



[vysoká škola]

MÉDIA, LOBBING A PR

2. SETKÁNÍ

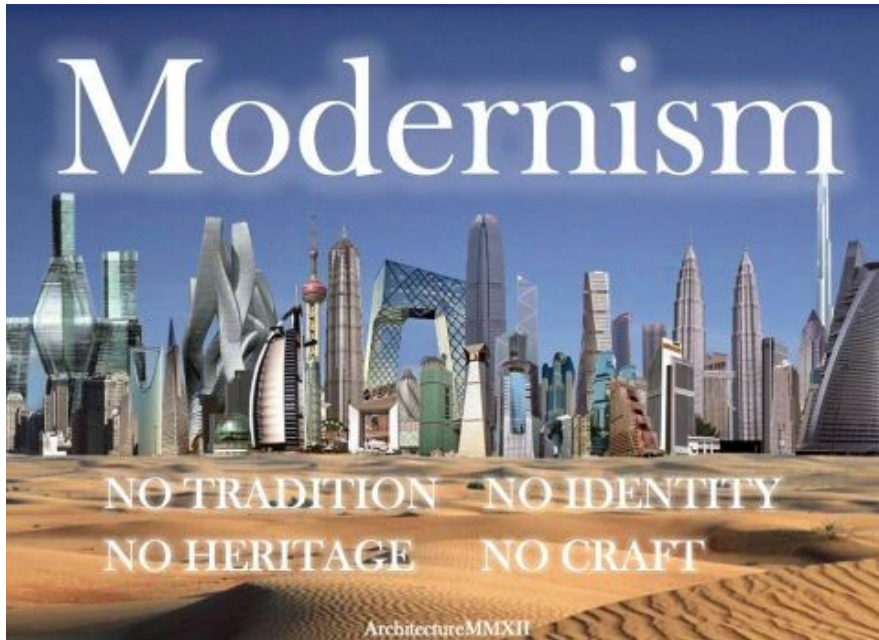
Karel B. Müller
www.karelmuller.eu



Témata

- Občanská společnost, role zájmových skupin
- Lobbying, korupce, klientelismu a prostor pro zneužívání politické moci
- Význam, strategie, nástroje, formy regulace, proměny lobbyingu
- Diskuse:
- Veřejnost v době mediokracii?
- Proměny mediální krajiny a její záludnosti ?
- Proměny lobbyingu v prostředí mediokracie?

Moderní versus tradiční



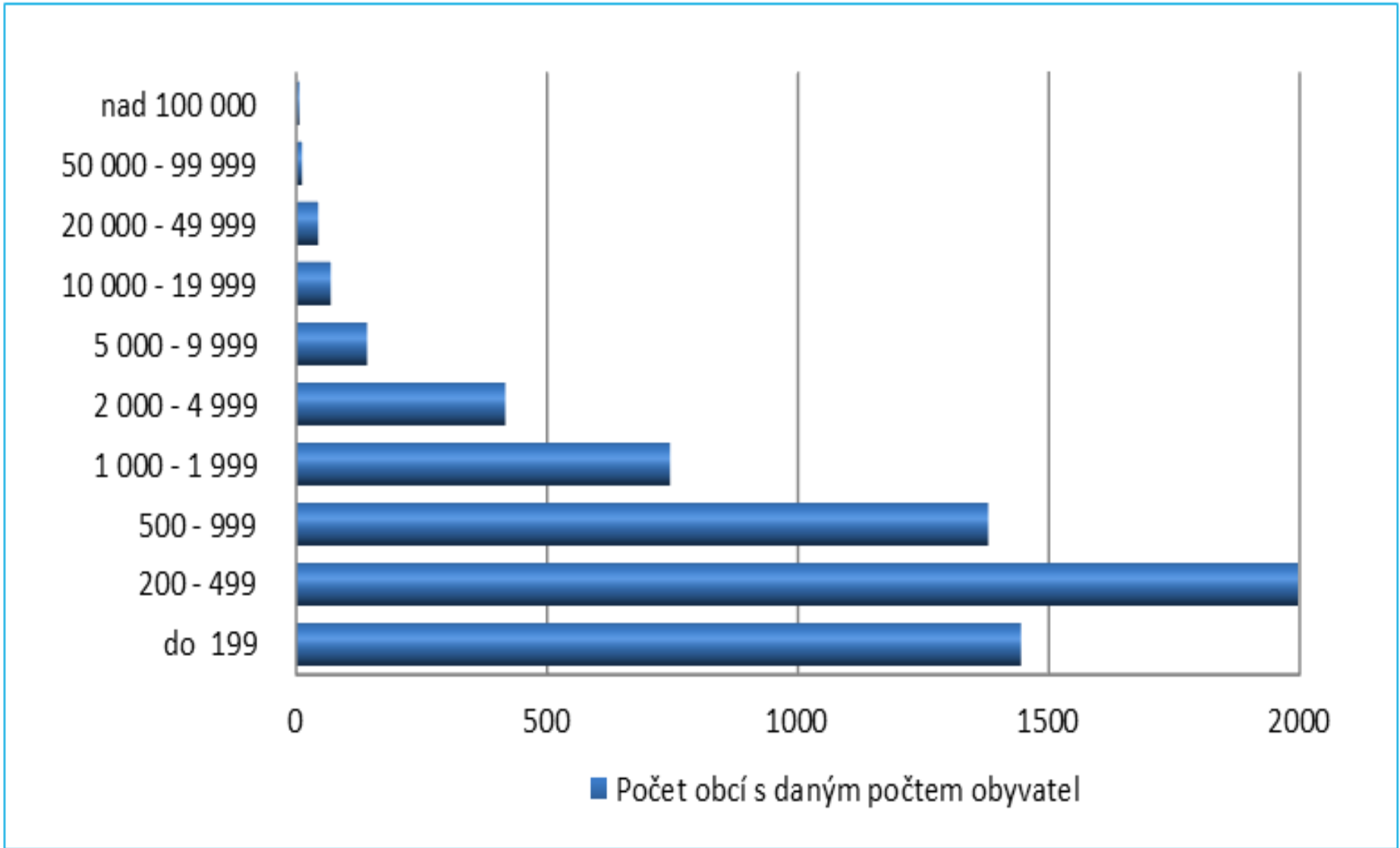
Občanská společnost Civil/Bürgerliche Society/Gesellschaft



[vysoká škola]



Graf 3: Velikostní struktura obcí ČR, r. 2015



Zdroj: Malý lexikon obcí, ČSÚ, 2015

Přehled počtu obcí podle počtu obyvatel

Obce s počtem obyvatel	Počet obcí	Počet obcí (v kumulaci)	% celkové populace	% celkové populace (v kumulaci)
0-100	557	557	0.4	0.4
101-200	1 086	1 643	1.6	2.0
201-300	890	2 533	2.1	4.1
301-1500	2 850	5 383	18.4	22.5
1 501-5 000	592	5 975	14.8	37.3
5 001-10 000	137	6 112	9.1	46.4
10 001-20 000	68	6 180	9.3	55.8
20 001-30 000	28	6 208	6.8	62.6
30 001-40 000	9	6 217	3.1	65.7
40 001-50 000	5	6 222	2.3	68.0
50 001-100 000	16	6 238	11.3	79.3
100 001-150 000	1	6 239	1.0	80.3
150 000 a více	3	6 242	8.2	88.5
Praha	1	6 243	11.5	100.0

Zdroj: Josef Lada, *Bubáci a hastrmani*, Albatros, 2010, s. 12 (vyšlo 1952)

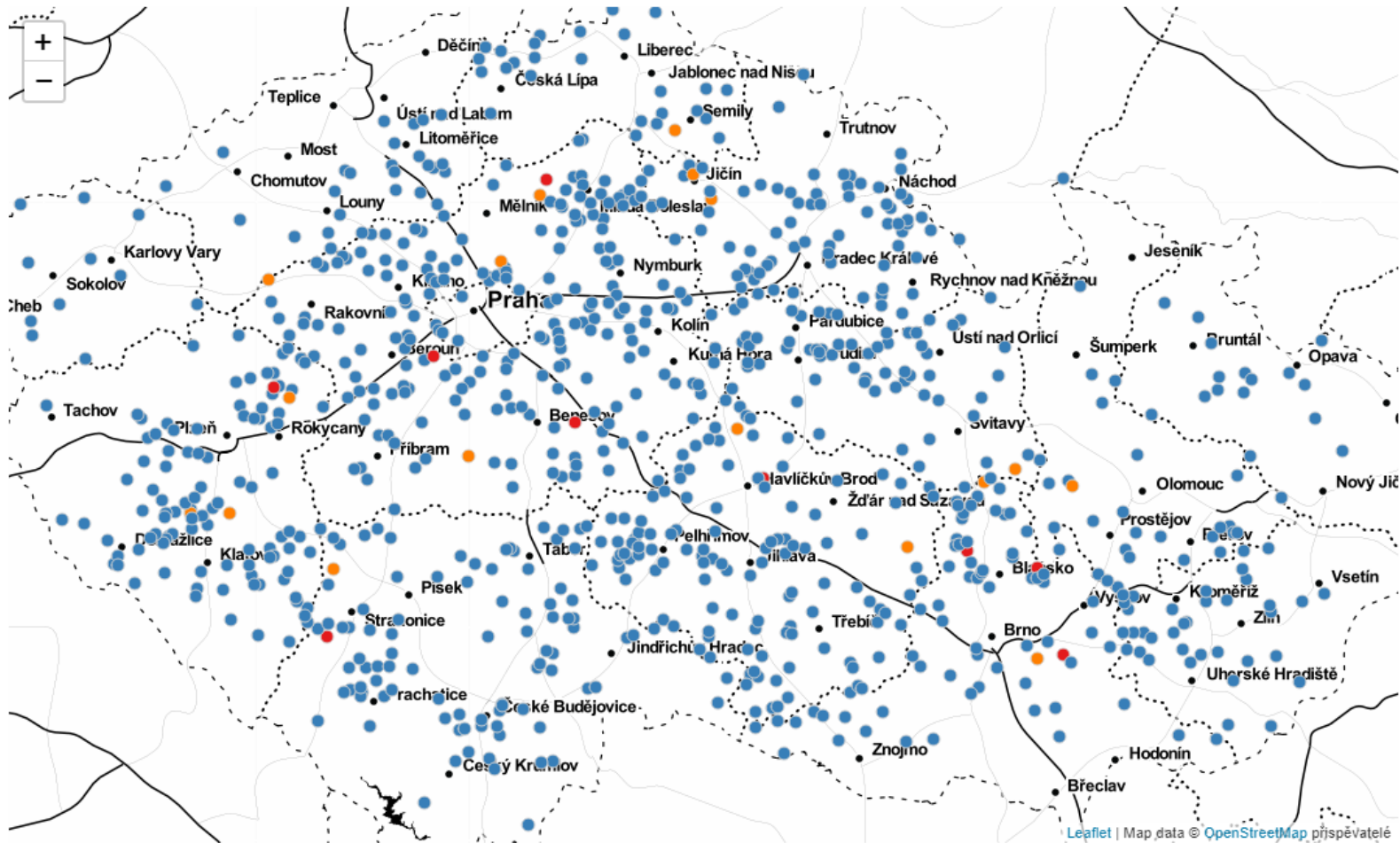
Pan starosta je vážně vyslechl a potom k nim promluvil s úřední vážností. „Nó, vono by to bylo dobré, kdyby se tu usadilo nějaké strašidlo – copak o to! Děcka beztoho už začínají tropit všelijaké nezbednosti... ať hodně **straší** kolem zahrad a polí s lusky, aby nám to děcka všecko neroznesla, a když budu vidět, že **straší hlavně u mých** lusek, nebudu zase hledět na nějaké to slovo a leckams ho k strašení doporučím“.



Šance pro zájmové skupiny, maminky na mateřské, místní podnikatelské skupiny, developery ... (KV volby 2018)

Kde letos volby nebudou napínavé (nebo nebudou vůbec)

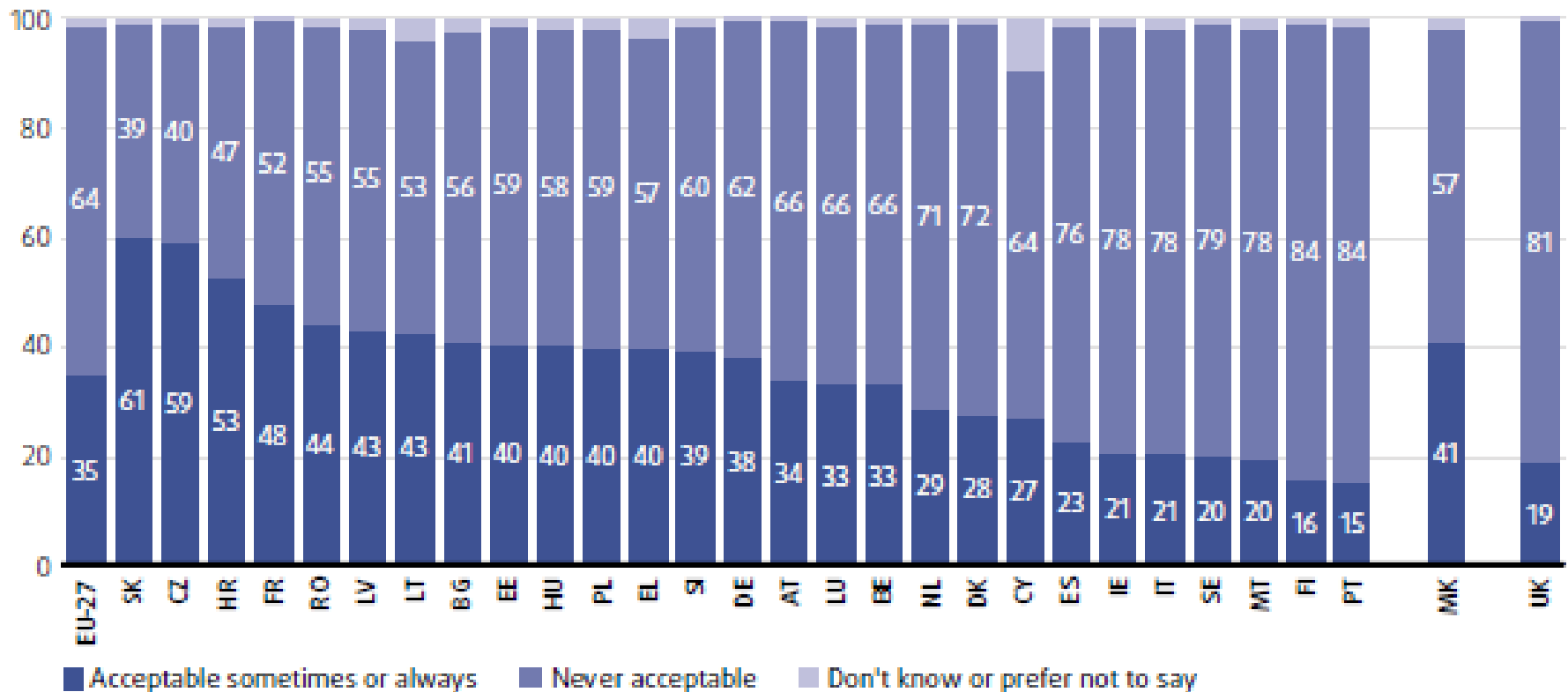
- obce, kde je právě tolik kandidátů jako mandátů
- obce, kde je méně kandidátů než mandátů
- obce, kde nekandiduje nikdo



Vyberte obec v mapě.

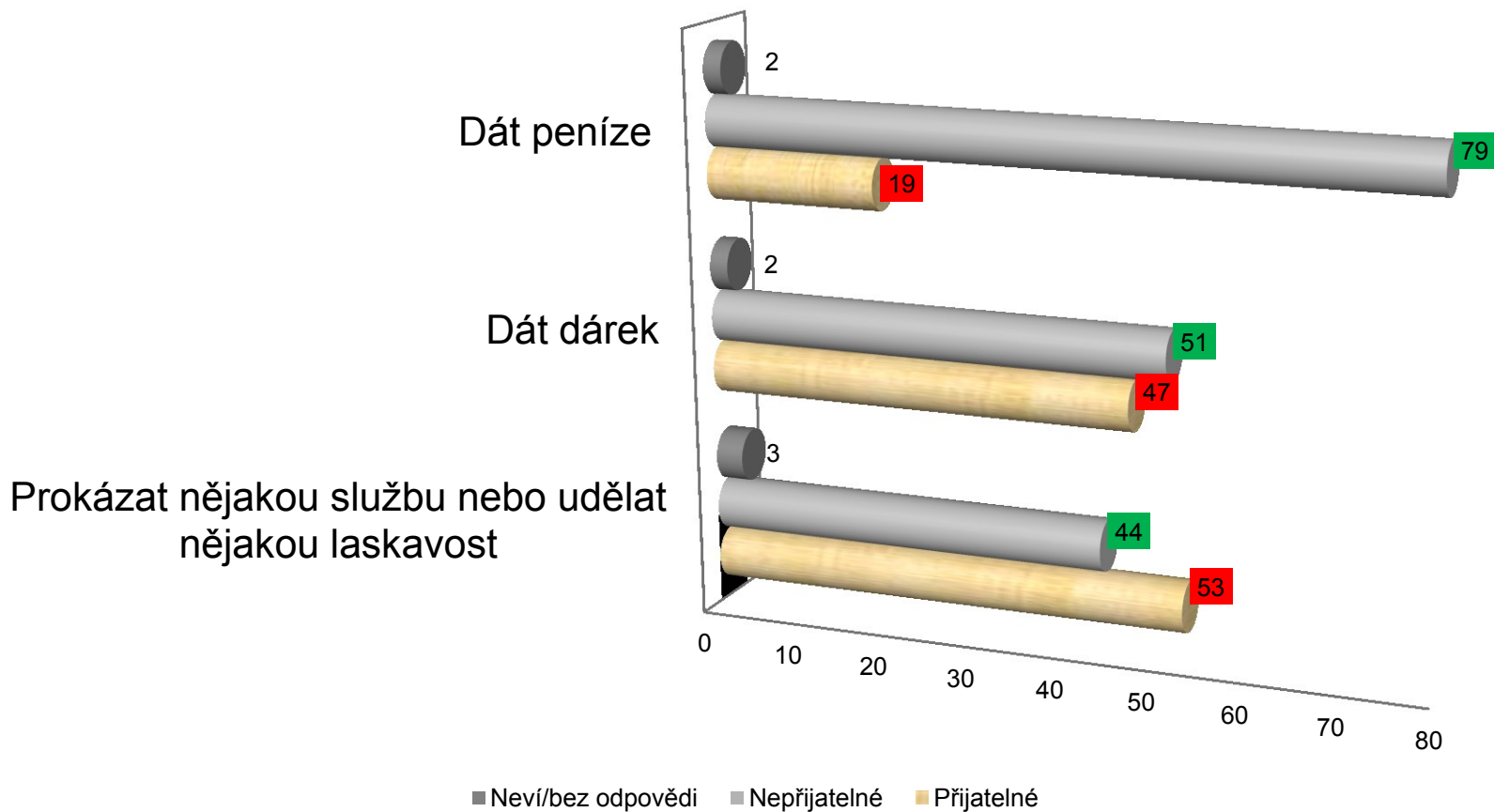
Klientelismus x liberalismus

FIGURE 24: VIEWS ON ACCEPTABILITY OF GIVING A GIFT TO OR DOING A FAVOUR FOR A PUBLIC OFFICIAL OR CIVIL SERVANT IF NEED SOMETHING URGENTLY FROM THEM, BY COUNTRY (%)



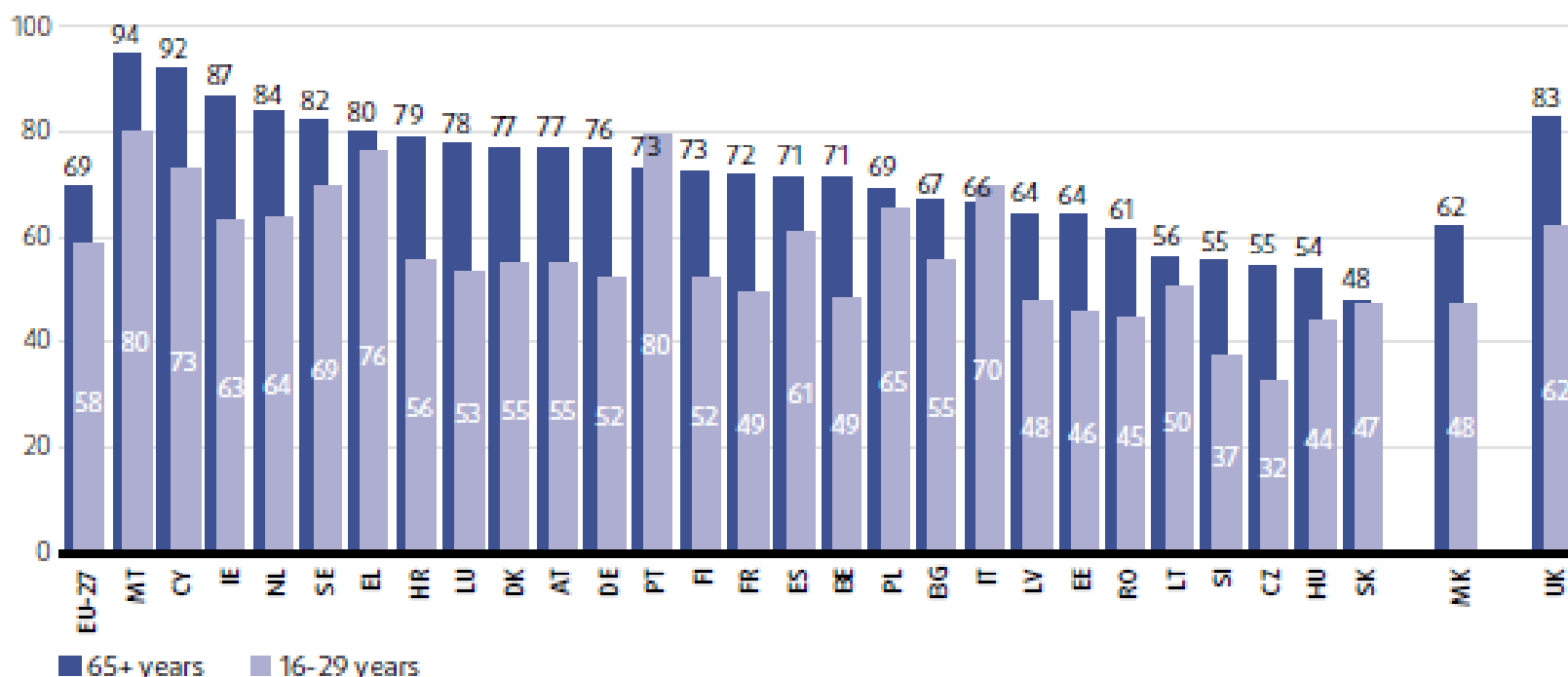
Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]

***Odpověď na otázku „Kdybyste chtěl něco od veřejné správy nebo veřejné služby,
do jaké míry je podle vás přijatelné jednat následujícími způsoby?“
(ČR) zdroj: Evropská komise (2013)***



Role opozice

FIGURE 11: CONSIDERING FREEDOM OF OPPOSITION PARTIES TO CRITICISE THE GOVERNMENT TO BE OF HIGH IMPORTANCE, PEOPLE AGED 16-29 YEARS AND 65 YEARS AND OVER, BY COUNTRY (%) ^{a,b}

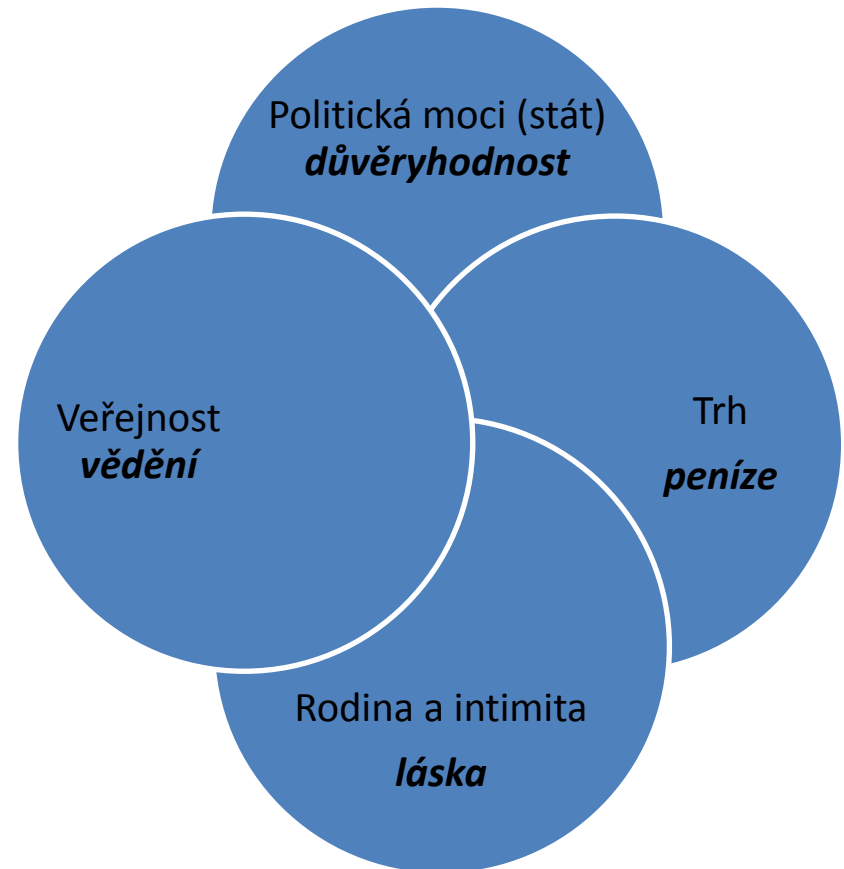
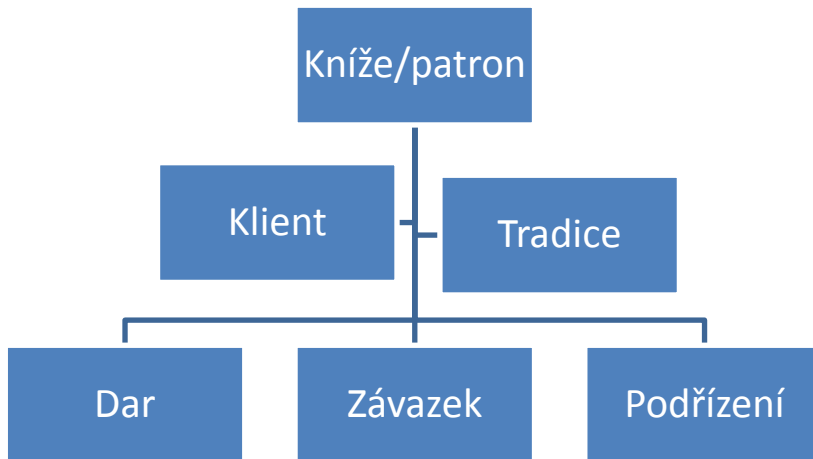


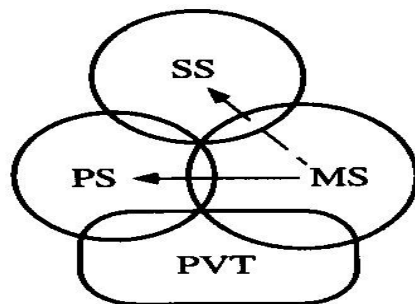
Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]

Perspektiva sociální diferenciacce

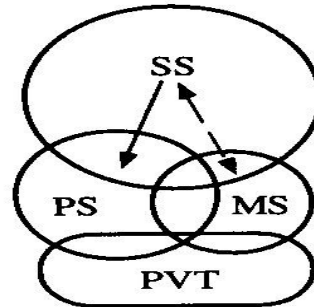
Patronáž versus formální instituce

Univerzalizující média moci (Niklas Luhmann)

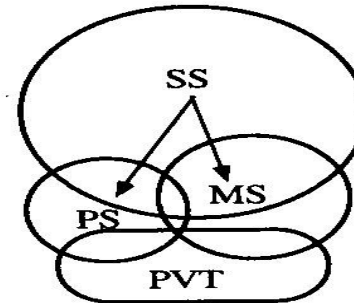




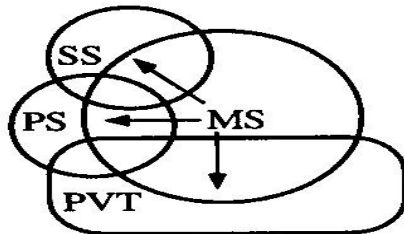
1. United States



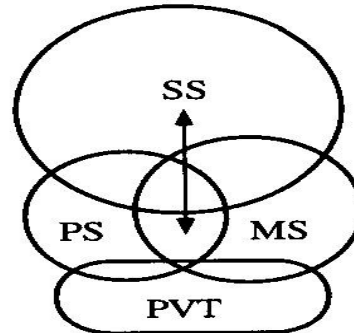
2. United Kingdom



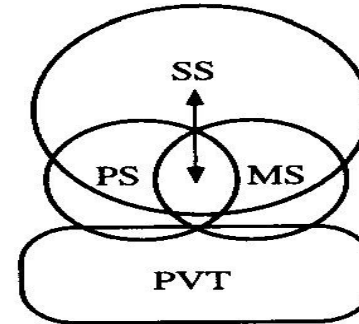
3. France



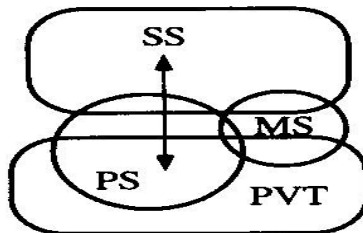
4. Japan



5. Germany



6. Sweden



7. Poland
(early 1980s)

Abbreviations:

- SS = State sphere
- PS = Public sphere
- MS = Market sphere
- PVT = Private lifeworld
or private sphere

Figure 5.2. The public and private sphere in eight countries

LOBBYING

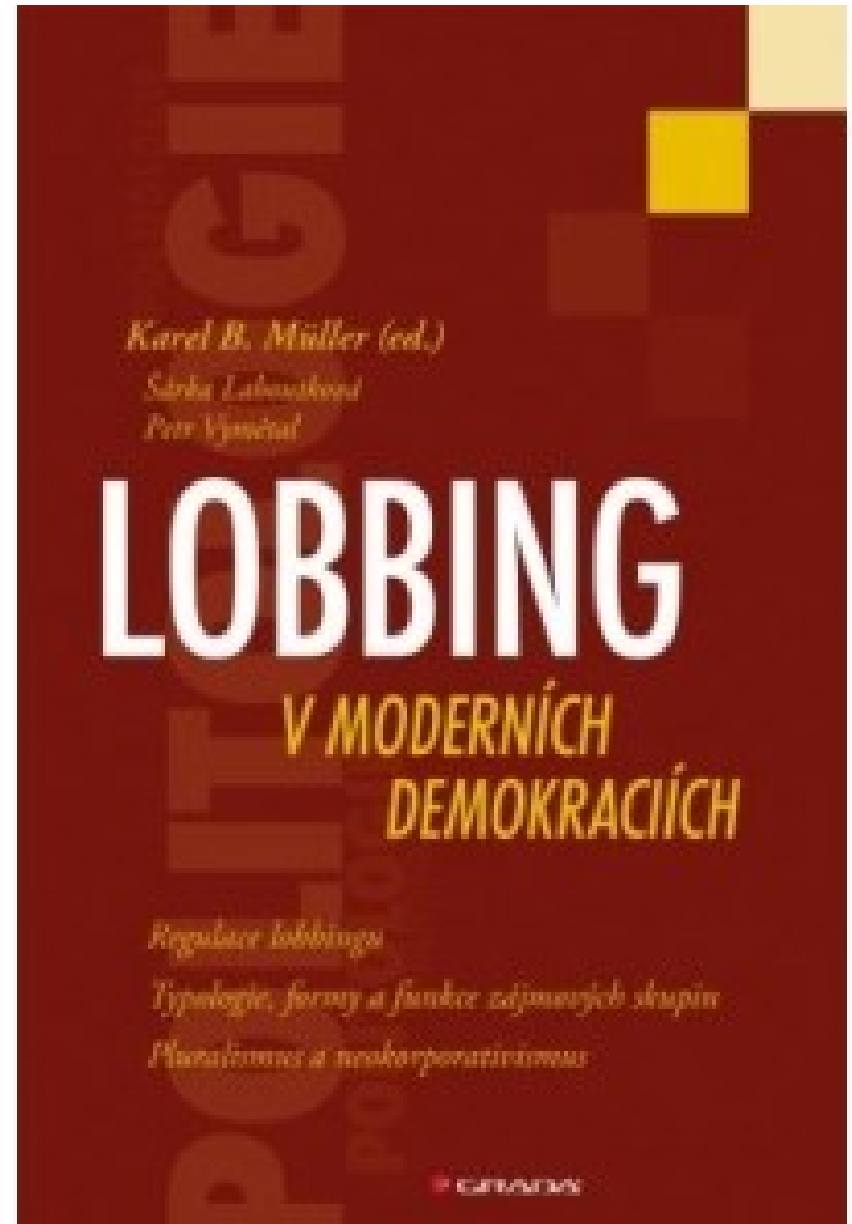
nabídka versus poptávka

aktéři versus příjemci

INSTITUCIONALIZACE

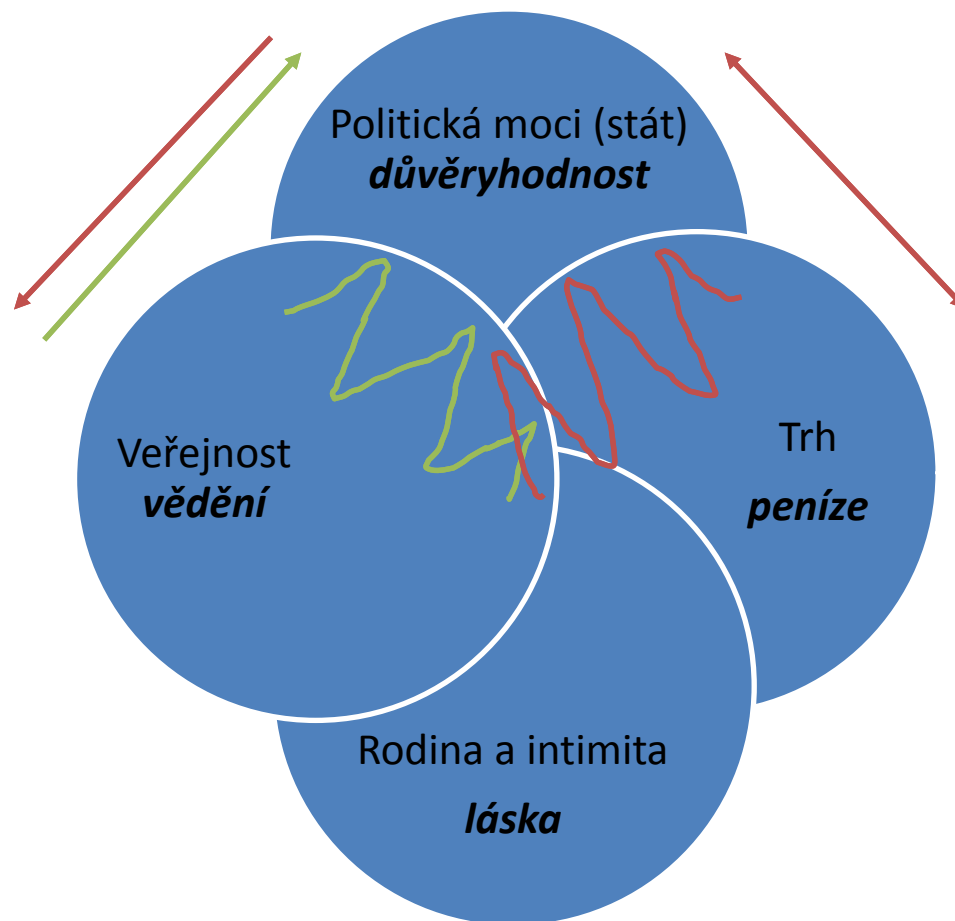
ROZHRAŇÍ

POLITIKA X TRH/VEŘEJNOST





Borderline Approach



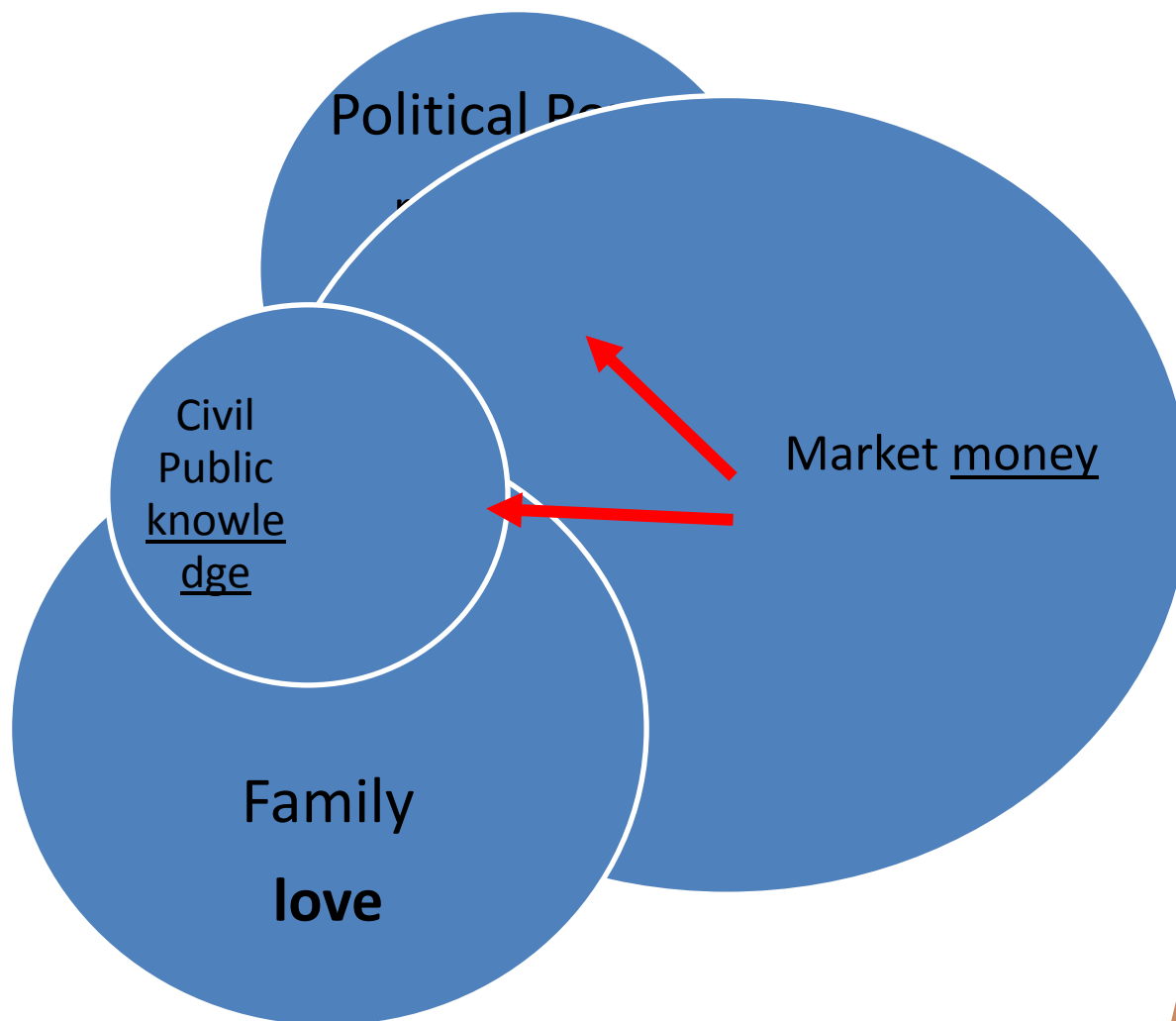


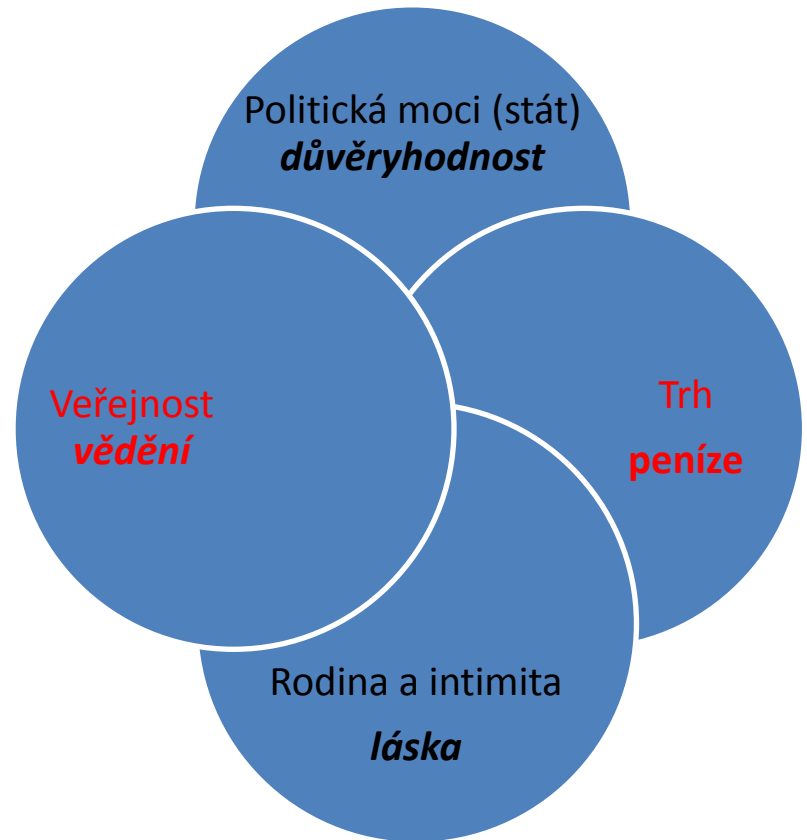
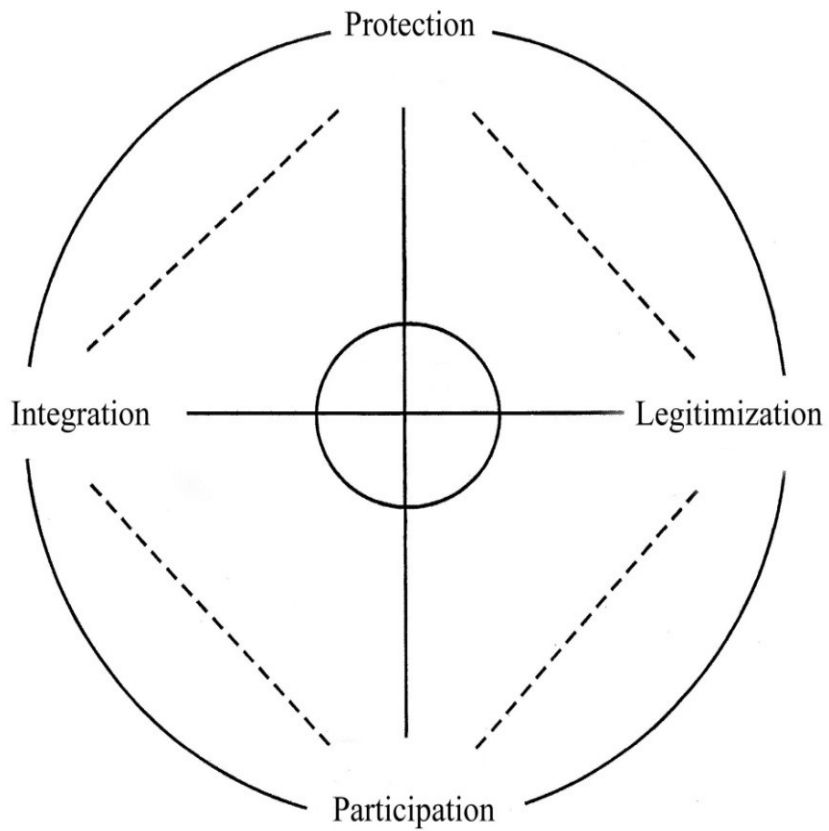
Clientelism, oligarchization, state capture (2013 - 2021)





Conflict of Interests aneb Babišův problém (?)







Co není lobbying?
Kdo není lobbista?











Co je lobbying?

- Lobbying x klientelismus, korupce (boj proti lobbyngu? – viz James Madison LF č. 10)
- Zástupci zájmových skupin v rozhodovacích procesech, informace, vědění, plusy/mínusy

Aktéři lobbyngu

- Profesionální lobbisté (in-house, agentury)
- Občanští lobbisté (TI, AI, Rekonstrukce státu)
- Amatérští lobbisté (?)
- Komory (povinné x nepovinné)
- Partikulární v. obecný zájem

Policy making process a role zájmových skupin

- Charles Lindblom, 1968
- **Artikulace** (iniciace), agenda setting
- **Estimace, selekce** (formulace problému, postup řešení), RIA a priori
- **Legitimizace** (politicky a právně)
- **Implementace**
- **Monitoring a re-evaluace**, RIA a posteriori

Legislative Drafting Process

Legislative Drafting Process Guide

Hallituksen esitysten laatimisohteet

Lisää

Finlex.fi ›
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Information

Frequently asked questions

Suomeksi

På svenska

In English

Text ver

Choose the stage of process



<http://lainvalmistelu.finlex.fi/en/>



Strategie a nástroje lobbingu

- Kdy, jak, kde a u koho lobbovat? Ve fázi přípravy zákonů!
- Jednorázový x trvalý (opakující se)
- Pozitivní/útočný x obranný (protilobbing)
- Přímý (KONTAKNÍ) x nepřímý (GRASSROOTS)
- Nepřímý lobbing (vzdělávací, informační kampaně, vytváření koalic, média, soudní pře – permanentní monitoring zájmů)
- Budování důvěry/důvěryhodnosti!
- PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Nástroje regulace lobbingu

- Žádná (CZ), malá, střední, vysoká regulace (USA).
- Zdola – regulace lobbistů (střešní org. s dobrovolným členství, etické kodexy, směrnice, certifikace, kárná řízení, př. UK)
- Shora – regulace lobbistů (uznaná živnost, rejstříky/EU, revolving doors, cooling-off periods, výkazy výdajů, sankce, př. USA, Kanada)
- Shora – regulace příjemců lobbingu, vysokých úředníků, politiků (rev. doors, střet zájmů, majetková přiznání, otevřené diáře, sankce)

Dilemata regulace lobbingu

- Co je lobbing? Kdo je lobbista?
- Samoregulace (zdola) x zák. regulace (shora)
Obojí?
- APAA, založena květen 2012
- Kdo bude dohlížet nad registrem?
- Přebujelá byrokratizace. Stojí to za to?
- Naše poslední předloha z MS do meziresortního řízení, listopad 2022
- Tlak EU (Fond obnovy), GRECO aj



Členové asociace APAA



Becker & Pollakoff

Becker & Pollakoff
Martin Klimpl



CEC
GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

CEC Government
Relations
Václav Nekvapil



EUR:OFFICE
PRAHA-BRUSEL A.S.

Eurooffice Praha-
Brusel
Libor Kudláček



Fleishman
Hillard
Radek Maršík



GRAYLING

Grayling Czech
Republic
Jakub Hudec



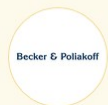
merit
government relations

Merit Government
Relations
Martin Hoferek



PAN SOLUTIONS

PAN
Solutions
Jana Marco

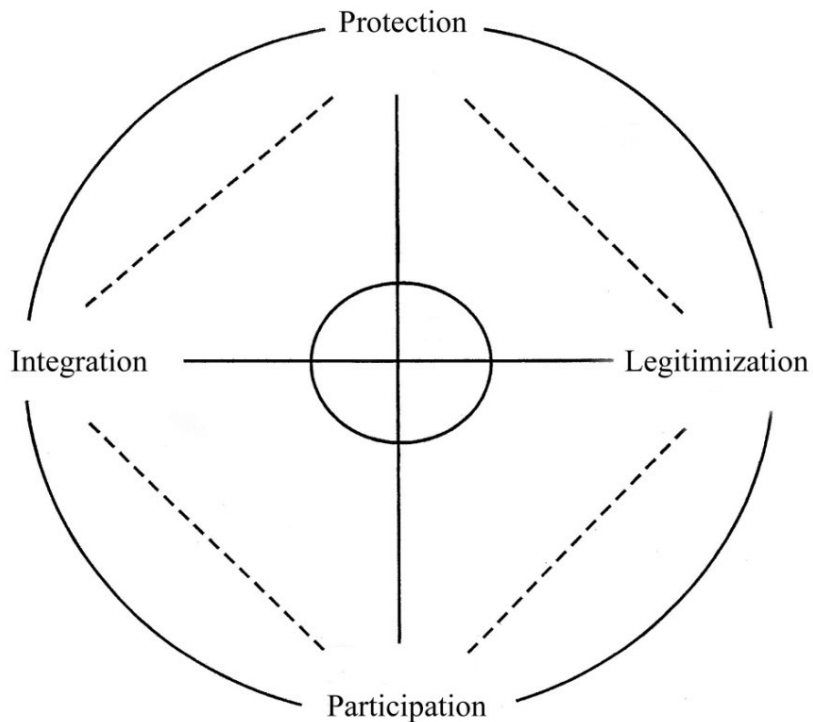


Současná verze zákona

- **Základní parametry navrhované regulace:**
- Zakotvení definice lobbování, lobbisty a stanovení výčtu lobbovaných
- Navrhuje se zřízení registru lobbistů a lobbovaných, díky kterému se občané dozví o tom, koho registrovaný lobbista, v jaké věci lobboval
- Neplnění povinností stanovených zákonem, například neohlášení záměru lobbisty lobbovat, bude podléhat přestupkové odpovědnosti
- Zákonodárci budou mít povinnost uvádět lobbistickou stopu právního předpisu, tj. informovat veřejnost o tom ve vztahu k jakému návrhu právního předpisu byli úspěšně lobbováni

Cíle regulace (perspektiva občanské veřejnosti)

Karel B. Müller (2016). *Češi, občanská společnost a evropské výzvy*. Praha: Triton.



- Boj proti korupci, posílení transparentnosti
- Posílit kvalitu a legitimitu zákonodárného procesu – stakeholdři součástí tvorby pravidel
- Férová pravidla pro zájmové skupiny, stakeholdry
- Posílení důvěry v politickou elitu a pol. systém

Užitečné odkazy

- <https://www.transparency.cz/lobbing-je-legitimni-demokraticky-nastroj-kteremu-v-cesku-chybi-zakonna-regulace/>
- <https://www.transparency.cz/podcast-stosestka/>
- <https://www.ceska-justice.cz/2022/11/ministr-pavel-blazek-veri-ze-zakon-o-lobbingu-poslouzi-verejnosti-a-nezahlti-politiky-a-lobbisty-byrokracii/>
- <https://svetneziskovek.cz/management/co-znamenana-vrh-zakona-o-lobbovani-pro-obcanskou-spolecnost>
- <https://ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/3238740-zive-poslanci-mimoradne-jednaji-o-protikorupcnich-predlohach>



Diskuse k proměnám mediální krajiny

CO DNES ZNAMENÁ VEŘEJNOST?

Strukturální proměny veřejnosti (J. Habermas, 1962)

Mimopolitická, sekulární, neuzavřená (tématům, lidem)

Kritická x manipulativní, demonstrativní publicita

Re-feudalizace veřejnosti, PR (?), práce s, konstrukce veřejnosti

Politická funkce médií (dnes) – watchdog, agenda setting, informace a osvěta – sociální funkce médií (integrační, večerní z právy)

Komericializace, bulvarizace

Infotainment-politainment-depolitizace veřejnosti

Pseudo-události, Hyperrealita, **Simulakra** (Deleuze, Baudrillard)

Nezávislost médií a MVS (?)

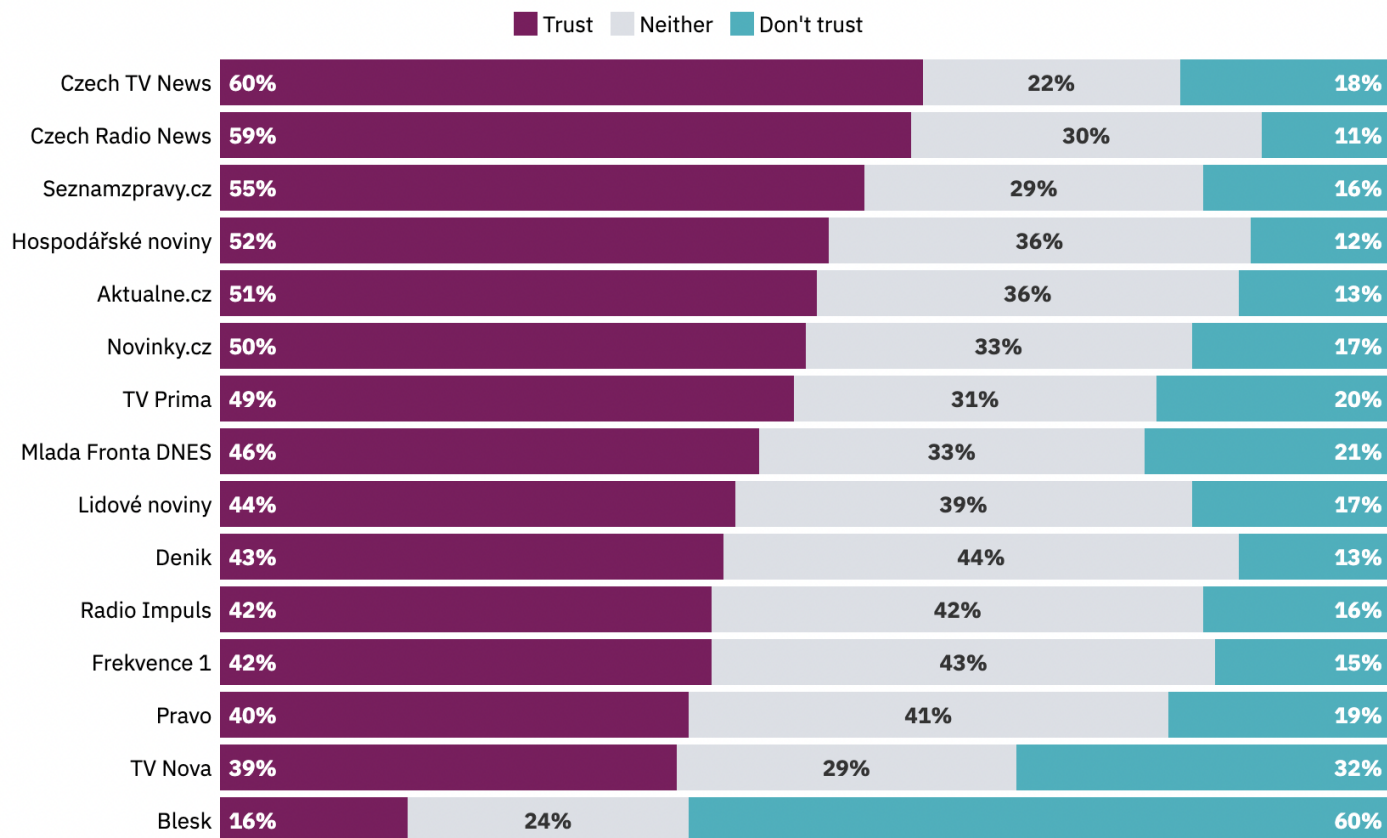
Mediální gramotnost coby branná povinnost

Evropeizace veřejné sféry – trajektorie evropeizace
místo, čas, význam (?)

Veřejná důvěra ve zpravodajské zdroje v roce 2021

Brand trust scores

Czech Republic



Top social media and messaging

Czech Republic

Rank	Brand	For news	For any purpose
1	Facebook	42% (-3)	70%
2	YouTube	21% (-2)	66%
3	Facebook Messenger	15% (-)	51%
4	WhatsApp	14% (+1)	47%
5	Instagram	10% (+1)	28%
6	Twitter	5% (+1)	11%



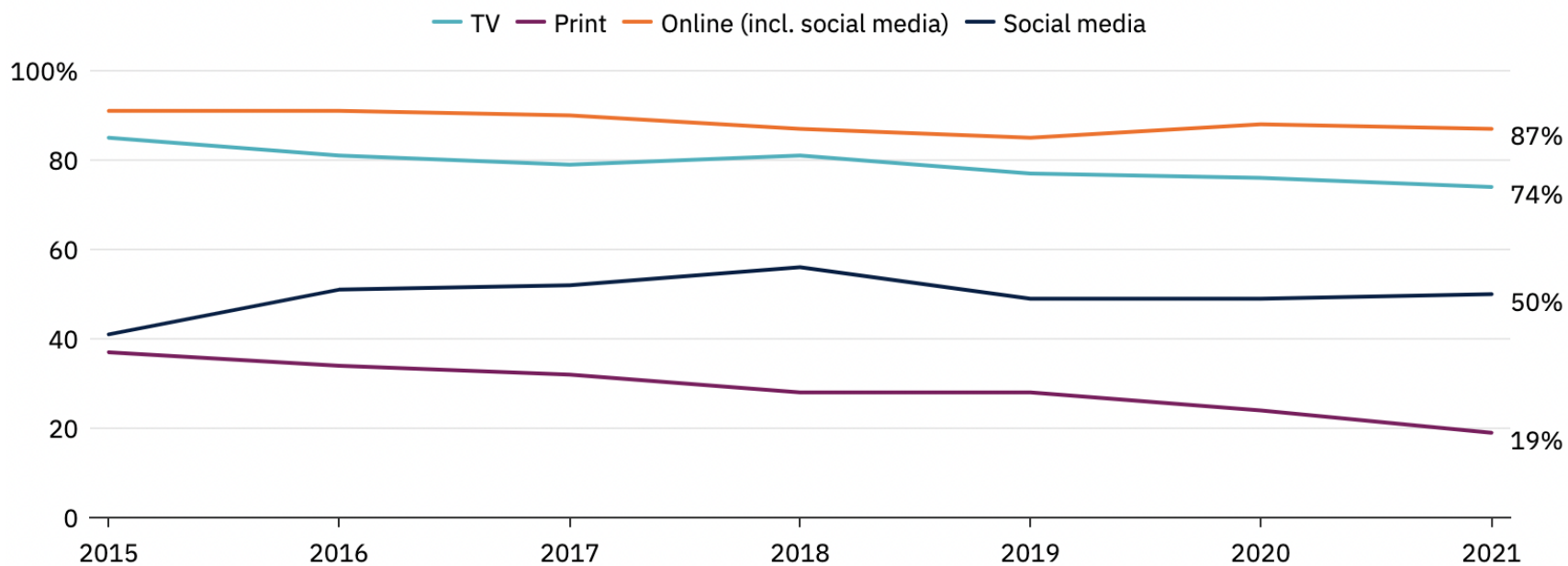
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Sources of news

2015–2021

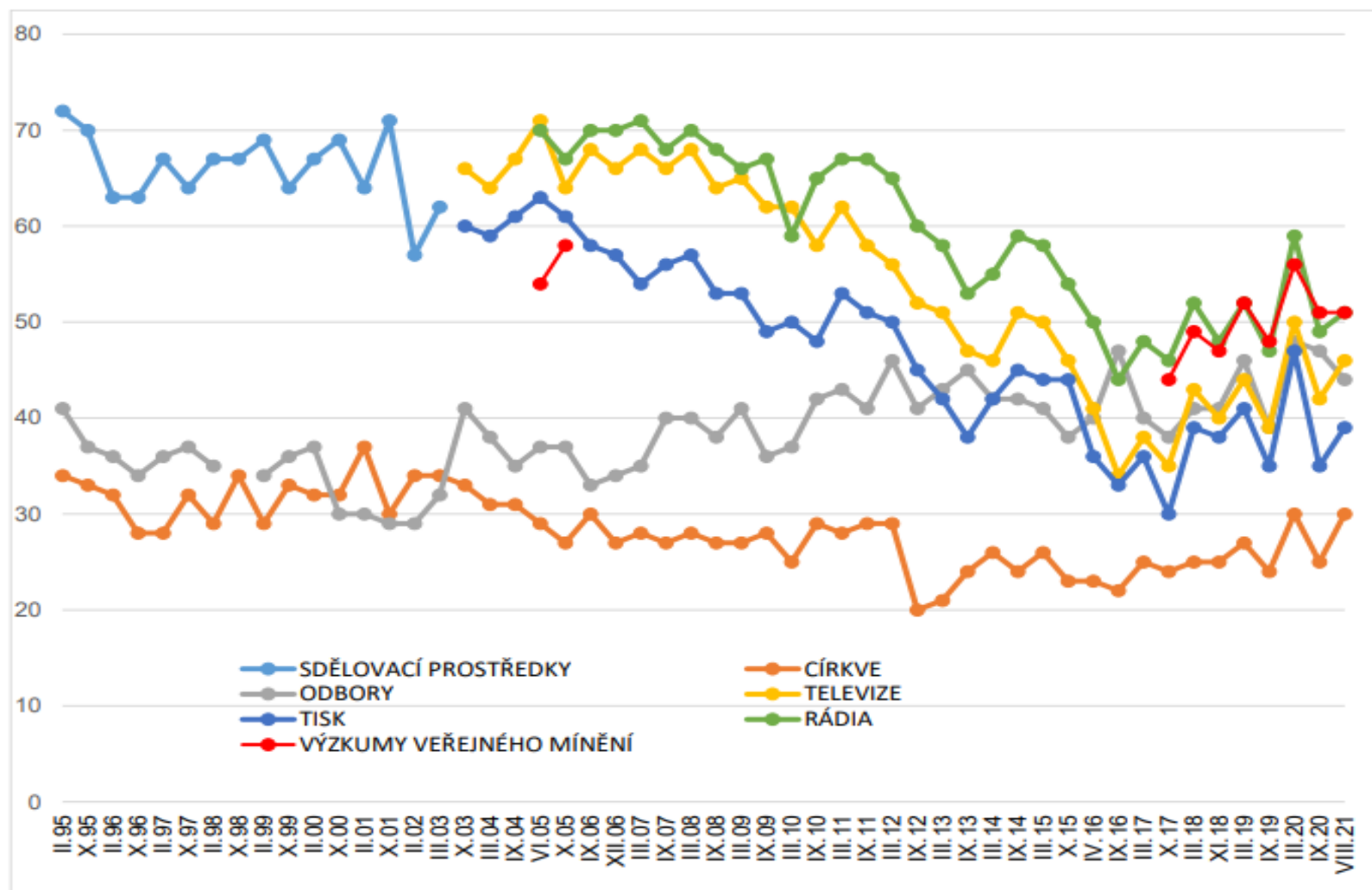
Czech Republic



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Graf 2: Vývoj důvěry médiím, odborům, církvím (v %)



Pozn.: Údaje v grafu představují součet odpovědí "rozhodně důvěřuji" a "spíše důvěřuji" vyjádřený v procentech.

Zdroj: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, Naše společnost.

Důvěra k vybraným institucím veřejného života – srpen/září 2021

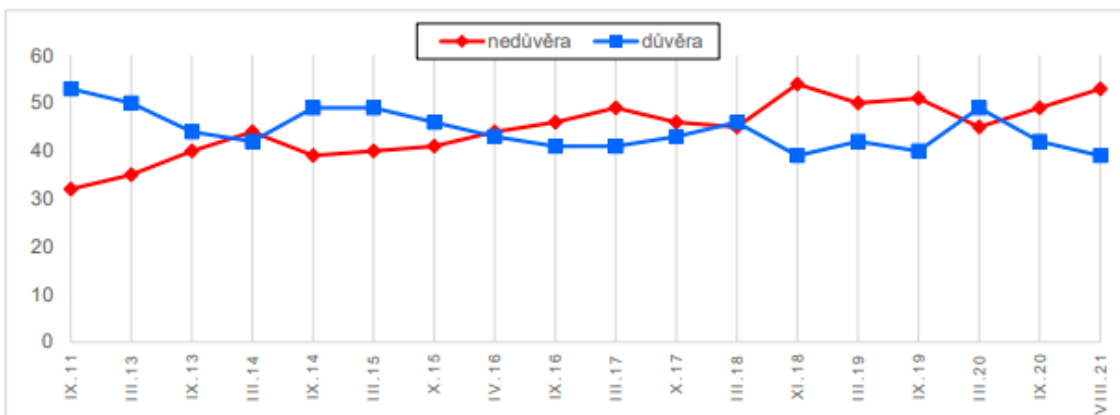
Tabulka 1: Důvěra vybraným institucím veřejného života (v %)

	Rozhodně důvěřuji	Spíše důvěřuji	Spíše nedůvěřuji	Rozhodně nedůvěřuji	Neví	D/N	Rozdíl D-N	Průměr (1 – 4)
Armádě	20	49	18	6	7	69/24	45	2,11
Policii ČR	16	54	21	6	3	70/27	43	2,18
Soudům	14	48	26	8	4	62/34	28	2,29
Výsledkům voleb	15	46	23	11	5	61/34	27	2,31
Bankám	10	47	29	10	4	57/39	18	2,39
Výzkumům mínění	9	42	29	9	11	51/38	13	2,43
Rádiu	7	44	32	11	6	51/43	8	2,49
Odborům	9	35	25	13	18	44/38	6	2,51
Televizi	6	40	36	14	4	46/50	-4	2,61
Internetu	6	33	39	14	8	39/53	-14	2,67
Tisku	4	35	40	16	5	39/56	-17	2,71
Nezisk.org.	7	30	35	20	8	37/55	-18	2,74
Cirkvím	7	23	30	30	10	30/60	-30	2,92
Pol. stranám a hnutím	2	19	47	25	7	21/72	-51	3,03

Pozn.: Položky v tabulce jsou seřazeny podle průměru v aktuálním výzkumu.

Zdroj: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, Naše společnost 28. 8. – 20. 9. 2021, 951 respondentů starších 15 let, osobní rozhovor.

Graf 5: Důvěra/nedůvěra internetu (časové srovnání v %)

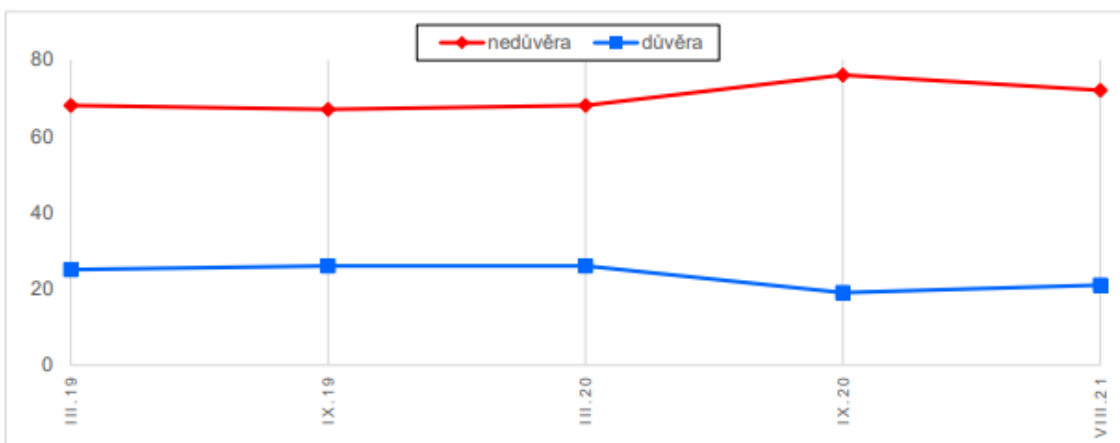


Pozn.: Údaje v grafu představují součet odpovědí "rozhodně důvěřuji" a "spíše důvěřuji", respektive „spíše nedůvěřuji“ a „rozhodně nedůvěřuji“ vyjádřené v procentech.

Zdroj: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, Naše společnost.

Důvěra politickým stranám a hnutím byla do výzkumu zařazena poprvé v březnu 2019, aktuální výzkum je tak již pátý v řadě a již je možné analyzovat vývoj důvěry a nedůvěry českých občanů k politickým stranám a hnutím. Jak můžeme vidět z grafu 6, tak v prvních třech výzkumech (březen 2019, září 2019, březen 2020) nedošlo v názorech české veřejnosti k žádným statisticky významným změnám a důvěra politickým stranám a hnutím se pohybovala na úrovni přibližně čtvrtiny dotázaných a nedůvěra dosahovala přibližně dvou třetin dotázaných. V září 2020 došlo v porovnání s minulým výzkumem z března 2020 k poklesu důvěry (o 7 procentních bodů) a nárůstu nedůvěry (o 8 procentních bodů), přičemž aktuální výzkum tuto změnu částečně potvrdil, když důvěra politických stranám a hnutím zůstala na stejné úrovni, nicméně nedůvěra mírně, byť statisticky významně, poklesla (o 4 procentní body).

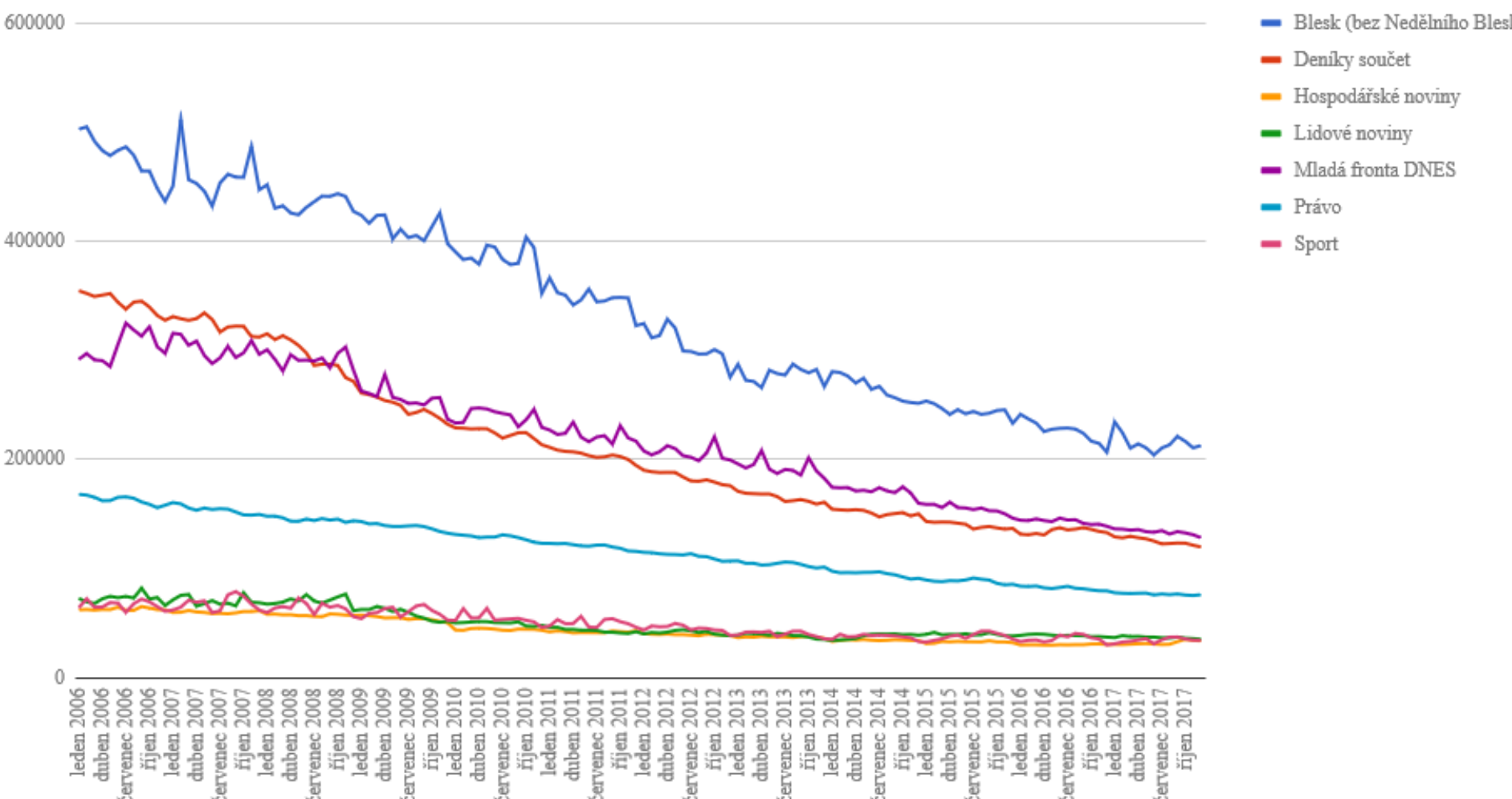
Graf 6: Důvěra/nedůvěra politickým stranám a hnutím (časové srovnání v %)



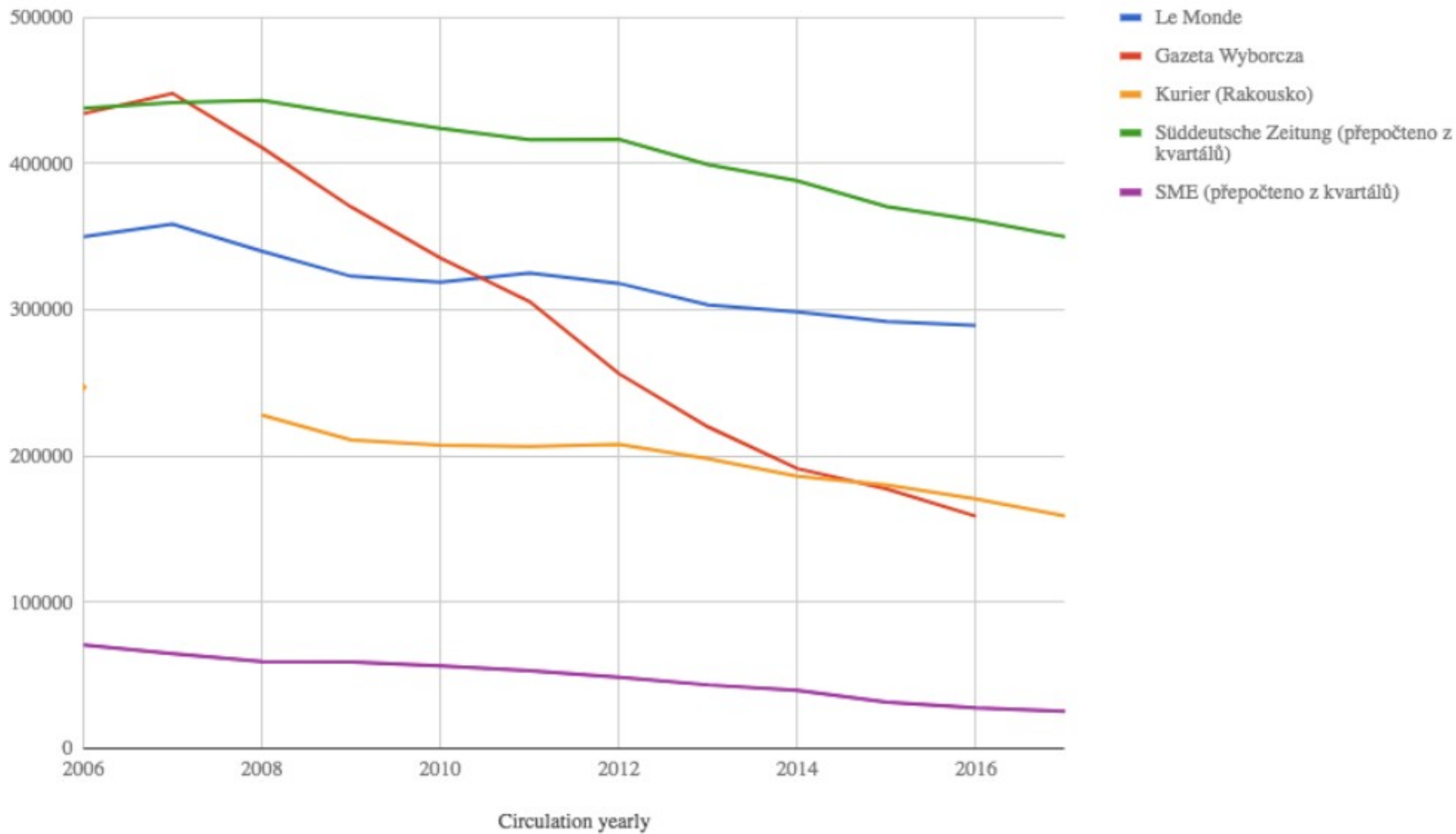
Pozn.: Údaje v grafu představují součet odpovědí "rozhodně důvěřuji" a "spíše důvěřuji", respektive „spíše nedůvěřuji“ a „rozhodně nedůvěřuji“ vyjádřené v procentech.

Zdroj: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, Naše společnost.

Prodané náklady 2006 - 2017



Přehled cirkulace nákladů vybraných evropských deníků



Zábava?

Tuesday 2 June 2009 50p NEWS EXTRA

London Evening Standard

Private view Howard Hodgkin reveals his new work Pages 30 & 31

standard.co.uk

Fashion Style & Sex SUITS IN THE CITY SEX IN THE CITY PAGES 25-23

LABOUR REVOLT ON CHANCELLOR BALLS

BROWN PROVOKES FURY OVER PLANS TO PROMOTE KEY ALLY
MANDELSON TIPPED TO TAKE OVER AS FOREIGN SECRETARY

By Murphy Political Editor

GORDON BROWN was hit by a fierce backlash today over the prospect of promoting Ed Balls to be the new Chancellor. Senior Labour warned that it would be "divisive" and make the Cabinet "unbalanced". Their response threatened to derail the sweeping reshuffle to be held after this week's local and European elections.

With Alistair Darling looking doomed from the expense account scandal, MPs are convinced that the Prime Minister intends to replace him with the Children's Secretary.

Mr Brown has for several weeks been rumoured to want his protégé to take over the Treasury, seeing him as a more strategic and combative Chancellor.

One possibility is that it would be combined with promotion for Lord Mandelson to the Foreign Office, so he presented as a balanced set of promotions.

But both ministers and backbenchers warned him against giving the Treasury to one of his closest and most controversial allies, saying it would be a move from his original promise to have a big test government.

One former minister said: "Gordon obviously rates Ed Balls highly but he must be careful that he does not leave the Cabinet unbalanced. That could be the effect if Ed ran the Treasury in the same way that he behaved when he was finance at London Weekend. That would be a special admission."

Another MP said: "It would be a very unpopular choice. It would look like the Browns camp getting narrower and

Continued on Page 6



Victims: Edna Walls, who was on the doomed jet, performed in Riverside before becoming a doctor

Air crash site found as victims are named

By Kiran Bashir and Peter Allen

The spot where a doomed Air France jet crashed with the loss of 228 lives has been pinpointed to "within a few dozen square nautical miles", paving the way for a full investigation.

A massive search involving planes, ships and French spy satellites helped to locate the spot in a notoriously desolate fishing zone, dubbed the "black calderon", over the north Atlantic where flight AF 447 went down.

Investigators and other state-of-the-art nautical equipment will have to be used to retrieve the black box flight recorder which holds the key to what went wrong on the doomed Airbus A330.

But the area is remote, and it could still be many hours before the first rescue vessel arrives. The identities of some of the dead have emerged. They include a British businessman who could not get on an earlier flight, and three Irish doctors, including Dr 39thone Walls.

FULL STORY: PAGE 5

SEE PAGE 10 & SUNSPORT

WORLD EXCLUSIVE

- Star's ex Blake tells of drugs hell
- He reveals couple's wasted lives



New dad... PC Sigton

Sis has baby for gay PCs

EXCLUSIVE

By JAMIE PYATT

LOVING sister Lorna Bradley acted as surrogate mum as her brother Steven Ponder and his partner Ivan Sigton, both policemen, became Britain's first gay couple to father a baby.

Full story - Page Nine



Chop... Chancellor

Darling: Cuts on the way

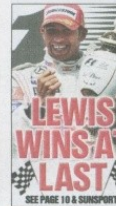
By GEORGE PASCOE-WATSON

Political Editor

PUBLIC services will be SLASHED by Labour in the coming three years, Alistair Darling sensationally confessed yesterday.

The Chancellor blew a gaping hole in Gordon

Continued on Page Two



LEWIS WINS AT LAST

SEE PAGE 10 & SUNSPORT

AMY 'DIED' IN MY ARMS



By TOM WELLS and KAREN GRATTAGE

AMY Winehouse "died" in her husband's arms after a horrific three-day drugs binge, he has revealed.

Blake Fielder-Civil, 27, told of his "utter panic" — as he last night lifted the lid on their harrowing life of heroin and crack abuse following his divorce from the Blah-b singer, 25.

Amy's ex, right, said: "I was terrified."



Full Story - Pages Four & Five

Kvalita !

'All the News That's Fit to Print'

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Republicans Press Judge About Bias and Activism Sotomayor Pledges to Honor Precedent — Retrats From Some Statements

By PETER BAKER and NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON — Republican senators agreed with Judge Sonia Sotomayor on Tuesday over racial bias, judicial activism and temperament as the president named her as a potential nominee for the Supreme Court. She would not respond but her influence was felt in the first two years since she was appointed by applying "the law" or some variation of that phrase at least 10 times.

"It's a refrain I keep repeating," she told the Senate Judiciary Committee, "because of the danger of drifting on the floor as if you were not there." She returned from her trial results, most notably her marriage to a "wise Latina woman" might reach higher conclusions than white males would. She also has ever spoken of "writing her own law" and "redefining" domestic law that did not mean what others have interpreted them to mean.

SURCHARGE IS SET IN A HEALTH PLAN

New Tax of 1% to 5.4% Affecting Top Filers

By ROBERT FRANK and DAVID M. HERSHENOVITZ

WASHINGTON — Democratic leaders took a big step toward government health insurance for most Americans on Tuesday as they unveiled a bill that would raise the top marginal tax rate on income over \$250,000 to 5.4% and add a 1% surcharge on the health care costs of high-income people and private employers. The bill would not provide health benefits to their workers.

It also offers President Obama promised Democratic leaders to spend more on the top 1% of earners. House committees announced a plan to begin testing the measure this week.

Starting in 2013, the top 1% of earners would have to pay 5.4% in additional income tax to help subsidize coverage for the uninsured. A family of four million would have to pay \$8,000. Employers who use private health insurance to workers would generally have to pay a percentage to the government. The rate would be based on a percentage of wages for employer with annual payroll of more than \$400,000.

After months of setbacks and uncertainty, House Democrats were jubilant as they introduced the measure on Tuesday.

Another concern is that the House would make more use of the budget to pay for the health care program. The last budget was passed in 2008, and it is expected to be passed by the end of the year. The measure would be passed by the end of the year.

DAVID LEONARDY, a Democratic spokesman, said the bill would "find this disconnect."

Afghan War's Buried Bombs Put Risk in Any Step

By JAMES DAO

FORWARD OPERATING BASES IN AFGHANISTAN — It will be a long time before the war in Afghanistan ends, but the risk of a major explosion is not going away. A recent explosion in a forward operating base in Afghanistan killed 10 soldiers and injured 10 others. The explosion was caused by a buried bomb that had been left in place for years.

US troops in Afghanistan are still finding buried bombs. In one case, a soldier was killed by a buried bomb that had been left in place for years. The explosion was caused by a buried bomb that had been left in place for years.

\$3.4 Billion Profit at Goldman Reverses Gilded Pay Packages

By GRAYSON BOWLEY

Even as Wall Street, the land of greed and corruption, trembles, Goldman Sachs has turned the tables. After a year of losses, the investment bank has reported a record profit of \$3.4 billion.

Goldman posted the richest quarterly profit in its 148-year history and to the envy of its rivals. The bank's profit was \$3.4 billion, or 16% of its revenue.

At that rate, Goldman executives will be paid more than \$1 billion in bonuses. Goldman executives and bankers would be paid considerably more. Only three years ago, Goldman paid more than \$1 billion in bonuses.

Another concern is that the House would make more use of the budget to pay for the health care program. The last budget was passed in 2008, and it is expected to be passed by the end of the year.

Episcopal Vote To Gay Bishops

By LAUREL GOODSTEIN

ANALYSIS: Call it the Episcopal Church voted over-vehemently on Tuesday to support a measure that would allow openly gay ministers to be ordained.

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Let schools slow the spread of swine flu, ministers told

Slowing spread of swine flu would give more time to develop vaccine

Denis Campbell and Polly Curtis

Ministers were urged last night to rethink their policy of keeping schools open through the swine flu pandemic after research showed that a shutdown would curb the spread of infection and limit the number of deaths.

As Andy Burnham, the health secretary, announced that a flu vaccine will be available in time to take the pressure off GP surgeries would give this week, two infectious disease experts said school closures should be considered to reduce the number of cases and end the time until a vaccine is available.

Schools across Britain have now broken up for summer holidays, and experts hope this will help to slow the spread of the virus. But there are fears that when classes resume in the autumn the number of cases will increase rapidly.

School closures would cause serious difficulties for working parents, lead to a loss in GDP through absenteeism and are seen by 30% of NHS staff having to take time off just when they are needed to treat growing numbers of patients.

In a study published in the Lancet yesterday, Government adviser Professor Neil Ferguson and Dr Simon Cauchemez, both of the department of infectious disease epidemiology, Imperial College London, said schools should be closed for a "prolonged" period to reduce the peak of the outbreak by 17-19% and the pandemic's peak shutting schools would bring down the number of cases by 45%.

"It is therefore hoped that closure schools during the pandemic might ease the chains of transmission, with the following potential benefits: reducing the total number of cases; slowing the epidemic to give more time for vaccine production; and reducing the incidence of cases at the peak of the epidemic, limiting the strain on health-care systems and sick absenteeism in the general public, and thus increasing community-wide resilience," the researchers said.

Such a move would also raise the question of what should be done with the millions of schoolchildren during a prolonged shutdown, they added. The authors said that governments in Europe and North America might have to take such a step after they studied the impact of school closures during flu epidemics in other countries stretching back to 1918.

They say that study of the 1918 flu outbreak in America and Australia indicates that shutting schools, in tandem with closing churches and improved hygiene, could have reduced the death toll by between 10% and 30%, and as much as 50% in some cities at the height of the outbreak.

About 70 schools closed in the first week of the outbreak in May, but soon reopened because swine flu was becoming so prevalent. Last night the schools department said it was sticking with the current guidance, which is not to close schools. Ed Balls, schools secretary, said: "Now that the virus is established in the community, a strong case for closing schools to contain the spread of infection. We will be monitoring the situation closely over the school holidays and will review the evidence in due course."

The department's emergency planning group, Corg, is now solely concerned with orchestrating schools' response to the spread of swine flu and updating ministers daily on the situation.

Professor Steve Field, chairman of the Royal College of General Practitioners, said schools should keep open the possibility of school closures. "It's something that should be considered if the height of the pandemic has developed. The Lancet study demonstrates that it would slow down the transmission of the virus and cut it down the number of people who get serious illness and who die."

Mick Brookes, general secretary of the National Association of Headteachers, called for a balanced view of the risks. "Even one person dying is a tragedy but if the

Lording it Flintoff ends 75-year curse



Andrew Flintoff bowled England to a 115-run win over Australia yesterday, his final Test at Lord's. The victory gave England a 1-0 lead in the Ashes and a first triumph over Australia at the home of cricket in 75 years. Photograph: Philip Brown/Reuters

Rebels turn on Phillips' leadership of rights body

Sam Jones and Afua Hirsch

'Trevor Phillips' management of the troubled Equality and Human Rights Commission comes under renewed pressure today as four former commissioners accuse him of squandering the trust and confidence of the board through "divisive leadership."

In her first public comments since resigning in March, Kay Hampton described Phillips' leadership style as "better suited to a political organisation rather than a human rights one."

His stewardship, she writes in today's Guardian, "led to deep discontent and dissatisfaction. Not surprisingly, cracks soon appeared on the board, leading to a breakdown in trust and confidence in the chair."

She does not regard the watchdog as a "lost cause, rather a missed opportunity due to poor judgment and the wrong kind of rebel for the sake of it."

Sir Bert Maudsley, who resigned from the ECHR on Saturday, said that Phillips' "style of leadership" had prompted the departure of five commissioners.

A sixth commissioner, Ben Summerskill of the gay rights group Stonewall, is considering his position.

"I've always managed to alienate that number of people," Sir Bert said. "It's a quite a skill. These are not people who are rebels for the sake of it."

Sir Bert, a leading disability rights campaigner who has sat on government bodies and committees for 30 years, said he and his fellow commissioners often learned of policy announcements only when they saw press releases that had already been given to the media.

"Trevor is not a bad guy," said Sir Bert. "He has got talent. That's the sadness... He is not a natural leader or a natural chairman. He does not know how to build a team. He had a team there and had he got the best out of them, they would have been quite a team... That is the resource that has been most squandered."

The watchdog was also criticised yesterday in a National Audit Office report for paying £25,000 to re-employ seven senior staff who had recently accepted generous early severance packages.

Phillips, who has been widely tipped to 8-9, was replaced as chair, was given a second three-year term last week by the minister for women and equality, Harriet Harman.

Sport, 1

Andrew Flintoff bowled England to a 115-run win over Australia yesterday, his final Test at Lord's. The victory gave England a 1-0 lead in the Ashes and a first triumph over Australia at the home of cricket in 75 years. Photograph: Philip Brown/Reuters

The meat's off: flesh-eating robots turn vegetarian

by Jonathan San Francisco

When the college of Letters, Boston, in September 2008, also announced the withdrawal of its meat-based courses, it was a landmark moment, the news became a national sensation.

Now comes Stage 2 of the "meatless mission," as it is called. The school's new "meatless mission" is to reduce the school's carbon footprint by 20% by the end of the year. The school's new "meatless mission" is to reduce the school's carbon footprint by 20% by the end of the year.

By now, it is clear that the "meatless mission" is not just a matter of reducing the school's carbon footprint, but also a matter of reducing the school's environmental impact. The school's new "meatless mission" is to reduce the school's carbon footprint by 20% by the end of the year.

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"We are focused on demonstrating that our engines can create usable, green power from plentiful, renewable plant matter. The commercial applications alone for this earth-friendly energy solution are enormous."

The publicity drive is in reaction to the buzz the project created when it emerged last year. The concept was originally put forward in 2003, and has been pushed forward with money from the US military's Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (Darpa), a successor to the organization that funded early development of the internet.

US officials hope the steam-powered engine can be used by the military to create a self-sufficient robot that could survive on its own for months at a time. The early version of Eatr runs on twigs, wood chips and other plant-based material. This is fed into an engine that burns it and uses it to create propulsion.

Another of the robot's inventors, Dr Robert Finkelman of Robotic Technology Inc (RTI), said that Eatr had built-in systems that would help it determine whether material that it ingested was animal, vegetable or mineral. "It's not on the menu, it's not going to eat it," Finkelman told Fox News. Eatr can also use more conventional fuels, such as petrol, diesel or cooking oil, to keep going. But the group reiterated that it would be illegal to create a robot that used dead bodies for energy.

Polly Toynbee, Comment page 27

