“…‘Democracies die in darkness.’ History proves that. And we think we’re resilient. I think we are. We think we’re strong. We think that we have a process that will protect us from that. But if we are infected with hate and infected with a lack of knowledge…we could partake of losing our wonderful democracy.”
“…‘Democracies die in darkness.’ History proves that. And we think we’re resilient. I think we are. We think we’re strong. We think that we have a process that will protect us from that. But if we are infected with hate and infected with a lack of knowledge…we could partake of losing our wonderful democracy.”

Bob Woodward, TEDxMidAtlantic, Jan. 20, 2017
The Darkening Tide of Digital Repression and the Risks of Journalistic Reluctance

Dr. Jennifer R. Henrichsen
Assistant Professor
Washington State University

Slides from: All the President’s Men, 1976
WAR ON WORDS
Who Should Protect Journalists?

JOANNE M. LISOSKY AND JENNIFER R. HENRICHSEN
Foreword by Chris Cramer
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In what ways do journalists think about information security?

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?

What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?
How did we get here?

Why is security important for journalism?
1480
JOURNALISTS
KILLED

1992 - 2023
Motive Confirmed
(Committee to Protect Journalists)
BUILDING DIGITAL SAFETY
FOR JOURNALISM
A survey of selected issues

Jennifer R. Henrichsen • Michelle Betz • Joanne M. Lisosky

UNESCO SERIES ON INTERNET FREEDOM
‘The threats follow us home’: Survey details risks for female journalists in U.S., Canada

By Lucy Westcott/CPJ James W. Foley Fellow on September 4, 2019 9:00 AM ET

Ask any female journalist about harassment or safety while on assignment and they’ll likely have a story to tell.

Online harassment is the largest safety concern for female journalists, new study finds

By Clare Duffy, CNN Business
Updated 2:51 PM ET, Sun September 8, 2019

The Chilling:
A global study of online violence against women journalists

EDITORS
Julie Posetti and Nabeelah Shabbir
The FAKE NEWS media (failing @nytimes, @NBCNews, @ABC, @CBS, @CNN) is not my enemy, it is the enemy of the American People!

(Tweet: February 17, 2017)
Syrian hackers claim AP hack that tipped stock market by $136 billion. Is it terrorism?

By Max Fisher
April 23, 2013 at 4:31 p.m. EDT

At 1:07 p.m. on Tuesday, when the official Twitter account of the Associated Press sent a tweet to its nearly 2 million followers that warned, "Breaking: Two Explosions in the White House and Barack Obama is injured," some of the people who momentarily panicked were apparently on or near the trading floor of the New York Stock Exchange.

At 1:08, the Dow began a perilous but short-lived nosedive. It dropped about 150 points, from 14507.15 to 14458.58, before stabilizing at 1:10 p.m., when news that the tweet had been erroneous began to spread. By 1:13 p.m., the level had returned to 14690. During those three minutes, the "fake tweet erased $136 billion in equity market value," according to Bloomberg News' Nikolai Gimmeltoft.
New York Times’s Moscow Bureau Was Targeted by Hackers

By Nicole Perlroth and David E. Sanger

Aug. 23, 2016

The New York Times’s Moscow bureau was the target of an attempted cyberattack this month. But so far, there is no evidence that the hackers, believed to be Russian, were successful.

Washington Post Joins List of News Media Hacked by the Chinese

By Nicole Perlroth

Feb. 1, 2013

SAN FRANCISCO — The question is no longer who has been hacked. It’s who hasn’t?
SUPERSPY
The Pegasus spyware, developed by Israeli cyberarms firm NSO Group, can infiltrate Android devices and certain versions of Apple’s iOS. Here is how it works

- Designed to never use more than 1% of the space on the phone
- When unable to transmit, it collects and stores data in an encrypted buffer
- Removes data on a first-in first-out basis if it has not been able to transmit for a while

Transmitted by a WhatsApp call to the target phone. Enters even if the call is not answered

Once on your phone, Pegasus can collect passwords and has access to data that is already on your phone, including:

- Photos
- Text messages, email, and apps (including Viber, Skype, and Messenger)
- Videos
- Browsing history
- Contacts
- Camera: It can use the camera to take photos. Pegasus can also take screenshots
- Microphone: It can listen to you and sounds around you. You can also record calls
- Location

Research: Padri P. Sagar
Source: Pramant Mall, Cyber Law and Cyber Security Expert
Graphics: Sreemanikan/DG S.
Who has been targeted by Pegasus?

- Arab royal family members: 600+ politicians/government officials
- 64 business executives: 189 journalists
- 85 human rights activists: 50,000 phone numbers leaked

Source: Pegasus Project
Digital technologies produce, track and retain data, implicating key tenets of journalistic practice
Feds seize AP phone records for criminal probe

Roger Yu, USA TODAY
Published 4:45 p.m. ET May 13, 2013 | Updated 10:18 p.m. ET May 13, 2013

CBS NEWS / May 23, 2013, 8:48 AM

Fox News reporter secretly monitored by Obama administration: court documents

The New York Times

Phone Records of Journalists Seized by U.S.

The Times's Charlie Savage breaks down the government's subpoenas of phone records of Associated Press journalists.

By Charlie Savage and Leslie Kaufman

James Rosen, as seen on "The O'Reilly Factor."
Belief that being a journalist increases likelihood of data collection 80%

Do not use digital security tools to protect information 50%

Majority of journalists have not received training about digital security 50% +

“Some time” in the past 12 months researching how to improve it 27%

Pew Research Center, 2015
Although U.S. investigative journalists may feel that being a journalist may make them more vulnerable to information security concerns, it has not inspired significant behavior changes around protective digital technologies.
In what ways do journalists think about information security?

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?

What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?
In what ways do journalists think about information security?

“The protection of information and information systems from unauthorized access, use, disclosure, disruption, modification, or destruction in order to provide confidentiality, integrity, and availability.”

(National Institute of Standards and Technology)
How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?

“Shared pattern of values, mental models and activities that are traded among an organisation’s employees over time, affecting information security.”

(Karlsson, Astrom, & Karlsson, 2015, p. 247)
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?
New Institutionalism: provides a sociological view of institutions to illuminate how they interact, how they can influence human behavior, and how they aim to gain legitimacy and survive within a world of other institutions.
**Institutional entrepreneur**: an individual capable of sparking institutional change because they are creative individuals whose social positions and skills allow them to recognize problems or opportunities and take advantage of enabling conditions to alter the social order (Eisenstadt, 1980; Battilana et al., 2009).
Institutional isomorphism: when institutional fields mirror dominant practices and forms to avoid claims of negligence and to gain public legitimacy (Lowrey, 2011; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983)
Decoupling: when organizations seek to achieve institutional legitimacy by engaging in superficial change or action while still continuing core activities (Lowrey, 2018; Meyer & Rowan, 1977)
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

14 Journalists
10 Technologists
4 Nonprofit/academics
2 Media lawyers
18 Male/12 Female

White
Black
LatinX
Indian
Individual, not collective responsibility

“People are not necessarily always plugged into this idea of security being everyone’s job.”

–Information security trainer
Individual, not collective responsibility

“...can actually undermine and compromise information security for everyone else because they’re careless. Those are the people that were victims of phishing attacks.” –media lawyer
Individual, not collective responsibility

“… ‘Oh, that’s not me; that’s somebody else’, but ‘No, no, no… are you in charge of your passwords? Yes, you are.’”

– journalist and security trainer
"security by obscurity"

“The vast majority feels like nobody’s out to get them. They’re not doing anything that’s important, [nobody’s] going to try to steal their stuff. Even the ones that are doing sensitive stuff feel like they’re generally protected.” – media lawyer

In what ways do journalists think about information security?
“security by insularity”

“Security is a really easy thing to overlook, especially if you haven’t had a breach. If you haven’t been intimately involved in wide-scale harassment...or doxing or swatting or being hacked...people just think the stakes are really low and they’re just wrong.”

– journalist and security trainer
“security by insularity”

“Every time there’s a high-profile example, people start to care, but it fades pretty quickly… I think it has to be real for them in order to feel like it’s worth going through the hustle of using some of these technologies.” – media lawyer
Reactive orientation

“People don’t really think that they’re going to be the target of online harassment until it happens.”

– information security trainer
Reactive orientation

“Being proactive requires a whole lot of work and a whole lot of being on top of everything. I think that unless you are specifically into digital security, then you’re just probably not going to do it.”

- Director of Information Security
Reactive orientation

“Something really bad needs to happen for people to take it seriously…it’s just incompetent management really. I feel like my direct supervisor will take me seriously. But for these things to happen, there’s money involved.”

–local journalist
In Sum

Security viewed as an individual responsibility

“security by obscurity” or “security by insularity” mental models

Reactive orientation to security
Security at odds with journalistic form and craft

“You want ease of use, but you also want security, and those things can work against each other. Sometimes you’re going to compromise on one or the other.”
– media lawyer

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?
Security at odds with journalistic form and craft

“You have to walk this line between having them use something that’s maybe digitally safe or encrypted or whatever, without scaring them off, freaking them out.”

– Information security technologist and former journalist

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?
Security at odds with journalistic form and craft

“It’s really naïve and a little honestly self-serving that reporters say, ‘Oh, the source wouldn’t be doing it if it wasn’t safe...[it’s a] frail concept of informed consent...very often the sources don’t really know what kind of risks they’re putting themselves in.”

- journalist
Conflicts between IT and journalists

“Shadow IT culture”
– information security technologist

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?
Conflicts between IT and journalists

“…there's a certain amount of security that's built into that...and I think there is a perception that it's adequate. I don't think the journalists feel like, for the most part, they need to do more than that.”

-media lawyer

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?
In Sum

Journalists juggle deadlines, safety, and source comfort with technologies.

Competing institutional logics can hinder security tool adoption.

Frictions between departments can limit integration.

How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

SecureDrop: anonymous, whistleblowing submission platform
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

Leaves many aspects of the traditional reporting process alone
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

“...installing a ramp at the entrance of your newsroom. Once it’s there, it’s there and you don’t have to spend too much money on it.” – journalist
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

Signals security and legitimacy (Berret, 2016)

Security Champion filling the gap
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

“Security Champion:” an individual who cares about information security and engages in knowledge sharing about security.
“Interestingly, they’re not all necessarily national security reporters...They
know a lot about the subject matter, and they know a lot about the
technology, and they just happen to be really into it and they encourage
people to use it in a certain way. They are, in some ways, some of the best
ambassadors. They get it. They know how to do it, and they can explain it to
their peers.” – media lawyer
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

“Anything that I’ve done, I’ve just gone ahead and done it, and then asked for sign-off. Asked for forgiveness, not permission…Generally, my managers have been very welcoming to any ideas I’ve had…It’s not that they didn’t think it was important. It’s that they didn’t think of it, or they didn’t have time to think of it.” – journalist
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

“We need to find a couple people to buy into what we’re doing on that specific desk before we can make real progress with that team when they don’t already have that culture of security-mindedness on their team.”

— information security trainer
What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?

“IT and data journalists are not information security experts. But in your average news organization they're the closest thing. That's what people believe. But it's not the right shape to go through that hole. It's not correct mapping at all. But, you know, it's like the best they have right now.” -information security technologist and former journalist
Security needs to work for journalism
Lack of institutionalized security practices leading to “security champions”
Overall

1. Mental models reflect resistance to behavior change

- security by obscurity
- security by insularity
2. Competing institutional logics frustrate security integration
Overall

3. SecureDrop reflects institutional isomorphism; exemplar of legitimacy
Overall

4. Lack of institutionalized security policies/roles represents decoupling
Overall

5. Decoupling mitigated by new institutional entrepreneur – “security champion”
Information security resistance is emblematic of institutional intransigence

Journalism construed as a pillar of democratic governance

 Democracies are declining and press protection is weakening

Trust in democracies and journalism is decreasing

Reduced trust is contributing to a more hostile environment toward the press
Digital threats have consequences for journalism’s role in democracy

- Journalists may retreat from public sphere, contributing to limited digital publicity (Waisbord, 2019)
- Sources may not come forward
- Censorship/self-censorship may occur
FUTURE RESEARCH

Examine how state and nonstate actors use surveillance technologies to control information and harm media makers transnationally.
FUTURE RESEARCH

Assess how disinformation and malign influence affects freedom of expression, the safety of journalists, and trust in media.
Thank you

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