Body scanners

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

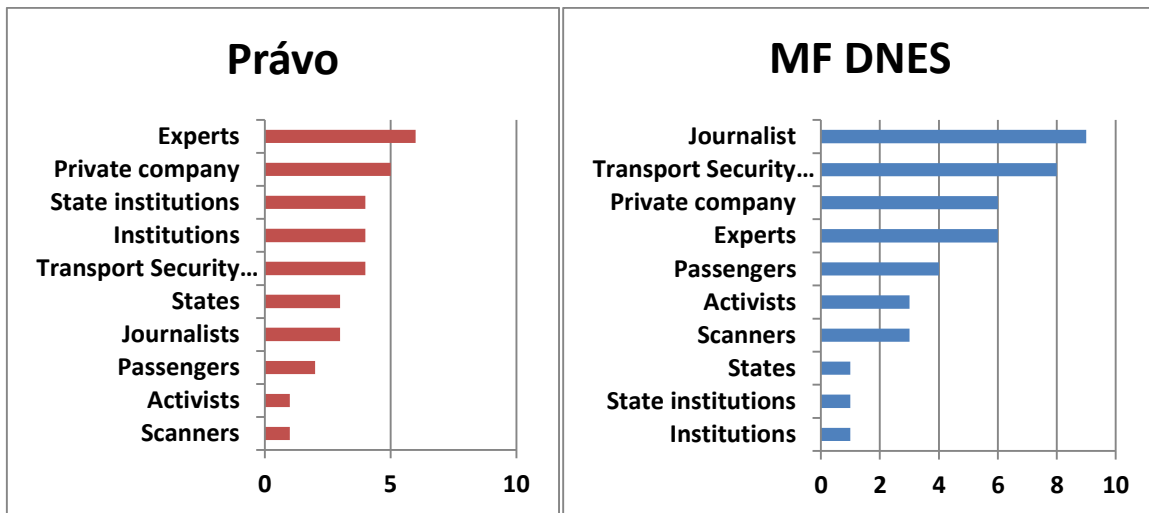
The citation above refers to the potential of the scanners to increase the risk of cancer. The analysis showed that the opinion on body scanners was predominantly negative in both papers. Newspapers were the most critical of 3D body scanners from all the three. Scanners were criticised not only for their health risks but also for the fact that scanning and related security inspections are time-consuming and sometimes humiliating procedures.

The topic of body scanners could be of interest to journalists at both papers for two reasons. First, despite the fact that body scanners have not yet been installed in Czech airports, they may be in the future. Second, Czech citizens have experience with body scanners from international airports.

There were no big differences between the two dailies regarding the actors they referred to. The Transport Security Agency, journalists and experts were dominant actors in both papers. Journalists were important actors, particularly in MF DNES. They described their own (often negative) experiences with body scanners at American airports. For example, a journalist from MF DNES, Teodor Marjanovič, described his unpleasant experience with 3D body scanners at a US airport: *'They took me aside and subjected me to thorough thumb. I can't call it anything else. Once they've "banged you up" with the little manual metal detector, they then do it manually. They touch your armpits, groin, everywhere, and it borders on intimacy'* (Marjanovič 2010). Other negative experiences of passengers were added. They also presented general information on body scanners.

Experts were relevant actors in both dailies. Experts included, for example, the director of the Czech State Office for Nuclear Safety Dana Drábová and the director of the Centre for Radiological Research in Columbia David Brenner. Experts and scientists were among the prominent actors expressing criticism on the 3D scanner topic and pointing out the health risks.

**Figure 8. 'Top ten' actors connected with body scanners in Právo and MF DNES**

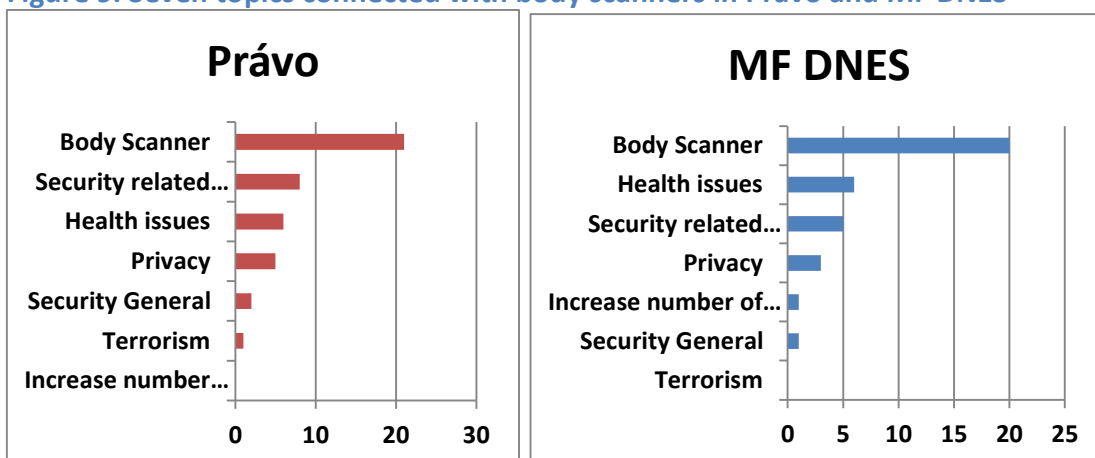


Source: created by the author.

The distribution of topics in this case was even more alike than in the case of actors. The topics that dominated MF DNES and Právo both were body scanners, security related rules and regulations and health issues. Body scanners themselves were the prevailing topic in the whole sample and in each newspaper. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that ‘body scanner’ is a very general kind of topic. Another important topic was health issues, in particular the risk of cancer, which is allegedly increased by radiation from the scanners. Almost all the attention paid to this topic was in 2010, when the scanners were introduced and the potential of a health risk first arose.

The sources of information in the articles were Czech and international experts, foreign agencies and newspapers, as well as passengers and airport employees. The language used in the coded articles was mostly neutral, but in several instances (usually when unpleasant experiences with scanners were being described) it also contained expressive terms.

Figure 9. Seven topics connected with body scanners in Právo and MF DNES

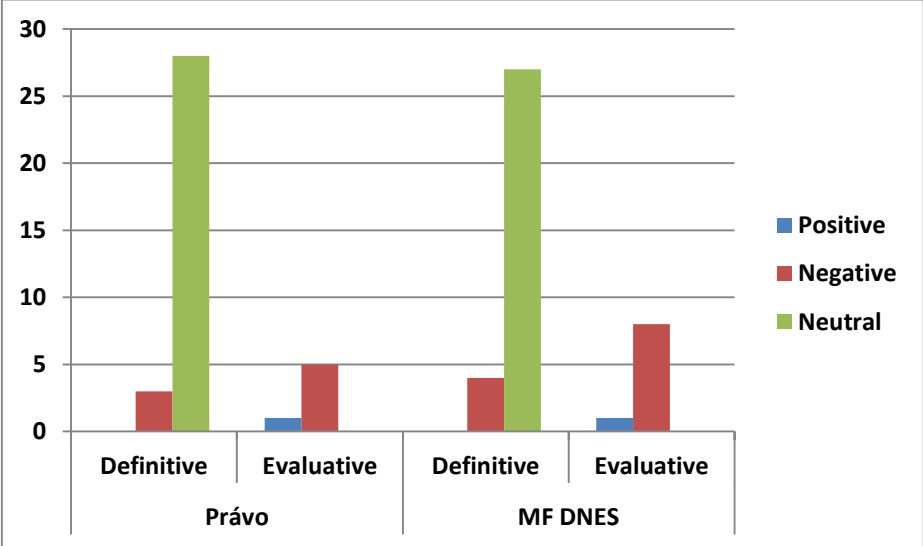


Source: created by the author.



The prevailing argumentation strategies were definitive (in 62 statements in both papers) and the directions of argument were neutral. Experts as well as passengers and activists expressed negative evaluations of body scanners. Experts warned against the risk of cancer that could be increased by scanners and claimed that the risk was much higher if the scanner was damaged.

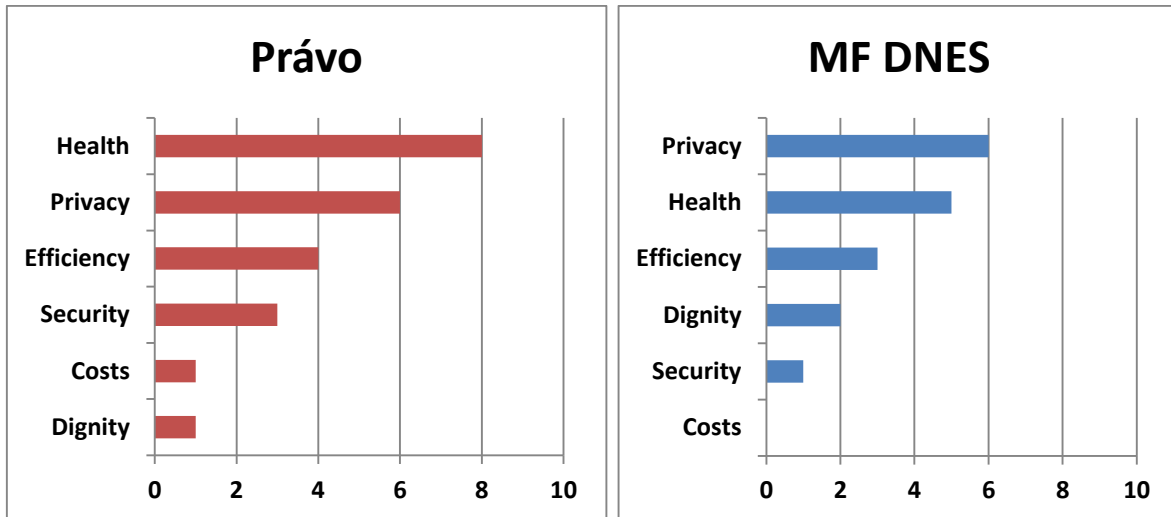
**Figure 10. Argumentation strategies and the directions of argument in Právo and MF DNES**



Source: created by the author.

Figure 11 presents the seven types of justifications that were used in the articles. Statements justifying the use of scanners for reasons of health, privacy and efficiency were found most often. These three justifications were found most often in both papers. Opponents of the scanners included passengers and activists who criticised the humiliating procedure of body scanning. Similarly, some passengers expressed negative opinions on the scanners for ethical or religious reasons. The possible health risk (the increased risk of cancer, especially if the scanner is broken) is another important argument that has been raised by scanner opponents.

**Figure 11. Six justifications connected with body scanners in Právo and MF DNES**



Source: created by the author.

Comparison of the Czech Republic with other nine countries is presented in Table 6. The United States was indisputably a leading country in the debate about implementation and acceptance of 3D body scanners. The USA also shaped and significantly influenced the information about 3D body scanners in other countries which were included in our comparison. In other words, the American debate spilled over to many states. This trend was visible particularly in Mexico, Poland, Italy and the Czech Republic. Media in these countries mostly reflected the situation in the USA and relied particularly on US media outlets such as The New York Times, CNN, and press agencies like the AP and DPA. Attention paid to 3D scanners in these countries was low with shallow public debate and repetitive information (Belakova 2013a,b; De Gramatica 2013; Gawrecká et al. 2014; Hronešová, Guasti, Caulfield 2014; Nitzche 2013; Pereira-Puga 2013; Sojka 2012,3; Vamberová 2013).

**Table 6. Comparison of topics according to salience 2010-2013**

	Body scanner	Security related rules and regulations	Privacy	Increased number of body scanners	Health Issues
<b>high salience</b>	USA	USA	Spain	USA	USA
	UK	UK	UK	Spain	UK
		Spain		Slovakia	Czech Republic
					Germany
<b>medium salience</b>	Italy	Slovakia	USA	Poland	Italy
	Slovakia		Slovakia	Great Britain	Slovakia
	Germany		Germany		
	Czech Republic				
<b>low salience</b>	Spain	Czech Republic	Czech Republic	Czech Republic	Spain

	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
	Poland	Poland	Poland	Italy	Poland
		Italy		Germany	
		Germany			

Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

#### 5.4 Comparative assessment of CCTV cameras, Stuxnet and 3D body scanners:

The three topics that we included in the analysis didn't attract the same level of attention among the studied countries. The United States was a leading country in the case of 3D body scanners and Stuxnet, setting the pattern of discourse for the rest of the countries we analyzed. On the other hand, in the third analyzed topic, it played only a marginal role. CCTV cameras were the center of much controversy in Poland and Germany. Poland is one of the strongest proponents of CCTV cameras, while German articles revealed a mainly negatively attitude towards these devices (Belakova 2013a,b; De Gramatica 2013; Gawrecká et al. 2014; Hronešová, Guasti, Caulfield 2014; Nitzche 2013; Pereira-Puga 2013; Sojka 20123; Vamberová 2013).

**Table 7. Comparison of salience of security-related issues in ten countries**

Salience / Issue	3D Body scanners	Stuxnet	CCTV cameras
Low salience	Turkey	Italy	US
	Poland	Poland	Italy
	Mexico	Slovakia	Poland
			UK
Medium Salience	Czech Republic	Czech Republic	
	Slovakia	Spain	Mexico
	Spain	Turkey	Spain
	Italy		
High Salience	US	US	Turkey
	UK	Germany	Slovakia
	Germany	Mexico	Czech Republic
		UK	Germany

Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

## 6. Conclusions:

The aim of this paper was to describe the media coverage of three selected security issues CCTV cameras, the Stuxnet virus, and 3D body scanners in two Czech most influential left- and right-leaning papers and put the results of Czech analysis to the broader context. This paper identified the main actors (who were either proponents or opponents of security or privacy), topics, justifications and argumentation strategies connected with how these three security issues were covered. Another aim of this analysis was to contribute to the debate about the perception of security threats and public surveillance in the political, socio-economic and civic-liberties contexts of surveillance.

The study focuses on the relatively long period of three years so that it can also follow the changing interest of the media in and opinions of journalists on these topics over time. I analysed articles from 1 January 2010 to 30 April 2013. The paper also examined the left-right orientation of the press. The Czech media are not openly affiliated with political parties (there is one far-left exception). Left-right political affiliations are in fact present in the Czech media scene, but it is necessary to read between the lines.

The main research findings of this paper indicate that CCTV cameras were the most relevant issue in both papers comparing to Stuxnet and 3D body scanners. The right-leaning MF DNES was particularly interested in this issue. Nevertheless, the quality of the articles dealing with CCTV cameras was lower than that of the articles on Stuxnet and body scanners. The articles were shorter, relatively informative, but for the most part did not contain expert opinions or a deeper analysis of the issue. In contrast, Stuxnet was the least interesting issue for the coded newspapers.

Although both papers considered Stuxnet virus to be a threat they paid it the least attention from our selected security topics. Nevertheless, the quality of articles was very good, what was the same as in the case of 3D body scanners. Most of the articles were long, detailed, and descriptive. They provided a deep analysis of the topic and expert opinion. In the articles about Stuxnet and 3D body scanners, the journalists used international sources of information, for example, press agencies and foreign media.

The reason for this could be that these issues were more complex and technically detailed than CCTV cameras. The reason why Czech dailies paid the most attention to CCTV cameras could be that this is the only topic of direct relevance to the Czech Republic; cameras have already been installed in many Czech cities. The other two topics may seem slightly remote for Czech newspaper readers. On the other hand, the cyber-espionage scandal exposed by Edward Snowden shows that one can never be entirely sure about cyber-security.

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

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

The findings from this research raise some fundamental questions about general security issues. Do we really have to give up or substantially reduce our fundamental rights and freedoms as a trade-off for greater security? Even the advanced digital-technology monitoring system cannot completely protect us from every threat. In fact, terrorists often know about these security procedures and that is why they act unpredictably, like the 9/11 attackers or the Boston marathon bombers in April 2013 (Urban 2013). If we accepted all security restrictions and measures without thinking, we could move beyond the point of no return where our fundamental rights and freedom would be lost (Koubský 2013). I therefore agree with Jennifer Granick that, 'giving up privacy does not necessarily result in greater security, and greater security does not necessarily require a loss of privacy' (Granick 2006). Technologies that are able to gather information about us should be subject to strict public oversight because there is a danger of their being misused by the authorities, the political and economic elites and secret intelligence services.

We should resist the temptation to trade off our privacy, dignity and freedom for vague promises of security and instead try to find a compromise between these two areas. Digital monitoring technologies are not our salvation, nor are they a curse; they are useful tools for preventing, detecting and solving crime if we are able to use them in such a way that they respect our laws and civil liberties. This paper opened with the old philosophical question 'who watches the watchmen?' The answer to this puzzle may be that we – as citizens – have to guard our guards, because no one else will do it for us.

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## Appendix:

**Table 1. Overview of all selected articles for analysis**

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

U.S. airports							
Body scanners will disappear from U.S. airports in spring	Tělesné skenery z amerických letišť zmizí na jaře	Právo	2013	19. 1.	ČTK	scanners	–
Strip scanners will disappear from the U.S. airports	Skenery, které svlékají cestující do naha, z amerických letišť zmizí	MF Dnes	2013	19.1.	ČTK, srk	scanners	–
The world's most advanced virus is spreading through the printer and attacked on Iran	Nejvyspělejší vir světa se šíří i přes tiskárny a 'zaútočil' na Írán	MF Dnes	2010	24.9.	vse	stuxnet	–
Iran was attacked by computer virus which looked like government files	Na Írán zaútočil počítačový vir, tvářil se jako vládní soubory	MF Dnes	2011	26.4.	stf	stuxnet	–
New big cyber attack aiming for Iran and Israel. Virus Flame ragged for five years	Nový velký cyber útok cílil na Írán a Izrael. Virus Flame řádil pět let	MF Dnes	2012	28. 5.	Jan Kužník	stuxnet	–
New computer virus can destroy a nuclear power plant, the main target is Iran	Nový počítačový virus může zničit i jadernou elektrárnu, hlavním terčem je Írán	Právo	2010	24. 9.	pst	stuxnet	–
The Iranian nuclear program continues despite a computer virus	Íránský jaderný program pokračuje navzdory počítačovému viru	Právo	2011	16. 2.	rei	stuxnet	–
Mysterious Flame virus attacked computers in the Middle East	Záhadný virus Flame napadl počítače na Blízkém východě	Právo	2012	30. 5.	mcm	stuxnet	18
Iranian centrifuges were damaged by computer virus from USA	Íránské centrifugy ničil virus z USA a	Právo	2011	16. 1.	vpl, DPA	stuxnet	–
Obama ordered to deploy computer virus Stuxnet	Počítačový virus Stuxnet nechal proti Íránu nasadit Obama	Právo	2012	2.6.	roš	stuxnet	10
Computer virus 'Red October' attacked European strategic institutions	Do sítí strategických institucí v Evropě pronikl Rudý říjen	Právo	2013	14. 1.	rei	stuxnet	–
The camera system will be spread in public transport	Kamerový systém v MHD se má rozšířit	Právo	2010	26.11.	Petr Janiš, Hynek Paštěka	CCTV	10
The camera system should prevent robbery in Vysocany	Kamerový systém má zamezit krádežím ve Vysočanech	MF Dnes	2010	8. 10.	ap	CCTV	53

Vožice is troubled by theft. The town wants to have CCTV cameras	Vožici trápí krádeže. Chce kamery	MF Dnes	2010	18. 3.	Jiří Bydžovský	CCTV	3
Česká Třebová is like in reality show. Every movement is monitoring and recording by CCTV camera	Česká Třebová je jak v reality show: Každý pohyb sleduje a nahrává kamera	MF Dnes	2010	26.8.	Martin Filip	CCTV	3
Cameras help to guard the schools	Kamery pomáhají hlídat školy	MF Dnes	2010	23.1.	Stanislav Kamenský	CCTV	3
Six thousand 'Big Brothers' guard the Czech Republic	Nad Českem bdí šest tisíc 'Velkých bratrů'	Právo	2011	6. 8.	Jan Rovenský	CCTV	1
Are they watching you? You have the right to know why	Sledují vás? Máte právo vědět proč	MF Dnes	2011	23. 9.	Jaroslava Šašková	CCTV	2
Under supervision in underground. System can recognize faces	Pod dohledem v metru. Systém pozná obličeje	MF Dnes	2011	26.4.	Kateřina Kolářová	CCTV	1
In Cheb, they know how to deal with the vandals. CCTV cameras are the solution	V Chebu vědí, jak na vandaly. Platí na ně kamery	MF Dnes	2011	24. 5.	Michal Houdek	CCTV	4
Thieves beware. Big Brother monitors you continuously in the streets	Zloději pozor. V ulicích vás nepřetržitě sleduje Velký bratr	MF Dnes	2011	13. 12.	Martin Otipka	CCTV	3
Camera systems serve well to the cities and they growing	Kamerové systémy měst slouží. A rostou	Právo	2011	14. 10.	Jana Pechová	CCTV	10
Today, roughly 1,800 cameras are heading at Prague residents	Na Pražany dnes míří zhruba 1800 kamer	Právo	2012	30. 1.	Stáňa Sedřová	CCTV	16
CCTV cameras will expel the thieves from Liberec public transport buses	Zloděje z libereckých autobusů vypudí kamery	MF Dnes	2012	12. 3.	Adam Pluhař	CCTV	1
Metro is full of cameras, but it will not prevent from attacks of criminals	Metro je plné kamer, útokům násilníků ale nezabrání	MF Dnes	2012	14. 3.	Adéla Paclíková	CCTV	1
Nový Bydžov will install twenty CCTV cameras in the center	Nový Bydžov instaluje dvacet kamer v centru	Právo	2012	24. 8.	Ludmila Žlábková	CCTV	8
Strictly guarded area. 12 CCTV cameras will guard the village	Přísně střežená zóna? Vesnici ohlídá 12 kamer	MF Dnes	2012	7. 5.	Miloslav Lubas	CCTV	2

Cameras are installed in yellow buses. Passengers are afraid of monitoring	Do žlutých autobusů montují kamery. A lidé se bojí sledování	MF Dnes	2012	10. 5.	Lukáš Valášek	CCTV	3
Passengers attacked the driver. Therefore CCTV camera will monitor the bus from ghetto	Cestující tu napadali řidiče. Proto autobus z ghetta ohlídají kamery	MF Dnes	2013	1. 2.	Miloslav Lubas	CCTV	1
Cameras saves the city money and discourage the vandals	Kamery šetří městu peníze a brzdí vandaly	Právo	2013	4.2.	Milan Vojtek	CCTV	16
Cameras removed crime from the centre of Břeclav	Kamery čistí centrum Břeclavi od zločinu	Právo	2013	12.3.	miv	CCTV	10

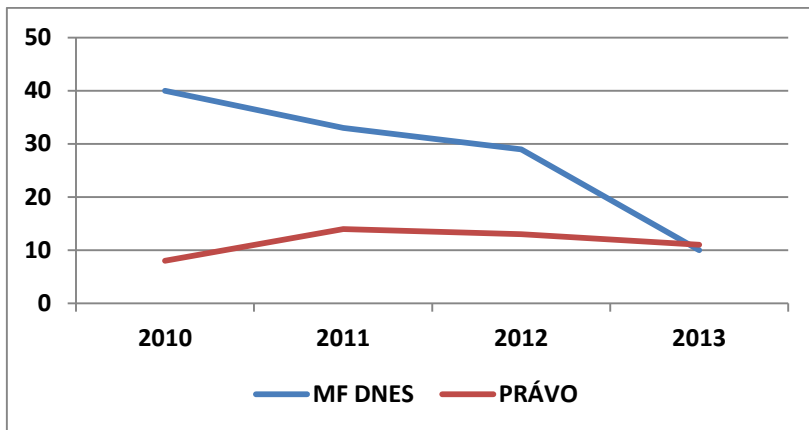
Source: created by author

**Table 1: Overview of selected media in 10 countries**

Country	Media
Czech Republic	Mladá fronta Dnes, Právo
Germany	Süddeutsche Zeitung, Franfurter Allgemeine
Great Britain	The Telegraph and The Guardian
Italy	De la Repubblica, Il Giornale
Mexiko	La Jordana, La Reforma
Poland	Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita
Slovakia	SME, Pravda
Spain	El Pais, La Vanguardia
Turkey	TIME (ZAMAN), SPOKESMAN (SOZCU)
USA	The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal

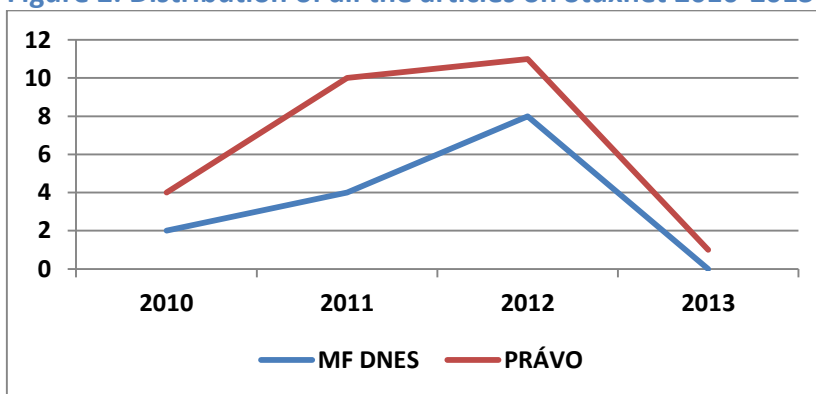
Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

**Figure 1. Distribution of all the articles on CCTV 2010-2013**



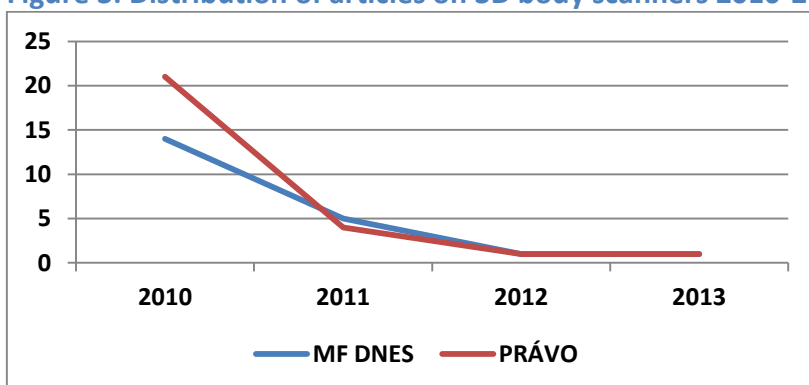
Source: created by the author.

**Figure 2: Distribution of all the articles on Stuxnet 2010-2013**



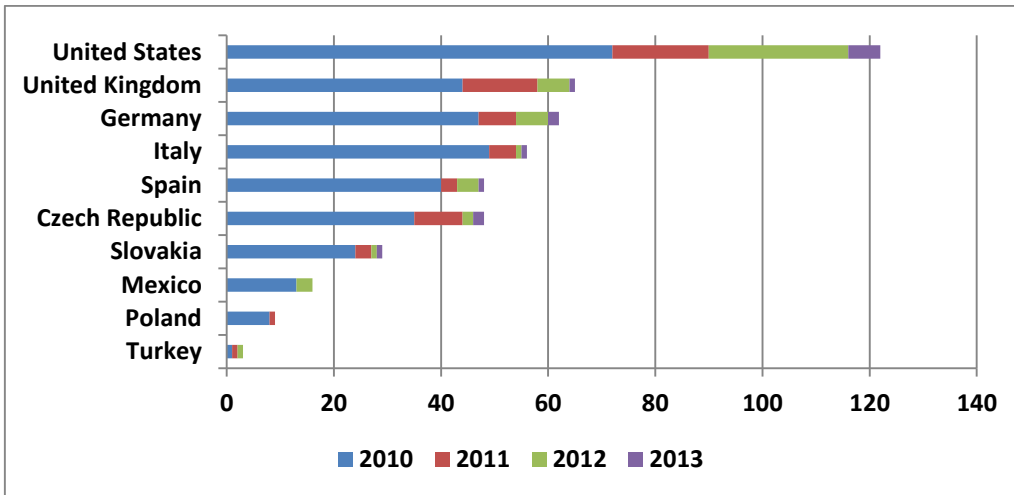
Source: created by the author.

**Figure 3: Distribution of articles on 3D body scanners 2010-2013**



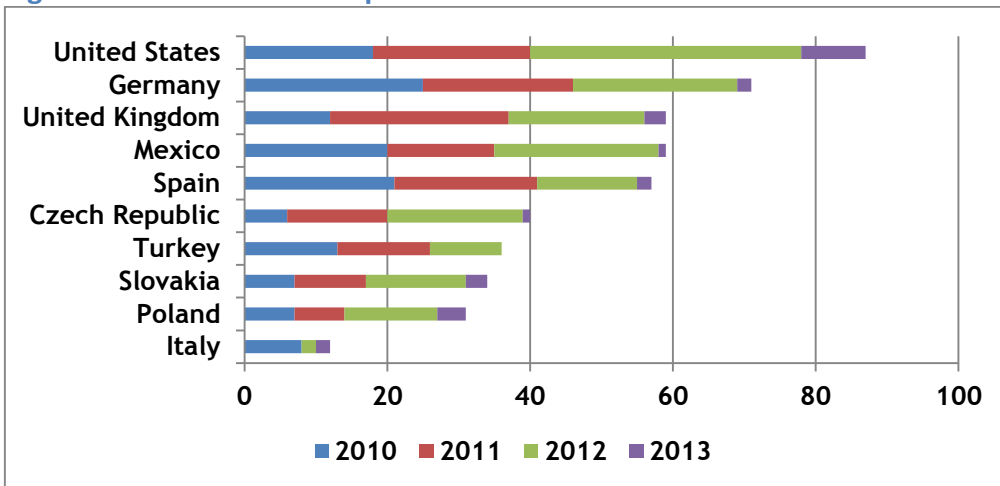
Source: created by the author.

**Figure 4. International comparison of total number of articles on 3D body scanners 2010-2013**



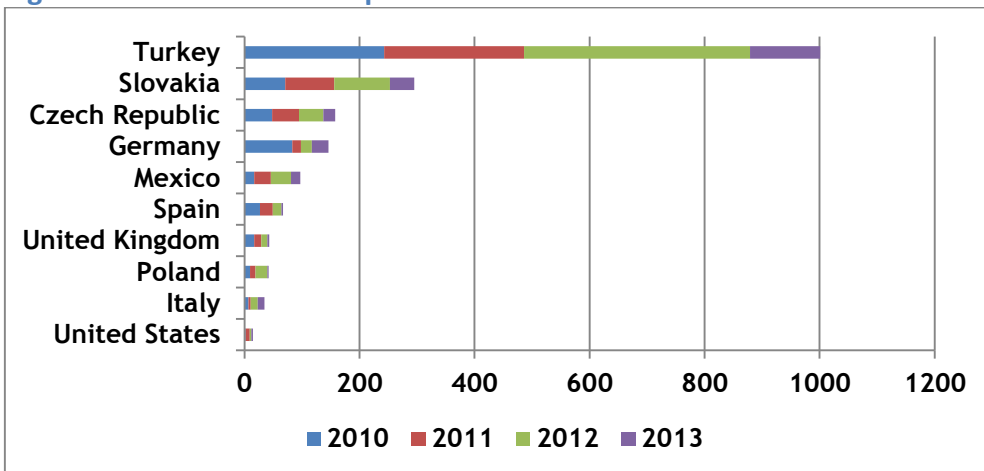
Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

Figure 5. International comparison of total number of articles on Stuxnet 2010-2013



Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR

Figure 6. International comparison of total number of articles on CCTV cameras 2010-2013



Source: SECONOMICS ISASCR