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Surveillance Cameras Everywhere You Look? The
portrayal of the Security vs. Privacy Dilemma in
the Slovak Press, 2010 - 2013

Contribution to the SECONOMICS project and
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In this discussion paper series, the Prague *SECONOMICS* team intends to allow the broader academic community taking part in an on-going discussion about risks and threats as well as trade-offs between them and security. This research focus stems from the fact that until now, social scientists have primarily studied threats and risks through the perspective of social psychology by conducting the so-called “risk assessment” analyses, especially looking at the concept of “risk perception”. This research thus aims to probe these concepts in order to broaden our understanding of the multivariate study of risks and threats in social sciences by adding some context-dependent and temporal aspects.

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1. Introduction

Contemporary Western civilisation is in many ways experiencing unprecedented existential security as compared to the past (Beck 2002; Beck 1992; Giddens 1999; Inglehart 1997). Nonetheless, security risks and safety threats are among the key issues that concern modern advanced societies. Ulrich Beck (1992) refers to this paradoxical new phenomenon as the 'Risk Society'. While danger and insecurity have always been a part of human existence, post-modern societies are exposed to new types of risks arising from phenomena like global warming, terrorist attacks, nuclear accidents, genetically modified food and financial crises (Beck 1992; 2002). The threats of the past were typically the result of natural causes, such as earthquakes. In contrast, the new risks are predominantly caused by human activity (Beck 1992; Giddens 1999). The new threats also potentially have much more acute consequences because they lack spatial, temporal and social boundaries, or easily identifiable culprits; they are not confined within nation-states; and they generally last longer (Beck 2002). Beck argues that the new security and safety challenges have led to a transformation of the whole social order. The main societal conflict has shifted from the (re)distribution of 'goods', like income and property, to the distribution of the 'bads' stemming from new threats, such as nuclear fallout (Beck 1992). Empirical social science research into how individuals perceive risk is therefore currently more salient than ever. Questions such as how citizens perceive risks, which types of risks are of more concern to them, why some risks are perceived as more acute than others, and how they influence human behaviour need to be investigated.

Several studies have suggested (e.g. Mazur 2006) that, leaving aside contextual factors like cultural differences in risk perception and attitudes towards the freedom vs. security trade-off, the varying degree of mediatisation of risk-related issues is the crucial factor that accounts for the differing risk perceptions of citizens in different countries. Blumler and Gurevitch's (1995) model of political communication conceptualises political communication as a dynamic interaction between actors participating in the production, reproduction and interpretation of news; namely, the audience, political actors and the media. To make intelligent electoral choices and be able to react to issues that require active consideration, citizens must be well informed (Meiklejohn 1965). Similarly, governments have to be aware of the public's preferences in order to translate them into laws. The opportunities for direct communication between citizens and their representatives are rather limited with regard to the scale of the audience reached and the scope of the issues covered. As they are the main source of information in modern societies, Voltmer argues that the news media serve as 'the main link' between governments and the public (Voltmer 2006, 8). Yet, the media are not just channels communicating the messages elites want them to convey to citizens. Instead, they actively participate in the creation of political messages (Cook 1998). Although they are not the immediate source of these messages, the media decide what and how they communicate to the public. By setting and framing the agenda (see Dearing and Rogers 1996), they can significantly impact the discussion in the public sphere (Habermas 1992), including various risk perceptions. Hence, if we want to better understand citizens' (changing) perceptions of security risks in different countries, we need to investigate national news coverage over time.

This report is the outcome of a cross-national comparative study of such security risks. It is part of the SECONOMICS 'Socio-Economics meets Security' project, which investigates the dilemma between security and the possible restriction of personal freedoms examined from the perspective of citizens and their acceptance of adopted measures.¹ The report investigates the coverage of three security-related issues in the Slovak news media between 2010 and 2013. This report is the direct outcome of a SECONOMICS Graduate School that took place in Prague between 13 and 18 May 2013. The Graduate School's objective was to collect qualitative data and study the role of the media and social media in influencing citizen's risk perception and attitudes in ten countries. Employing qualitative textual

¹ Official website of the project: <http://www.seconomicsproject.eu/>.

analysis, the national reports examine the newspaper coverage of three security issues connected to the case studies conducted in the previous year of the project - 3D body scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV cameras. After briefly introducing the Slovak media landscape and outlining the methodology, the report puts the Slovak case study into the context of the various security threats the country has faced in recent years. The report presents the findings of a qualitative data analysis of Slovak newspapers and concludes with a discussion of their implications for our understanding of the role the media play in influencing citizens' security perceptions.

2. The Slovak media landscape

The environment in which the media operate influences the messages they convey to the public. Before discussing the research questions, design and methodology of this study, we must first outline the main characteristics of political communication in Slovakia and the developments it has undergone since 1989. Slovakia and its media environment have gone through a complex and often turbulent transformation. In 2010, Slovakia was considered a consolidated electoral democracy² with a media environment characterised as ‘lively, vivid and free’ (Ondrášik 2010a, 116), possessing ‘most of the necessary features of an established democratic media landscape, as defined by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996)’ (Školkay et al. 2010, 8). Freedom of expression and the right to information are anchored in the Slovak Constitution. The press and the electronic media are regulated by the Press Act³ and the Broadcasting and Retransmission Act⁴ respectively. Apart from Radio and Television of Slovakia, the public service broadcaster, and TASR, the public service news agency, all media are financed by private owners independent from the government. Slovakia has a relatively small media market limited by the size of the advertising market.⁵ The television landscape comprises two channels of public service broadcasting, two commercial television stations and their subsidiaries, a news channel, and several regional and local (municipal) stations. There are around thirty commercial radio stations and nine public radio channels. With over 1,100 titles, the print media market is the most developed media sector in Slovakia. Slovakia also has two news agencies (see Školkay et al. 2010).

Television is the most popular medium in Slovakia, followed by radio, print media and the Internet. Television is also the main source of information for most Slovaks. According to a survey conducted by the Institute for Public Affairs,⁶ as of the end of 2008, two-thirds of the population used television news programmes as their principal source of information, and 12% indicated the Internet as their main source of information over print media (11%) and radio (9%). Although still somewhat limited to the younger, more educated generations (18-39 year-olds), the Internet has become an increasingly important source of information and entertainment for Slovak media consumers throughout the studied period.⁷ This is evident from the rise in the popularity of the leading news portals.⁸ Slovak media consumers also tend to trust the media more than most EU citizens do, with radio traditionally considered the most trustworthy, followed by television, the press and the Internet.⁹

² In the years 2010 and 2013, Slovakia scored between 2.46 and 2.68 in Freedom House’s Nations in Transit democracy rating. The ratings are based on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 representing the highest level of democratic progress and 7 the lowest. See Freedom House. ‘Nations in Transit: Slovakia.’ Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2012/slovakia>.

³ Act No. 167/2008 Coll.

⁴ Act No. 308/2000 Coll.

⁵ The number and composition of the country’s inhabitants are the primary factors influencing Slovakia’s media market size. In the studied period, Slovakia’s population was 5.4 million with one fifth belonging to minorities, which typically do not read or buy Slovak-language papers.

⁶ See Footnote 3 in Freedom House. 2009. ‘Nations in Transit: Slovakia.’ Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2009/slovakia>.

⁷ In November 2012, 65% of Slovak citizens used television as the main source of information about the European Union, followed by 15% who used the Internet, 8% listened to radio and only 7% gained their information primarily from the press. See ‘Štandardný Eurobarometer 78: Národná správa Slovenská Republika.’ [Standard Eurobarometer 78: National Report Slovak Republic] 2012. Web. Accessed 23 July 2012. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb78/eb78_sk_sk_nat.pdf.

⁸ These constitute half of the top ten most visited Internet portals in Slovakia. See Freedom House. 2012. ‘Nations in Transit: Slovakia.’ Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2012/slovakia>.

⁹ In November 2012, 71% of Slovaks trusted the radio, 66% trusted television, 57% trusted the press and 56% trusted the Internet. See ‘Štandardný Eurobarometer 78: Národná správa Slovenská Republika.’ [Standard Eurobarometer 78: National Report Slovak Republic] 2012. Web. Accessed 23 July 2012. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb78/eb78_sk_sk_nat.pdf.

Since 1999, the Slovak media have continuously been ranked as ‘free’ by Freedom House’s Freedom of the Press Index and deemed independent of direct political interference. The Slovak media, and the press in particular, have long been characterised by a distinct anti-left bias, in the sense of a prevalent political preference for centre-right, neo-liberal ideas rather than any clear-cut party-political ties in the media or among individual journalists. Štětka (2012, 16) thus argues that we can ‘talk about the existence of political parallelism only in the broadest sense of this concept, i.e. not in relation to party-press parallelism, but referring to the general political profile of particular media outlets (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 27-28)’. The quality of Slovak journalism has undoubtedly improved over the past two decades. Yet, partly as a result of the above bias, the Slovak press has at times been accused of being excessively critical and negative towards the political representation of the day,¹⁰ suppressing alternative voices¹¹ and failing to address key social issues (Šimečka 2009). Šípoš argues that at the expense of analytical and investigative journalism, the Slovak media are inclined towards sensationalism, exaggeration, populism and even scaremongering on emotional topics like criminality, child safety, health, and food quality.¹² Journalists have also been criticised for providing superficial, irrelevant and misleading information and without the relevant context that would convey to citizens the true nature of different phenomena.¹³

The pluralism of voices and editorial content in the Slovak media has been shaped by various political and market pressures and by particular features of the Slovak journalistic community. The relationship between the media and political elites has changed over time. Direct attempts to muzzle ‘hostile’ media were most prevalent during the ‘media wars’ in 1993-1998. These ranged from the withdrawal of printing facilities (Brečka 2002, 71-76), the physical harassment of journalists (Leško 2007), switching off transmitters, and legislative proposals to prosecute journalists for ‘spreading false information abroad’.¹⁴ Conflict between the government and the media returned between 2006 and 2010. Since the second half of 2010, the relationship between the media and the political elite has become less hostile.

Despite recurring mutual antagonism, politicians’ attempts to influence media content have become much subtler. The past decade has not seen any direct attempts to undermine the independence of the Slovak media. The Press Act introduced in 2008 during the first executive term of Prime Minister Robert Fico has been the most controversial measure. The envisioned ‘reply’ and ‘correction’ provisions awarded claimants the right to respond to factual statements in the press irrespective of whether the original statements were factually correct. The rights were awarded to private individuals as well as to politicians, who could seek financial compensation if a newspaper failed to publish their replies. In the environment of mutual hostility between the governing coalition of the time and the press, critics feared that newspapers would be flooded with politicians’ replies and that the Act would constrain editorial freedom and lead to self-censorship. Research into the Act’s

¹⁰ Šípoš, Gabriel. 2007. ‘Slovenské médiá 2006 – etika sa zlepšila, profesionalita stagnuje.’ [Slovak Media 2006 – Ethics Has Improved, Professionalism Stagnates] Slovak Press Watch Blog, 5 February 2007. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/80526/Slovenske-media-2006-etika-sa-zlepsila-profesionalita-stagnuje.html>.

¹¹ Hanus, Martin and Vagovič, Marek. 2013. ‘Nepriateľom médií už nie je Fico. Rozhovor s Pavlom Múdrym.’ [Fico Is No Longer the Enemy of the Media. Interview with Pavol Múdry] *Týždeň*, 19 May 2013. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://www.tyzden.sk/casopis/2013/21/nepriatelom-medii-uz-nie-je-fico-2.html>.

¹² Šípoš, Gabriel. 2007. ‘Slovenské médiá 2006 – etika sa zlepšila, profesionalita stagnuje.’ [Slovak Media 2006 – Ethics Has Improved, Professionalism Stagnates] Slovak Press Watch Blog, 5 February 2007. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/80526/Slovenske-media-2006-etika-sa-zlepsila-profesionalita-stagnuje.html>

¹³ Šípoš, Gabriel. 2008. ‘Slovenské médiá 2008 – pod tlakom vlády i vlastných biznis záujmov.’ [Slovak Media 2008 – Under Pressure from Government and Private Business Interests] *Slovak Press Watch Blog*, 22 December 2008. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/175975/Slovenske-%20media-2008-pod-tlakom-vlady-i-vlastnych-biznis-%20zaujmov.html#ixzz2aWNmsJvY>.

¹⁴ See ‘Enemies of the Press: The 10 Worst Offenders of 1996.’ 1996. *Committee to Protect Journalists*. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://cpj.org/reports/1996/05/enemies96.php>.

adoption and use suggests that political elites' latent objectives were to get free, unlimited publicity or even to stifle investigative journalism. Yet, since publishers were able to reject the majority of reply and correction requests, the Act did not prove a significant consideration in editorial decisions (Belakova forthcoming). The controversial provisions of the Act were amended in 2011 by the government of Iveta Radičová, whereby the Act ceased to be an issue for journalists.

In the past decade, the media have been most vulnerable to two kinds of political pressure: politically motivated libel lawsuits and the allocation of state advertising. The trend to file libel lawsuits against critical media intensified in 2008. Leading politicians, including Prime Minister Fico and the President of the Supreme Court, were awarded damages ranging from 8,000 to 49,500 Euro (Bureau of Democracy 2009). Since by 2010 virtually every national daily had been involved in some libel case, media professionals felt that the threat of libel was shaping what was published and how much more than the Press Act. The editor-in-chief of the daily *SME* believed that libel lawsuits had become 'a means of enrichment for politicians and other public figures'. He was concerned that if journalists began to think that their articles might result in high damages costs there was 'a high probability that at a point in time they would start self-censoring and making concessions just to avoid similar trouble' (Interview by Belakova forthcoming). The rate of libel lawsuits filed by politicians declined in 2011, with Robert Fico retracting or settling several of his lawsuits against the media. Since 2012, the primary claimants have been judges, prosecutors and lawyers (Vagovič 2012). Government pressure on the media in the form of allocating state advertising has become more prevalent since Slovakia's accession to the EU. In 2004, the country started to receive money from the EU Structural Funds. As Štětka explains, 'these funds are channelled through state ministries and are frequently used for advertising purposes, they give the government the opportunity to haggle with the media for political support' (Štětka 2012, 6).

Despite the various political pressures, the relative size and conditions of the media market are arguably the key factors that shape the quality and independence of journalism. As rightly noted by Školkay et al., 'small media markets employ fewer journalists, and opportunities for high-level professional education and self-development are also limited' (Školkay et al. 2010, 6). The editorial content and quality of journalism in any media outlet suffers if the owner considers the outlet 'a means of pursuing their particular interests as opposed to an investment that makes profit mainly due to the trustworthiness and independence of its editorial content'.¹⁵ Historically, foreign-owned Slovak media have been better 'shielded from direct economic and political pressures of their owners and more supportive of the editorial freedom of their staff' (Štětka 2012, 18-19). Since 2010, for instance, commentators have been drawing attention to the disconcerting influence of local investment group J&T on the Slovak media and political scene as observed in its documented interference in the editorial independence of a TV station and the rather opaque character of its investment in the media sector (e.g. Štětka 2012, 16). Major foreign owners entered the market in the second half of the 1990s. To attract the largest number of consumers and advertisers, foreign-owned media have shifted from potentially polarising political content to lighter infotainment genres.¹⁶ Instead of substantive description, the news has become focused on sensationalism, personalities and scandals (Školkay et al. 2010, 15). The on-going processes of tabloidisation and commercialisation have significantly reduced the diversity and pluralism of opinions in media coverage. As part of cost-cutting measures, outlets have

¹⁵ Šipoš, Gabriel. 2007. 'Slovenské médiá 2007 – plusom nové technológie, mínusom politizácia.' [Slovak Media 2007 – New Technologies a Plus, Politicisation a Minus] *Slovak Press Watch Blog*, 19 December 2007. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/125353/Slovenske-media-2007-plusom-nove-technologie-minusom-politizacia.html#ixzz2aWYfQaHt>.

¹⁶ Infotainment has been defined as 'the presentation of factual information in an entertaining manner, normally in broadcast media and especially on television (docudrama can be seen as an example). Sometimes regarded as a hybrid genre. Often used pejoratively in the rhetoric of dumbing down, especially where coverage of political issues takes the form of more popular formats.' See Chandler and Munday (2011).

decreased the numbers of writers on permanent contracts. They prefer to employ freelancers and younger, inexperienced journalists with lower salary expectations and professional standards. Inevitably, such measures negatively affect the quality of journalistic output. The working conditions of Slovak journalists have further deteriorated since 2009 when the effects of the global economic crisis started to be felt.¹⁷ The media sector also struggles with an outflow of labour due to low wages. The most talented journalists leave to work for PR and marketing agencies or become spokespersons for government organisations or private companies (Štětka 2012, 16-17).

The quality of journalism has also been plagued by the intricacies of the profession's development in the past twenty years. Firstly, there have never been any formal requirements for becoming a journalist in Slovakia (Školkay et al. 2010, 15). Journalism studies are criticised by the industry as being too conservative and increasingly 'detached from the "real world"' (Štětka 2012, 16). According to the former Chair of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, in 2006, just under three-quarters of journalists had a university degree; and around 60% of them were under the age of 30 (Krútka 2006, 236). This lack of expertise has resulted in mistakes, an uncritical over-reliance on official or expert statements, and superficial coverage. Young journalists have also missed out on the opportunity to have older, more experienced role models among their colleagues, as the generation of journalists between the ages of 50 and 65 disappeared almost entirely from the Slovak media after 1989.¹⁸ In the words of Školkay et al. (2010, 14), 'professionalisation was outrun by commercialisation', rendering it much easier for various PR agencies, vested interests and lobby groups to influence media output. Indeed, journalists themselves had quoted poor expertise levels and lagging professional and ethical standards as the main factors influencing their work. According to a 2008 survey among media professionals, the main problems facing Slovak journalism were identified as misrepresentation, a failure to verify facts, close relationships with the subjects of their reports, privacy infringements, the acceptance of gifts and plagiarism (Slovak Press Watch et al., 2008).

¹⁷ Freedom House. 2012. 'Nations in Transit: Slovakia.' Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2012/slovakia>.

¹⁸ Hanus, Martin and Vagovič, Marek. 2013. 'Nepriateľom médií už nie je Fico. Rozhovor s Pavlom Múdrym.' [Fico Is No Longer the Enemy of the Media. Interview with Pavol Múdry] *Týždeň*, 19 May 2013. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://www.tyzden.sk/casopis/2013/21/nepriatelom-medii-uz-nie-je-fico-2.html>.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

The main method employed in this report is a qualitative textual analysis of selected articles about three security issues, with a focus on the dilemma between freedom and privacy, on the one hand, and security, on the other. For comparative purposes, the analysis was limited to articles published between 1 January 2010 and 31 April 2013. The selected period covered a long enough time span in which to examine press coverage of the three issues from the point at which they became salient in the media until the time of the analysis in May 2013.

We selected 3D body scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV cameras as our cases so that we could internally validate each of the case studies conducted in the previous year of the project. The topic of 3D body scanners is directly connected to the airport case study. The media coverage analysis focused on the acceptance of security measures by passengers based on the trade-off between security and privacy and/or comfort. We identified the Stuxnet issue as a topic that relates to critical infrastructure and that has attracted media coverage. The comparative qualitative media analysis centres on the trade-offs between securing the service provision, environmental threats and privacy as well as attitudes towards regulatory structures and different levels/types of security. The use of CCTV cameras was identified as an issue related to the public transport case study that has attracted considerable media coverage in most countries. To address the tension between security and privacy concerns, the analysis concentrates on citizens' acceptance of the use of CCTV cameras.

More generally, the media analysis of all three topics addresses the following questions:

1. How do media frame the implications of security and security technologies within the three ECONOMIC topics?
2. What are the perceived trade-offs between security and privacy? Do questions of security dominate? Who are the proponents and opponents of security vs. freedom (privacy)?
3. Has the media coverage of terrorism made the public more sensitive to the issue of security? And, if so, how are the (security) threats perceived and discussed by the media?
4. Do new technologies offer some answers to security issues, or do they represent new risks?

We employed qualitative research methods to internally validate the results of the case studies conducted in the first year of the project. Qualitative methods of data collection and analysis also helped to overcome the limitations accompanying secondary data used previously, such as the unavailability of data for a selected time point and/or country, or data structured in a different way than that required by the ECONOMIC framework. Acknowledging the limitations of qualitative research, we considered it a way of obtaining an in-depth view of the researched topics. Using qualitative text analysis, we were able to examine in detail the changing coverage of different security risks, as well as the whole spectrum of arguments put forward in favour of security or freedom/privacy.

The analysis was conducted by coding articles using *Atlas.ti*⁷. Since the emphasis of our analysis was on the arguments offered in the press about the security/privacy dilemma in relation to our topics, we took individual statements within articles as our unit of analysis. A sentence, a part of a sentence or several sentences could be classified as a statement, if we were able to identify an actor making an argument about one of our selected topics. We coded each statement in nine different categories] (see Table 1). While not every statement could be assigned a code in every category, codes in categories 1-4 and 9 were mandatory in order for a statement to be included in the analysis.

Table 1: Coding of newspaper articles

Coding categories	Coding subcategories
Actor (1)	
Topic (2)	
Argumentation (3)	a) definitive b) evaluative c) advocative
Direction of argument (4)	a) positive b) negative c) neutral
Justification (5)	
(Actors') Interaction (6)	
Actor's origin (7)	
Political orientation of the media (8)	a) left-leaning b) right-leaning
Country code (9)	

Note: The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of input into *Atlas.ti*.

In the analyses of national articles, we employed three different coding schemes - one per topic. A team of coders in Prague first developed the coding schemes based on pre-tests of ten articles. During the training sessions at the Graduate School, the schemes were further amended, resulting in three master coding schemes. The amendments were based on three participant inter-coder reliability tests and detailed discussions about the goals of the project, identifying coding sequences, distinguishing categories of codes, and deconstructing the language of the media.

3.2. Data gathering

3.2.1. Newspaper selection

The data set analysed in this report is comprised of newspaper articles published in two Slovak newspapers between 1 January 2010 and 31 April 2013. The objective of the study was to explore and understand the full spectrum of opinions offered in the national press on the security/privacy dilemma in relation to our three case studies. For a newspaper to be selected for analysis, it had to fulfil the following criteria:

- be a national, quality newspaper published in the Slovak language
- be a mainstream broadsheet; i.e. cover all news in the whole country,
- be among the top ten newspapers by circulation between 2008 and 2013.

We also attempted to explore whether different newspapers within one country convey different attitudes on the issues. The selected newspapers thus had to be of different ideological orientation; namely, one left-leaning and one right-leaning paper.

Between 2008 and 2013, eight daily newspapers were published in Slovakia (Table 2). The two most popular dailies are the tabloids *Nový čas* (New Time) and *Plus 1 deň* (Plus 1 Day), followed by the quality papers *Pravda* (Truth) and *SME* (We Are). The other Slovak dailies by circulation were the Hungarian-language *Új Szó* (New Word), the regional *Korzář* (Corsair), the financial paper *Hospodárske noviny* (Economic News) and the sports daily *Šport* (Sport).

Table 2: Dailies published in Slovakia 2008 - 2013 by circulation

Name in English	Name in Slovak	left/right leaning	Format/Scope	Circulation rate					
				2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
New Time	<i>Nový čas</i>	right	Tabloid/national	172,027	150,302	143,191	135,609	121,041	109,771
Plus 1 Day	<i>Plus 1 Deň</i>	right	Tabloid/national	64,234	58,277	56,794	54,648	52,190	52,760
The Truth*	<i>Pravda</i>	left leaning**	Quality/national	62,632	51,121	52,079	53,646	51,236	50,801
We Are	<i>SME</i>	Right	Quality/national	59,730	59,378	56,596	53,294	48,893	44,278
New Word	<i>Új Szó</i>	Right	quality/national	24,561	25,448	23,252	22,217	21,288	20,226
Corsair	<i>Korzár</i>	Right	Quality/regional	27,231	23,766	23,041	20,238	17,883	15,713
Economic News	<i>Hospodárske noviny</i>	Right	Financial/national	18,442	18,442	17,319	16,991	15,389	14,411
Sport***	<i>Šport</i>	N/A	Sport/national	-	-	-	-	-	-

* The daily *Pravda* (The Truth) withdrew from the auditing system of ABC SR in September 2012. Circulation figures of the daily from August 2012 were gathered from the daily's website. These figures have not been audited by ABC SR.

** At least since the change of ownership in 2010, *Pravda* is considered to have left-leaning orientation.

*** The daily *Šport* (Sport) is not part of the auditing system of ABC SR. The paper did not respond to our email query about its levels of circulation in 2008-2013. Štětka (2012) estimated the daily's circulation in 2011 at 25,000-40,000.

Sources: <http://abcsr.sk/index.php?menu=vysledky> and <http://www.pravda.sk/info/7035-priemerny-tlaceniy-a-predany-naklad-dennika-pravda/>.

Note: Newspapers marked in yellow were coded.

Data valid as of 26 April 2013.

Of the eight dailies, we selected articles from *Pravda* and *SME*. We also subsumed outputs from the regional daily *Korzár* within the articles from *SME* because it allowed for more representative results, as will be explained in more detail in the following subsection. *SME* and *Pravda* are the only two national mainstream broadsheets. They are also widely considered 'the leaders of watchdog journalism in Slovakia' (Školka et al. 2010, 9). While differing in their ideological orientation, *Pravda* and *SME* also had similar circulation and overall printed press readership figures throughout the analysed period (Tables 2 and 3).

3.2.1.1. *SME* and *Korzár*

SME (We Are) is a centre-right, liberal quality newspaper published by Petit Press and co-owned by Rheinische Post and local entrepreneur Peter Vajda. Since the global economic crisis hit Slovakia in 2009, *SME*'s circulation has steadily been decreasing. Between 2010 and 2013 *SME*'s readership figures remained stable at around 7% of all printed press publications in Slovakia. Observers describe the paper as 'a proud fighter for liberal democracy with fiscally conservative views' (Školka et al. 2010, 10). *SME* was a staunch critic of the semi-authoritarian government of Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar that almost cost Slovakia membership in the European Union and of the nationalist-populist governments of Robert Fico, the leader of the social democratic party SMER-SD. Even if more attuned to their values and reformist neoliberal policies, the daily was also critical of some actions of the

governments of Mikuláš Dzurinda and Iveta Radičová. *SME* has uncovered important political scandals over the past twenty years, earning the title of ‘the key and best medium for Slovakia’ of 2009.¹⁹ In general, the paper offers political news relying on official and expert opinions to the detriment of coverage and analytical reports on the social problems experienced by ordinary citizens and their opinions.²⁰

The quality daily *Korzář* (Corsair), published by the same publishing house as *SME*, covers news from the Eastern part of Slovakia. While *Korzář*’s circulation has been declining since 2008, its readership figures between 2010 and 2013 remained between 3% and 4%. The daily often reprints articles written by *SME* journalists and vice-versa, while *Korzář* also appears in searches on *SME*’s news portal www.sme.sk. When conducting an article search on www.sme.sk it was difficult to discern which *Korzář* articles were published in *SME* and which were not. So as not to exclude relevant articles, particularly on the topic of CCTV, where coverage tended to be more regional in scope, we included all relevant articles that appeared on www.sme.sk, even if they were originally published in *Korzář*. We are thus confident about the representativeness of our sample.

Table 3: *Pravda*, *SME* and *Korzář* readership 2010 - 2013

Newspaper	Readership per year			
	2010	2011	2012	2013
<i>Pravda</i>	7.16%	6.19%	6.17%	6.36%
<i>SME</i>	6.85%	6.9%	6.7%	7.11%
<i>Korzář</i>	3.37%	4.03%	3.7%	3.29%

Source: Compiled by the author from <http://strategie.hnonline.sk/data/media/1>.

3.2.1.2. *Pravda*

Pravda (Truth), published by Perex, is the second mainstream, national quality daily. *Pravda*’s circulation has also been declining since 2008. *Pravda*’s readership figures between 2010 and 2013 were around 6-7%. As the successor to the Communist Party’s mouthpiece, the daily began as a social democratic paper, transforming into a mainstream tabloid-style family newspaper in 2007-2008 (Ondrášik 2010b). Nonetheless, like *SME*, it has uncovered various scandals including, among others, incidents involving civil servants and public tenders granted under questionable circumstances during the first government of Robert Fico.²¹ In March 2010, Perex was sold by Northcliffe International (controlled by the Daily Mail and General Trust) to Florena, a little-known Czech company established just one year earlier. Florena has strong ties to the Slovak financial group J&T, which arranged the whole acquisition, rendering the acquisition rather controversial.²² J&T allegedly has connections to the SMER-SD party of Robert Fico and wields strong influence over the Slovak political scene. Since J&T already owns a national television channel, acquisition of a national newspaper would be illegal. After the ownership change, *Pravda* replaced its entire managerial board with persons who are allegedly closely connected to Fico, leading many journalists to leave

¹⁹ ‘Čo pre krajinu urobili v roku 2009 hlavné slovenské media.’ [What the Main Slovak Media Did for the Country in 2009] *Slovak Press Watch Blog*, 30 December 2009. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013.

<http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/214510/Co-pre-krajinu-urobili-v-roku-2009-hlavne-slovenske-media.html#ixzz2ZUGxiLpe>.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Czwitkovics, Tomáš. 2010. ‘Perex má nové predstavenstvo bez Biermanna. Zatiaľ.’ [Perex Has New Board of Directors without Biermann. For Now] *Medialne.sk*, 6 April 2010. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013.

<http://medialne.etrend.sk/tlac-spravy/perex-ma-nove-predstavenstvo-bez-biermanna-zatial.html>.

the paper.²³ According to some commentators, *Pravda* entirely changed its editorial line, reducing tabloid-like content and becoming a leftist paper again, supportive of SMER-SD.²⁴

3.2.2. Articles selected for analysis

To gather articles for analysis, we searched the online portals of *SME* - www.sme.sk - and *Pravda* - www.pravda.sk for articles on the three selected topics between 1 January 2010 and 31 April 2013. The search words in Slovak for 3D body scanners included: *telový skener*, *celotelový skener*, *3D skener*, *letiskový skener*, *telesný skener* and their inflected forms. For articles about Stuxnet, we searched by declining the word Stuxnet. Articles on the topic of CCTV cameras were searched under the following search terms in Slovak: *bezpečnostná kamera*, *kamerový systém* and their declensions. In order to broaden the overall sample of articles, searches under the above search words were also conducted using the advanced search option of www.google.sk. We searched only articles that appeared on www.sme.sk, www.korzar.sme.sk and www.pravda.sk between 1 January 2010 and 31 April 2013.

Only articles relevant for this study, that is, articles related to the perception of security risks, were included in the overall sample of articles for analysis. The Stuxnet and 3D body scanner searches returned much fewer articles, all of which were deemed relevant. The search for the CCTV topic, on the other hand, returned numerous articles that were not directly connected to the aims of this study, so they had to be excluded. Articles related to the monitoring of deputies in the Slovak Parliament, articles merely referring to the fact that a property had CCTV cameras without further touching on the issue of security risks, as well as showbiz news were not included.

We found a total of 348 articles. Of these, 29 or 8.3% were about 3D body scanners, 34 or 9.8% were about Stuxnet and an overwhelming 81.9% or 285 articles were about CCTV (see Tables 4 and 5). The quality of articles we found varied. While we found a few analytical pieces, offering different arguments and viewpoints on our topics, the majority were short reports taken from the news agencies containing no analysis.

Table 4: The overall sample N - articles in *Pravda* and *SME* per topic and year

Newspaper	Topic	Number of articles per year				Total
		2010	2011	2012	2013	
left-leaning newspaper - <i>Pravda</i>	3D body scanner	9	2	1	0	12
	Stuxnet	3	3	3	1	10
	CCTV	37	44	36	17	134
right-leaning newspaper - <i>SME</i>	3D body scanner	15	1	0	1	17
	Stuxnet	4	7	11	2	24
	CCTV	30	31	60	30	151
Total		98	88	111	51	348

²³ Czvitkovics, Tomáš. 2010. 'Exodus v Pravde: Po príchode nových majiteľov masový odchod novinárov (aktualizácia).' [Exodus in Pravda: After the Entry of New Owners A Mass Exit of Journalists (Actualisation)] *Medialne.sk*, 15 April 2010. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://medialne.etrend.sk/tlac-spravy/exodus-v-pravde-po-prichode-novych-majitelov-masovy-odchod-novinarov.html>.

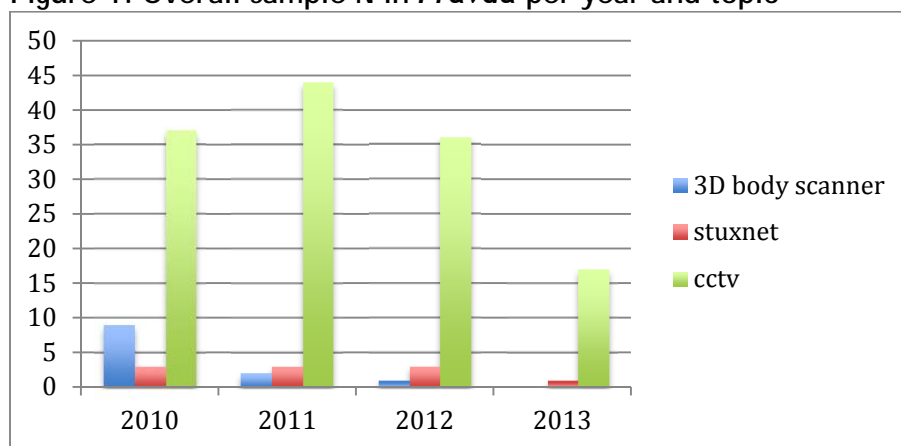
²⁴ Czvitkovics, Tomáš. 2010. 'Ako sa zmenila Pravda.' [How Pravda Has Changed] *Medialne.sk*, 10 September 2010. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://medialne.etrend.sk/tlac-clanky/ako-sa-zmenila-pravda.html>.

Table 5: The overall sample N by topic

Topic	Number of articles	Percentage of N
3D body scanner	29	8.3%
Stuxnet	34	9.8%
CCTV	285	81.9%

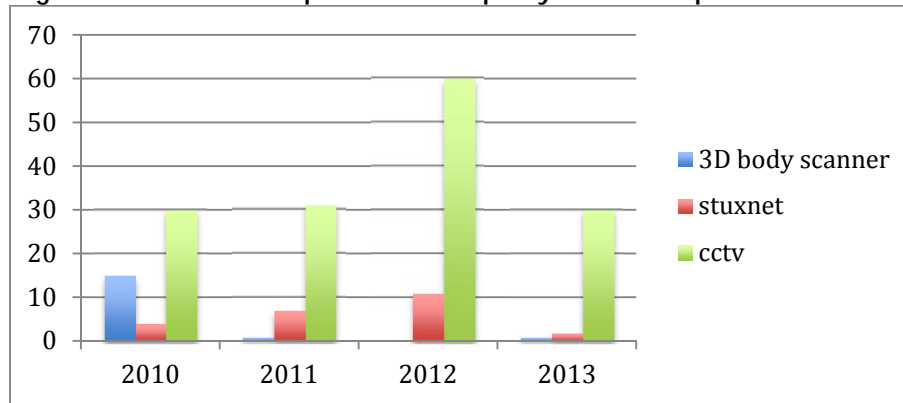
The issue of 3D body scanners was not very extensively covered in the Slovak press. Our search returned only 12 articles in *Pravda* and 17 in *SME*. The majority of articles were published in 2010 (9 in *Pravda* and 15 in *SME*). In the following years, the interest of the Slovak press in the issue waned when *Pravda* published 2 articles on the topic in 2011 and a single one in 2012. Similarly, *SME* published one article about 3D body scanners in 2011 and another one in 2013. The Stuxnet issue attracted slightly more attention in the Slovak press, particularly in *SME*, which, with 24 articles on the subject, published almost two and half times as many pieces than *Pravda* with just ten. The interest in the Stuxnet attacks in *Pravda* was evenly spread out over time. In *SME*, the interest in the issue grew over time, peaking in 2012 when 11 articles were published on the topic in the paper. As mentioned above, almost 82% of all articles we found were on the topic of CCTV cameras, with 134 articles in *Pravda* and 151 articles in *SME*. The stronger interest in CCTVs in *SME* can be explained by the fact that we also included articles originally published in *Korzár*. While no articles on the previous two topics, which belonged to the category of foreign or technological news, appeared in *Korzár*, the use of CCTV cameras was a popular topic in Eastern Slovakia. The levels of interest in the topic varied between the newspapers. *Pravda* published the most articles in 2011, whilst *SME*'s coverage of CCTVs was most intensive in 2012. We can observe an increased interest in the topic again in the first four months of 2013, when *SME* published as many articles on the issue as it had during the whole of 2010 and almost the whole 2011. Similarly, *Pravda* published more articles between January and April of 2013 than in the first six months of 2012. However, we found no apparent correlation between particular events and the trends in the number of articles published over time.

Figure 1: Overall sample N in *Pravda* per year and topic



The search returned only a small number of articles related to CCTV cameras in public transport, and even fewer proposing sound arguments about their use. Two themes dominated the discussions of CCTV cameras in the papers: the introduction or extension of CCTV camera systems in various municipalities and plans of this nature, and CCTV camera recordings, or the lack thereof, of criminals committing crimes. The former was most popular in *SME*, comprising around 40% of all articles. We found sound arguments for the use of CCTV cameras, some of which were quotes from various experts, public officials and citizens. In contrast, the latter group of articles, which comprised almost 40% of the overall sample found in *Pravda*, were merely informational reports with no discussion of the (non)acceptance of CCTV cameras by citizens, so these were thus not included.

Figure 2: Overall sample N in *SME* per year and topic



The search returned only a small number of articles related to CCTV cameras in public transport, and even fewer proposing sound arguments about their use. Two themes dominated the discussions of CCTV cameras in the papers: the introduction or extension of CCTV camera systems in various municipalities and plans of this nature, and CCTV camera recordings, or the lack thereof, of criminals committing crimes. The former was most popular in *SME*, comprising around 40% of all articles. We found sound arguments for the use of CCTV cameras, some of which were quotes from various experts, public officials and citizens. In contrast, the latter group of articles, which comprised almost 40% of the overall sample found in *Pravda*, were merely informational reports with no discussion of the (non)acceptance of CCTV cameras by citizens, so these were thus not included.

From the overall sample N of 348 articles we selected 43 for coding (Table 6). We coded ten articles about 3D body scanners (five per newspaper), ten about Stuxnet (five per newspaper) and 23 about CCTV (eleven from *Pravda* and twelve from *SME*). Appendix 1 includes the list of all coded articles. In our coding data set we attempted to proportionally divide the number of articles by topic and year in which they were published. Given the objectives of our analysis, this was not always possible. If we wanted to retain proportionality in the selection, we could only select four articles about Stuxnet and four articles about 3D body scanners. Coding just four articles would not however allow for a thorough qualitative analysis of the whole spectrum of arguments put forward in the media and could hardly produce an in-depth understanding of how the media frame the security vs. freedom dilemma and influence citizens' perceptions of security risks.

Table 6: Articles selected for analysis per topic and year

Newspaper	Topic	Number of articles per year				Total
		2010	2011	2012	2013	
left-leaning newspaper - <i>Pravda</i>	3D body scanner	3	2	0	0	5
	Stuxnet	1	1	2	0	5
	CCTV	7	1	2	1	11
right-leaning newspaper - <i>SME</i>	3D body scanner	3	1	0	1	5
	Stuxnet	1	1	4	0	5
	CCTV	2	4	3	3	12
Total		17	10	11	5	43

The main selection criterion was relevance to the objectives of our study. We thus only selected articles that discussed the dilemma between security and freedom related to our three topics. In the case of CCTV cameras, priority was given to articles on their use in public transport, before selecting articles about CCTV in general or in other settings, such as schools. The second criterion was to select articles according to the quality, variety and quantity of arguments they offered. Lastly, preference was given to articles written by

journalists working at the newspaper as opposed to reports drawn and printed directly from a news agency.

4. The security situation in Slovakia January 2010–April 2013

According to Mazur (2006), ‘news media in each nation pay most attention to their own problems’. In order to better understand the media coverage of the three topics of interest to our study, it is important to briefly outline the security risks Slovakia faced during the studied period. Between 2010 and 2013 the security situation in Slovakia was considered stable. The official annual Report on the State of Security in Slovakia for the year 2011 concluded that the ‘character of threats and challenges influencing security of the Slovak Republic will probably not fundamentally change’ in the future. The report further observed that while the probability of armed conflict in the Euro-Atlantic space is low, uranium enrichment programmes of some states may ‘prove a security challenge with an increasing risk potential’. The report also predicted that the risk of a terrorist attack on the territory of Slovakia would remain low. Yet, given the increasing extent of cyber-attacks worldwide with political, armed and economic motives, it envisaged possible ‘attacks within or with consequences for’ Slovakia.²⁵

Slovakia faced no serious civil aviation security threat or immediate threat of a terrorist attack perpetrated by an international extremist group during the studied period. Apart from January 2010, when the Slovak police faced an international scandal, there were no serious incidents or security threats involving civil aviation. During a dog-training exercise at Poprad airport, police put explosives into passengers’ luggage when they passed through the airport. In one case the dog failed to recognise the explosive, which was subsequently flown to Dublin without the knowledge of the owner of the luggage, who several days later faced a raid on his flat by the Irish police. Although this incident attracted quite extensive media coverage, it did not trigger any substantial discussions about the need to tighten security measures at Slovak airports.²⁶ The focus of the press was more on the police’s ineptness and the international humiliation it caused, on the political responsibility of the Minister of the Interior and later on the level of monetary compensation the state paid the passenger unwittingly involved.

In 2012, Slovakia had some 350 troops deployed in Afghanistan and was involved in other armed security operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Cyprus and the Syria-Lebanon border. Even before its withdrawal from Iraq in 2008, Slovakia was never identified as a primary target in international terrorist communiqués. Between January 2010 and April 2013 there was a low threat of attacks by international terrorists. Moreover, no notable incidents or activities involving terrorist methods by domestic extremist groups were recorded in Slovakia. According to the 2010 Report on the State of Security, the most prevalent manifestations of right-wing extremism were demonstrations, ‘white power’ concerts, marches, and memorial actions organised by citizen associations.²⁷ This did not change significantly during the period. The first (and so far also the last) incident labelled as a terrorist act occurred in the town of Košice. On 28 December 2011, a ‘lone-wolf’ animal rights activist caused an explosion in front of a fast-food restaurant, hoping to attract media attention and force the government to take measures to prevent the killing of animals.²⁸ The

²⁵ ‘Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2011.’ [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2011] 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013.

<http://www.rokovania.sk/Rokovanie.aspx/BodRokovaniaDetail?idMaterial=21192>.

²⁶ ‘Slovak Police Goof Leads to Panic in Dublin.’ 2010. *The Slovak Spectator*, 6 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. http://spectator.sme.sk/articles/view/37539/10/slovak_police_goof_leads_to_panic_in_dublin.html

²⁷ ‘Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2010.’ [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2010] 2011. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. https://lt.justice.gov.sk/Attachment/spr%20-%20fin%20PS%20-%20po%20pripomienkach%20-%2027APR2011_doc.pdf?instEID=1&attEID=34250&docEID=169847&matEID=3836&langEID=1&tStamp=20110603080925130.

²⁸ ‘Court Sends Slovakia’s First Eco-Terrorist Behind Bars for 25 Years.’ 2013. *The Slovak Spectator*, 24 June 2013. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. http://spectator.sme.sk/articles/view/50491/2/court_sends_slovakias_first_eco_terrorist_behind_bars_for_25_years.html.

actions and the trial of this convicted eco-terrorist were covered in the press; several of the articles appeared in our overall sample under the CCTV topic. Yet, the articles only reported the explosion and the fact that the attacker was captured in footage on the CCTV camera of a nearby store. We observed no increase in the number of articles discussing the benefits or drawbacks of using CCTV as a result of the incident.

Throughout the period, government security analysts perceived an increased risk of a cyber-attack on critical state infrastructure or an energy network or the seizing of classified information. During 2012, hackers repeatedly targeted websites of different Slovak state institutions. In late January, activists allegedly associated with Anonymous hacked the website of the Slovak Parliament in support of the anti-corruption Gorilla protests that were taking place between December 2011 and March 2012. 'Expressing their disagreement with Slovakia's planned ratification of the international Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA)', the same group attacked several Government portals, including those of the Ministries of Finance, Justice and the Interior, and of the Office of the Government.²⁹ In reaction to the intensified threat of a cyber-attack or even a cyber-war, in 2012 Slovakia opened a new computer laboratory for forensic analysis including a malware testing centre and a network laboratory. The Ministry of Finance began drafting a new law on information security to transpose the EU Directive on Network and Information Security.

Naturally, citizens are most interested in and concerned about security risks that directly affect their everyday lives. Arguably, crime represents the most immediate threat for the majority of people. This is why, despite the long-term downward trend in crime figures in Slovakia,³⁰ the media increasingly report on crime. In the past decade several TV networks have, for instance, introduced special news formats that report solely on crime (Školkay et al. 2010, 15). The increased media coverage of crime and the fact that around half of all criminal offences committed in Slovakia in the studied period were property crimes account for the fact that articles about CCTV were the most numerous in our overall sample N. As mentioned above, the CCTV coverage predominantly related to reports on crimes that were captured on CCTV or to the purchase or installation of CCTV camera systems by municipalities and private or state companies.

Slovakia has no underground transit system and generally a moderate number of CCTV cameras in its public transport system. While cameras were becoming omnipresent in people's lives in shops, banks, town centres and private properties, they were not part of the majority of public transport vehicles and stations in the studied period. In 2009, the capital Bratislava introduced a pilot project to test CCTV cameras in ten out of its 200 public transport vehicles. The pilot was successful and the city made plans to install CCTV cameras in another 20-25 buses, trams and trolleybuses.³¹ The first two-level trains with CCTV cameras started operating in Slovakia in October 2011, with plans to increase their number to up to ten by the end of 2012.³² According to the 2011 Report on the Safety Situation in Slovakia, as part of measures to increase railway transport security, CCTV was being installed at renovated railway stations.³³ The Slovak public transport network had never been subject to any security threat on the scale of the terrorist attacks in London in 2005 or Madrid a year

²⁹ Minarechová, Radka. 2012. 'Anonymous "Visits" State Portals.' *The Slovak Spectator*, 6 February 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. http://spectator.sme.sk/articles/view/45258/2/anonymous_visits_state_portals.html.

³⁰ 'Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2011.' [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2011] 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. <http://www.rokovania.sk/Rokovanie.aspx/BodRokovaniaDetail?idMaterial=21192>.

³¹ Tkáčiková, Lucia. 2009. 'Bratislava skúša kamery v MHD, majú zvýšiť bezpečnosť.' [Bratislava Tries CCTV Cameras in Public Transport; They Should Increase Security] *SME*, 6 April 2009. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://bratislava.sme.sk/c/4381291/bratislava-skusa-kamery-v-mhd-maju-zvysit-bezpecnost.html#ixzz2c3dZcS7j>.

³² Trško, Michal. 2011. 'Ľudí vo vlakoch už strážia kamery.' [CCTV Cameras Already Guard People in Trains] *SME*, 10 October 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6091686/ludi-vo-vlakoch-uz-strazia-kamery.html>.

³³ 'Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2011.' [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2011] 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. <http://www.rokovania.sk/Rokovanie.aspx/BodRokovaniaDetail?idMaterial=21192>.

earlier that could trigger a nation-wide discussion on the merits of using CCTV on public transport. The second largest city of Košice experienced a series of attacks on passengers on buses in 2012, when an unknown man doused at least two women with acid. The incident resulted in enhanced security measures, including the installation of CCTV cameras and police patrols in buses on the route on which the incidents happened. It also attracted some media attention, with a string of articles appearing in *Korzár*.³⁴ Some of the coverage related to the use of CCTV cameras, including two articles that are comprised in our data set for coding.

Other instances threatening the security situation in Slovakia included recurring public order disturbances by rival football club fans during national and international football matches, especially in 2010 and 2011.³⁵ The Ministry of Education responded by adopting several legal measures. As of 2010 football clubs are legally obliged to install CCTV cameras at stadiums with a capacity to hold more than 2,000 spectators. That same year 'mobile courts' were also introduced. In August 2010, a man killed seven people and himself in a Bratislava suburb, including six members of one family, in a machine gun attack, triggering discussions and legislation pertaining to the use of weapons.³⁶ The shootings were mentioned in the CCTV coverage in relation to the installation of cameras in the suburb in 2012.

To sum up, it could be argued that since the security situation in Slovakia between 2010 and 2013 was perceived as stable with no immediate challenges, domestic political and economic issues dominated the national media coverage. Probably the most media attention was devoted to the Parliamentary elections of June 2010 and March 2012. Other issues resonating with the press were the extensive floods that affected Slovakia in 2010, the 2010 local elections, the controversy around the election of the Attorney General, the strike among medical professionals, the alleged wire-tapping of journalists, the fall of the Government of Iveta Radičová in October 2011, the anti-corruption Gorilla protests of 2012 and the worsening domestic economic situation as a result of the global economic crisis.

³⁴ 'V autobuse poliali študentku kyselinou.' [A Student Was Doused with Acid on Bus] *Korzár*, 22 February 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. <http://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/6271245/v-autobuse-poliali-studentku-kyselinou.html>, 'Ďalšiu ženu v košickom autobuse poliali žieravinou.' [Another Woman Was Doused with Acid on Košice Bus] *Korzár*, 28 February 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2012. <http://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/6278447/dalsiu-zenu-v-kosickom-autobuse-poliali-zieravinou.html>, and 'V Košiciach posilnia policajné hliadky v mestskej doprave.' [In Košice Police Patrols Will Be Strengthened in Public Transport] *Korzár*, 29 February 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. <http://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/6280004/v-kosiciach-posilnia-policajne-hliadky-v-mestskej-doprave.html>.

³⁵ 'Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2010.' [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2010] 2011. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. https://lt.justice.gov.sk/Attachment/spr0%20-%20fin%20PS%20-%20po%20pripomienkach%20-%2027APR2011_doc.pdf?instEID=-1&attEID=34250&docEID=169847&matEID=3836&langEID=1&tStamp=20110603080925130, and 'Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2011' [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2011] 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. <http://www.rokovania.sk/Rokovanie.aspx/BodRokovaniaDetail?idMaterial=21192>.

³⁶ Balogová, Beata. 2010. 'Shooting Massacre Shakes Slovakia.' *The Slovak Spectator*, 1 September 2010. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. http://spectator.sme.sk/articles/view/39964/2/shooting_massacre_shakes_slovakia.html.

5. Analysis

The following sections present the findings of the qualitative textual analysis of the coverage of the controversies around 3D body scanners, Stuxnet, and the use of CCTV cameras in *Pravda* and *SME* between 1 January 2010 and 31 April 2013. They will examine the actors, the content of their discussions and opinions, their justifications, the manner in which those justifications were framed in the media and the trends therein. The quality and content of coverage of individual topics in the two papers will also be compared and contrasted. The analysis is first divided into sub-chapters by topic. The concluding sub-section summarises the findings of the media coverage of all topics.

5.1. 3D body scanners

5.1.1. Quality of articles and topics discussed

The articles we coded on the topic of 3D body scanners in *Pravda* and *SME* were of similar quality and discussed similar topics. Generally, the quality and analytical value of the articles was low. All five coded *Pravda* articles and four of the *SME* articles were short (100-250 words) news agency reports with no editorial changes made by the newspapers. The other article was based on foreign media coverage of the issue. *SME* articles were generally slightly longer. All articles were more informative than evaluative. While *SME* articles offered more evaluative statements, the number of justifications offered for arguments made was equal in the two papers.

The coverage of the issue in the two papers was very similar in terms of the topics discussed over time. *Pravda* and *SME* even published one identical news agency report. In order to present the full spectrum of arguments about 3D body scanners, the article was included in our data set and coded only once. The dailies followed the developments of the issue as they were reported in foreign media and news agencies. Each of the papers also introduced different aspects into the debate. In 2011, *Pravda* reported an interesting deliberation in the US Congress arguing about the merits of using 3D body scanners in comparison to dogs. In 2010, *SME* brought up the issue of the rising profits of the technological firms producing the scanners as demand for them increased. In 2013 *SME* also reported on the withdrawal of the scanners, a topic that was not noticed by *Pravda*.

All of the articles, bar one from the economics section, were found in the world news sections of the papers. This may explain the generally low quality of the articles and the extensive reliance on news agency reports. Šípoš argues that Slovak media fail to verify or sufficiently research the primary sources of the foreign news reports they take from news agencies and other sources and publish. He also notes that foreign news reports are often plagued with translation mistakes, and some world news reports are translated twice - the second time from Czech because the Slovak media frequently use ČTK, the Czech News Agency. Another problem of the foreign desks of the Slovak media is the lack of specialisation. This leads to superficial monitoring of developments in a given topic. According to Šípoš, the chance that journalists will not follow an issue through to its end and thus will not be able to evaluate it as a whole is much higher in international news than in any other news area.³⁷ Moreover, the quality of the journalists working for Slovak news agencies seems to be lower than those at the national newspapers. In this regard, Miroslav Kollár, one of the leading media commentators in Slovakia, observed: ‘The journalists’

³⁷ Šípoš, Gabriel. 2007. ‘Slovenské médiá 2006 – etika sa zlepšila, profesionalita stagnuje.’ [Slovak Media 2006 – Ethics Has Improved, Professionalism Stagnates] *Slovak Press Watch Blog*, 5 February 2007. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/80526/Slovenske-media-2006-etika-sa-zlepsila-profesionalita-stagnuje.html>.

quality and the (in)ability to pay them appropriately, is the first and the key reason for (lack) of quality in wire agencies...³⁸

5.1.2. Content analysis: Actors and themes

The 3D body scanner coverage contained the smallest number of coded statements. States (20.4%), politicians (14.6%) and state institutions (13.6%) were given voice most frequently. They made up almost 50% of all the actors who participated in the discussions about 3D body scanners (Table 7). We coded passengers as actors in just over 5% of cases, less often than the Transport Security Agency (8.5%), scanners (7.8%) or private companies (5.8%). Under private companies, we coded companies producing full body scanners, whilst the code institutions comprised the European Parliament and MEPs. The two papers published very few opinions from experts and even fewer from advocacy groups. But for one exception all the actors were from outside Slovakia. We coded as a Slovak actor one journalist who concluded his article by questioning whether Americans would continue to support full body scanners after they had come into direct contact with them.³⁹ We did not find any example of interaction among actors.

Table 7: Top 12 actors coded in relation to 3D body scanners and their origin.

Actor			Actor's origin								
	#	%	USA	UK	Germany	Italy	Czech Republic	EU	Spain	Mentioned generally	Other
State	21	20.39%	5	5	7	6		12	3	4	1
Politicians	15	14.56%	7	1	1	3					1
State institutions	14	13.59%	4		2		8			1	1
Transport Security Agency	9	8.74%	9								
Scanners	8	7.77%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Private company	6	5.83%	2	2							1
Passengers	6	5.83%	6								
Institutions	4	3.88%						4			
Experts	4	3.88%	2					1			
Private Transportation Company	3	2.91%			1						
Advocacy Group/civil society	3	2.91%		3							
Others	3	2.91%								3	
Total	96	93.20%	35	11	10	9	8	17	2	8	4

The most common theme in the statements was body scanners (38%), followed by security-related issues and regulations (24%) and the increase in the number of body scanners (14%). As is apparent from headlines like 'Italy plans to introduce controversial scanners at

³⁸ Sudor, Karol. 2008. 'Prekázala mi, z čie existuje TASR. Rohovor s Miroslavom Kollárom.' [I Mind the Existence of TASR. Interview with Miroslav Kollár] *SME*, 31 July 2008. Web accessed 25 July 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/3998846/miroslav-kollar-prekaza-mi-ze-existuje-tasr.html>.

³⁹ Vasilko, Tomáš. 2010. 'Skenery na letiskách dráždia Američanov.' [Airport Scanners Irritate Americans] *SME*, 24 November 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5654016/skenery-na-letiskach-drazdia-americanov.html>.

airports’, ‘EU countries are not united in their attitude towards scanners at airports’, ‘Airport scanners are dangerous, says the boss of the Czech Agency for Nuclear Safety’ or ‘Passengers must agree with the use of body scanners, European Parliament decided’, the coverage primarily revolved around the introduction and features of body scanners. Many statements, like the following one, were purely informative, reporting the (non)introduction of scanners by a country at its airports: ‘Only Great Britain and the Netherlands introduced them [scanners] so far. France and Italy have also signalled their willingness to introduce them. Other countries, for instance Germany or Spain are, however, more hesitant.’⁴⁰ Another category of frequent statements related to the views of different states, state institutions and politicians about the characteristics or introduction of full body scanners, which will be examined in more detail below.

Table 8: Topics coded in relation to 3D body scanners

Topic	Frequency	%
Body Scanner	46	38.02%
Security related rules and regulations	29	23.97%
Increase number of body scanners	17	14.05%
Privacy	10	8.26%
Health issues	7	5.79%
Security General	6	4.96%
Terrorism	6	4.96%

The safety-related rules and regulations code comprised rules relating to the use of body scanners, such as creating a distance between the technician operating a scanner and the passengers, or the possibility of passengers to choose between scanning and a pat-down. The code also denoted alternative measures to scanners, such as the use of dogs or thermal cameras. Almost a quarter of the coverage was thus dedicated either to explaining the rules governing the use of scanners at airports, informing their readers about their rights, or offering opinions on other less intrusive security measures. As regards the former, *Pravda*, for example, quoted a resolution of the European Parliament about the use of body scanners stating that ‘passengers should have the right to refuse body scanner control, while they would have to undergo a different kind of control, which will ensure the same level of security as well as full respect for the rights and dignity of the checked person.’⁴¹ As this quote shows, privacy was quite a strong concern in the coverage. We coded privacy as a topic related to 3D body scanners in over 8% of cases. However, it was implicitly present also in many statements relating to the rules concerning the use of body scanners. Introducing the issue of body scanners, one article stated: ‘A dilemma awaits many people traveling home for Thanksgiving; let a scanner undress them or submit to a pat-down.’⁴² The author went on: ‘[I]t is also nicknamed the naked scanner. It looks like an enormous fridge, and when a passenger steps inside, it undresses them down to their skin.’⁴³ Two articles (both from *Pravda*) even quoted the same statement twice: ‘Generally, European politicians fear infringing on the privacy of passengers, whose clothes are made transparent by the scanners. The technician that checks them can thus not only discover materials and substances they

⁴⁰ ‘Washington presviedča EÚ o nevyhnutnosti skenerov na letiskách.’ [Washington Is Persuading the EU about the Inevitability of Scanners at Airports] 2010. *Pravda*, 21 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013.

<http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/232255-washington-presviedca-eu-o-nevyhnutnosti-skenerov-na-letiskach/>
⁴¹ ‘Pasažieri musia súhlasiť s použitím telového skenera, rozhodol europarlament.’ [Passengers Must Agree with the Use of Body Scanners, European Parliament Decided] 2011. *Pravda*, 6 July 2011. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/239261-pasazieri-musia-suhlasit-s-pouzitim-teloveho-skenera-rozhodol-europarlament/>.

⁴² Vasilko, Tomáš. 2010. ‘Skenery na letiskách dráždia Američanov.’ [Airport Scanners Irritate Americans] *SME*, 24 November 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5654016/skenery-na-letiskach-drazdia-americanov.html>.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

have on their bodies, but at same time can see their private body parts.’⁴⁴ Other concerns that were discussed in connection with full body scanners were related to health issues, namely, the level of radiation emitted by the scanners.

Security and terrorism concerns were discussed in 10% of the coverage. The failed terrorist attack on Christmas Day 2009 was mentioned, particularly in the earlier articles, as background to the debate about the introduction of scanners and in connection with discussions about the need to increase security: ‘An expert working group of the European Union will meet on Thursday to discuss whether the Union needs to improve security at airports in connection with the failed terrorist attack on an American airplane flying from Amsterdam to Detroit.’⁴⁵

5.1.3. Content analysis: Discussions about 3D body scanners

Definitive argumentative strategies prevailed among the coded statements (Table 9). Since Slovakia was not involved in the discussions about introducing the controversial scanners, the topic was predominantly framed as foreign news. The statements related to the issue were thus predominantly informative. We coded 69 definitive statements, 14 advocative and 12 evaluative statements.

Table 9: Argumentative strategies by direction of argument in relation to 3D body scanners

Argumentative strategy	Direction of argument			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Definitive	1	12	53	66
Evaluative	3	10	1	14
Advocative	3	6	6	15
Total	6	27	62	95

The evaluations of the scanners were overwhelmingly negative. The main critics of the machines were the Chief of the Czech Nuclear Safety agency, American air passengers, advocacy groups concerned about the potential rise in child pornography and a Congressman preferring dogs to scanners on airports. The group of proponents of scanners included the USA, the Transport Security Agency and some American passengers. Other actors, especially various EU states and politicians, were more hesitant about the need to introduce 3D body scanners at airports, demanding further evidence of the need to install them. These were coded in the advocative neutral category.

We found justifications given for the actor’s arguments in around 45% of statements (Table 10). Efficiency was the most prevalent one (29.82%), followed by security (21.05%), health (12.28%), costs (10.17%), dignity (8.77%), privacy (7.02%), quality of service (1.75%) and business (1.75%). Most of the justifications were used by both the opponents and proponents of scanners and typically more than one justification was given in a single argument.

⁴⁴ ‘Letiskové skenery sú nebezpečné, hovorí šéfka jadrového dozoru v Česku.’ [Airport Scanners Are Dangerous, Says the Boss of the Czech Agency for Nuclear Safety] 2010. *Pravda*, 15 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/232181-letiskove-skenery-su-nebezpecne-hovori-sefka-jadroveho-dozoru-v-cesku/> and ‘Washington presviedča EÚ o nevyhnutnosti skenerov na letiskách.’ [Washington Is Persuading the EU about the Inevitability of Scanners at Airports] 2010. *Pravda*, 21 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/232255-washington-presviedca-eu-o-nevyhnutnosti-skenerov-na-letiskach/>.

⁴⁵ ‘Taliansko plánuje zaviesť kontroverzné skenery na letiskách.’ [Italy Plans to Introduce Controversial Scanners at Airports] 2010. *SME*, 5 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5178806/taliansko-planuje-zaviesť-kontroverzne-skenery-na-letiskach.html>.

Supporters of full body scanners regularly cited the efficiency of body scanners for ensuring the security of airline passengers in connection with the failed terrorist attack as their main justification. The former Chief of the American Federal Aviation Agency asserted, for instance, that ‘metal detectors commonly used nowadays to check passengers are not able to detect explosives of the kind that Abdulmutallab brought on board on the NWA airplane.’⁴⁶ Also the Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini was quoted as saying that ‘scanners are the most secure measure against the danger of terrorist attacks on airplanes.’ Frattini added that even though full body scanners represent an intrusion of passengers’ privacy, he believed that they are the guarantee of security: ‘An individual’s privacy is an absolute and inalienable right. Security is, however, more important.’⁴⁷ It would seem that the public valued security over privacy too. In November 2010, an article concluded that ‘security wins with Americans so far. Two-thirds of them support the use of scanners.’⁴⁸

Table 10: Justifications coded in relation to 3D body scanners

Justification	Frequency	%
Efficiency	17	29.82%
Security	12	21.05%
Health	7	12.28%
Costs	6	10.53%
Dignity	5	8.77%
Privacy	4	7.02%
Legality	4	7.02%
Quality of service	1	1.75%
Business	1	1.75%

Opponents of the introduction of body scanners, on the other hand, often quoted costs and health issues together with the inefficiency of scanners as justification for their arguments. Some European countries, in particular Belgium, were reported to claim that the use of full body scanners is ‘exaggerated’, since the security measures at European airports were ‘strict enough’.⁴⁹ The Chief of the Czech Nuclear Safety Agency argued, in turn, that ‘since exposure to even moderate radiation can lead to growth of cancer cells, instead of scanners airports should use thermal cameras, which are roughly as reliable as scanners.’⁵⁰ Indeed, it was reported in *SME* that ‘some Americans also fear health risks’.⁵¹ In reaction to health concerns, the Transport Security Agency (TSA) asserted that ‘there is nothing to fear’

⁴⁶ ‘Technologické firmy získavajú na zvýšenom záujme o letiskové scenerie.’ [Technological Firms Gain from the Increased Interest in Airport Scanners] 2010. *SME*, 1 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2012.

⁴⁷ ‘Taliano plánuje zaviesť kontroverzné skenery na letiskách.’ [Italy Plans to Introduce Controversial Scanners at Airports] 2010. *SME*, 5 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5178806/taliansko-planuje-zaviesť-kontroverzne-skenery-na-letiskach.html>.

⁴⁸ Vasilko, Tomáš. 2010. ‘Skenery na letiskách dráždia Američanov.’ [Airport Scanners Irritate Americans] *SME*, 24 November 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5654016/skenery-na-letiskach-drazdia-americanov.html>.

⁴⁹ ‘Krajiny EÚ nie sú zajedno v postoji k skeneru na letiskách.’ [EU Countries Are Not United in Their Attitude Towards Scanners at Airports] 2010. *Pravda*, 7 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/232053-krajiny-eu-nie-su-zajedno-v-postoji-k-skeneru-na-letiskach/>.

⁵⁰ ‘Letiskové skenery sú nebezpečné, hovorí šéfka jadrového dozoru v Česku.’ [Airport Scanners Are Dangerous, Says the Boss of the Czech Agency for Nuclear Safety] 2010. *Pravda*, 15 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/232181-letiskove-skenery-su-nebezpecne-hovori-sefka-jadroveho-dozoru-v-cesku/>.

⁵¹ Vasilko, Tomáš. 2010. ‘Skenery na letiskách dráždia Američanov.’ [Airport Scanners Irritate Americans] *SME*, 24 November 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5654016/skenery-na-letiskach-drazdia-americanov.html>.

because the scanners emit ‘only low levels of radiation comparable to the three minutes of radiation all passengers are exposed to in airplanes at high altitudes.’⁵² To lessen the concerns of pilots and flight attendants, the TSA granted them an exception from scanning. As the Director of the US Centre for Radiological Research argued, ‘the levels of radiation produced by scanners are slightly higher than those advertised by the TSA. However, these are still low levels’. According to him, people who fly frequently could justifiably fear the radiation produced by body scanners.⁵³

Pravda covered an interesting discussion in the US Congress among the proponents of body scanners and the proponents of dogs. Members of Congress advocating the use of dogs argued that they ‘are less intrusive for passengers, their use does not necessitate installation of new versions of programmes, they do not wear out with use and apparently can identify even bombs under the skin.’⁵⁴ Congressman Chaffetz was quoted as saying: ‘Dogs lack only one thing; and that is lobbyists. Those who support those machines should be ashamed. There is a better way of doing the job, and that is to deploy dogs.’⁵⁵ In contrast, the advocates of scanners questioned the costs of training and the efficiency of dogs, which ‘need breaks more often, while scanners work tirelessly’.⁵⁶ But an expert on terrorism risks argued that high costs and their inefficiency do not justify the introduction of full body scanners. Instead, he claimed, more thorough checks of persons from high-risk countries should be carried out: ‘Immediate introduction of the most up-to-date technologies after every single threat merely costs a lot of money, while the real risk is eliminated only minimally. It is not necessary to spend billions of dollars to introduce the most modern technologies every time something happens. In the end, these can eliminate only a fraction of the entire risk spectrum.’⁵⁷ Another, less intrusive alternative to body scanners mentioned in the press coverage were the biometric scanners introduced in Israel.⁵⁸ The high error rate of 3D body scanners at the airport in Hamburg and subsequent security check delays were given as reasons for discontinuing further use until the technology improves.⁵⁹

Albeit less frequently, privacy and dignity concerns also featured as explanations for the rejection of body scanners by passengers or were just cited as the main reason hindering faster introduction of 3D body scanners at airports.⁶⁰ *SME* described one American passenger’s experience with a 3D body scanner as follows: “Those are two bad options,” said ... Eliz Romer from Portland. She refused a scanner and the “undignified” pat-down brought her to tears.”⁶¹ A British children’s rights charity also warned of the potential spread of child pornography after the introduction of the scanners. According to activists, ‘there is

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ ‘Psy alebo skenery? Kongresmani sa hádali, čo lepšie postráži letiská.’ [Dogs or Scanners? Congressmen Quarrelled About Which Will Better Guard Airports] 2011. *Pravda*, 14 July 2011. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/239347-psy-alebo-skenery-kongresmani-sa-hadali-co-lepsie-postrazi-letiska/>.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ ‘Technologické firmy získavajú na zvýšenom záujme o letiskové skenery.’ [Technological Firms Gain from the Increased Interest in Airport Scanners] 2010. *SME*, 1 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2012.

<http://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/5174107/technologicke-firmy-ziskavaju-na-zvysenom-zaujme-o-letiskove-skenery.html>.

⁵⁸ ‘Taliansko plánuje zaviesť kontroverzné skenery na letiskách.’ [Italy Plans to Introduce Controversial Scanners at Airports] 2010. *SME*, 5 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5178806/taliansko-planuje-zaviesť-kontroverzne-skenery-na-letiskach.html>.

⁵⁹ ‘Celotelové skenery v Nemecku zatiaľ používať nebudú.’ [Full Body Scanners Will Not Be Used in Germany for the Time Being] 2011. *SME*, 31 August 2011. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013.

<http://www.sme.sk/c/6036498/celotelove-skenery-v-nemecku-zatial-pouzivat-nebudu.html>.

⁶⁰ ‘Technologické firmy získavajú na zvýšenom záujme o letiskové skenery.’ [Technological Firms Gain from the Increased Interest in Airport Scanners] 2010. *SME*, 1 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2012.

<http://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/5174107/technologicke-firmy-ziskavaju-na-zvysenom-zaujme-o-letiskove-skenery.html>.

⁶¹ Vasilko, Tomáš. 2010. ‘Skenery na letiskách dráždia Američanov.’ [Airport Scanners Irritate Americans] *SME*, 24 November 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5654016/skenery-na-letiskach-drazdia-americanov.html>.

no legal justification for the introduction of full body scanners in this way', since the high-tech machines could produce illegal images of naked children.⁶²

Germany, France and Spain were among the European countries reported as undecided about the merits of body scanners. According to *Pravda*, 'the government of Angela Merkel is not against the introduction of scanners, if they are developed at such a level that will improve airport security and will simultaneously protect human rights.'⁶³ Similarly, France asserted that 'before introducing the scanners it was important to examine three conditions: whether the scanners will increase security, whether the use of scanners does not threaten the health of passengers, whether it does not violate the rights of individuals.'⁶⁴ The TSA and companies producing the scanners originally tried to persuade the public not to fear the scanners by arguing that technological improvements would be made: 'According to Kant from Rapiscan, however, the first has been able to solve the problem of privacy intrusion caused by the fact that the scanner shows a naked body without clothes. These fears will be alleviated, since the final image of the body will appear slightly blurred. Moreover, technicians examining the scanned image will be separated from the place where the scanner device is.'⁶⁵ However, the last article published on this topic reported that the TSA was withdrawing the controversial scanners, as the scanner producer 'acknowledged that it is not able to fulfil its mandate from Congress, according to which it was supposed to provide scanners with a less "invasive" technology.'⁶⁶

5.2. Stuxnet

5.2.1. Quality of articles and topics discussed

The quality and style of articles coded under Stuxnet differed in the two papers. The articles were selected to capture the variety of aspects and themes the Slovak media focused on. Hence, our sample included also some themes that were covered by one paper but not picked up by the other. Generally, the quality of articles in *Pravda* was lower than the contributions in *SME*. We coded four articles from *Pravda*: all, bar one, were short, informative (100 - 200 words) pieces directly taken from news agencies without any input from *Pravda* journalists. The *Pravda* articles were not only shorter, but also offered fewer arguments and little analysis. The articles reflected the foreign media's and news agencies' coverage of the developments around the Stuxnet attack over time. Only one article was substantially longer, written by a journalist working for *Pravda*. This article was based on coverage in various foreign media, with quotes of the opinion of a British expert whom the journalist had approached directly. This article covered an aspect of the controversy that was not found in *SME*; namely, the author discussed whether the British Intelligence Service was involved in the development and deployment of Stuxnet. The newspaper also reported that Iran allegedly led a cyber-war against its enemies.

⁶² 'Talijsko plánuje zaviesť kontroverzné skenery na letiskách.' [Italy Plans to Introduce Controversial Scanners at Airports] 2010. *SME*, 5 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5178806/taliansko-planuje-zaviesť-kontroverzne-skenery-na-letiskach.html>.

⁶³ 'Krajiny EÚ nie sú zajedno v postoji k skeneru na letiskách.' [EU Countries Are Not United in Their Attitude Towards Scanners at Airports] 2010. *Pravda*, 7 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/232053-krajiny-eu-nie-su-zajedno-v-postoji-k-skeneru-na-letiskach/>.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ 'Technologické firmy získavajú na zvýšenom záujme o letiskové scenery.' [Technological Firms Gain from the Increased Interest in Airport Scanners] 2010. *SME*, 1 January 2010. Web. Accessed 11 May 2012. <http://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/5174107/technologicke-firmy-ziskavaju-na-zvysenom-zaujme-o-letiskove-skenery.html>.

⁶⁶ 'Americké letiská stiahnu kontroverzné celotelové scenery.' [American Airports Will Withdraw Controversial Full Body Scanners] 2013. *SME*, 19 January 2013. Web. Accessed 11 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6672720/americke-letiska-stiahnu-kontroverzne-celotelove-skenery.html>.

All six *SME* articles we coded were longer and offered more substantive arguments and justifications thereof. All were written by a journalist or an expert and provided different views of a larger variety of actors and also cited primary sources. One article in particular, written by an expert on international law, was highly analytical and discussed the legality of the deployment of Stuxnet by USA and Iran and of a possible counter-attack by Iran. Apart from the focus on legality, *SME* also considered the potential of Stuxnet and similar malware to be used for industrial espionage, discussed the increasing prevalence of cyber wars and also generally followed the developments of the controversy as they were uncovered by foreign media.

Like the coverage of body scanners, the considerable variation in the quality of the Stuxnet articles can be explained by their location in the newspapers. While all the *Pravda* articles were in the foreign news section of the paper, *SME* articles were found in different sections of the daily: two were under world news, three belonged to the science and technology section and one was in the commentary section. As Šípoš explains, compared to foreign news desks, the quality of journalists specialising in IT issues in Slovakia is considerably better.⁶⁷ Commentaries are in general very analytical as their authors try to persuade readers of the rightness of their opinions.

5.2.2. Content analysis: Actors and themes

As regards the number of coded statements, the Stuxnet topic was second. The most prevalent actor given a voice in the discussions of Stuxnet in Slovak newspapers were states (22.9%), followed by experts (14.4%), Stuxnet (13.6%), journalists (13.6%), media (13.6%), president(s) (8.5%), different types of virus or malware (5.08%), state institutions (4.2%), the Israeli secret service (2.5%), Flame (1.7%) and the US National Security Agency (1.7%). In total, 68% of all the actors whose origin was assigned were foreign, from outside Slovakia. Statements about the actions, opinions or attitudes of states thus dominated the Stuxnet coverage (36%), while the characteristics and ‘actions’ of Stuxnet and various other viruses were the second issue most frequently addressed (20%). The states that figured most frequently as actors were the USA, Israel and Iran, while one-fifth of state actors were mentioned generally. This is understandable given the nature of the Stuxnet topic. This would also suggest that Slovak newspapers took the issue primarily as foreign news of little concern to Slovakia. The other actors most frequently involved in the debates were predominantly Slovak journalists and foreign media. The author’s voice is much louder in this case than in the 3D body scanner controversy. This is partially due to the fact that one of the articles was a commentary where the vast majority of statements were assigned to the author as his opinion. The statements relied mainly on the views of American newspapers, most notably *The New York Times*, which uncovered the involvement of the USA and Israel in the Stuxnet attacks. Given the highly technical nature of the attacks and the virus itself, newspapers often relied on the explanations of experts, who featured as actors in 15% of statements.

⁶⁷ Šípoš, Gabriel. 2007. ‘Slovenské médiá 2006 – etika sa zlepšila, profesionalita stagnuje.’ [Slovak Media 2006 – Ethics Has Improved, Professionalism Stagnates] *Slovak Press Watch Blog*, 5 February 2007. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/80526/Slovenske-media-2006-etika-sa-zlepsila-profesionalita-stagnuje.html>.

Table 11: Actors coded in relation Stuxnet and their origin

Actor	#	%	Actor's origin								
			Iran	Israel	USA	UK	Russia	China	West	Mentioned generally	Slovakia
State(s)	27	22.88%	7	8	10		1	1		9	
Expert(s)	17	14.42%	3		1	4	1			6	3
Stuxnet	16	13.56%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Journalist	16	13.56%	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	15
Media	14	11.86%	1	-	12	2	-	-	-	-	-
President	10	8.48%	1	-	8	-	-	-	-	1	-
Virus/Malware/Worm	6	5.08%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
State institutions	5	4.24%	1	1	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
Israel secret service	3	2.54%		3	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Flame	2	1.69%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NSA	2	1.69%	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	118	100%	13	12	36	7	2	1	1	16	18

We coded eight instances of interaction between actors. Most typically, these referred to the cooperation of Israel and USA or their respective security agencies on the development and/or deployment of Stuxnet. For instance, a *Pravda* article stated: ‘The USA and Israel cooperated on the cyber-attack against Iran with the aim of preventing a possible Israeli armed intervention against Iran.’⁶⁸ We found two cases where the article referred to cooperation between American presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama on operation Olympic Games. *SME* described their cooperation in the following, rather dramatic terms: ‘And it was he [George W. Bush] who allegedly asked the first Afro-American president for two favours: to keep two top-secret armed operations. The first was the use of drones, pilotless planes, in Pakistan. The second was an operation code-named “Olympic Games”. Obama agreed.’⁶⁹ *Pravda* also reported on cooperation between the state of Iran and Iranian academics and religious leaders in a cyber-war against Iran’s adversaries: ‘Hackers working for the Revolutionary Guards, [who are] the Iranian regime’s support, launched attacks on the websites of Iran’s adversaries.’⁷⁰

As could be expected, the Stuxnet coverage was dominated by the theme of the Stuxnet attack itself (Table 12). Altogether almost a third of statements discussed either the Stuxnet attack (coded as deployment/attack using Stuxnet) or the attack on Iran. Under the code ‘deployment/attack using Stuxnet’ we subsumed two slightly thematically different types of statements. The first kind were statements arguing or speculating that a state or states used Stuxnet for a cyber-attack: ‘Israel and the USA were among the states mentioned as the perpetrators of the attack.’⁷¹ The second group comprised statements discussing how

⁶⁸ ‘Obama zintenzivnil kyberútoky proti Iránu.’ [Obama Has Intensified Cyber-Attacks Against Iran] 2010. *Pravda*, 1 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/243079-obama-zintenzivnil-kyberutoky-proti-iranu/>.

⁶⁹ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Amerika a Izrael útočili na Irán kyberzbraňou.’ [USA and Israel Attacked Iran with a Cyber Weapon] *SME*, 1 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6400633/amerika-a-izrael-utocili-na-iran-kyberzbranou.html>.

⁷⁰ ‘Irán údajne vedie kybernetickú vojnu proti nepriateľom.’ [Iran Allegedly Leads a Cyber-War Against Its Adversaries] 2011. *Pravda*, 14 March 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/237773-iran-udajne-vedie-kyberneticku-vojnu-proti-nepriatelom/>.

⁷¹ Semesh, Jana. 2011. ‘Počítačový útok na Irán si Izrael s USA nacvičovali.’ [USA and Israel Practised Cyber-Attack on Iran] *SME*, 17 January 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5725333/pocitacovy-utok-na-iran-si-izrael-s-usa-nacvicovali.html>.

Stuxnet was actually deployed: ‘The first step was the most difficult: to infect a USB stick, get it in the right place, put it in a computer. Then the real action could start.’⁷² In this group, we also found statements describing how the virus operated to attack its targets: ‘In the summer [of 2010] ... Stuxnet copied itself onto a portable computer; and when this [computer] connected to the Internet outside the Iranian nuclear plant, the worm started to spread uncontrollably.’⁷³

Iran’s uranium enrichment programme was the second most frequently coded topic (16.8%). It was most frequently mentioned in connection with the deployment of Stuxnet and the attack on Iran. The first reports about Stuxnet appeared in 2010 when commercial computers in the USA and Iran became infected. The public was not aware that the USA and Israel were behind the development of Stuxnet. *SME* at that time already quoted an Internet security expert who pointed to the connection between the attacks and Iran’s uranium enrichment programme: ‘Cyber-attacks in the USA and the activity of the worm in Iran come at a time of continuing tensions between the two countries in relation to the nuclear programme of the Middle Eastern state.’⁷⁴ Later statements quoted an expert opinion suggesting that Stuxnet was developed and used to target Iranian centrifuges or estimating the damage the virus had done to Iran’s nuclear programme. Drawing on the findings of *The New York Times*, *SME* reported that American army sources ‘estimate that Stuxnet delayed the Iranian nuclear programme by 18 months to two years.’⁷⁵

Table 12: Top 10 themes coded in relation to Stuxnet

Topic	Frequency	%
Deployment/attack using Stuxnet	33	18.44%
Iranian uranium enrichment programme	30	16.76%
Attack on Iran	24	13.41%
Development of Stuxnet by a state	13	7.26%
Cyber war	10	5.59%
Olympic games	8	4.47%
Development of Stuxnet	7	3.91%
Stuxnet	7	3.91%
Attack on another state	7	3.91%
USA accused of attack	6	3.35%
Legality	6	3.35%

Views on the development of Stuxnet were coded both as the development of Stuxnet by a state and the development of Stuxnet and made up the third most frequent theme we found in connection to the issue (11.2%). *Pravda*, for instance, reported that ‘according to the American president Barack Obama, Stuxnet was the creation of America and Israel under the secret operation “Olympic Games”.’⁷⁶ While most articles indicated the USA and Israel or their intelligence agencies as the developers of Stuxnet and the perpetrators of the attack,

⁷² Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Virus Stuxnet znovu napadol Irán, mal vyradiť energetické zariadenia.’ [Virus Stuxnet Attacked Iran Again, It Was Supposed to Eliminate Energy Devices] *SME*, 26 December 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/6648423/virus-stuxnet-znovu-napadol-iran-mal-vyradit-energeticke-zariadenia.html>.

⁷³ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Amerika a Izrael útočili na Irán kyberzbraňou.’ [USA and Israel Attacked Iran with a Cyber-Weapon] *SME*, 1 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6400633/amerika-a-izrael-utocili-na-iran-kyberzbranou.html>.

⁷⁴ ‘Nový vírus môže byť určený na priemyselnú špiónáž.’ [New Virus May Be Intended for Industrial Espionage] 2010. *SME*, 18 July 2010. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/5469934/novy-virus-moze-byt-urceny-na-priemyselnu-spionaz.html>.

⁷⁵ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Amerika a Izrael útočili na Irán kyberzbraňou.’ [USA and Israel Attacked Iran with a Cyber Weapon] *SME*, 1 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6400633/amerika-a-izrael-utocili-na-iran-kyberzbranou.html>.

⁷⁶ Matišák, Andrej. 2012. ‘Bojujú skutoční Bondovia s Iránom?’ [Do Real Bonds Fight Against Iran?] *Pravda*, 17 July 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/249811-bojuju-skutocni-bondovia-s-iranom/>.

drawing on coverage in British media, one *Pravda* journalist hypothesised that the UK and its intelligence agencies could have cooperated in the attacks. The journalist acknowledged that ‘it is assumed that Israel’s Mossad or the American CIA is at the forefront of the fight against Iran’s nuclear programme.’ But he quoted a British expert arguing that ‘it has long been argued that British computer specialists from the Government communication centre created the Stuxnet virus and that MI6 agents got it into Iranian nuclear programme devices. The virus was supposed to cause the largest possible damage.’⁷⁷

Another theme discussed in connection with Stuxnet was a cyber-war between states. We recorded over 5% of statements explicitly mentioning ‘war’ under the code cyber war. However, many statements coded under attack on another state or attack (3.9%), Olympic Games (4.5%) or the deployment and development of Stuxnet also implicitly referred to the modern phenomenon of cyber-wars between states. The fascination of the Slovak media with the phenomenon of cyber war is apparent from the coded article headlines like ‘Iran allegedly leads a cyber-war against its adversaries’, ‘State cyber wars rage in the world’, ‘USA and Israel attacked Iran with a cyber-weapon’, and ‘Do real Bonds fight against Iran?’. One journalist argued that ‘cyber-wars and cyber-attacks using more or less harmful programmes are not a new phenomenon. Although the idea that teenage prodigies are behind the attacks still prevails, today, as compared to two decades ago, it is rarely true; particularly in the case of sophisticated codes like Flame or Stuxnet whose development could cost millions of dollars.’⁷⁸ While *Pravda* argued that Iran acknowledged its ‘participation in a cyber-war’,⁷⁹ *SME* claimed that ‘a wild cyber-war rages not only between USA, Israel and Iran’.⁸⁰ Commenting on the ever more prevalent cyber-attacks, a *SME* article speculated about the involvement of Russia and its attacks on the Baltic states, adding that ‘specialists point to this country in the case of regular attacks on Georgia’s servers. China is often also mentioned. Yet, it rejects such claims and usually argues that it is itself the target of hackers.’⁸¹ Importantly, the possibility of an attack on Slovakia was not coded. This would suggest that the Stuxnet issue was to a large extent framed as world news not directly concerning Slovakia.

5.2.3. Content analysis: Discussions about Stuxnet

We coded only two statements, or less than one per cent of the total, that used other than definitive argumentative strategies. Both of these related to evaluative arguments of experts and were negative in direction. The first negative evaluation appeared in July 2010, when Stuxnet ‘escaped’ from Iran’s nuclear plant and started attacking computers over the Internet. The expert from the renowned Internet security firm Eset warned against the highly efficient worm Win32/Stuxnet that he though could be used for industrial espionage.⁸² Commenting on the Stuxnet test attack that the USA and Israel launched on Dimona, an

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Prokopčák, Tomáš. ‘Vo svete zúria štátne kybervojny.’ [State Cyber-Wars Rage in the World] *SME*, 15 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12. May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/6416676/vo-svete-zuria-statne-kybervojny.html>.

⁷⁹ ‘Irán údajne vedie kybernetickú vojnu proti nepriateľom.’ [Iran Allegedly Leads a Cyber-War Against Its Adversaries] 2011. *Pravda*, 14 March 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/237773-iran-udajne-vedie-kyberneticku-vojnu-proti-nepriatelom/>.

⁸⁰ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Vírus Stuxnet znovu napadol Irán, mal vyradiť energetické zariadenia.’ [Virus Stuxnet Attacked Iran Again, It Was Supposed to Eliminate Energy Devices] *SME*, 26 December 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/6648423/virus-stuxnet-znovu-napadol-iran-mal-vyradit-energeticke-zariadenia.html>.

⁸¹ Prokopčák, Tomáš. ‘Vo svete zúria štátne kybervojny.’ [State Cyber Wars Rage in the World] *SME*, 15 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12. May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/6416676/vo-svete-zuria-statne-kybervojny.html>.

⁸² ‘Nový vírus môže byť určený na priemyselnú špionáž.’ [New Virus May Be Intended for Industrial Espionage] 2010. *SME*, 18 July 2010. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/5469934/novy-virus-moze-byt-urceny-na-priemyselnu-spionaz.html>.

Israeli nuclear plant, Russian scientists who cooperated with the Iranians in Bushir were quoted as warning that ‘similar experiments could cause a nuclear catastrophe similar to [the one in] Chernobyl’.⁸³ The prevalence of definitive argumentative strategies neutral in direction confirms that Slovak newspapers considered the issue another example of foreign or technological news and provided their readers with information about the virus’s nature, the attacks deploying Stuxnet and the raging cyber conflicts. Slovak newspapers remained mostly impartial on the issue. The only notable exception was the commentary in *SME*, which persuasively argued that, according to international law, Israel and the USA’s deployment of Stuxnet on an Iranian nuclear plant was illegal: ‘Attack on the infrastructure of other states needs to be assessed in the same way whether they are caused by missiles or by a computer virus. The cyber-attack of USA and Israel is thus a breach of international law.’⁸⁴

Less than 20% of the coded newspaper coverage contained statements of any explicit justification of the arguments put forward. Among the most frequently quoted explanations for an actor’s statement was efficiency in relation to the complex technical nature and the highly destructive effect of the virus. The effectiveness of Stuxnet’s attack on the SCADA managing and monitoring systems used in the energy sector was thus the reason why the above-mentioned Internet security expert warned against it. Stuxnet’s efficiency was also quoted as the alleged reason why George W. Bush decided to use it to attack Iran in operation Olympic Games: ‘And the so-called bug worked, which they proved to Bush by bringing him the debris from the test centrifuge. Namely, the virus caused the device to go out of control, accelerating or decelerating until it damaged itself.’⁸⁵ Finally, before it had been revealed that the USA and Israel deployed and developed Stuxnet, given Stuxnet’s efficiency, experts suspected that a state or states, as opposed to hackers, must have been behind the virus: ‘When a mysterious virus knocked out the Iranian nuclear plant in Bushir several months ago, there were speculations that this was not a hacker attack. It was said that not many countries in the world would be able to perpetrate such extensive sabotage.’⁸⁶ Experimentation was also quoted as a justification for beliefs about Iran’s and the USA’s involvement in the Stuxnet attack: ‘The computer virus that knocked out an Iranian nuclear plant could have originated in Israel. Together with the Americans, they tested a similar virus.’⁸⁷

Defence was cited as justification mainly for Iran’s alleged launch of a cyber-war against its adversaries. *Pravda*, for instance, quoted an Iranian general saying: ‘Our cyber army attacks the websites of our enemies, because they attack us.’⁸⁸ The USA’s announcement that they would respond to a cyber-attack as if it were a conventional armed attack was also justified by defence. ‘If you disconnect our electricity power grid, we may shoot down one of your chimneys’, an American government representative was cited to claim. In 19% of these statements, pre-emptive strike was coded as justification. Fears of an Iranian uranium enrichment programme and the need to prevent a potential conventional Israeli attack on Iran were cited as a justification for the deployment of Stuxnet, as the

⁸³ Semesh, Jana. 2011. ‘Počítačový útok na Irán si Izrael s USA nacvičovali.’ [USA and Israel Practised Cyber-Attack on Iran] *SME*, 17 January 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5725333/pocitacovy-utok-na-iran-si-izrael-s-usa-nacvicovali.html>.

⁸⁴ Mačák, Kubo. 2012. ‘Kyberútok: ilegalita jednotiek a núl.’ [Cyber-Attack: Illegality of Ones and Zeros] *SME*, 5 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://komentare.sme.sk/c/6405738/kyberutok-ilegalita-jednotiek-a-nul.html>.

⁸⁵ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Amerika a Izrael útočili na Irán kyberzbraňou.’ [USA and Israel Attacked Iran with a Cyber-Weapon] *SME*, 1 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6400633/amerika-a-izrael-utocili-na-iran-kyberzbranou.html>.

⁸⁶ Semesh, Jana. 2011. ‘Počítačový útok na Irán si Izrael s USA nacvičovali.’ [USA and Israel Practised Cyber-Attack on Iran] *SME*, 17 January 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5725333/pocitacovy-utok-na-iran-si-izrael-s-usa-nacvicovali.html>.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ ‘Irán údajne vedie kybernetickú vojnu proti nepriateľom.’ [Iran Allegedly Leads a Cyber-War Against Its Adversaries] 2011. *Pravda*, 14 March 2011. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/237773-iran-udajne-vedie-kyberneticku-vojnu-proti-nepriatelom/>.

following statement illustrates: ‘The American administration feared Iran’s potential attempts to get a nuclear weapon... Yet, the USA also feared something else - that Israel will attack the country and that the whole restless region will be plunged into even greater chaos... high-ranking army personnel then spoke up to say that they have a special group of people that could try a new weapon - a cyber-attack.’⁸⁹ Indeed, as mentioned above, the uranium enrichment programme, even if not explicitly coded as a justification, was a prevalent theme across all the articles. According to one expert, the Chief of MI6 ‘believes that if Iran does not stop its nuclear programme, the [Middle Eastern] region faces the threat of a nuclear war.’⁹⁰ Yet, one author questions Iran’s intentions: ‘The question remains, what are the real intentions of Iran, does it really want to produce nuclear weapon[s]. According to a report by American intelligence services, Teheran had not decided yet.’⁹¹

Legality was used as a justification, as well as a topic, in the only commentary in our data set. The author used international law doctrines to justify his opinion about the legality or illegality of the Stuxnet attack and a potential Iranian counter-attack. Commenting on the supposedly pre-emptive Stuxnet deployment, the author argued: ‘However, such “pre-emptive steps” cannot be considered as actions in self-defence. For that to be the case, according to international law, an attack by Iran would have to be on-going or (and this being challenged in theory) would have to be an imminent threat.’ According to the same author, ‘an extensive armed attack, let alone one that, in the words of President Ahmadinejad, would “wipe Israel off the map” is thus definitely out of the question.’ However, if Iran launched an attack ‘limited to stopping Israeli and American hacker units responsible for Stuxnet, on the whole, it could quite convincingly claim legality.’⁹²

5.3. CCTV cameras

5.3.1. Quality of articles and topics discussed

CCTV cameras received the most extensive coverage out of our three topics. We coded 23 articles - 11 from *Pravda* and 12 from *SME*. The quality and style of the articles varied between topics but was comparable between the two papers. In contrast to the previous two topics, only three articles were unedited reproductions of news agency reports (two in *Pravda* and one in *SME*). Both dailies devoted considerable attention to accounts of different municipalities and local police about their plans to install CCTV camera systems or about their experiences with them. These articles were regional in scope and generally of lower quality, presenting only a limited number of views on the use of CCTV cameras. We also found a handful of very good contributions discussing the trade-off between privacy and security. These were typically found in the domestic section of the newspapers. Both dailies included discussions of the merits of using CCTV cameras at schools. This aspect of the phenomenon was, however, much more comprehensively and analytically covered by *SME*. The introduction of CCTV cameras at football stadiums to deal with hooliganism resonated much more with *Pravda*. One of the articles was a world news piece about the introduction of additional CCTV cameras in the New York City subway system. This article together with

⁸⁹ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 2012. ‘Amerika a Izrael útočili na Irán kyberzbraňou.’ [USA and Israel Attacked Iran with a Cyber-Weapon] *SME*, 1 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6400633/amerika-a-izrael-utocili-na-iran-kyberzbranou.html>.

⁹⁰ Matišák, Andrej. 2012. ‘Bojujú skutoční Bondovia s Iránom?’ [Do Real Bonds Fight Against Iran?] *Pravda*, 17 July 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/249811-bojuju-skutocni-bondovia-s-iranom/>.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Mačák, Kubo. 2012. ‘Kyberútok: ilegalita jednotiek a núl.’ [Cyber-Attack: Illegality of Ones and Zeros] *SME*, 5 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://komentare.sme.sk/c/6405738/kyberutok-ilegalita-jednotiek-a-nul.html>.

three more published in *SME* were the only reports discussing the use of CCTV cameras in public transport.

The differences in the quality of the articles could again be explained by their position in the papers. According to Šípoš, the best Slovak journalists usually work in the domestic, particularly political, news divisions, where there is a high level of competition. In contrast, softer topics relating to societal trends are often plagued by exaggerations, incorrect interpretations of statistics or a lack of evidence to substantiate the author’s conclusions. Similarly, coverage of regional events and issues tends to be of inferior quality due to the lower journalistic standards and quality of reporters.⁹³

5.3.2. Content analysis: Actors and themes

The issues around the use of CCTV cameras attracted the most extensive coverage. The largest number of statements we coded was for this topic. In contrast to the other two case studies, the vast majority (94%) of actors quoted in connection with the topic of CCTV camera systems were of Slovak origin. Since criminality and the prevention of criminality are themes that concern people’s everyday lives, this was to be expected. In almost 20% of cases, the coverage of CCTV cameras involved quotes of the opinions of, predominantly, local politicians, municipalities and the local police. The other two largest groups were journalists (13.8%) and ‘others’ (13.8%). Except for one American journalist, all the other journalist actors in the coverage were the authors of the articles themselves. In contrast to the other two topics, the papers did not rely on foreign media coverage and the use of CCTV cameras was thus considered domestic news. The actors coded as ‘others’ represented schools or head teachers in articles discussing the use of CCTV cameras in educational establishments; football clubs and their representatives in articles on CCTV cameras at stadiums; or bus drivers in public transport. Citizens and passengers were quoted in 11% of the coded statements. CCTV cameras were the actor in 10.5% of statements, which typically referred to the locations monitored by cameras.

Table 13: Top 12 actors coded in relation to CCTV and their origin

Actor	Frequency		Actor's origin				
	#	%	Slovakia	USA	EU	Czech Republic	Mentioned generally
Journalist	37	13.81%	34	1			2
Others	37	13.81%	36			1	
Citizen/Passenger	30	11.19%	28				2
CCTV Cameras	28	10.45%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Police	25	9.33%	25				
State institutions	24	8.96%	21	1	1		1
Experts	21	7.84%	21				
Municipality	13	4.85%	11	2			
Individuals	13	4.85%	13				
Transportation Company	12	4.48%	11	1			
Politicians	11	4.10%	9	2			
Private company	10	3.73%	10				
Total	261	97.39%	219	7	1	1	5

⁹³ Šípoš, Gabriel. 2007. ‘Slovenské médiá 2006 – etika sa zlepšila, profesionalita stagnuje.’ [Slovak Media 2006 – Ethics Has Improved, Professionalism Stagnates] *Slovak Press Watch Blog*, 5 February 2007. Web. Accessed 23 July 2013. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/c/80526/Slovenske-media-2006-etika-sa-zlepsila-profesionalita-stagnuje.html>.

The opinions of state institutions, including the state, the Ministries of Education and the Interior, as well as the Personal Data Protection Office, were expressed in 9% of the coverage. Expert opinion was published in 7.8% of statements. These included psychologists, security experts and lawyers. Among the twelve most frequently quoted actors were also school pupils' parents coded as 'individuals' (4.9%), municipal transportation companies (4.5%) and private companies that install CCTV camera systems (3.7%). We coded no interaction among actors.

The single most discussed topic connected to CCTV cameras was the installation or purchase of CCTV systems (23.3%), in most cases involving municipalities or the municipal police force. These statements were either purely informative or conveyed the experience and evaluation of the systems by the municipality, including mayors, and their police forces. These discussions were also connected to the theme of monitoring the public domain (8.2%). The prevalence of such debates in the Slovak press is understandable given the ever-increasing expansion of CCTV camera systems in the country. As reported in a 2010 *Pravda* article, 'several years ago, camera systems were the sole privilege of towns [and cities]. Nowadays, the smallest villages have them as well.'⁹⁴ Similarly, in 2011, *SME* reported that 'cameras should, over time, be not just in town [and city] centres, but also in the smallest villages and towns.'⁹⁵ Yet, there were also cases we coded that related to the installation of cameras at football stadiums, schools or even in private homes. We coded the installation of CCTV camera systems outside private homes to monitor personal property or even inside in the common areas in tenement buildings on housing estates, such as entrance halls or lifts, as private domain monitoring. We assigned the same code to CCTV cameras installed in the non-public areas of schools, such as classrooms. The installation of cameras and private domain monitoring (9.3%) were the two topics most frequently coded together.

Costs (3.3%) and funding (4.9%) related to the purchase and installation of cameras were also often found together in statements. Most frequently the discussion was of the lower costs and state funding opportunities for the installation or extension of CCTV camera systems in municipalities. In many cases this was related to state funds allocated for municipal projects aimed at increasing security. The amount of available funds changed over time; the increase in the number of statements correlated with the increases in the funding budget. Funding was also discussed in connection with parents' contributions to the purchase of CCTV camera systems for schools. The rules related to using CCTV cameras were also regularly discussed in connection with the installation of cameras (10.4%), also related to ensuring the protection of personality rights of citizens.

⁹⁴ Machovič, Pavol. 'Na dediny má dozerat' množstvo kamier.' [Numerous Cameras Are to Monitor Villages] *Pravda*, 25 January 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/209574-na-dediny-ma-dozerat-mnozstvo-kamier/>.

⁹⁵ Trško, Michal. 2011. 'Kamery chystajú všade, sledovať chcú najmä mládež.' [Cameras Are to Be Everywhere, They Should Primarily Monitor Youth] *SME*, 2 September 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6037832/kamery-chystaju-vsade-sledovat-chcu-najma-mladez.html>.

Table 14: Topics coded in relation to CCTV

Topic	Frequency	%
Purchase/Installation of CCTV cameras	85	23.29%
Security-related rules and regulations	38	10.41%
Private domain monitoring	34	9.32%
Public domain monitoring	30	8.22%
Cameras CCTV	24	6.58%
Crime prevention	23	6.30%
Crime-solving	22	6.03%
Privacy	18	4.93%
Funding	18	4.93%
Security General	14	3.84%
Crime detection	12	3.29%
Surveillance increase	12	3.29%
Surveillance	12	3.29%
Costs	12	3.29%
Personal data protection	4	1.10%
Protest	2	0.55%
Personal freedom	2	0.55%
Terrorism	2	0.55%
Power	1	0.27%
Total	365	100%

A fifth of the coverage comprised views on security (3.8%), crime prevention (6.3%), detection (3.3%) and crime-solving (6.0%), and terrorism (0.3%). Since the articles discussing the use of CCTV cameras in the two papers related mainly to their use by municipalities, private persons and schools, these views predominantly dealt with property crime, such as thefts, burglaries and property damage, and public order offences. As aptly summarised by one article headline, CCTV cameras were discussed time and again in connection with the fight against vandals in the public and private domains.⁹⁶ In contrast, issues of privacy (4.9%), personal data protection (1.1%), personal freedom (0.6%), surveillance (3.3%) and increased surveillance (3.3%),⁹⁷ protests against surveillance (0.6%), and power (0.3%) were touched on explicitly in 14% of cases.

5.3.3. Content analysis: Discussions about CCTV cameras

Although the majority of statements entailed no value judgements or evaluations of CCTV cameras, we coded many more instances of evaluative and advocative argumentative strategies for this topic than the previous two. We found 181 definitive, 62 evaluative, and 16 advocative statements. Of the evaluative ones, 68% were positive, 17% negative and 15% were neutral. Among the advocative statements positive ones (56.6%) slightly prevailed over the negative ones (43.6%). Just over 3% of definitive statements were coded as positive, around 20% were negative, and the rest were neutral. While municipalities, local mayors, the

⁹⁶ Teliščáková, Dagmar. 2010. 'Proti vandalom v dedine bojujú kamerami.' [They Fight Vandals with Cameras in the Village] *Pravda*, 14 August 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013.

<http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/210092-proti-vandalom-v-dedine-bojuju-kamerami/>.

⁹⁷ Surveillance and surveillance increase were coded as having a negative connotation.

police and passengers were overwhelmingly in favour of CCTV camera systems, psychologists were predominantly against them. Other actors were divided in their evaluations of CCTV cameras. The views of the public appeared to be more in favour of CCTV camera systems as a measure to prevent, detect or solve crime, yet were less supportive of camera use that could intrude into their strictly private and personal spheres, as will be discussed in detail below.

Table 15: Justifications in relation to CCTV

Justification	Frequency	%
Efficiency	32	22.86%
Crime prevention	25	17.86%
Safety	19	13.57%
Right to privacy	16	11.43%
Costs	10	7.14%
Freedom/Liberty	7	5.00%
Transparency	6	4.29%
Employment of disabled	5	3.57%
Crime detection	4	2.86%
Crime-solving	4	2.86%
Trust	4	2.86%
Security	3	2.14%
Quality of service	3	2.14%
Personal domain monitoring	2	1.43%
Total	140	100%

We found justification for 38% of all coded statements. The most frequently justification given in connection with using CCTV camera systems was efficiency (23%), followed by crime prevention (18%), safety (13.5%), the right to privacy (11%) and costs (7%). Actors also justified their views in terms of freedom and liberty (5%), transparency (4.3%), the employment of disabled people (3.6%), crime detection (2.7%) and crime-solving (2.7%), trust (2.7%), security 2.1%), quality of service (2.1%) and private domain monitoring (1.4%). Crime prevention was most frequently cited along with efficiency by the proponents of CCTV cameras, followed by safety and costs. The right to privacy was most often cited together with trust by the opponents of the surveillance systems. Efficiency and costs were used by both opponents and proponents of CCTV cameras as justification.

5.3.3.1. Public domain monitoring

As mentioned above, opinions on the use of CCTV cameras seemed to vary according to whether they should be used to monitor the public or the private domain. In the four articles discussing the use of monitoring cameras in public transport, positive views overwhelmingly prevailed. Passengers, drivers, transport companies and politicians all evaluated CCTV cameras as positive and necessary. The main reasons given were ‘increased safety not only of passengers and drivers, increased quality of transport and last but not least protecting the interior of individual vehicles.’⁹⁸ The transport company of the capital city of Bratislava installed CCTV cameras in several of its public transport vehicles in 2009. According to the spokesman, the company was satisfied with their performance a year later, since in the buses with cameras they ‘have not recorded any damage to the interior.’ Yet, the transport company DMPK in the second largest Slovak city of Košice had no plans to introduce CCTV cameras in their vehicles. As the spokesperson explained, money was the main reason: ‘Nor do we envision it [introduction of CCTV] in next year’s investment plan. As regards investment, DMPK prioritises investment in the security of rails and fleet renewal.’ In

⁹⁸ Poracký, Marek. “Cestujúci sa bezpečnostných kamier v košickej MHD nedočkajú” [Passengers Will Not See New Cameras in the Public Transport in Košice]. *Korzár*, 26 October 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/5610484/cestujuci-sa-bezpecnostnych-kamier-v-kosickej-mhd-nedockaju.html>.

contrast, passengers and public transport drivers in Košice were all in favour of installing CCTV in public transport in their city. A driver was quoted as saying that 'it would definitely be better. People have respect before cameras. I think that passengers would not behave inappropriately in public transport vehicles as they do from time to time.' Adding that cameras would speed up passengers' boarding and disembarking the bus, he also argued that he 'once almost trapped one passenger in the doors when he was disembarking the bus.' His colleague agreed with him, claiming that 'certainly the safety of our passengers would increase. I often don't know what's happening inside the bus. It would help me.'⁹⁹

Citing safety concerns, passengers in *Korzar's* survey agreed that they would welcome a CCTV camera system in public transport. According to the daily, the respondents among passengers mostly 'do not feel safe in public transport. They claim that they are threatened by disruptive citizens. They would thus welcome CCTV cameras'. The paper quoted citizens as saying that 'we would behave differently' and that 'safety is safety. It would be better if cameras were in public transport'. Another passenger argued that 'people are not nice to each other. They destroy everything they touch. I would therefore put cameras everywhere.'¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above, there were at least two acid attacks on public transport in Košice in 2012. In response, the transport company introduced a pilot project testing CCTV cameras in several buses on the incriminated route. The company evaluated the results as positive as they 'did not record any technical problems or incidents during the pilot project of CCTV cameras'. Nonetheless, as it did not have the money for it, the company did not plan to install more cameras in their fleet.¹⁰¹

Pravda also quoted New York City's Mayor Bloomberg advocating the extension of the city's CCTV camera system because of the apparent terrorist threats New York faced: 'The failed terrorist attack on Times Square from 1st May was sufficient evidence that we crucially need a surveillance system in the city centre.'¹⁰²

Similarly, the views of the municipalities, local politicians and the police as well as of the majority of citizens about using CCTV cameras for monitoring the public domain, i.e. the centres of towns and villages, parks etc., were positive. The actors viewed them mainly as cost-effective measures that increase safety and protect property by detecting, preventing or even solving crime. As one journalist put it: 'The majority of society nowadays tolerates, accepts or even supports CCTV, since, in the eyes of the public, CCTV cameras increase safety in the streets or help prevent vandalism.'¹⁰³ Likewise, a mayor argued that 'vandalism has been significantly reduced, vandals realise that they are being monitored by cameras. When they congregate there, at least they do not cause so much damage. It certainly was not a waste of money. We would have had to pay much more for repairs to damaged municipal property.'¹⁰⁴ In a similar vein, a municipal police chief argued that their 'CCTV camera system is needed and very successful. According to an analysis of crime incidence... in the period between 2005 and 2009 the incidence of criminality was gradually reduced in the High Street, which is monitored by three CCTV cameras.'¹⁰⁵ Another police chief claimed that

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Sambor, Miroslav. 2012. 'DPMK nemá na ďalšie kamery peniaze.' [DMPK Has No Funds for More Cameras] *SME*, 27 April 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/6354392/dpmk-nema-na-dalsie-kamery-peniaze.html>.

¹⁰² 'New York aktivoval 500 kamier v metre po pokuse o útok na Times Square.' [New York Activated 500 Cameras in the Underground after Attempted Attack on Times Square] 2010. *Pravda*, 21 September 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/svet/clanok/235506-new-york-aktivoval-500-kamier-v-metre-po-pokuse-o-utok-na-times-square/>.

¹⁰³ Čupka, Milan. 2012. 'Kamery okolo nás. Strach z 15 minút neželanej slávy.' [Cameras Around Us. Fear of 15 Minutes of Unwanted Fame] *Pravda*, 1 December 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252075-kamery-okolo-nas-strach-z-15-minut-nezelanej-slavy/>.

¹⁰⁴ Teliščáková, Dagmar. 2010. 'Proti vandalom v dedine bojujú kamerami.' [They Fight Vandals with Cameras in the Village] *Pravda*, 14 August 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/210092-proti-vandalom-v-dedine-bojuju-kamerami/>.

¹⁰⁵ Hajduková, Michaela. 2010. 'Kamerový systém Mestskej polície znížil v Košiciach páchanie trestnej

their CCTV camera system also helped solve a theft and may even have saved the life of a citizen suffering from dementia who became confused and lost in the streets in freezing conditions.¹⁰⁶ Evaluating their ‘social enterprise’ operating a CCTV camera system, the Chair of a municipal Commission for the Protection of Public Order claimed that in the first two weeks ‘it helped to detect 11 offences from littering to consummation of alcohol in public.’ He added that ‘it gave a chance to disabled to fully participate in the work process and increases the feeling of safety at the housing estate.’¹⁰⁷

Similar discussions about so-called ‘social companies or social enterprises’ - companies that employ disabled persons, usually with a contribution by the state - were a rather unique aspect of the coverage on the merits of CCTV cameras. Several Slovak municipalities operate such social enterprises employing citizens with disabilities, who manage their CCTV camera systems. While reported in both newspapers, the issue was accentuated much more in *Pravda*. *SME* merely reported the existence of such enterprises. Yet, the coverage in *Pravda* put a clear emphasis on the positives of using CCTV systems to provide work for the disabled. This is apparent from two *Pravda* headlines included in our data set: ‘Cameras give work to the disabled’ and ‘Town police in L. Mikuláš operates a social company, without state contributions’. Social companies operating CCTV camera systems were evaluated positively not only because they provide working opportunities for disabled, which ‘is certainly a good example for other employers’ according to an NGO that helps the disabled to better integrate disabled citizens into everyday life.¹⁰⁸ Given their limited resources and manpower, municipalities and local police saw it as a very valuable enterprise, effective for crime prevention. One municipal police chief argued: ‘Given the limited number of officers we would not be able to check a CCTV camera system to this extent. With the help of a team of increasingly competent operators, who are sincerely thankful for the job opportunity provided, we were able to more intensely focus on the monitoring of high-risk locations. This is evidenced by the manifold increase of offences detected, but also by their gradual decline, as it also effectively performs a preventive function.’¹⁰⁹

Although generally positive towards the use of CCTV camera systems, their proponents acknowledged that due to various reasons they cannot solve all the property crime-related issues. A local mayor, for instance, argued that cameras ‘are no panacea. The youth who are most commonly responsible for damaging property ... have moved outside of the reach of cameras.’¹¹⁰ A police academy expert thought that the installation of CCTV cameras was ‘a good trend in terms of security. When the perpetrator sees a camera he has doubts. However, if the system is such that it is not possible to properly identify the perpetrator, it is

cinnosti.’ [CCTV System of City Police Reduced Crime in Kosíice] *Korzár*, 25 September 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://korzar.sme.sk/c/5563926/kamerovy-system-mestskej-policie-znizil-v-kosiciach-pachanie-trestnej-cinnosti.html>

¹⁰⁶ Brezniak, Roman. 2011. “‘Ocko’, ktoré už zachránilo aj ľudský život.” [The ‘Eye’ That Already Saved a Human Life] *SME*, 2 February 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://turiec.sme.sk/c/5747134/ocko-ktore-uz-zachranilo-aj-ludsky-zivot.html>.

¹⁰⁷ Frank, Michal. 2012. ‘Kamery na Sídlišku III sa osvedčili.’ [Cameras at Housing Estate III Have Proved Their Worth] *Korzár*, 20 June 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://presov.korzar.sme.sk/c/6425262/kamery-na-sidlisku-iii-sa-osvedcili.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Jaloviarová, Renáta. 2010. ‘Kamery dávajú prácu zdravotne postihnutým.’ [Cameras Give Work to Disabled] *Pravda*, 19 July 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/210009-kamery-davaju-pracu-zdravotne-postihnutym/>.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Mestská polícia v L. Mikuláši prevádzkuje chránenú dielňu, bez štátneho príspevku.’ [Town Police in L. Mikuláš Operates a Social Company without State Contributions] *Pravda*, 15 January 2013. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/255984-mestska-policia-v-l-mikulasi-prevadzkuje-chranenu-dielnu-bez-statneho-prispevku/>.

¹¹⁰ Machovič, Pavol. ‘Na dediny má dozerat’ množstvo kamier.’ [Multiple Cameras Are to Monitor Villages] *Pravda*, 25 January 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/209574-na-dediny-ma-dozerat-mnozstvo-kamier/>.

worse.’¹¹¹ A representative of a company installing CCTV camera systems explained that ‘the cost of the systems is no longer so high and they can also be used for smaller-scale solutions.’ Installation of CCTV is thus ‘a trend, since everyone thinks that a camera will solve the problems.’ However, he added that ‘for the system to be really utilised, cooperation between municipal police and the [CCTV] operators together with the detection system’ must exist. Finally, he asserted that ‘the evidence has to be such that they can identify the perpetrator in any case, and this is not possible with absolutely cheap cameras.’¹¹² The inability of the old-fashioned CCTV camera systems to provide a good quality image of perpetrators was also cited as one reason why ‘approximately half of all bank robberies are never solved.’¹¹³

Where cameras seemed not to have been effective as a crime prevention measure were in football stadiums. As discussed above, with the aim of dealing with football hooligans, the Ministry of Education introduced a law in 2009 that obliged stadiums to install CCTV camera systems. Both articles in our data set highlighted, however, that the failure of many football clubs to install them was not the only reason why CCTV cameras failed to prevent football fans from causing disturbances.¹¹⁴ According to a football functionary, CCTV cameras had detected some hooligans. But it was impossible to identify them, ‘since they [hooligans] are often masked in balaclavas or cover their faces with scarves.’¹¹⁵ Another measure was supposed to solve the problem, so-called ‘mobile courts’, in which a prosecutor and a judge are present to try to arrest hooligans on the spot. However, mobile courts were not used by the match organisers mainly due to a legal problem meaning that if an arrestee asked for a lawyer, the trial would be delayed and he could not be sentenced on the day. Evaluating the efficiency of the measures, a lawyer and spokesperson of a football club, claimed that mobile courts are ‘the populist nonsense of Mrs Tóthová [a former Slovak MP], who proposed it in Parliament’ and not ‘a functional measure.’ He also doubted how helpful CCTV cameras would be: ‘I know only about a single match where they convicted someone.’ Another football club manager thought that the ‘best and single way in which to solve the problem is cooperation between all components - the police, legislative organs and clubs as organisers.’¹¹⁶

Similarly, a local police chief argued that a more systematic solution than just repressive measures such as CCTV cameras were needed to resolve a conflict between neighbours in a town in western Slovakia. This conflict between a family from the Slovak majority and a Roma family attracted the attention of the media and of the then Minister of the Interior, who ordered the installation of a CCTV camera in the street. Yet, according to the family who had been the target of verbal and physical assaults by their Roma neighbours ‘not much has changed’. The article explained that even ‘after the installation of the cameras the neighbours still throw [their] rubbish in the garden, burn cables and verbally

¹¹¹ Trško, Michal. 2011. ‘Kamery chystajú všade, sledovať chcú najmä mládež.’ [Cameras Are to Be Everywhere, They Should Primarily Monitor Youth] *SME*, 2 September 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6037832/kamery-chystaju-vsade-sledovat-chcu-najma-mladez.html>.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Trško, Michal. 2011. ‘Video bitky by úrad ukryl.’ [The Authorities Would Conceal Video of a Fight] *SME*, 16 July 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5980136/video-bitky-by-urad-ukryl.html>.

¹¹⁴ Zelinka, Adam. 2010. ‘Futbalových chuligánov nezastavili ani kamery.’ [Not Even Cameras Have Stopped Football Hooligans] *Pravda*, 30 March 2020. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013.

<http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/165846-futbalovych-chuliganov-nezastavili-ani-kamery/> and Krčmárik, Radovan. 2010. ‘Zlyhali kamery aj mobilné sudy.’ [Cameras as well as Mobile Courts Failed] *Pravda*, 26 August 2010. Web. Accessed. 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/167462-zlyhali-kamery-aj-mobilne-sudy/>.

¹¹⁵ Krčmárik, Radovan. 2010. ‘Zlyhali kamery aj mobilné sudy.’ [Cameras as well as Mobile Courts Failed] *Pravda*, 26 August 2010. Web. Accessed. 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/167462-zlyhali-kamery-aj-mobilne-sudy/>.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

attack their neighbours.’¹¹⁷ Commenting on the issue, the Ministry of the Interior spokesperson argued that the ‘CCTV camera system is of course no panacea, it will, however, provide the police with a picture about what is happening on the street.’¹¹⁸

As one of the authors argued, the popularity and ‘trustworthiness of CCTV camera systems [in the public domain] is also increased by laws’ regulating their use.¹¹⁹ Another journalist explained that ‘the use of video footage is governed by strict rules.’¹²⁰ The monitored premises must be visibly labelled and the video footage has to be deleted after seven days. The only exception is if it is required by the police in criminal investigations. The rules concerning the use of CCTV camera systems by individuals to monitor their private properties are even stricter. ‘Private individual[s] can only monitor their driveway in order to protect public order. Otherwise, according to the ‘personality protection’ Articles of the Civil Code,¹²¹ they need to have permission to record persons. If the police do not request the images, the owner has to destroy them within seven days.’¹²² A lawyer explained that ‘it is also illegal to record people in the street without their approval and to put it online. “Such use of video footage is absolutely inadmissible and even allows the injured party to claim monetary compensation for infringement of their personal rights.”’¹²³

5.3.3.2. Private domain monitoring

The use of CCTV cameras to monitor the private domain was reported as more controversial in the Slovak media coverage. This was mainly due to privacy concerns. One of the controversies about the use of CCTV cameras concerned the release of CCTV footage from a private home that captured potential misconduct by police dealing with an incident. The footage was aired on TV and was also published on the website of *SME*. While the Personal Data Protection Office termed the publication of the images as illegal, lawyers approached by *SME* were of a different opinion. One legal expert argued that the publication of such footage was permitted under freedom of expression. He further claimed that ‘this can be restricted only if it is necessary [in a democratic society]. In the case of severe police misconduct publication of the footage is fully legitimate and legal.’ Another lawyer thought that ‘journalists can use the footage. “This, however, must be proportionate and must protect the interests of the person in question.”’¹²⁴

The increasingly prevalent presence of CCTV camera systems in Slovak schools was another controversial matter discussed in *SME*, and to a lesser extent in *Pravda*. Many head teachers in Slovakia argued that they had to install CCTV camera systems to increase the safety and security of their pupils and staff. The schools claimed that ‘cameras prevent

¹¹⁷ ‘Tu iba represia nepomôže, tvrdí náčelník obecnej polície.’ [Mere Repression Will Not Help Here]. 2011. *Pravda*, 24 June 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/170868-tu-iba-represia-nepomoz-e-tvr-di-nacelnik-obecnej-policie/>.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Čupka, Milan. 2012. ‘Kamery okolo nás. Strach z 15 minút neželanej slávy.’ [Cameras Around Us. Fear of 15 Minutes of Unwanted Fame] *Pravda*, 1 December 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252075-kamery-okolo-nas-strach-z-15-minut-nezelanej-slavy/>.

¹²⁰ Brezniak, Roman. 2011. “‘Očko’, ktoré už zachránilo aj ľudský život.’ [The ‘Eye’ That Already Saved a Human Life] *SME*, 2 February 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://turiec.sme.sk/c/5747134/ocko-ktore-uz-zachranilo-aj-ludsky-zivot.html>.

¹²¹ Like in many other civil law countries, ‘personality protection’ is anchored in the Slovak legal order. Individuals have the constitutional right to seek protection against unlawful actions in relation to their dignity, personal honour, reputation, and their private and family life. The primary source of protection of rights of reputation and privacy are Articles 11-17 of the Civil Code. According to Article 11, ‘any natural person has the right to protection of his or her personality, in particular of his or her life and health, civil and human dignity, privacy, name and personal characteristics.’

¹²² Trško, Michal. 2011. ‘Video bitky by úrad ukryl.’ [The Office Would Hide Video of Fight.] *SME*, 16 July 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/5980136/video-bitky-by-urad-ukryl.html>.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

thefts, assaults on teachers and bullying.’¹²⁵ One deputy head teacher said that the experience of his schools with CCTV was good, that ‘it was primarily prevention and pupils’ behaviour has improved,’ the school has fewer scribbled-on desks; younger pupils do not fight or run in corridors.¹²⁶ Another head teacher argued that after they installed cameras, the safety of pupils, discipline during breaks and protection of school property improved. He added that ‘the children got used to the cameras. They are aware of them and behave accordingly.’ They were also able to identify a pupil who damaged the school’s façade.¹²⁷ Yet another head teacher was positive about their investments, to which parents also contributed, because petty theft, fights between pupils and bullying disappeared. He, of course, acknowledged that ‘if the prevention is to be effective, the intervention of pedagogical staff directly in the educational process is also needed.’¹²⁸ More and more schools in Slovakia have thus had cameras installed on the outside of their buildings, in the playgrounds, corridors, canteens, and even in classrooms.

While monitoring public areas such as outside premises of the schools was seen as uncontroversial, the monitoring of classrooms and corridors, which are not publicly accessible, was met with opposition among the actors. For instance, a child psychologist thought that ‘it might not be detrimental if cameras were to be in public places such as the cloakroom or the canteen.’ In her opinion, CCTV camera systems could help improve safety or prevent thefts and other trouble, ‘pupils should, however, learn to behave properly regardless of cameras.’¹²⁹ In 2011, the Minister of Education ‘objected to the introduction of cameras in classrooms’.¹³⁰ In a directive for head teachers, the Ministry said it ‘does not recommend implementing bullying prevention in schools by introducing cameras in classrooms.’ In line with the Personal Data Protection Office, the Ministry argued that ‘schools which use CCTV cameras in classrooms without clear approval from all parents act illegally’. The Office referred to the Civil Code, according to which video footage of a person can be used only with her permission. The spokesperson of the Office thus noted that ‘before installing a CCTV camera system, the school management should inform parents and ask their permission’.¹³¹ Since many schools did not directly request parents’ and teachers’ permission to be monitored, even if no parents had complained, the schools may have acted outside of the law.

Parents seemed divided on the issue of CCTV cameras in schools. While some seemed to accept, support and even fund the installation of cameras in schools, others were not ‘thrilled for their offspring to be under constant surveillance, and reject[ed] it.’¹³² A parent approached by *Korzár*, for instance, claimed that ‘on the one hand, I am not really for cameras in schools. On the other hand, if I knew that there are problematic pupils in the school attended by my children I would welcome this kind of technological help.’ Another

¹²⁵ Mihaliková, Mária and Burcák, Matúš. 2011. ‘Do školských tried kamery nepatria.’ [Cameras Do Not Belong to Classrooms]. *SME*, 20 September 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6064229/do-skolskych-tried-kamery-nepatria.html>.

¹²⁶ ‘Ministerstvo školstva zvažuje, že do škôl umiestni kamery.’ [The Ministry of Education Is Considering Placing Cameras in Schools] 2013. *SME*, 21 April 2014. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6774907/ministerstvo-skolstva-zvazuje-ze-do-skol-umiestni-kamery.html>.

¹²⁷ Mihaliková, Mária and Burcák, Matúš. 2011. ‘Do školských tried kamery nepatria.’ [Cameras Do Not Belong to Classrooms] *SME*, 20 September 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6064229/do-skolskych-tried-kamery-nepatria.html>.

¹²⁸ ‘Ministerstvo školstva zvažuje, že do škôl umiestni kamery.’ [The Ministry of Education Is Considering Placing Cameras in Schools] 2013. *SME*, 21 April 2014. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6774907/ministerstvo-skolstva-zvazuje-ze-do-skol-umiestni-kamery.html>.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Mihaliková, Mária and Burcák, Matúš. 2011. ‘Do školských tried kamery nepatria.’ [Cameras Do Not Belong to Classrooms] *SME*, 20 September 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6064229/do-skolskych-tried-kamery-nepatria.html>.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Krčmárik, Radovan. 2010. ‘Kto ochráni pedagógov pred násilím v škole?’ [Who Will Protect Teachers Against Violence in Schools?] *Pravda*, 28 August 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/167481-kto-ochrani-pedagogov-pred-nasilim-v-skole/>.

parent perceived CCTV cameras more positively: 'I have experience with cameras from my workplace. Like every technology, if approached correctly, they can help.' In contrast, another parent argued that 'the school management would, in my opinion, have to have a very serious reason, if they wanted to install cameras on premises where my children are. I personally would definitely want it explained why they are doing so.'¹³³

Likewise, some education professionals did not perceive CCTV cameras as an effective measure to ensure pupils' and teachers' safety. Rather, they saw them as an intrusion on privacy, freedom and the healthy mental development of children. The Chief of the Association of Grammar Schools, for example, considered recording in classrooms 'nonsense'. He thought that cameras would not intimidate those pupils who want to fight, since they can do that outside of the reach of cameras. He also recognised that recording 'invades children's freedom.' A child psychologist also recognised that 'upbringing is important; a CCTV camera system cannot be everywhere. Placing cameras in classrooms can upset the atmosphere among the group, where pupils lose the opportunity to experience a relaxed atmosphere with the teacher.' She added that when approached by parents requesting the installation of cameras in schools, she 'tries to persuade them that a stick will not help to eliminate bullies. You have to ask the child why they fight, communicate with the parents and a psychologist.' Lastly, touching on the issue of personal freedom and responsibility, she argued that the use of CCTV cameras in schools may cause 'a problem with self-control. They have to learn to make decisions on their own, how to behave. Appropriate behaviour cannot be enforced by putting them under surveillance like a herd, by having someone observe and assess them.'¹³⁴

Another psychologist also saw monitoring children's play and activities in nurseries, kindergartens and schools as negative. He argued that while children in nurseries and kindergartens 'absolutely do not realise' that they are being monitored, it might be harmful to the children's psychological development were parents to tell their children that they were watching them. This is because the child would 'realise that my privacy is actually not my privacy'. He explained that limiting or violating a person's privacy could often be a source of mental discomfort and in extreme cases even mental disorders. If children as well as adults feel that they 'have no possibility of hiding from them [cameras], that they can be recorded in activities they consider private', their 'levels of distrust towards their environment are strengthened'. As a result, perceptions of their own safety and security change. He added that he would ask parents who monitor their children in this way 'whether they would agree with their children monitoring them; whether they realise that privacy is privacy and that it also concerns small children.'¹³⁵ A journalist commented on the issue in the following strong words: 'As if parents forgot that a child is enviably free, but at the same time extremely sensitive to the reaction of his environment. Is it not perverse if a parent wants to observe their nursery child as they play with other children and praise them for it in the evening? ... Is it not weird when a camera placed in the corner of the school corridor spoils the so important period in children's lives when they exchange written love messages, and receive well- and less-earned punches during the lunch break?'¹³⁶

From the coverage it would seem that citizens in other situations involving the monitoring of what they consider their private sphere increasingly fear misuse of CCTV

¹³³ Karasová, Erika. 2013. 'Žiakov v Dobsínej sledujú kamery a hliadky.' [Cameras and Patrols Surveil Pupils in Dobšiná] *Korzar*, 28 January 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://roznava.korzar.sme.sk/c/6681619/ziakov-v-dobsinej-sleduju-kamery-a-hliadky.html>.

¹³⁴ Mihaliková, Mária and Burčík, Matúš. 2011. 'Do školských tried kamery nepatria.' [Cameras Do Not Belong in Classrooms] *SME*, 20 September 2011. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://www.sme.sk/c/6064229/doskolskych-tried-kamery-nepatria.html>.

¹³⁵ Čupka, Milan. 2012. 'Viac kamier znamená aj viac nedôvery.' [More Cameras Also Mean More Distrust]. *Pravda*, 1 January 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252077-viac-kamier-znamenaja-aj-viac-nedovery/>.

¹³⁶ Čupka, Milan. 2012. 'Kamery okolo nás. Strach z 15 minút neželanej slávy.' [Cameras Around Us. Fear of 15 Minutes of Unwanted Fame] *Pravda*, 1 December 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252075-kamery-okolo-nas-strach-z-15-minut-nezelanej-slavy/>.

cameras. While the coverage was mostly positive in 2010 and 2011, more critical articles drawing attention to ‘Orwellian fears of spying’ appeared in *Pravda* in 2012.¹³⁷ In this regard, *SME* also reported in 2013 on a case of a dispute involving the installation of cameras in communal premises between occupants of a block of flats. One of the occupants who did not agree with the purchase of CCTV cameras argued that her neighbours who have access to the system have been spying on her in the lift. Refuting that they are used to spy, other occupants argued that ‘the cameras are there just for security reasons and they have proved their worth.’ Citizens had differing opinions on the modern trend of installing CCTV systems in the public domain and private shared houses. While ‘some regarded it as a standard measure against vandalism, others lean towards the opinion that considers it unnecessary paranoia and a restriction of personal freedom.’¹³⁸

5.4. The influence of the domestic and international contexts

The domestic and international contexts shaped the news coverage of each of the three issues to a considerable extent. The influence demonstrated itself in terms of the volume of articles dedicated to each individual issue, in the themes discussed and their development over time. The 3D body scanners were little covered in the Slovak press. The fact that Slovakia faced no serious civil aviation security threat or immediate threat of a terrorist attack perpetrated by international extremist groups can account for the low media interest in the controversy. The perception in Slovakia was that the risk of a terrorist attack in general, and in civil aviation in particular, was rather low during the study period. This perception was reinforced by the fact that Slovakia has only four international airports operating short-haul flights on which few passengers from high-risk countries travel. As a result, there were no reports of Slovak officials considering installing 3D body scanners and no reports of a Slovak airport introducing them. Hence, Slovak citizens were only able to directly experience 3D body scanners when travelling from one of the European or American airports that had them. The full body scanner controversy was thus reported as part of world news, which did not directly concern the Slovak public. This explains the small number of articles we found on this topic, their incidence over time and their poor analytical value/quality. It would also appear that the perceived lack of imminent danger for Slovak passengers explains the prominence of privacy and dignity anxieties over security concerns in the Slovak press.

The influence of the international context is apparent from the way in which the coverage of the issue evolved over time. The coverage followed the decisions to introduce the scanners at airports together with the discussions on the merits thereof between different countries and foreign actors. These debates were most pronounced in the US and Europe early in 2010 immediately after the failed bomb attack by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab on the Amsterdam-Detroit flight on 25 December 2009. Hence, the majority of articles published (22 out of 29) on the topic and half of those coded appeared in the first half of 2010. The rest of the coded articles also responded to international events as reported in foreign media; namely to the European Parliament resolution on the use of full body scanners at EU airports, discussions in the US Congress, Germany’s decision not to use

¹³⁷ Čupka, Milan. 2012. ‘Kamery okolo nás. Strach z 15 minút neželanej slávy.’ [Cameras Around Us. Fear of 15 Minutes of Unwanted Fame] *Pravda*, 1 December 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252075-kamery-okolo-nas-strach-z-15-minut-nezelanej-slavy/> and Čupka, Milan. 2012. ‘Viac kamier znamená aj viac nedôvery.’ [More Cameras Also Mean More Distrust]. *Pravda*, 1 January 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252077-viac-kamier-znamenaja-viac-nedovery/>.

¹³⁸ Frank, Michal. 2013. ‘Kamery vo výťahoch vraj zneužívajú na špehovanie.’ [Cameras in Lift Are Allegedly Misused for Spying] *Korzar*, 11 February 2013. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://presov.korzar.sme.sk/c/6697753/kamery-vo-vytahu-vraj-zneuzivaju-na-spehovanie.html>.

the scanners after the test period at Hamburg airport, and finally the decision of the TSA to withdraw the machines from American airports.

The Stuxnet coverage largely followed international events and replicated the international media coverage of the attacks over time. Thus in 2010, when it was not yet known who had developed the worm and when Iran had not yet acknowledged that its nuclear devices had been targeted by a cyber-attack, the first article reported the spread of the virus in the US and Iran. Subsequent articles responded to the new information about Stuxnet as it was revealed in international media. The articles thus reported in sequence on Iran's acknowledgement of the attacks; on the speculations that the USA and Israel are behind the attack in the light of knowledge that they had conducted tests in the Israeli desert; on the alleged cyber-war Iran led against its enemies; on the involvement of President Obama in the attacks; on operation Olympic Games and its presidential 'fathers' and objectives; on the legality of Israel and the USA's attacks and the possibility of a counter-attack; on the speculations that the UK could have been involved in the attack; and finally on the renewed Stuxnet activity in Iran.

The Stuxnet attacks attracted slightly more attention from the press; there was a larger share of articles by a known author on this topic than on the 3D body scanners. The Stuxnet phenomenon was considered as world and/or technology news in the Slovak media. The slightly more pronounced interest in the topic could be due to the above-discussed higher probability of cyber-attacks in Slovakia compared to a terrorist attack. The government security experts expected an increased risk of cyber-attacks by different groups. In 2012, the websites of different Slovak authorities and of the Slovak financial group Penta were targeted by hackers claiming to belong to Anonymous. This fact was also reflected in the coverage discussing cyber wars. This topic resonated particularly strongly with *SME*, which itself had experienced cyber-attacks. The following extract from 2012 accentuates this point: 'Today's [cyber] attacks are, however, much more complicated. And much more dangerous [sic]. It is practically impossible to defend oneself if a strong enough group decides to block a website. ... Such attacks are common, *SME* also faces them occasionally. You don't even need great skill.... When they [Anonymous] attacked the financial group Penta or governmental websites during the Gorilla protests, it was even possible to follow the internal communication of these attackers on IRC fora.'¹³⁹ This might explain the interest in the topic of state cyber-attacks and cyber-wars from 2011 onwards. Yet, as the government Reports on the State of Security suggest, there was little belief that Slovakia would be at risk of a state-orchestrated cyber-attack as opposed to one perpetrated by a group of hackers. This might account for why the coverage of cyber wars never directly linked to a threat to Slovakia.

The fact that the coverage was extensively framed in terms of the danger posed by Iran's uranium enrichment programme may also have to do with Slovakia's foreign policy. Slovakia is a member of NATO and the EU and has been a loyal ally and supporter of the USA's foreign policy for many years. As discussed above, the official 2011 Report on the State of Security in Slovakia concluded that 'it could be expected that uranium enrichment programmes of some states in contrast to the efforts of the international community to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction may prove a security challenge with an increasing risk potential.'¹⁴⁰ The concerns of Slovak diplomacy are clear from the words of Slovakia's former Foreign Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda. In January 2012 he argued that 'in the introduction of sanctions against Iran, the EU sees an increased chance to get Iran to the negotiating table and to talk to Europe, but also with America and the other world about what really concerns us.' Dzurinda added that the EU is concerned particularly about the growing number of reports suggesting that Iran is aiming for the development of nuclear

¹³⁹ Prokopčák, Tomáš. 'Vo svete zúria štátne kybervojny.' [State Cyber-Wars Rage in the World] *SME*, 15 June 2012. Web. Accessed 12. May 2013. <http://tech.sme.sk/c/6416676/vo-svete-zuria-statne-kybervojny.html>.

¹⁴⁰ 'Správa o bezpečnosti Slovenskej republiky za rok 2011.' [Report on the State of Security in the Slovak Republic in the Year 2011] 2012. Web. Accessed 11 July 2013. <http://www.rokovania.sk/Rokovanie.aspx/BodRokovaniaDetail?idMaterial=21192>.

weapons. According to him, the idea that a nuclear weapon would get in the hands of extremist groups is unimaginable and ‘we have to do everything we can to eliminate the actuality of that idea.’¹⁴¹

The use of CCTV camera systems was considered domestic news and was thus largely influenced by the events in Slovakia. As already discussed, the small number of articles focusing on the merits of CCTV cameras on public transport is a result of the structure of Slovakia’s public transport network. Namely, Slovakia has no underground system and only a relatively limited number of CCTV cameras on the public transport network. The coverage of transport-related topics coincided with two different attacks on the transport system. One was the failed terrorist attack on New York City, which was covered by *Pravda*. The 2012 articles about the installation of CCTV cameras in buses in the Eastern-Slovak city of Košice were part of the coverage of the preceding acid attacks. The discussions in *Pravda* on the merits of CCTV systems in football stadiums coincided with the introduction of the new law to tackle hooliganism, obliging clubs to install CCTV cameras in stadiums.

The reports about CCTV in schools generally replicated domestic developments. The purchase of CCTV camera systems by Slovak schools increased between 2010 and 2013. The first article appeared two days before the beginning of the 2010 school year and discussed the growing number of schoolchildren assaults on teachers. The article introduced the topic in the following words: ‘Cameras in the corridors, private security service, pupil checks before entering school. Measures which we have to date seen only in American movies could in a few years be common also in Slovak schools.’¹⁴² The public discussions evolved over time. The other three articles were published in response to different announcements made by the Ministry of Education on this topic. In 2011, *SME* covered the experience of different schools in reaction to the Minister’s instruction to head teachers not to install cameras in classrooms. An article from January 2013 discussing the realities of a school in eastern Slovakia appeared at the time when the Ministry informed that it was ‘planning to introduce a special provision into practice, which would govern the use of CCTV camera system[s] in accordance with the Law on the Protection of Personal Data.’¹⁴³ The last article in the series on use of CCTV by schools, published in April 2013, reported that the Ministry of Education ‘wishes to improve security in schools and is thus planning to explore also the options and extent of using cameras in schools.’¹⁴⁴ The relatively high occurrence of the topic coded as private domain monitoring was due to the fact that the installation of cameras in private homes is ‘a modern trend’ in Slovakia.¹⁴⁵

5.5. Summary

This report investigated the role of traditional media in influencing Slovak citizens’ security perceptions and attitudes towards adopted security measures in relation to 3D body

¹⁴¹ ‘Dzurinda: Sankcie voči Iránu boli nevyhnutné, ropy je vo svete dost.’ [Dzurinda: Sanctions Against Iran Were Inevitable, There is Enough Oil in the World] *Aktuality.sk*, 23 January 2012. Web. Accessed 24 July 2013.

<http://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/200389/dzurinda-sankcie-voci-iranu-boli-nevyhnutne-ropy-je-vo-svete-dost/>

¹⁴² Krčmárik, Radovan. 2010. ‘Kto ochráni pedagógov pred násilím v škole?’ [Who Will Protect Teachers Against Violence in Schools?] *Pravda*, 28 August 2010. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013.

<http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/167481-cto-ochrani-pedagogov-pred-nasilim-v-skole/>.

¹⁴³ Karasová, Erika. 2013. ‘Žiakov v Dobsínej sledujú kamery a hliadky.’ [Cameras and Patrols Surveil Pupils in Dobšiná] *Koržár*, 28 January 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://roznav.korzar.sme.sk/c/6681619/ziakov-v-dobsinej-sleduju-kamery-a-hliadky.html>.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Ministerstvo školstva zvažuje, že do škôl umiestni kamery.’ [The Ministry of Education Is Considering Placing Cameras in Schools] 2013. *SME*, 21 April 2014. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013.

<http://www.sme.sk/c/6774907/ministerstvo-skolstva-zvazuje-ze-do-skol-umiestni-kamery.html>.

¹⁴⁵ Frank, Michal. 2013. ‘Kamery vo výťahu vraj zneužívajú na sľepovanie.’ [Cameras in Lift Are Allegedly Misused for Spying] *Koržár*, 11 February 2013. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013.

<http://presov.korzar.sme.sk/c/6697753/kamery-vo-vytahu-vraj-zneuzivaju-na-spehovanie.html>.

scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV cameras. The investigation employed qualitative textual analysis of press coverage of the three topics in two national newspapers between January 2010 and April 2013. Drawing on the above analysis we can conclude that the press coverage of 3D body scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV cameras varied between topics and newspapers both in terms of volume, quality and the framing of the security risks and trade-offs. The nature of the coverage was shaped by the international and domestic contexts, the location of the coverage in the newspapers, and by type of security risks discussed. The political leaning of the papers, however, did not seem to directly shape the coverage.

The 3D body scanner controversy attracted the least interest from the media of all three topics. Given the low risk of a terrorist attack in Slovakia and the lack of discussion about introducing scanners in Slovakia, the topic was largely framed in terms of world news not directly connected to Slovak citizens. A possible contributing factor was the low terrorism risk facing Slovakia's four international airports. Since none of them operates long-haul flights to the US and because very few persons from high-risk countries use them, the perception of a possible terrorist threat in civil aviation was even lower. The coverage was purely informative, lacking thorough analysis or use of original sources. The low quality of the articles is due to the fact that the quality of the journalism of foreign news desks is generally poor. The coverage was dominated by the actions and opinions of different foreign states, state institutions and politicians on the merits of introducing full body scanners and on the related rules and regulations which were to safeguard against intrusions of citizens' privacy. The debate in Slovak newspapers followed international events and foreign media reporting. Despite the imminently preceding failed terrorist attack of the Nigerian Abdulmutallab in December 2009, the discussions related to the introduction of 3D body scanners at airports was framed in a negative light. Health, privacy and dignity concerns prevailed over security risks. As alternatives to the introduction of the intrusive technology used by full body scanners were available, they were not perceived as necessary or efficient to improve passengers' safety and security at airports. These opinions presented in the papers were eventually vindicated by the fact that airports have been withdrawing the controversial scanners.

With regards to the volume of coverage, the Stuxnet attacks were in the middle, with a handful more articles discussing them than the controversial scanners. The issue was presented as foreign or technological news. The data set comprised purely informative and some analytical articles based on foreign media coverage as well as original sources. The location of the articles in the different newspaper sections can again account for the difference in the quality of the contributions, with commentaries and technical news sections attracting better quality journalists than world news columns. Most frequently reported in the papers were the actions and opinions of states and state institutions relating to the attack on Iran deploying Stuxnet in connection with the Iranian uranium enrichment programme. The views of journalists and foreign media were also voiced. As a rule, the coverage followed international developments and information revealed by foreign newspapers. The Slovak experience with cyber-attacks on governmental web portals could be seen as contributing to the media's preoccupation with the theme of cyber-war. The overall message of the Stuxnet debate focused on three types of security risks. Firstly, the extensive scope given to Iran's nuclear programme as a justification for the deployment attack may indicate that the media believed there is a real possibility of a future threat to the Western world's security in the form of Iran's development of a nuclear weapon. Secondly, the deployment of new technologies in state cyber warfare was a pronounced issue. However, this was not directly linked to Slovak's security, suggesting that threats implicit to cyber-attacks on the country's energy infrastructure were not significant. Thirdly, the coverage also indirectly suggested the potential risk of a nuclear or other environmental catastrophe, such as that in Chernobyl in 1986 or more recently Fukushima, if ever more modern technologies are deployed in state cyber-attacks.

The use of CCTV cameras was the most salient topic in the Slovak dailies. The quality of articles varied based on whether they were located in the regional or domestic national news sections of the papers. Contributions found in the domestic news section were

generally more analytical, offered a larger number of differing arguments, and more frequently cited the opinions of the public as opposed to institutions and experts. The coverage was framed mainly in terms of actions and opinions of municipalities, journalists, schools and citizens in relation to the use and installation of CCTV camera systems. The evaluation of the merits of CCTV cameras and acceptance of their introduction depended primarily on the domain that was being monitored, and did not change much with time. The coverage rather responded to domestic events in terms of aspects that were emphasised. The use of CCTV cameras in the public domain, such as public transport, town centres or parks was viewed as positive. The main reasons for accepting the security measures was that they increase citizens' safety and security and protect their property by preventing, detecting and solving crime. In contrast, the use of CCTV cameras to monitor the private domain, including schools and shared accommodation premises, was judged with more comprehension. The concerns of legality, intrusion of one's privacy and distress regarding potential misuse of CCTV footage for spying, for instance, prevailed of security fears.

Regarding the differences in the coverage between newspapers, political leaning did not seem to be a very influential factor. The articles in *Pravda* tended to be more informative, with more reports directly taken from news agencies, particularly on the 3D body scanner and Stuxnet topics. The articles in *SME*, but for several exceptions, were more often written by an author, were more analytical, used primary sources and contained more codable statements. In several cases, the dailies also focused on different aspects of the studied issues. We would have expected the right-leaning *SME* to be more supportive of the different security measures, while the left-leaning *Pravda* was anticipated to be more concerned with the issues of personal freedom and privacy. We have, however, not seen large differences in their attitudes towards the different topics. *SME*, for instance, contained the only two negative evaluations of the Stuxnet attacks. This could be explained by the intricacies of Slovak politics. The right-left divide between the two papers is mostly in terms of their support for individual or a group of domestic political parties or leaders. Yet the right-left cleavages in the Slovak society are not very clear-cut, with the citizens often not knowing what the typical right- or left-wing policies are. People commonly vote based on politicians' personalities and not their policies. In addition, the Slovak political right often pursues more liberal policies than the political left and vice versa. The political leaning of the papers was thus a negligible factor in their reporting on mostly non-political topics of body scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV cameras.

6. Conclusion

Postmodern Western societies are preoccupied with security risks despite the fact that the human existence has never before been as secure as it is nowadays. The new threats, like terrorist attacks or nuclear catastrophes are principally caused by human activity in general and modern technologies in particular. At the same time, in their attempts to minimise various security risks, governments deploy newer and newer technologies and regulations, which ever increasingly encroach on citizens' freedom and privacy. As a result of differing perceptions of the trade-offs between security threats and privacy concerns, some security measures trigger public discontent, while others get accepted as part of citizens' everyday lives.

As the source of information for voters, and the institutional infrastructure of the contemporary public sphere, which mediates and intensifies critical discussions about the activities of the government, the mass media play a crucial role in the formation of public opinion. By putting particular issues on the agenda and framing their consequences for the public, the media may significantly influence an individual's subjective assessment of the probability of the risk posed by a particular phenomenon and shape a person's subsequent behaviour. Mazur (2006), for instance, argued that public concern about any alleged threat rises with increasing news coverage and, on the contrary, declines with diminished coverage. According to Mazur, the specific content of the news is not particularly relevant as long as it suggests uncertainty or the possibility of danger. For governments to devise publicly accepted policies in response to future and emerging security threats, it is desirable to better understand how the media portray different security hazards and technologies.

The findings of this research further suggest that how the media portray different security risks is dependent on several factors. Past experience with a particular security threat seems to be key in accounting for the extent of coverage dedicated to an issue in the media. On the one hand, the fact that Slovakia has never experienced a terrorist attack or an extensive cyber-attack can explain the relatively minute coverage of the issue of 3D body scanners and Stuxnet. On the other hand, the direct experience of journalists and citizens with property crime explains the extensive coverage of the use of CCTV cameras. Our research also indicates that how the media frames the implications of the use of new technologies in response to different security risks is the function of the nature of the technologies themselves. Namely, technologies that intrude into the private or intimate spheres of individuals' lives receive more negative coverage, even if the particular security risk is perceived as high. In those cases, alternative, less intrusive technological measures are deemed preferable by the media and by implication by the public. As could be expected, security technologies themselves may come to be seen as producing further risks and to be evaluated negatively in the media and by the public if their use has possible adverse consequences for citizens' health.

Based on the above, we conclude with several tentative hypotheses of how the press's reporting on the three selected issues could influence the risk perceptions of Slovak citizens. Given the little coverage and the lack of direct experience with a terrorist attack on Slovak territory, we could expect the Slovak public to be the least concerned about security threats related to airports. Instead, the public would be concerned with protecting their private and intimate spheres and thus would not be prepared to accept the use of 3D body scanners.

In view of the marginally higher number of articles and Slovakia's experience with cyber-attacks on governmental websites, we could expect the public to be slightly more concerned about the risks related to the Stuxnet phenomenon. We could not only assume that citizens sense the danger of Iran's development of nuclear weapons, but also that they may be apprehensive about the risk of environmental catastrophes in connection with the deployment of high-tech technologies like Stuxnet that target the energy infrastructures in other states. However, we would not expect the Slovak public to be particularly anxious about the possibility of a cyber-attack on Slovakia's power grid.

Taking into account the extensive coverage of CCTV camera systems in the Slovak press, we would suggest that the public's perception of the everyday challenges to their safety in terms of theft, burglary, public disorder, or vandalism could be expected to rise. The extensive reporting on CCTV cameras and the omnipresent crime could be expected to result in an increased perception of an imminent threat, despite the fact that actual crime rates have been steadily falling over the years. As a result of the positive coverage of CCTV camera systems in the papers, we could expect the public to accept the use of CCTV cameras in public transport and other public spaces without much consideration given to the issue of their privacy. As one psychologist explained, 'on squares, in shops and even in public transport people do not mind cameras very much. After all, in these places they expect to be under the scrutiny of a large number of people. Therefore, even without the presence of a camera they behave as if one was directed at them.'¹⁴⁶ However, citizens could also be expected to be more concerned with their privacy in places they consider as part of the private sphere, such as classrooms, and the lifts and corridors of multi-dweller buildings. The presence of CCTV cameras could trigger anxiety and even insecurity, since, in the words of one psychologist, a perceived lack of privacy can make people 'more cautious, or, one could even say, distrustful ... restless, more touchy, suspicious, and fearful of violations to their private sphere.'¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Čupka, Milan. 2012. 'Viac kamier znamená aj viac nedôvery.' [More Cameras Also Mean More Distrust] *Pravda*, 1 January 2012. Web. Accessed 13 May 2013. <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/252077-viac-kamier-znamena-aj-viac-nedovery/>.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

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8. Appendix: Analysed articles by topic

3D Body scanner

Newspaper	Date	Title of the article in Slovak	Title of the article in English
SME	01/01/2010	Technologické firmy získavajú na zvýšenom záujme o letiskové skenery	Technological firms gain from the increased interest in airport scanners
SME	05/01/2010	Taliansko plánuje zaviesť kontroverzné skenery na letiskách	Italy plans to introduce controversial scanners at airports
Pravda	07/01/2010	Krajiny EÚ nie sú zajedno v postoji k skeneru na letiskách	EU countries are not united in their attitude towards scanners at airports
Pravda	15/01/2010	Letiskové skenery sú nebezpečné, hovorí šéfka jadrového dozoru v Česku	Airport scanners are dangerous, says the boss of the Czech Agency for Nuclear Safety
Pravda	21/01/2010	Washington presviedča EÚ o nevyhnutnosti skenerov na letiskách	Washington is persuading the EU about the inevitability of scanners at airports
SME	24/11/2010	Skenery na letiskách dráždia Američanov	Airport scanners irritate Americans
Pravda	06/07/2011	Pasažieri musia súhlasiť s použitím telového skenera, rozhodol europarlament	Passengers must agree with the use of body scanners, European Parliament decided
Pravda	14/07/2011	Psy alebo skenery? Kongresmani sa hádali, čo lepšie postráži letiská	Dogs or scanners? Members of Congress quarrelled about which will better guard airports
SME	31/08/2011	Celotelové skenery v Nemecku zatiaľ používať nebudú	Full body scanners will not be used in Germany for the time being
SME	19/01/2013	Americké letiská stiahnu kontroverzné celotelové skenery	American airports will withdraw controversial full body scanners

Stuxnet

Newspaper	Date	Title of the article in Slovak	Title of the article in English
SME	18/07/2010	Nový vírus môže byť určený na priemyselnú špionáž	New virus may be intended for industrial espionage
Pravda	29/11/2010	Irán priznal, že počítačový útok zasiahol jeho jadrové zariadenia	Iran acknowledged that a computer attack hit its nuclear devices
SME	17/01/2011	Počítačový útok na Irán si Izrael a USA nacvičovali	USA and Israel practiced cyber-attack on Iran
Pravda	14/03/2011	Irán údajne vedie kybernetickú vojnu proti nepriateľom	Iran allegedly leads a cyber-war against its adversaries
Pravda	01/06/2012	Obama zintenzívnil kyberútoky proti Iránu	Obama has intensified cyber-attacks against Iran
SME	01/06/2012	Amerika a Izrael útočili na Irán kyberzbraňou	USA and Israel attacked Iran with a cyber-weapon
SME	05/06/2012	Kyberútok: illegalita jednotiek a núl	Cyber-attack: illegality of ones and zeros
SME	15/06/2012	Vo svete zúria štátne kybervojny	State cyber-wars rage in the world
Pravda	17/07/2012	Bojújú skutoční Bondovia s Iránom	Do real Bonds fight against Iran?
SME	26/12/2012	Vírus Stuxnet znovu napadol Irán, mal vyradiť energetické zariadenia	Virus Stuxnet attacked Iran again, it was supposed to eliminate energetic devices

CCTV

Newspaper	Date	Title of the article in Slovak	Title of the article in English
Pravda	25/01/2010	Na dediny má dozerat' množstvo kamier	Multiple cameras are to monitor villages
Pravda	30/03/2010	Futbalových chuligánov nezastavili ani kamery	Not even cameras have stopped football hooligans
Pravda	19/07/2010	Kamery dávajú prácu zdravotne postihnutým	Cameras give work to the disabled
Pravda	14/08/2010	Proti vandalom v dedine bojujú kamerami	They fight vandals with cameras in the village
Pravda	26/08/2010	Zlyhali kamery aj mobilné sudy	Cameras as well as mobile courts failed
Pravda	28/08/2010	Kto ochráni pedagógov pred násilím v škole?	Who will protect teachers against violence in schools?
Pravda	21/09/2010	New York aktivoval 500 kamier v metre po pokuse o útok na Times Square	New York activated 500 cameras in the underground after attempted attack on Times Square
SME	25/09/2010	Kamerový systém Mestskej polície znížil v Košiciach páchanie trestnej činnosti	CCTV system of city police reduced crime in Košice
SME	26/10/2010	Cestujúci sa bezpečnostných kamier v košickej MHD nedočkajú	Passengers will not see new cameras in the public transport in Košice
SME	02/02/2011	„Očko“, ktoré už zachránilo aj ľudský život	The 'eye' that already saved a human life
Pravda	24/06/2011	Tu iba represia nepomôže, tvrdí náčelník obecnej polície	Mere repression will not help here
SME	16/07/2011	Video bitky by úrad ukryl	The authorities would conceal video of a fight
SME	02/09/2011	Kamery chystajú všade, sledovať chcú najmä mládež	Cameras are to be everywhere, they should primarily monitor youth
SME	20/09/2011	Do školských tried kamery nepatria	Cameras do not belong in classrooms
SME	08/03/2012	MHD bude mať kamerový systém	Public transport will have CCTV cameras
SME	27/04/2012	DPMK nemá na ďalšie kamery peniaze	DMPK has no funds for more cameras
SME	20/06/2012	Kamery na Sídlišku III sa osvedčili	Cameras at housing estate III have proved their worth
Pravda	01/12/2012	Viac kamier znamená aj viac nedôvery	More cameras also mean more distrust
Pravda	01/12/2012	Kamery okolo nás. Strach z 15 minút neželanej slávy	Cameras around us. Fear of 15 minutes of unwanted fame
Pravda	15/01/2013	Mestská polícia v L. Mikuláši prevádzkuje chránenú dielňu, bez štátneho príspevku	Town police in L. Mikuláš operates a social company, without state contributions
SME	28/01/2013	Žiakov v Dobšinej sledujú kamery a hliadky	Cameras and patrols surveil pupils in Dobšiná
SME	11/02/2013	Kamery vo výťahu vraj zneužívajú na špehovanie	Cameras in lift are allegedly misused for spying
SME	21/04/2013	Ministerstvo školstva zvažuje, že do škôl umiestni kamery	The Ministry of Education is considering placing cameras in schools