

“...‘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.”



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?

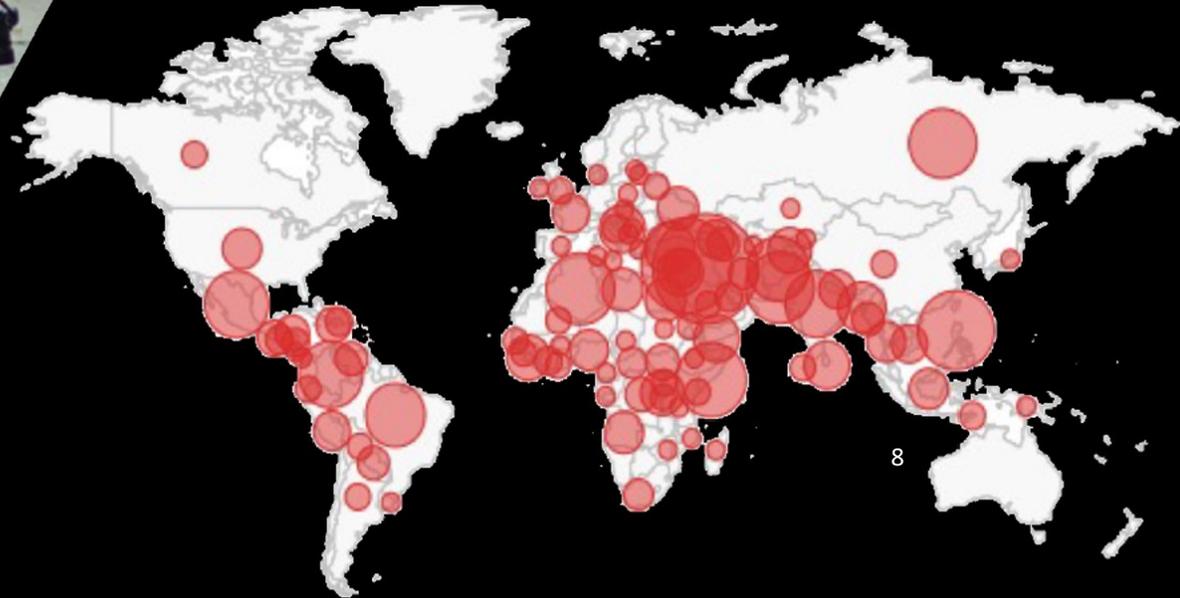
How did we get here?

Why is security important for journalism?



1480 JOURNALISTS KILLED

1992 - 2023
Motive Confirmed
(Committee to Protect
Journalists)





UNESCO
Publishing

United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

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

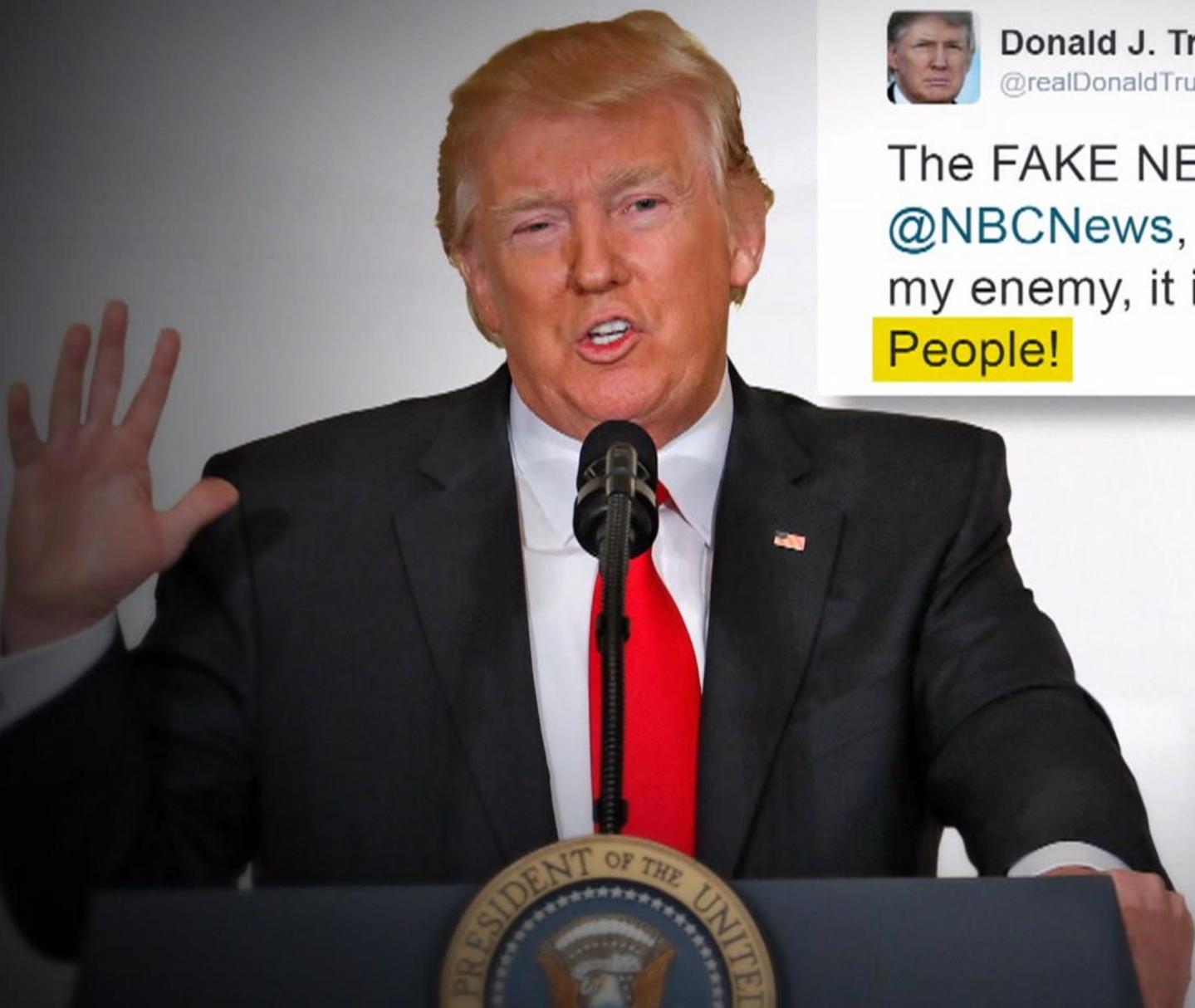
ICFJ International Center
for Journalists

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

EDITORS

Julie Posetti and
Nabeelah Shabbir





Donald J. Trump 

@realDonaldTrump

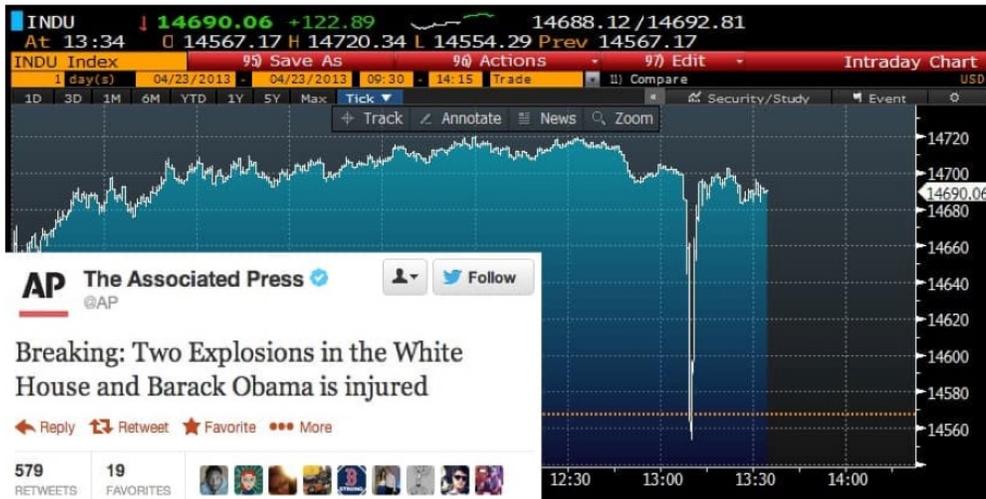
Following 

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)

WorldViews

Syrian hackers claim AP hack that tipped stock market by \$136 billion. Is it terrorism?



This chart shows the Dow Jones Industrial Average during Tuesday afternoon's drop, caused by a fake A.P. tweet, inset at left.

By **Max Fisher**

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

+ Add to list

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 14697.15 to 14548.58, 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 Gammeltoft](#).

TECH 04/23/2013 05:25 pm ET | Updated Apr 23, 2013

Syrian Electronic Army's AP Hack Just The Latest Phishing Attack On A Major News Organization

By Gerry Smith



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

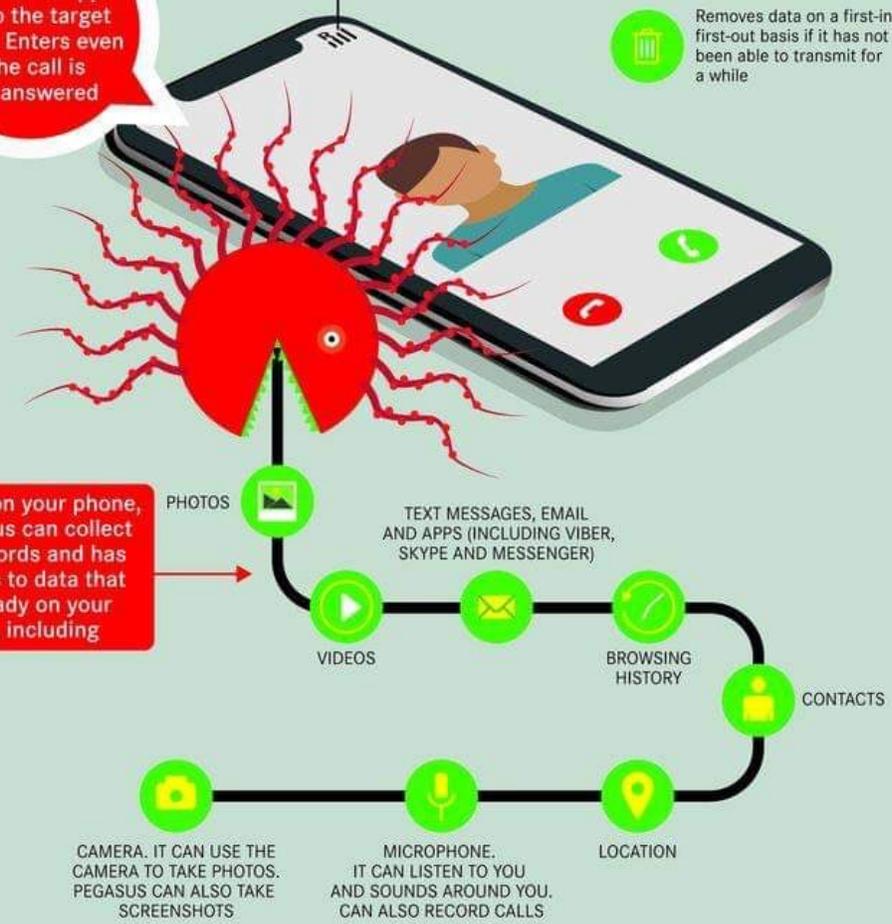
The Pegasus spyware, developed by Israeli cyberarms firm NSO Group, can infiltrate Android devices and certain versions of Apple's iOS. Here is how it works

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

It does not transmit data when a smartphone is roaming, unless it is on WiFi. This is to avoid the scrutiny that may follow high data charges

- Designed to never use more than 5% 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

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



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



NEWS

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

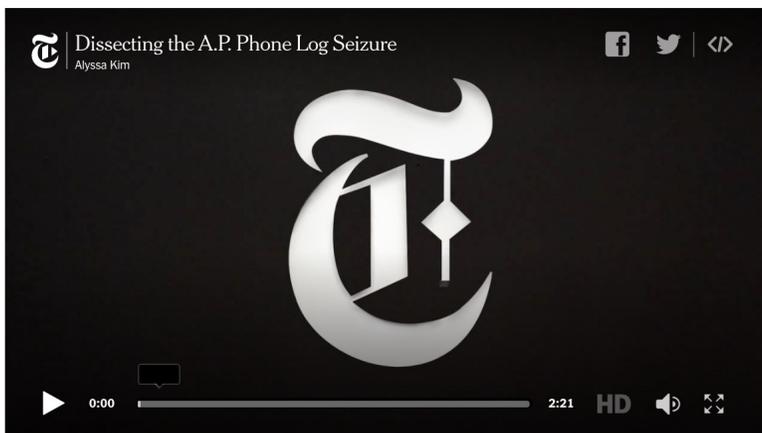
f Share / Tweet / Reddit / Flipboard / Email



James Rosen, as seen on "The O'Reilly Factor." / FOX NEWS

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.

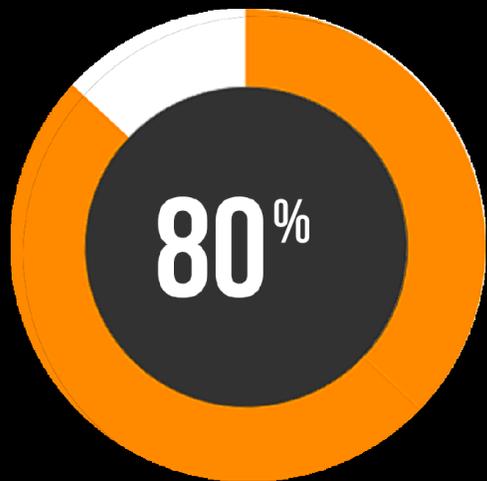
By Charlie Savage and Leslie Kaufman



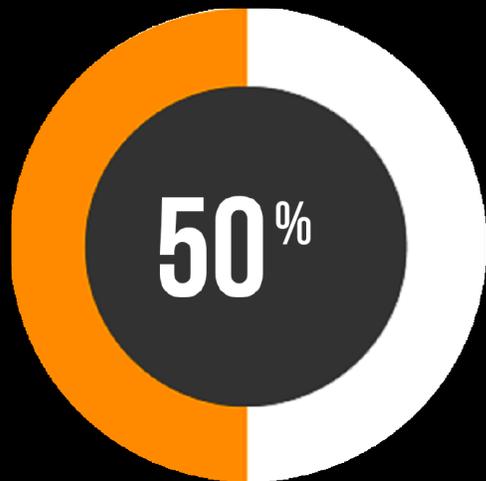
PLEASE
DIAL ALL
LOCAL &
LONG
DISTANCE
CALLS

LOCAL CALLS—D. C. & SUBURBS
DO NOT SPEAK FOR MORE THAN 30 SECONDS
LISTEN FOR DIAL TONE—DEPOSIT 10¢—
DIAL NUMBER

EMERGENCY: (000) DIAL 911



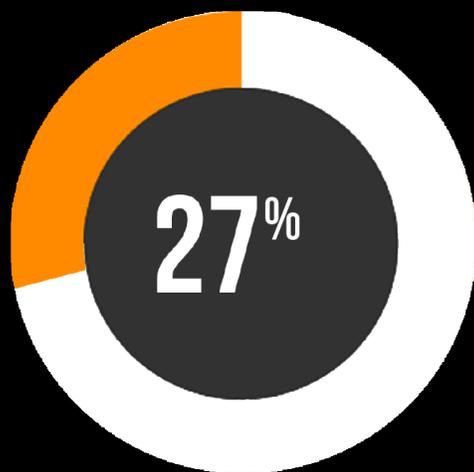
Belief that being a journalist increases likelihood of data collection



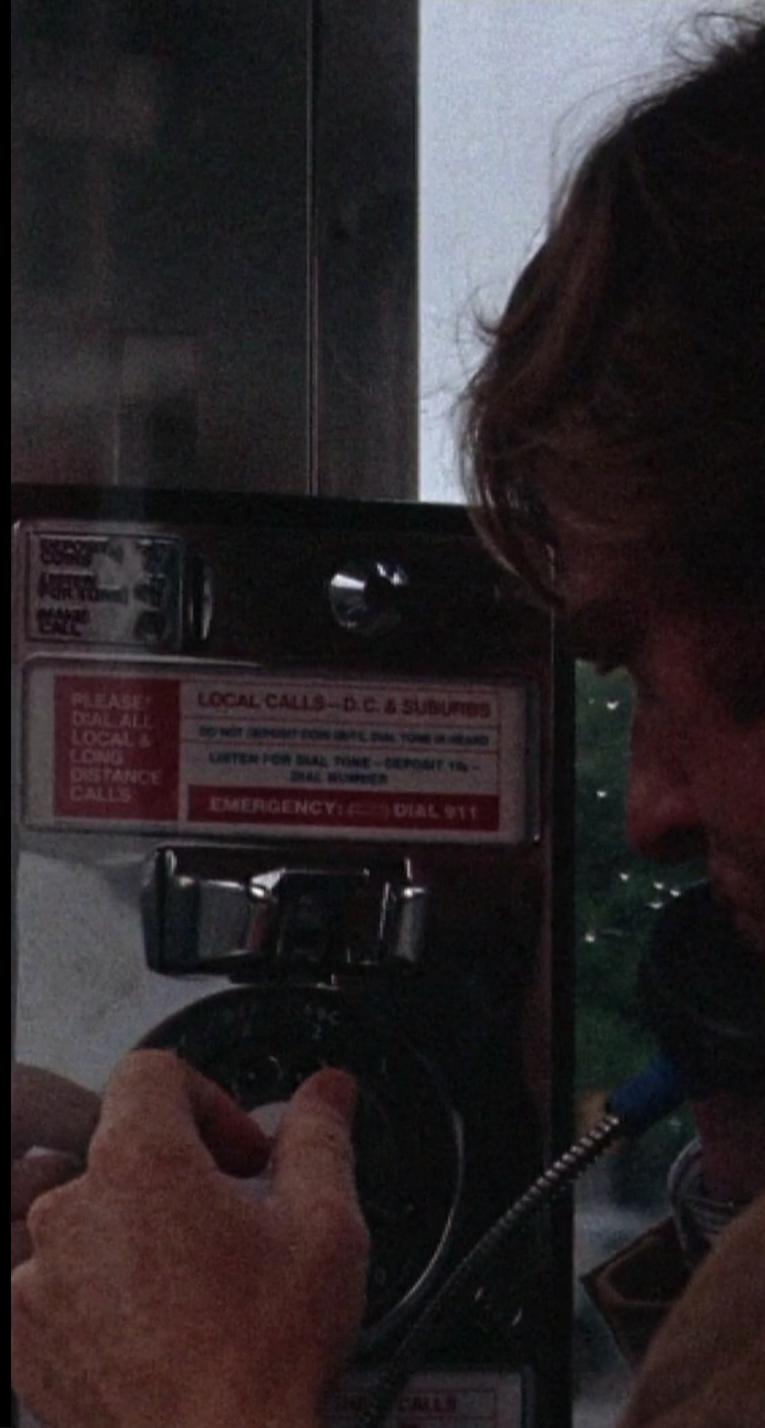
Do not use digital security tools to protect information

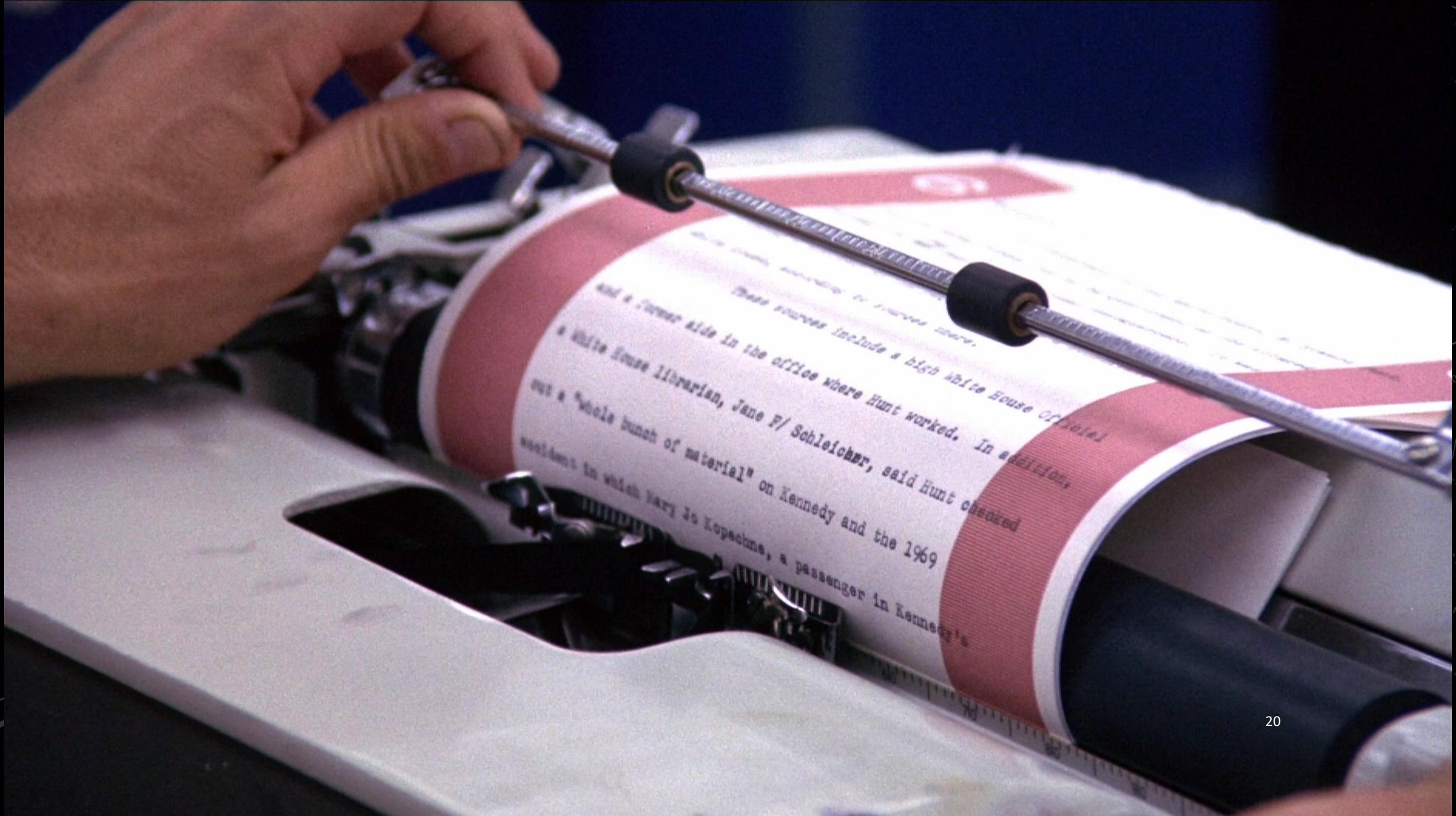


Majority of journalists have not received training about digital security

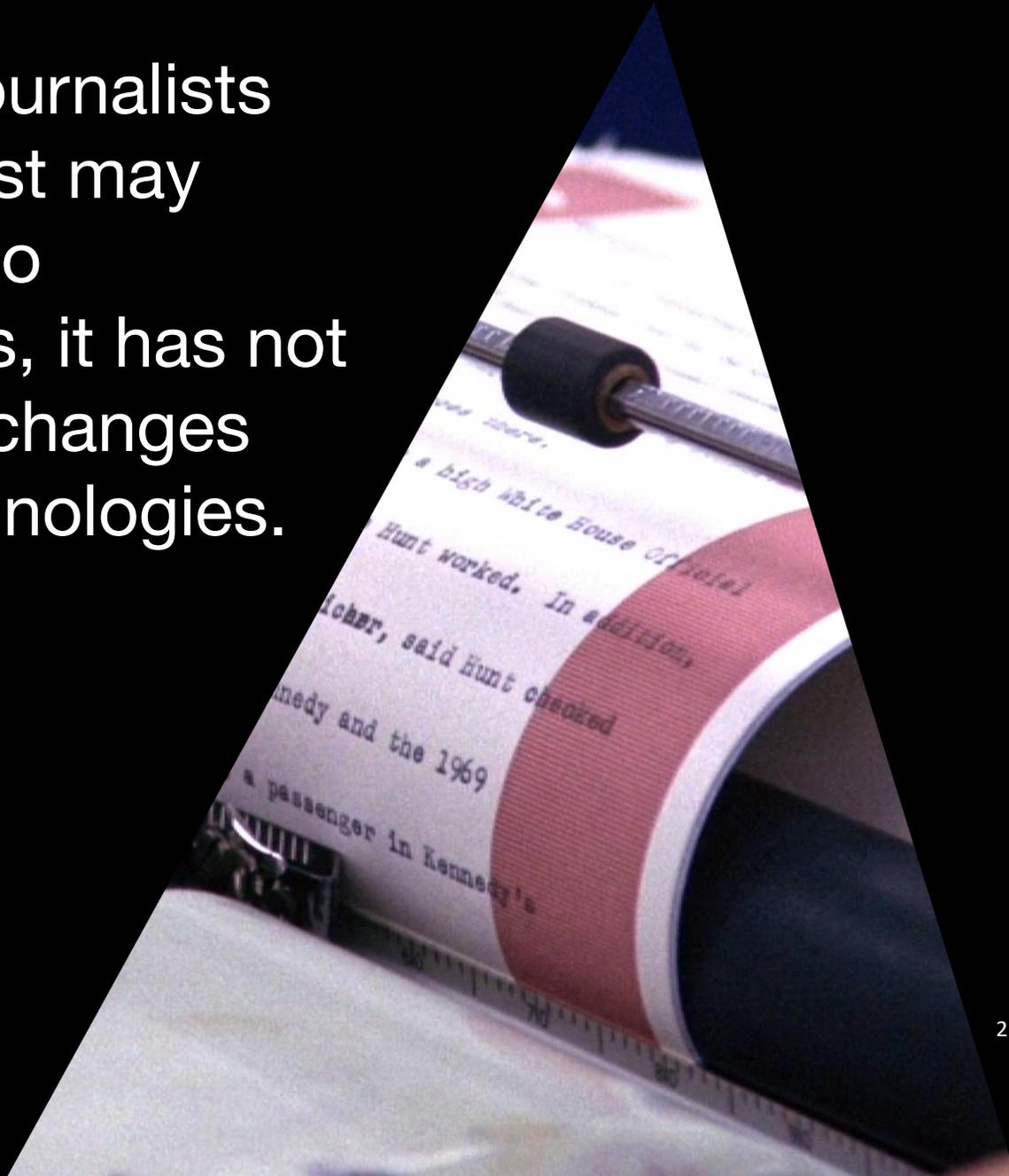


“Some time” in the past 12 months researching how to improve it





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?





THEORETICAL FRAME



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.

THEORETICAL FRAME



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).

THEORETICAL FRAME



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)

THEORETICAL FRAME



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



30

14 Journalists

10 Technologists

4 Nonprofit/academics

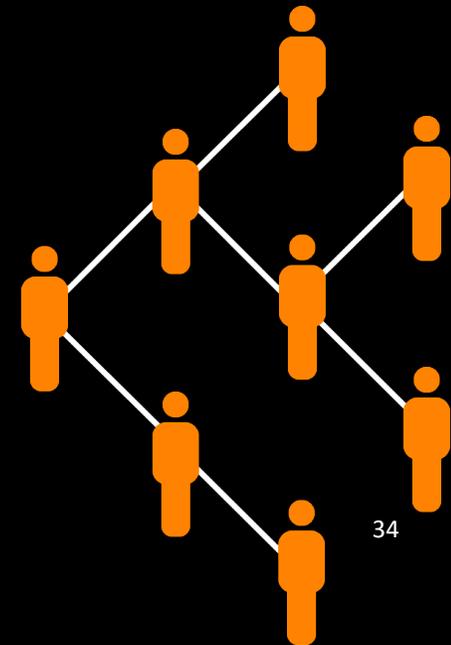
2 Media lawyers

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY



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



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

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



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

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



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

“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



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

“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*



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

Reactive orientation

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

– information security trainer



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

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



In what ways do journalists think about 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 what ways do journalists think about information security?

In Sum

Security viewed as an individual responsibility

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

Reactive orientation to security



In what ways do journalists think about information security?

Marie Maught
Les Braque



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



How do news organizations resist or develop information security cultures?

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.

What are the characteristics of information security cultures in newsrooms?



“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 explain⁹ 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

In Sum



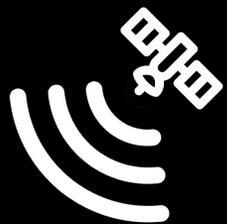
Security needs to work for journalism

Lack of institutionalized security practices leading to “security champions”

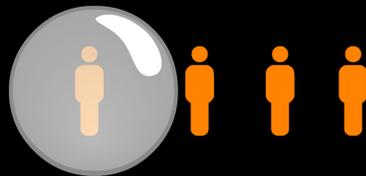


Overall

1. Mental models reflect resistance to behavior change



security by obscurity



security by insularity



Overall

2. Competing institutional logics frustrate security integration



Overall

3. SecureDrop reflects institutional isomorphism; exemplar of legitimacy



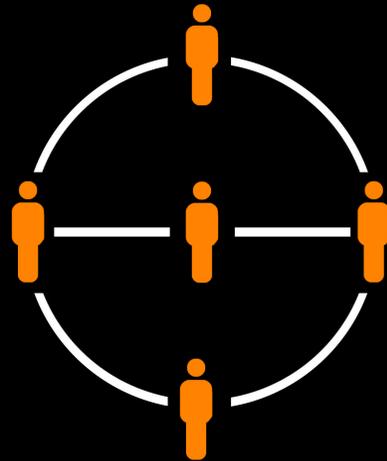
Overall

4. Lack of institutionalized security policies/roles represents decoupling



Overall

5. Decoupling mitigated by new institutional entrepreneur – “security champion”



Security Champion





Implications for Journalism and Democracy



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

Implications for Journalism and Democracy



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



Jennifer.Henrichsen@wsu.edu

Twitter/X: @JennHenrichsen

Bluesky: @drjennhenrichsen.bsky.social