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The Perceptron of Security in the Programs of Czech Political Parties

Abstract: Author analyzed the programs of all Czech political parties which have their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies in the parliamentary term 2013–2017, assuming that political programs are a reflection of the public discourse, and of the public eye. Security is one of the most important categories in the programs of Czech political parties, in some literally the most important, however, this importance is determined through quantitative, not qualitative, perspective. Diagnosis and solutions are similar in all cases, what allows to conclude that security is not a factor differentiating the Czech political scene.

Keywords: *Czech Republic; political parties; security; perception of security*

Introduction

The perception of security is a category of political science related to the assessment and interpretation of the reality attributable to security, especially in its collective (social, national and state) dimension. The 'perception of security' is more than just a "'sense of security', although these two terms are recognized and used as synonyms frequently. Perception, however, is a deeper concept: a sense of security is a state, whereas the perception is a process. The sense has a rather static nature, the perception is more dynamic, the essence of this term is to search, to receive and to process signals. What these words have in common is that they can be objective, due to the facts and be a reflection of reality, but may also have a subjective character, independent of the facts and differing from reality. Our assessment of the level of safety may be false in two different ways: it may overestimate the danger when, in fact, it is not serious (an obsession with security), or underestimate it when it is, in fact, serious.

The perception of security, as well as a sense of security, does not require access to all data and information, it may be the result of incomplete data, or even the lack of it. Bruce Schneier believes that this duality of nature concerns not only the perception and sense of security, but is the gist of security as such. He emphasizes that security is not only a reality, but it is also a feeling, "based not on probabilities and mathematical calculations, but on your psychological reactions to both risks and countermeasures" (Schneier, 2008, p. 50).

The perception of security and hazards (risks) is the subject of interdisciplinary research conducted by political scientists, sociologists, criminologists and psychologists. All of these studies show a subjective, often irrational, nature of the assessment of our safety. The perception of security can fall even if we are not in a state of immediate, or even probable, danger and we have no bad experiences in this regard. For example, Prieto Curiel and Bishop (2016, p. 1) described a significant decrease in the sense of security in persons experiencing indirect victimisation via interactions with friends, neighbours or through media.

Despite attempts to create appropriate models and forumulas of demeanors, researchers concede that it is not possible to show consistent and predictable dependence between the perception of risk and the actions taken by the people. The response to the threat may result in consequences far beyond the circle of endangered. Slovic reminds the incident at an American nuclear power plant Three Mile Island in 1979 in this context. Although there were no victims and the threat was limited, the psychological effect was so large that it almost threatened the existence of the entire nuclear industry in the US due to a serious loss of confidence in that kind of energy (Slovik, 1987, p. 283–284).

Why do we need to study the perception of safety? Is this an important object of research? It is not only the study of knowledge of some community. It is important because the perception of the security level, consistent and inconsistent with the facts, is the basis for decisions and actions. Analysis of the perception of security, together with knowledge of the mechanisms associated with it, is an important tool in political forecasting, both at the national and international dimension. A classic example of the link between the perception of security and the undertaken action is the "security dilemma", the term described in the 1950s by John Herz (Herz, 1950). In this example, one country increases its defenses potential to ensure its own security and other state considers it as offensive actions, threatening its security, taking similar action, what leads eventually to the conflict in a situation in which no one demanded it. During the Cold War security dilemma was recognized as a central guiding aspect of international relations. The authors dealing with the Herz's theory stress that many conflicts derive from the lack of knowledge of the

other's real intentions, so as a result of the subjective nature of the perception of security (Díez-Nicolás, 2015, p. 4).

Irrational assessment of risks can lead to irrational and unnecessary actions. Prieto Curiel and Bishop wrote, e.g., that "falsely based perceptions affect the efficiency of the security systems, since governments are encouraged to spend resources, such as an increased number of police officers, or even introduce urban interventions, in places where people are more concerned, but not necessarily where action is most needed or where it could have the greatest impact" (Prieto Curiel, Bishop, 2016, p. 1). Schneier warned that "someone could want make people *feel* more secure, rather than to actually make them more secure (Schneier, 2008, p. 76). Activities leadings only to the positive impact on the perception of security may actually reduce the level of security as such.

Studies show a link between perceptions of security and the value system of the particular community. With decreasing of the sense of security the negative phenomena increase: political intolerance, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and prejudices and also the cognitive abilities decrease, leading to closed-mindedness and intolerance to challenging opinions (Guasti & Mansfeldová, 2013, p. 5). A certain return to materialistic values and to greater wishes for more authority in more developed countries, seen in the first decade of the 21st century, is associated just with the deterioration of the assessment of their own safety (local wars, international and national terrorism, organised crime and narcotrafficking, migrations and globalisation) (Díez-Nicolás, 2015, p. 5).

At the beginning of the 21st century a research on the prevention of terrorist attacks was conducted. It has shown that a large percent of the population is ready to restrict civil rights if it gives them a sense of security. More than 60 per cent of Czechs constent that for protection against terrorism the authorities should have the right to tap into people's telephone conversations or to detain people for as long as they want without putting them on trial and only a little less that the authorities should have the right to stop and search people in the street at random (Guasti & Mansfeldová, 2013, pp. 13–16).

Analysis of the perception of the security allows to stipulate what society/state recognizes as the greatest threat to their security (important: not what is the greatest risk in fact, but just what is considered as it) – and, on the contrary, what is not recognized as a threat, then what actions need to be taken to defend against the threat in the appraisal of a particular community.

Objectives and Methods

The programs of political parties are an interesting material to study regarding the perception of security. Sentsov et al. think that analysis of the programs of political parties is extremely relevant to a modern political science: „Program of a party is an independent type of text functioning as a part of a political discourse. As the central document conditioning activities of the whole party and its members, the program has a fundamental nature of the text on the basis of which articles, press releases, leaflets, public presentation texts etc. are created (…) Contemporary political parties are a relatively new phenomenon, and therefore scientific interest in theirs programs is extremely relevant today. At the same time, the works on semiotic picture of the political world that is reflected in the programs of parties are extremely rare", and than they regret that the programs „with their structure, links with ideologies, and parties still remain on the periphery of research field". (Sentsov, Aleksandrov, Bolsunovskaya & Kuimova 2015, p. 537). The analysis of security perception in political programs is important because of the role of politicians in the creation of the security system. Like Balabán et al. write: "The key enabling factor for ensuring an adequate level of security will be the quality of decision-making processes in security policy, which should involve all of the actors. Still, the largest share of responsibility will stay with the Government, the President, the Parliament and the political parties represented in it" (Balabán, Rašek & Stejskal 2008, p.65).

Identification of risks and assessment of security included in these documents has both an objective and subjective nature, is based on hard facts and stereotypes, fears and myths. It gives a very clear answer to the question: is the matter of security important for the society or not? - parties in their programs depreciate subjects that are not relevant to voters, and emphasizes what has the potential for the political support. In this context the political programs are one of the most important sources in the analysis of the perception of safety. Analysis of programs is practible in predicting the possible actions taken by the state in the near future. It is clear that the authorities, chosen in elections, have a decisive impact on the security policy. In the Czech Republic, according to the Constitutional Act on the Security, "to ensure the Republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the protection of its democratic foundations, and the protection of lives, health and property rights" is the basic duty of the State (Jirásková & Jirásek , 2016, p. 66). Analysis of programs helps to predict how the State will fulfill this duty.

I analyzed the programs of seven Czech political parties, all the parties which have their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies in the parliamentary term 2013–2017, using quantitative and qualitative methods. In the quantitative study

I counted the frequency of particular categories appearing on the political programs. Based on the analysis of the programs I defined 26 categories with the same level of generality[1]. The denotation of thefrequency of categories is an appropriable tool used in political science by the analysis of political programs (Merz, Regel & Lewandowski, 2016). After appointing the categories I examined the percentage of 'security' as a category in comparison with other categories. Then I defined 14 subcategories for 'security'[2] and I examined their frequency in percentage as well.

Defining subcategories I took into account only those items of programs that directly relate to security, this means that they contain such words as 'security', 'safety', 'threat', 'danger', 'risk', etc. Defining subcategories was subjective, but I assumed, that I needed a broad perspective on the types of threats. Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde stress that the old traditionalists military and state-centered view of the security, which equates security with military issues and the use of force has become obsolete and insufficient long time ago. They warn that there are intellectual and political dangers in simply tacking the word security onto an ever wider range of issues (Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde, 1998, p. 1). Defining the types of safety is under discussion from a certain date. The researchers emphasize that the emergence of new types of securities and risks does not necessarily correspond to the emergence of new threats. For example Handmer and James, believe that this is, among others, by the "contemporary emphasis on the (…) processes of codification, objectification, and rationalisation along with other processes such as accelerated commodification and mediation" (Handmer & James, 2007, p. 120). I hope that I managed to find a balance between the differing types of security and the excessive objectification.

I also paid attention to the site of security issues in the program (the initial or final fragments), and I examined if there is a separate 'security' section in the program or not. A qualitative study was based on a critical analysis of the text.

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[1] 1. Employment, 2. Wages, standard of living, 3. Social care and seniors, 4. Healthcare, 5. Family policy, 6. Taxes, 7. Economic development, 8. Support for Entrepreneurs, 9. Public services and administration, 10. Highways, railways and public transport, 11. Education, 12. Culture, media national heritage, 13. Science, high technologies, 14. Sport, physical education, healthy lifestyle, 15. Agriculture, countryside, forestry. 16. Energy, 17. Environmental protection, 18. Political system, 19. Local governments, regional policy, 20. Civil society, human rights, 21. Judiciary, 22. Fight against corruption, transparency of public and economic life, 23. Church, religion, 24. Foreign policy and cooperation, 25. The EU and european founds, 26. Security.

[2] 1. International security, 2. National security system, 3. The military, 4. Economic and social security, 5. Energy security, 6. Environmental security, 7. Health and food safety, 8. Transportation safety, 9. Juridical security, 10. Criminality, 11. Cybercrime, 12. Migrations, 13. Terrorism, 14. Fight against extremism

Assuming that political programs are a reflection of the public discourse, and, indirectly, of the public eye, the studies are intended to answer the question about the importance of security for Czech society. I will examine which types (areas) of security are most important and which are least important for the particular political parties, and thus for the groups of voters that interest them. What is an interesting question is whether the importance of security and its particular categories depends on the ideological character of political parties. Next, I want to examine whether the problems of security creates a clear and important line of political divisions in the Czech Republic. The research will evaluate what types of threats are recognized by particular political parties as the most dangerous for the citizens and the country and what solutions they propose for the defense and countermeasures. It should also assess whether the perception of security presented in the programs of Czech political parties corresponds to reality or wheter it has a subjective character. As mentioned above, the analysis of political programs helps to predict actions that will be taken in the future. However, I decided to analyze the programs prepared four years eralier; I was less interested in predicting the future, I preferred to analyze how the programs have been verified by reality.

Security of the Czech Republic

In the Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, the fundamental conceptual document of national security policy, updated in 2015, the probality of a direct threat to the country by a military attack is considered to be low but the list of security threats is expanding (Jirásková & Jirásek , 2016a, p. 75). There are indications of eleven risks recognized as the most dangerous, four of which directly affect the international situation (weakening of the mechanisms of collective security and international obligations, instability and regional conflicts in the Euro-Atlantic area or its proximity, diffusion of weapons of mass destruction, the negative aspects of international migration). But also other threats can be, directly or indirectly, closely linked to the international situation and to activities of the enemy forces overseas. These are: terrorism, cybercrime, extremism, increase of ethnic and social tensions, organized crime including trafficking of human beings and *drug-related crime, corruption,* the threat to critical infrastructure, total or partial *interruption of supplies of raw materials or energy* (Jirásková & Jirásek, 2016b, pp. 185–186). International threats to the Czech Republic are typical for all countries in this region. It is not possible to identify the international threat that would be particularly dangerous for this country, both in the type and magnitude of the risk. It is worth noting that the Czech Republic is not an immediate neighbour of the Russian Federation, unlike Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and

Poland, so the international activities of Russia are not recognized as a strong threat in the foreground. Besides, the fact that the Czech Republic is not an outer country of the European Union reduces the risks connected with mass migration from the Middle East. In 2013 the trends of mass migration were not as extensive as now, and most of the detained immigrants were the citizens of Ukraine, Russia and Vietnam. The contribution of the Czech Republic to the protection of international security is a participation in the system of collective security, but also providing internal political, economic and social stability (Balabán & Rašek, 2009, p. 281)

The Czech Republic, with relative number of most serious offences, belongs to „safer" areas of the UE, Kamenický notes. (Kamenický, 2013, p.14). In 2013 about 325.000 crimes were recorded in the Czech Republic and it was one of the lowest crime rate since 1993. Perception of security is affected by the detection rate of crime, which in 2013 reached 43.7 % (Policie, 2013). The creation of the Czech Republic (1993) coincided with the quantitative and qualitative changes in crime: the number of crimes increased, as well as the share of foreign criminal groups, the Republic has become a transit corridor for illegal weapons from the crashed Soviet Union, close links between economic and political elites and criminal groups were becoming more and more strict, which was supported by ownership change - it was a challenge for security services in the country, which just built the state structures (Mareš 2010, p. 53).

Public opinion polls show that almost two-thirds of Czechs (68%) are afraid of something. This is the worst result since 2005. But really interesting is not the increase in the number of worried people, but the analysis of changes in response to the question "What do you fear?". The graph below shows the changes in 2015 compared to 2010.

In five years, concerns about their own life situation, including some economic problems, decreased. Opposite it, concerns about the international situation increased significantly - indeed it is a qualitative change. Unemployment is not considered as the greatest threat now, it was replaced by terrorism, migrations and war. In 2015, 36% of Czechs seriously feared terrorism, while five years earlier only 5%. In 2010 none of the respondents did consider migration as a threat to security, and five years later, every third of them did (Centrum VVM, 2016). Unfortunately, such a thorough survey from 2013, when the election programs were developed, does not exist. Changes in the public mood between 2010 and 2015 did not occur linearly, so it is hard to estimate what exactly was the level of concerns in the Czech society in the election year. However, we can assume with high probability that the shift in spirit towards the concerns of the international factors was already a fact.

Balabán et al notice that the Czech security policy makers are confident that the security system „must continuously respond to developments and changes in the field
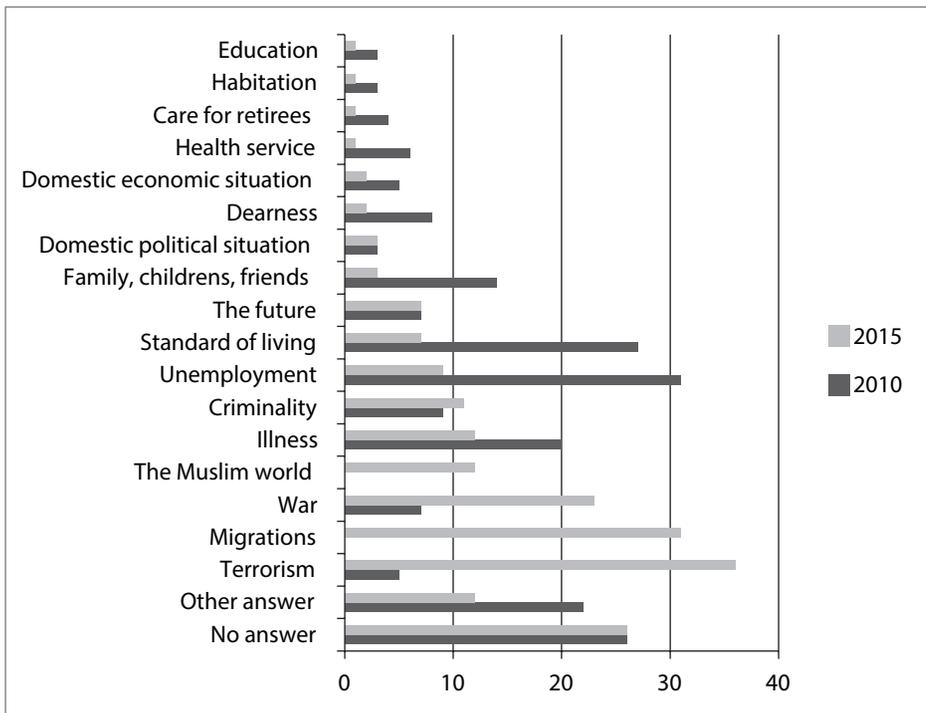
Graph 1. Answers to the question "What are you afraid?" given by the Czechs in 2010 and 2015

Source: Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění, Sociologický stav AV ČR

of security and it is, therefore, in need of continuous upgrading and improvement" (Balabán, Rašek, Stejskal 2008, p.47). However Lefebvre believes that „the lack of experience and qualifications in defense matters among Czech parliamentarians was generally not subject to dispute", and moreover „The Czech Republic has very little private security and defense expertise at hand from which to draw from. Besides independent experts in universities, only one organization had sufficient resources and intellectual diversity to comprehensively address security matters: the Institute of International Relations in Prague. (Lefebrve, 2010, p. 352).

Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)

The first analyzed party is the Czech Social Democratic Party (**Česká strana sociálně demokratická**, ČSSD). This is one of the most important political parties in the Czech Republic, three-time winner of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies (1998, 2002 and 2010 but then it did not create a government), with four social-democratic

politicians having acted as Czech Prime Ministers. In 2013, the ČSSD won the most votes in the elections for the fourth time and the fifth social-democratic politician leads the government.
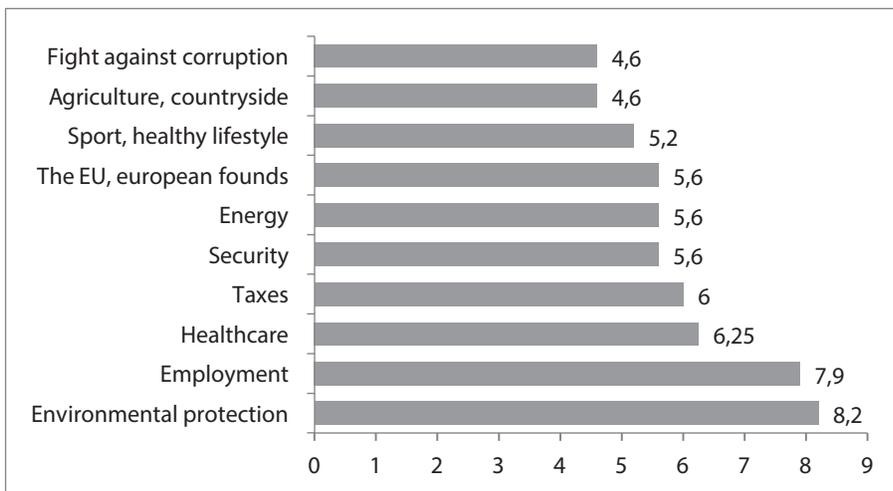
Graph. 2. Frequency of categories in ČSSD political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on ČSSD 2013

The most important issues in the Social Democratic program are environmental protection and employment. Security ranks fifth, together with energy and European affaires. Security issues are mentioned in two subsections of the section *Society*: "Security of citizens" and "International cooperation".
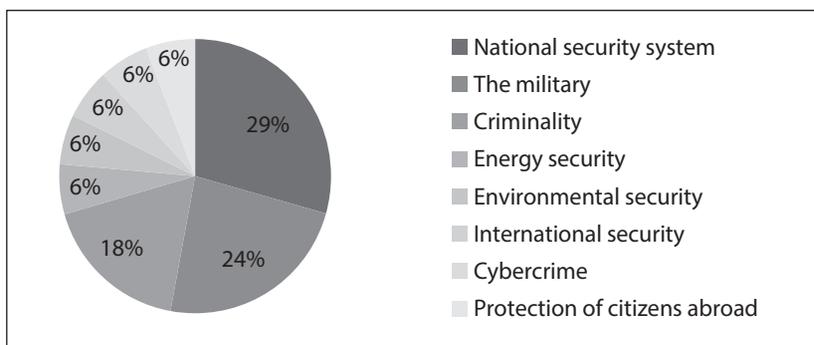
Graph 3. Subcategories of security in ČSSD program

Source: Author's elaboration based on ČSSD 2013

There are 7 from among 14 subcategories of security in the Social Democratic program. As we can see, more than half of this part of the program regarding security concerns national security system (the police, fire and rescue services) and the Military. The Social Democrats propose simple solutions to improve internal security: to increase the number of police officers, especially in areas at risk of the high level of crime, to strengthen the rescue services, in particular the fire service, including volunteer Fire Departments. Raising the salaries of police officers and firefighters is a matter to which the Social Democrats attach great importance in their program.

The Social Democrats indicate casinos and pawnshops as a source of threat to the security of citizens. The program mentioned cybercrime threat as well, but only indicated that the Social Democrats will prepare a law on this subject.

The analysis draws attention to the fact that the "international security" is only the fifth subcategory in the order. Only one point in the program concerns this subject: there is just mentioned, across the board, the important role of NATO in ensuring international security, on par with the EU and UN. The protection of Czech citizens abroad is mentioned quite in general, but ČSSD is the only one party that approaches this topic at all (ČSSD, 2013).

ANO 2011

ANO is a new entity on the Czech political scene, 2013 election was the first test for it. The party has achieved great success and it became a part of the government coalition with the post of Deputy Prime Minister. ANO, founded by multi-millionaire
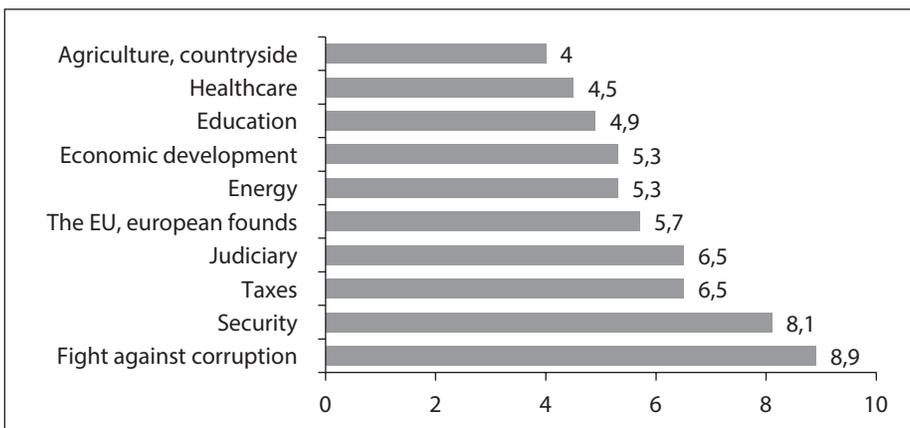

Graph 4. Frequency of categories in ANO political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on ANO 2012

entrepreneur, does not want to be labeled on left–right axis, but is recognized as a centrist and populist one.

During the election campaign ANO presented a vision of renewal of the Czech political life, not surprising, therefore, that most important issue in the program is about the fight against corruption. But the security is the second most important category with no great loss to the first one. We can see the security issues are mentioned in four different sections, mostly in the section "Defence and internal security" (is the twelfth section – in order – between the fourteen sections). We can find also some passages in the sections: "International cooperation", "Law and Justice" and "Domestic affairs".
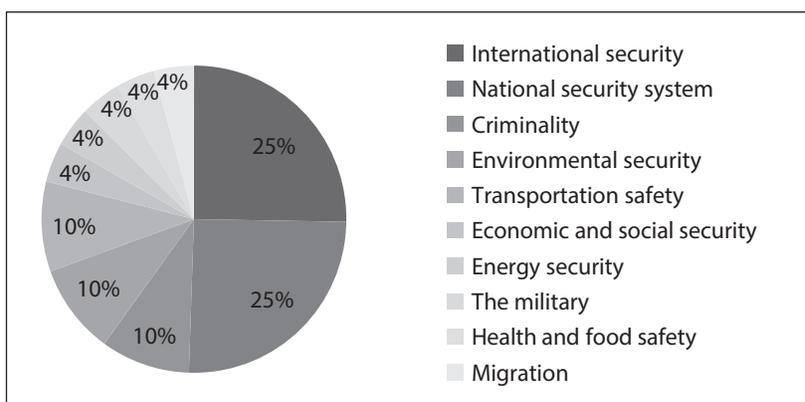
Graph 5. Subcategories of security in ANO program

Source: Author's elaboration based on ANO 2013

The graph above shows that a quarter of security issues is related to the international security. In the Introduction to the section "Defence and internal security" the party pays attention to the international context of domestic risks, including the war in Syria, uncontroled mass migration from war zones, the proliferation of arms. There is a strong accent on the NATO, mentioned several times in the program, and collective security systems. ANO recognized the Czech Republic as a reliable and committed member of Alliance and announces deepening of transatlantic cooperation. However, the participation in the European security policy, including the creation of European armed forces, is for ANO equally important. The program is considered the participation in military operations leaded by the EU and the NATO, as the main objective of the modernization of the Czech army.

Domestic security and internal security system are on par with the international security in this program. ANO sees changes in the activity of the judiciary as a neces-

sary condition for the protection of citizens against crime. Similarly to ČSSD, ANO promises to increase the number of police officers ("more on the streets, less behind the desk"). The question of fight against corruption, so important for this party, appears in the context of national security as well, as a serious threat. ANO promises to create a special financial police. There is also a remark on fire and rescue services with the announcement of better working conditions (ANO, 2013)

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)

Some authors admit that there are two faces of The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (*Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy*, KSČM), they note a clear difference between the image of the party created on the basis of the official program documents, and coming from internal documents and informal meetings. In any case, this is a relic of party, which ruled Czechoslovakia during the Cold War. Much of the optics of those times remained in the thoughts and activities of the new party, which, critically, is an important political entity in the Czech Republic, with a significative support of truehearted voters.
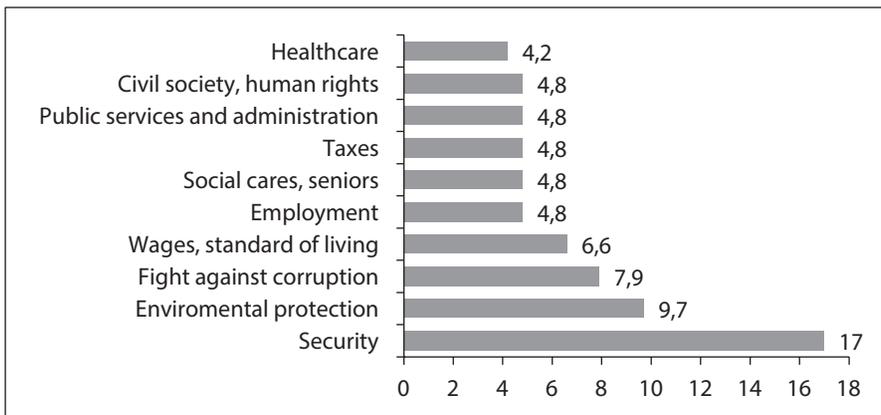
Graph 6. Frequency of categories in KSČM political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on KSČM 2013

The results of quantitative research are quite interesting. Please note that the security problem is clearly the most important - it takes 17% of the program, with the significant advantage over other categories. No other party considers security to be such an important issue. Categories like: social care, seniors, employment,standard of living, which are issues usually associated with the left-wing parties, take only 4.8–5.6% of the program.
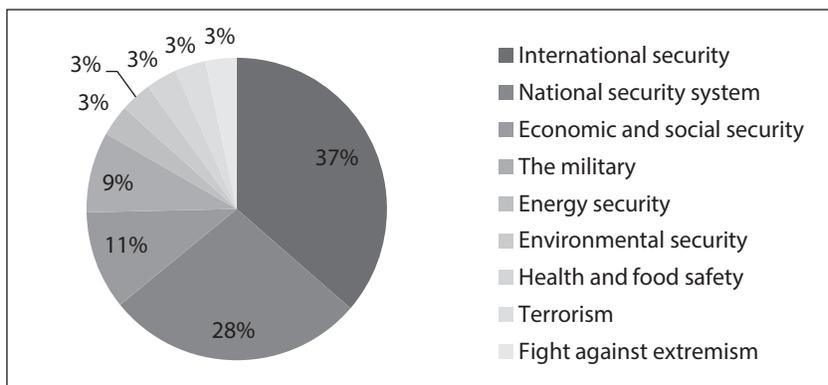
Graph 7. Subcategories of security in KSČM program

Source: Author's elaboration based on KSČM 2013

The division into subcategories is interesting as well. Nearly 40 percent of security issues is connected to the international security. Does this mean that the Communists perceive the complicated international situation as a major threat to the security of the Republic? Qualitative analysis of contents shows that this is a wrong assumption. In these subcategories the program of KSČM pertain to the NATO above all, but not as a guarantor of the security of the state. On the contrary, the Communists recognize the NATO as a threat, they postulate to abolish it or, to withdrew from the NATO's military structures at least[3]. They object to establishing foreign military bases on the Czech territory just as much. Czech Communists believe that international security should be the task of the UN only and only the UN should have the possibility to approve the participation of the Czech Army in foreign operations. As a basic rule for the international security system, the KSČM assumes a rule of non-interference in the affairs of other states and respect for human rights in international relations. The title of a section on security is meaningful: "Yes to the world, not to reinforcement".

The optics of past times are evident in these passages that consider fight against fascism and inviolability of the borders demarcated after the Second World War. But in the Communist program contemporary discussions echo as well – opposition to extremism and discrimination and conviction that civil rights cannot be a victim of the fight against terrorism.

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[3] The KSČM wrote in October 1997 the US Congress that the Czech Republic's goal to join NATO was not respectful of its citizens' wishes (Lefebrve, 2010, p. 357, 359).

Similarly to ČSSD and ANO, there is a passage on the national security system in the program of KSČM: the Communist promise to create a common system for managing of emergency services, including the police (KSČM, 2013).

Civic Democratic Party (ODS)

In 2013, the Civic Democratic Party (*Občanská demokratická strana*, ODS) was the ruling party, that fought for the extension of the mandate. This is a right-wing, liberal-conservative, pro-free market party. From every elections of Chamber of Deputies between 1992–2013 it emerged as one of the two strongest parties, together with ČSSD. The 2013 election marginalized this party, providing only 16 seats in the Chamber.
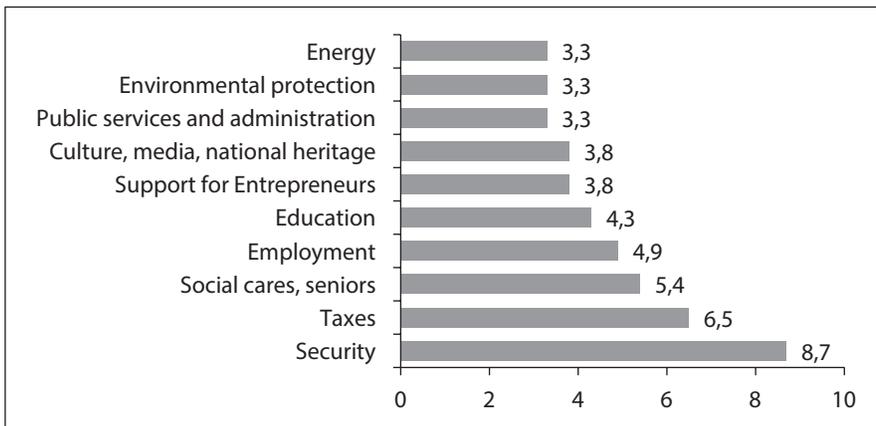
Graph 8. Frequency of categories in ODS political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on ODS 2013

There, the security is the most important category again, but the difference between security and successive categories is smaller. Security issues are contained in two separate sections: "Defense" and "Internal security", in further section, "The EU and foreign policy", we can find a passage on NATO as well.

National security system and criminality appears to be the most important of the security subcategories. The proposal to fight against crime by increasing the number of police officers on the streets its already known from the programs of other political parties. But ODS suggests some detailed idea on how to reduce petty crime and protect the property of citizens – "three times and out" this is the principle, according to which third consecutive offense should be punished much more severely. Among
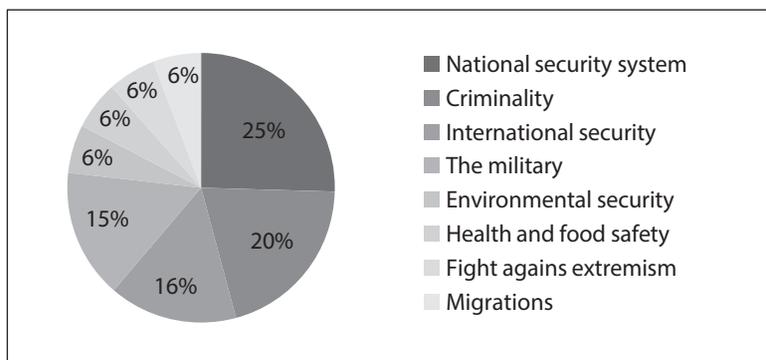
Graph 9. Subcategories of security in ODS program

Source: Author's elaboration based on ODS 2013

the particularly troublesome offenses the ODS sees the theft of scrap metals and announces changes in work and control of junkyards. There is a passage on support for the firefighters again, both in terms of skills and of better equipment.

International security is the third subcategory. ODS believes that the Czech Republic will be an active and reliable partner in NATO, is in favour of deepening of transatlantic cooperation and is supporting Czech participation in the construction of missile defense system in Europe. ODS adheres to the principle that in resolving international conflicts, political and peaceful deliveries should be used first, then the military.

ODS, in its program, promises to modernize the Army and to support the defense industry. We should note that ODS refers to migration and the fight against extremism in the context of security. These issues even open the section on security in the ODS program. "The state must be able to fight against extremism" - we can read at this point. The passages on migration are the most extensive in comparison with other examined parties: the migration policy, as ODS convinces, needs to be thought out, the state should take only so many immigrants that can be integrated into the Czech society. It is proper to help those immigrants who will contribute to society and oppose those who want to "abuse our social and health system" only (ODS, 2013).

The Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL)

Election of 2013 was difficult for this party, whose tradition dates back to the turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Three years earlier the party lost a seat in parliament and no Czech party returned to the parliament after being dropped out. But The Christian

and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (*Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová*, KDU-ČSL) made it happen. It has a small support, but it is traditionally an important element for the creation of a government coalition, the center-right or center-left.

Security is the most important category in the program of the party, although the
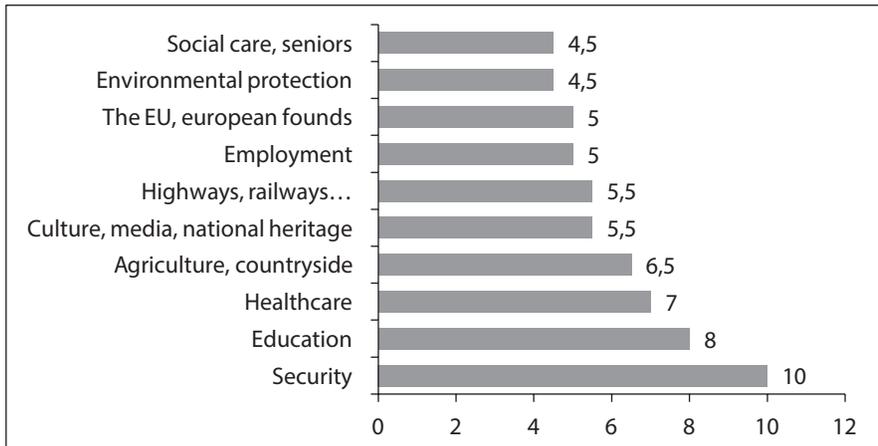
Graph 10. Frequency of categories in KDU-ČSL political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on KDU-ČSL 2013

hierarchy of categories here is clearly different than in other parties (high position of education, healthcare and agriculture; highways and railways in the Top10). The section on security is entitled: "Right to live in security".

KDU-ČSL mentioned all of fourteen subcategories of security, as the only party from those that were analyzed, although it is just a sentence or two in most cases. A large part of the program concerns matters related to the military, criminality, and migrations. KDU-ČSL wants to strengthen and modernize the army, especially the air forces and promises to increase defense spending to 1.5% of GDP.

The KDU-ČSL program includes the most in-depth diagnosis of crime, especially juvenile and adolescents delinquency. This type of crime does not appear particularly dangerous in the Czech Republic, share of the youth and children in total crime is falling in all main categories of criminal activity even. However, like Kamenický notes, one of the reasons may be a low birth-rate implicating decrease in the number of potential perpetrators simply (Kamenický, 2013, p.9) The Party proposes to take preventive measures as a solution: support for families, youth work system, social workers and police officers dealing with young people, activity in the socially deprived areas. The party recognizes casinos, pawnshops, and usury as a serious threat to the
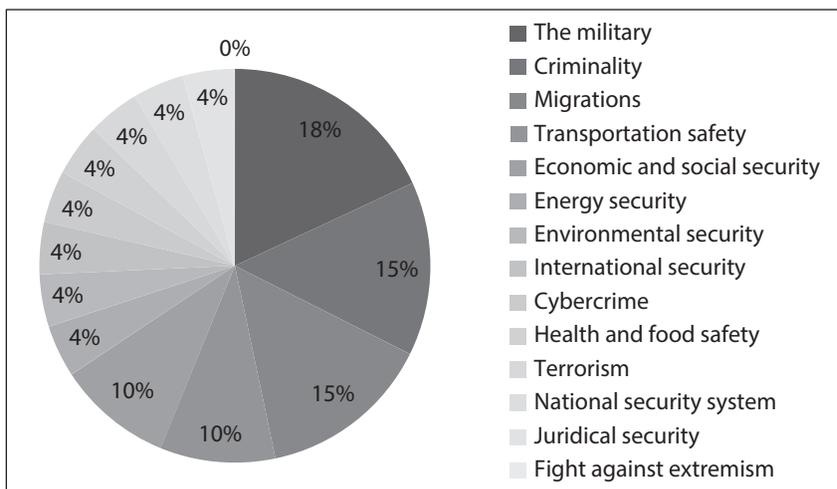
Graph 11: Subcategories of security in KDU-ČSL program

Source: Author's elaboration based on KDU-ČSL 2013

security of citizens and promises to hinder their activities. KDU-ČSL proposes to develop the community policing as a support to the work of the police.

The party is in favour of facilitating the integration of refugees, propounds to appreciate those immigrants who pay taxes, send their children to schools, know the Czech language, in parallel to the fight against illegal immigration.

International security should be ensured through international cooperation imposed on countries which support terrorism, the KDU-ČSL says, and the Czech Republic must to be an active participant in these activities (KDU-ČSL, 2013).

TOP09

The 2010 election was a most successful for this centre-right, conservative party, which has become the third force in the Chamber of Deputies and formed a coalition. In 2013, the result was worse, the party went into opposition, but it is still an important element of the Czech policy life. The popularity of TOP09 relies on the person of honorary chairman, Karel Schwarzenberg, largely.

It is true that the most important category is education, but security is almost equally important. We can find the passages on the security in two sections: "Foreign policy and defense" and "Security, the fight against corruption and crime".

As in the case of KSČM, the international security is the most important part of the security policy for this party, but for other reasons. TOP 09 recognizes the
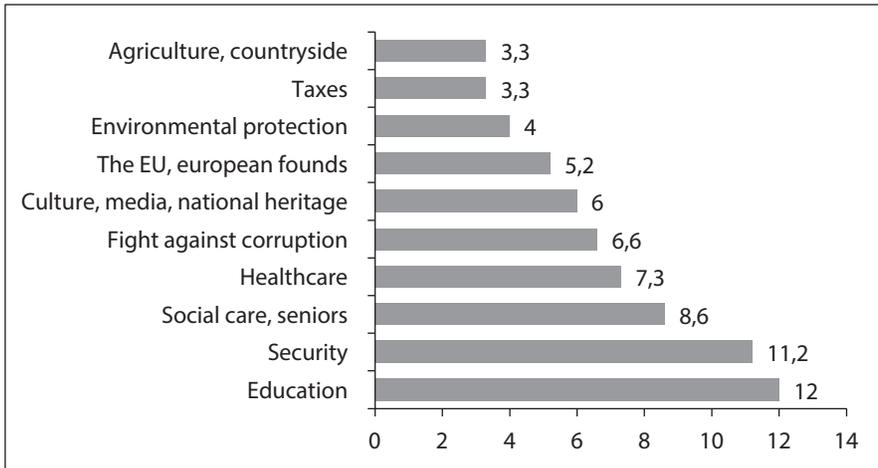
Graph 12. Frequency of categories in TOP09 political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on TOP09 2013

international situation as the most important factor affecting the security of the Czech Republic. The party has no doubts about the role and importance of NATO, and **fulfilment** of **obligation** as a member of the Alliance is considered as 'obvious'. TOP09 believs that it is necessary to expand the space of democracy and law for the maintenance of international security, especially in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe.
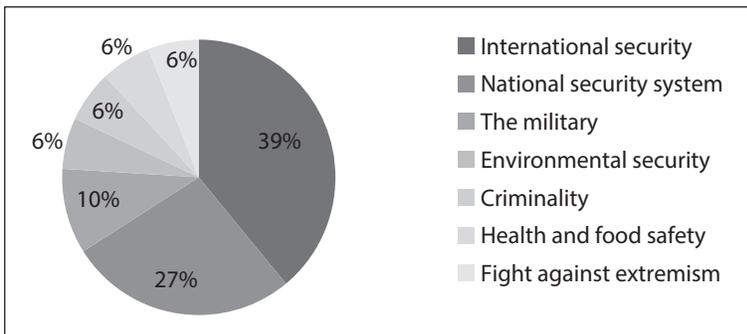

Graph 13. Subcategories of security in TOP09 program

Source: Author's elaboration based on TOP09 2013

As is suggested by the title of one of the sections, corruption is an important threat for the security. TOP 09 wants to better organize the police and improve the use of its forces and means, especially by reducing unnecessary red tape bureaucracy. They

declare to support volunteer Fire Departments, to stabilize the budget of the army and help veterans (TOP09, 2013).

The Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy (ÚSVIT)

It is a new and most exotic entity on the Czech political scene, founded by independent senator Tomi Okamura just a few months before the election. The Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy (**Úsvit přímé demokracie Tomia Okamury**, now: Dawn-National Coalition, *Úsvit - Národní koalice,* **ÚSVIT)** is a populist and anti-system party.
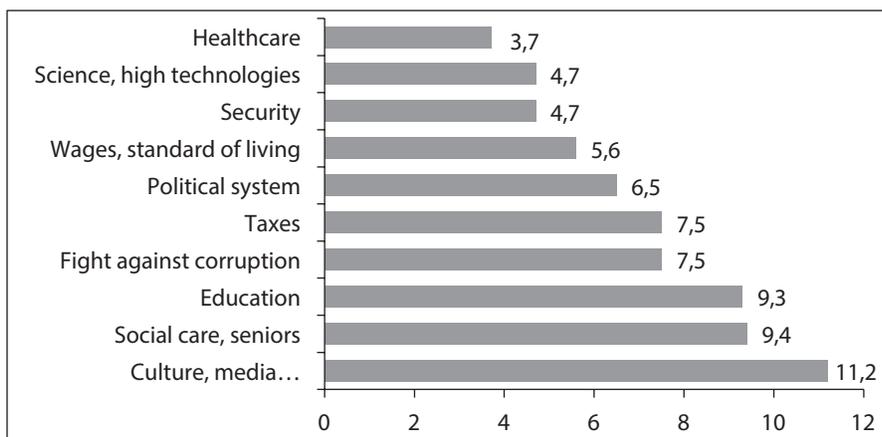

Graph 14. Frequency of categories in ÚSVIT political program in percents (Top10)

Source: Author's elaboration based on ÚSVIT 2013

Although the party, as the name suggests, wants to introduce the principles of direct democracy, the most important for it are issues of national culture and not of the political system. The security is mentioned only in the ÚSVIT program, this category is ranked eight, and is the farthest position in examined programs.

None of the Czech parties takes the security so lightly. There is nothing about the international security and most of the rest of subcategories. In the spirit of the political rebuilding of the state, ÚSVIT announced that the police would be free from political interference, the party also wants to raise salaries of policemen. The program talks about casinos and usury, but not as a security threat, but as a social problem (ÚSVIT, 2013).
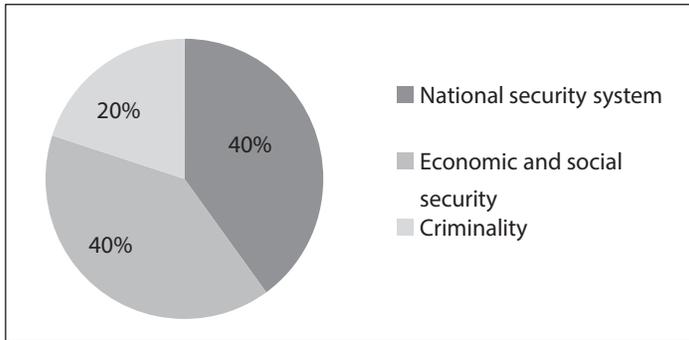
Graph 15. Subcategories of security in ÚSVIT program

Source: Author's elaboration based on ÚSVIT 2013

Conclussions

Analyses show that security issues are considered to be important to the Czech society. Security is one of the most important categories in the programs of Czech political parties, in some literally the most important. Some differences in the approach to the security are not related to the ideological character of the party. The security as a category occupies most of the space in the programs of left-wing Communist Party as well as in the program of the right-wing party ODS, for another left-wing party, ČSSD, this category was not the most important.

However, this importance of security is determined through quantitative, not qualitative, perspective. We can say that parties used many words to express a small content. It seems as if the parties have recognized that the security issues are important for citizens and must be raised widely, but did it without conviction and intellectual engagement. Despite such an extensive description, we do not have the impression that the Czech Republic is in some unique danger or some specific actions are necessary, both internally and externally. International security was an important element of the programs, but primarily in the context of the system of collective security. It does not indicate the specific risks arising from the development of the international situation. The perception of security which can be read in the programs of Czech political parties, is rather objective –the examined parties overestimate nothing and nothing passes off clearly in the subject of security.

Diagnoses and solutions are similar in all cases, there are no unique solutions that go beyond the scheme (with few exceptions – the communist party that wants to abolish the NATO or KDU-ČSL with analysis of juvenile delinquency). This allows to

conclude that security is not a factor differentiating the political scene. Mareš confirms this conclusion, in his study of the security policy of the Czech Republic he recognizes that the parties are an important actor of security policy, but it is difficult to say that security "created a line dividing the political parties clearly visible and stable in the long term" (Mareš, 2010, p. 43).

It is noteworthy, that many programs include passages devoted to the police. Changes in the organization of the police seem to be the most important way to deter crime. Experts admit that the Czech police gaces many problems that require determined solutions. The problem is staff shortages and unsatisfactory qualifications of a part of officers. Even official documents show problems with the management, inadequate system of training, motivation and appreciation of the work, unclear rules of promotion, lack of control mechanisms (Bohman, 2007, pp. 167–168; Balabán & Rašek, 2009, p. 290). In the Czech Republic the idea of community policing was actually discussed as a solution to the problems with police resources, what was proposed by KDU-ČSL (Mareš 2010, p. 66). Another issue found in programs it is supports other services and builds a common rescue system. Balabán, Rašek & Stejskal overclock problems related to creation of Integrated Rescue System (IRS), especially with its financing and equipment. „The shortage of resources for IRS operation results in a declining level of emergency protection. The physical and moral depreciation of the fire and rescue technical equipment is increasing; there is a shortage of protective devices for policemen and ambulance teams and the support of rescue-oriented civic associations is also low" they write (Balabán, Rašek, Stejskal 2008, p. 49).

It is very interesting what is absent from the analyzed programs, especially in the context of international security. Today when we talk about international security, firstly, we recall situation in Syria, military and political activities of Russia, the political crisis in the European Union, including the Brexit, uncertainty after the presidential elections in the United States, a significant increase in nationalism and extremist moods in some European countries, uncontrolled migration from the Middle East. These problems can not be found in programs created four years earlier. It shows how fast and unexpectedly factors affecting the safety can change, not only in the international dimension. Maybe this is one of the most important conclusions from this analysis for the future

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