

## FROM EDWARD SNOWDEN TO CHRISTOPHER WYLIE: THE FACE OF THE SECOND GENERATION WHISTLEBLOWING

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### ABSTRACT

A whistleblower is a person who publicizes and denounces illegal or unfair practices in his workplace. As history has shown, whistleblowers are great sources of information for journalists. A few examples being Daniel Ellsberg, who was at the forefront of the scandal concerning the Pentagon Papers and Mark Felt, who was a whistleblower involved in the Watergate scandal. Without people like Daniel Ellsberg and Mark Felt, it would be impossible to present and explain some of the biggest 20th century political scandals in the United States. The aim of the paper is to analyze the role of key whistleblowers and other key people who played an important role in disclosing that information to journalists through the use of databases and other forms of new technologies. The overall concept of what will be referred to as 'second generation whistleblowing' is the result of observations and analysis of the activities of both whistleblowers as well as dynamically changing journalism, media and information in the 21st century.

**Keywords:** whistleblower, Edward Snowden, Christopher Wylie, second generation whistleblowing, Big Data, journalism, new technologies

### *Introduction*

The possibilities offered by the Internet, in particular various means of communication and data circulation, are nowadays the basis for the functioning of public institutions and society. This probably results from the perception of new media as an epochal phenomenon, constituting the „element of a wider, or even global, historical change”, which, according to the media researchers (Lister, et al. 2009,

p. 17), affects the positive perception of the role of advanced technologies in society. This positive image has been shaken by the disclosure of the multilevel nature of the activities of the US National Security Agency (NSA) to the journalists by Edward Snowden (MacAskill 2018)<sup>1</sup> in 2013, which contributed to the refocus of attention concerning the problem of security in the world dominated by modern technologies. Daily transmission of data in the form of emails, recorded telephone conversations and other activities used by the Internet and mobile telephones were of particular interest to the NSA. The information published provoked an international discussion with the participation of politicians, the media and the society. The following should be considered to be the dominant threads of the debate: the phenomenon of surveillance; state policy in the field of national security; respect for civil rights; the level of the implementation of the declared values; morality of politicians; media attitude; presence of whistleblowers.

Another controversial matter of comparable magnitude is the practice of Cambridge Analytica (CA) in the field of new technologies with politics in the background, which was unveiled in 2018 by the employee of the company – Christopher Wylie. The information provided to the media showed that the data of over 50 million Facebook users was in the possession of CA which could have affected the political preferences during the 2016 presidential election campaign in the United States (Cadwalladr, Graham-Harrison 2018).

The aim of the article is to analyze the activity of whistleblowers in the 21st century with the primary focus being on Edward Snowden and Christopher Wylie who were recognized as two prominent modern day examples of whistleblowers that decided to disclose information to the media.

- Therefore, the following research questions were formulated:
- Why did Snowden and Wylie decide to inform the media?
- What information did they give to the journalists?
- What was the range of the information impact?
- How did the cooperation between journalists and Snowden and Wylie go?
- How can the activity of Snowden and Wylie be characterized?
- What elements make up the concept of ‘second generation whistleblowing’?

In addition, it is important to organize the ongoing discussion around the significance of the disclosed information, the motives of Snowden and Wylie’s activities, as well as the role of whistleblowers as people who act as special informers to journalists. With regard to the activities of Snowden and Wylie, the whistleblowing concept has become the starting point. The journalistic reports, various media news, and testimonials that focused on the activities of whistleblowers and explained the key trends of individual cases, were used as research material. The adopted order

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<sup>1</sup> It should be emphasized that since 2013, Edward Snowden has been staying in the territory of the Russian Federation. The choice of this country for the asylum was the last resort for him because of the greater likelihood of his extradition from other countries to the United States.

of analysis contributed to drawing the framework of the concept of the ‘second generation whistleblowing’.

### *Whistleblowing – Theoretical Framework*

The concept of whistleblowing is used to describe the actions of a person who discloses information about the organization in which he works (Kleining n.d.). The word *whistleblower*, literally meaning „a person blowing a whistle” can be explained as a signaler or an informant who publicizes any information or practices considered illegal, unethical or unlawful (Bernier 2012, p. 1). According to Wim Vandekerckhove, the phenomenon of whistleblowing has been transformed since the use of this name by the American politician and social activist, Ralph Nader<sup>2</sup> in the early 1970s (Vandekerckhove 2012, p. 1). The Nader’s intention was to create positive connotations of this behavior (Vandekerckhove 2012, p. 1). The whistleblower protection guarantee is not an exception reserved for a specific country, but it is treated as a standard. Whistleblower protection is available in the United States, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Belgium, and circumstances conducive to the whistleblower protection appear, e.g., in India and the Netherlands (Vandekerckhove 2012, p. 1).

The previously mentioned Ralph Nader, who formulated this concept, regarded a whistleblower as anyone who considers the supremacy of public interest over the interest of the organization he serves and blows the whistle when the given organization has committed corruption or illegal, dishonest and harmful practices (Vandekerckhove 2012, p. 1). For this reason, many whistleblowers experience undesirable situations. For example, harassment, which undoubtedly has a negative effect on their mental health and that often results in many of them lose their jobs (Alford 2001, p. 19).

Researchers (Alford 2001, p. 23–24) note that there are several possible approaches. This is caused by the following factors: the nature of the action (disclosure, e.g. intended or not; authorized or not), motive (e.g. supremacy of public interest

2 From the beginning of his activity, R. Nader was focused on the protection of consumer rights and the responsibility of public institutions. In the book “Unsafe at Any Speed” from 1964, he criticized General Motors for failing to exercise due diligence in the production of Chevrolet Corvair cars, which had an impact on the safety of users of these vehicles. He played a role in the creation of many non-governmental organizations and the adoption of laws: Freedom of Information Act, Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, Clean Water Act, Consumer Product Safety Act and Whistleblower Protection Act. *Time*, *New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, among others, wrote about his effectiveness of his actions. The Essential Nader. Nader.org [https://nader.org/biography/essential-nader 30.06.2018]. It is worth mentioning that the influence of the leading Muckrakers of American investigative journalism, in particular Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair and George Seldes, influenced Nader’s later attitude. David Bollier, Citizen Action and Other Big Ideas, Nader.org [https://nader.org/2004/01/09/citizen-action-and-other-big-ideas-by-david-bollier-chapter-one-the-beginnings/ 30.06.2018].

over one's own); subject (e.g. illegal practices, immoral activities); purpose (organization; specific person); recipient (people inside the organization, people from the outside, the media). Due to the disclosed information, whistleblowers are the center of attention in the media, government institutions and the public, the majority of respondents perceives whistleblowers positively. According to researchers, whistleblowers are also attractive as a source of information, e.g. for consumers (the approach of Ralph Nader) and for the media. Also, information coming from the leak or whistleblower is important for the media from the point of view of the functions it performs in the democratic system (Alford 2001, p. 18).

Although the whistleblowing phenomenon is not limited to the United States, it should be emphasized that Americans are the most well-known whistleblowers. Malcolm Gladwell mentions Daniel Ellsberg among the whistleblowers who revealed the Pentagon Papers scandal in 1971. This would not have been possible without the involvement of journalists from *The New York Times*, which also generated the attention of other editors, among others, *The Washington Post* (Chokshi 2017). In turn, he considers Edward Snowden as the representative of the modern generation of whistleblowers (Gladwell 2016). In my opinion, this catalogue of whistleblowers should be expanded by including Chelsea Manning (formerly an American soldier, Bradley Manning), who provided Julian Assange<sup>3</sup> (Leigh 2010) with an extensive database of documents including dispatches of the American diplomacy relating to specific countries or leaders (BBC.com 2010). It's worth mentioning that „she had not planned to share government documents with the public” (Holpuch 2017), but she changed her mind<sup>4</sup>. At this point, it is worth to give the floor to Ellsberg, the representative of the 'first generation whistleblowers', who believed that people such as Manning and Snowden are a source of inspiration for other Americans who witnessed abuse (Friedersdorf 2014). As the recent events of 2018 have shown, the list of names has been expanded including Christopher Wylie.

Based on the selected literature on whistleblowing and the analysis of specific actions of people in a historical perspective, it should be stated that this type of activity can be characterized as follows:

- awareness and recognition of pathological activities, for example, illegal;
- informing about abuses in the workplace;
- the primacy of public interest over one's own, which gives rise to unpleasant consequences for a whistleblower, e.g.: a threat of imprisonment, harassment, loss of job, change of location;
- noble motives instead of obtaining benefits, e.g. financial, personal;
- media involvement as an informal 'fourth power' to disseminate information;
- media interest in the revealed abuse, pathology.

3 Julian Assange is an Australian activist, computer programmer, editor-in-chief of WikiLeaks (founded in 2006). In 2010 WikiLeaks published documents (relating to the U.S. Wars in the Middle East – Iraq and Afghanistan) obtained from Chelsea Manning. Shortly after this WikiLeaks revealed 250,000 confidential U.S. diplomatic cables (Ray 2019).

4 This confession is contrary to the key principles of whistleblowing formulated by R. Nader.

## *Cyberspace and the Phenomenon of Surveillance – The Significance of Information Disclosed by Edward Snowden*

In 2005, *The New York Times* published that president George W. Bush authorized the NSA to wire US citizens and foreigners without a court order, which in the court's opinion was contradictory to the American Constitution (Wójcik 2007, p. 119–120). The documents provided by Snowden to the journalists of *The Guardian* in 2013 showed that the NSA was engaged in the illegal collection of electronic information on a large scale and used electronic wiretapping.

Edward Snowden was a contractual co-worker of NSA as a system administrator and due to his position, he had unlimited access to various types of intelligence resources (Harding 2014, p. 9–11). Mark Herksgaard reminded that Edward Snowden was not the only whistleblower that drew attention to the controversial methods of the NSA operation. He refers to the words of Thomas Drake, who in this way emphasized the essence of the disclosed information and the need for support and existence of whistleblowers: „if there was no Thomas Drake, there would be no Edward Snowden” (Herksgaard 2016). A decade earlier, a senior NSA employee, Thomas Drake informed his superiors and the Congress of abuses in this institution, pointing to illegal activity, wastage and poor management. He revealed that the Trailblazer project used by NSA for mass collection of information on the Internet and using mobile phones, is invigilating the citizens, and is also a very expensive undertaking (Ogłodziński n.d.). As a result of the lack of his superiors' reaction, Drake decided to inform the press, which resulted in him being charged with providing confidential information to the public, a federal crime that could subject him to imprisonment for up to 35 years on the basis of the Espionage Act (Wise 2011).

Alan Rusbridger described Snowden as the most extraordinary informer in history due to the gathering and sharing an impressive collection of secret documents of intelligence organizations to the journalists (Harding 2014, p. 1). Rusbridger emphasized that the activities of NSA and the British Government Communication Headquarters (GCHQ) cooperating with it and the leaders of the Internet and telecommunications industry were of an undefined nature, especially after 2001 (Harding 2014, p. 2). In addition, he pointed out that the previous reception of Google, GPS, YouTube, Tor as the foundations of a free society had changed.

The actions of Snowden were dictated by his opposition to the NSA's extended electronic observation of US citizens, which he expressed in the following way: „I do not want to live in a world in which everything I say, everything I do, who I talk to and every manifestation of creativity, love or friendship are registered” (Harding 2014, p. 5). A rather important issue to be addressed when determining Snowden's motives are his political views. He was an advocate of the views represented by the libertarian, Ron Paul in the presidential campaign in 2008 and he often referred to the American constitution (Harding 2014, p. 29–30). He signaled the system errors to the superiors in an official manner, but as a result of misunderstandings in this matter, Snowden began working in the US military base in Japan as a Dell

employee (Harding 2014, p. 39). The Regional Centre for Cryptology in Hawaii was his last workplace for NSA. He dealt with the administration of NSA systems, which enabled him access to many secret agency materials (Harding 2014, p. 41–42).

Bearing in mind the case of Thomas Drake, who was able to use the procedures dedicated to whistleblowers<sup>5</sup>, and yet he was charged, Snowden was looking for a different way to expose the abuses of the agency (Harding 2014, p. 51–52). The turning point was the assurance of the intelligence services director, James Clapper, that the US government does not collect data about US citizens, which was contradictory to the 2009 report referring to the collection of content and metadata without a court order under the STELLAR WIND program (Harding 2014, p. 52). From that point on, it can be said that Snowden became an informer<sup>6</sup>. This is also supported by the fact that he did not accept the proposals to participate in the program for the best Tailored Access Operations hackers (Harding 2014, p. 54). Moreover, an episode of work at the Booz Allen Hamilton company enabled him access to further information (Harding 2014).

It is worth emphasizing that the thread of cooperation between the whistleblower and the media, which Snowden turned to, is often viewed as the preferred option when it comes to disclosing information. The attitude of Laura Poitras and Glenn Greenwald were the deciding factors for choosing journalists by Snowden. These were individuals who „dealt with controversial topics, even in the face of a threat of criticism, which made Laura particularly persecuted” (Harding 2014, p. 71). In the opinion of Poitras, Snowden wanted to focus the public and media attention on secret NSA programs that collected various types of citizens data (Jucewicz 2015). In the conversation with Poitras, Snowden pointed out that the public interest and the right to information were his main motivation (Jucewicz 2015). The previous perception of, e.g., social media, e-mail as safe means of communication no longer applies. While the interest of various environments, e.g. investigative journalists, increases in the issue of secure communication on the Internet (Jucewicz 2015).

In turn, Glenn Greenwald mentioned that the first e-mail from Snowden, who did not reveal his identity, presented the motive of his behavior in a clear way: „security of communication between people is very important to me” (Greenwald 2014, p. 14). Snowden sent the first part of documents to Greenwald marked with the security classification, which referenced the communications intelligence, so-called COMINT (Greenwald 2014, p. 31). Among the documents there were instructions for analysts involved in surveillance. It illustrated that the types of information, e.g. e-mail address, IP address, phone number and types of data, e.g. e-mail content, phone metadata were the subject of interest (Greenwald 2014). The next file included a multimedia presentation about the PRISM program that allowed to wiretap conversations between Americans and citizens of other countries. Among the

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5 Snowden, as an outside contract employee of the Dell company, was not entitled to the same protection as Drake. Drake used the regulations for whistleblowers as an NSA employee.

6 According to Snowden, the next link of this mechanism, next to NSA, is the group of representatives of the Congress, the so-called Gang of Eight.

participants of PRISM there were the most important players of the Internet services, such as: Apple, Microsoft, Yahoo!, Facebook, Google, Skype, AOL, YouTube (Greenwald 2014, p. 31–32). As emphasized by Greenwald, the content of the first transfer of the documents showed the seriousness of the signaled problem, the credibility of the informer, determination of the actions undertaken and logically argued motives. This accelerated the actions of Greenwald, who understood that direct contact with the informer and including the press in this matter was essential (Greenwald 2014, p. 32). In this case, the American edition of *The Guardian* played a crucial role in this matter, which undoubtedly improved the journalist's work and clearly emphasized the involvement of the press as a kind of institution.

Greenwald added that the documents sent were ordered, which undoubtedly allowed not only a detailed familiarization with the information, but it also emphasized the authenticity of Snowden himself as an informer (Greenwald 2014, p. 42–42). The journalist drew attention to the scope of lies committed by the NSA. Greenwald familiarized himself with the Boundless Informant program (Greenwald 2014, p. 44)<sup>7</sup> concerning the statistics about the collection of e-mails, the frequency of phone conversations by Americans (Greenwald 2014, p. 43). During a meeting at the Mira hotel in Hong Kong in 2013, Greenwald listened to Snowden's extensive explanations, from which an unfavorable image of institutions, such as the CIA and the NSA emerged. All attempts to draw attention to inadequate security systems were ignored by his superiors. The presidency of Barack Obama disappointed Snowden, because he hoped that the president from the Democratic Party would not continue the politics of his predecessor in this sphere. Therefore, he perceived the desire to disclose abuse in the form of surveillance as a duty (Greenwald 2014, p. 59). The tactics he adopted of not revealing his identity right away caused that issues related to the protection of privacy and, as a consequence, the publicity of the pathological mechanisms of the institutions, came to the fore.

### *“Data drives all we do”<sup>8</sup>: the Cambridge Analytica–Facebook Scandal and the Activity of Christopher Wylie*

Despite the emerging doubts about the legitimacy of collecting various data of citizens by specific institutions, social media quickly gained global popularity due to the aspect of connecting people (Levinson 2010, p. 18). In order to establish contacts, users post photos, personal data (e.g. age, gender, education, marital status), information on interests (liking certain social media profiles) or political preferences, which in practice turned out to be valuable information for advertisers or specialists preparing election campaigns. The previous high popularity of social

<sup>7</sup> Greenwald cites statistics from February 2013, which showed that 3 billion connections had been accumulated from the American communication system.

<sup>8</sup> Motto of the Cambridge Analytica company. CA uses data to change audience behavior. [<https://cambridgeanalytica.org> 1.12.2018].

media (Wirtualnemedi.pl 2018)<sup>9</sup>, in particular Facebook, was again put to a test (Bankier.pl 2018) due to the scandal related to the activity of Cambridge Analytica (CA) disclosed by the employee of this company in 2018 – Christopher Wylie. The scandal related to the manipulation of people's moods in the form of suggesting positive or negative content, which was criticized by the journalists, society and legal authorities, was covered by the media worldwide. In the same year, CA announced bankruptcy (Pietrzak 2018).

Cambridge Analytica, founded in 2013, dealt with political campaigns (CA Political: data-driven campaigns) and advertising campaigns (CA Commercial: data-driven marketing) based on data that, according to the company's assurances, could significantly and effectively involve clients (ca-political.com 2018). According to the media reports, CA played a key role in the Leave campaign for Britain EU membership referendum and in the presidential campaign of Donald Trump in 2016 (Yu-Lin 2018).

In an interview published on *The Guardian's* YouTube channel, Christopher Wylie, described himself as a data scientist. He then went on to explain the backstage activities of individuals and certain companies that were involved in the Cambridge Analytica-Facebook scandal step by step. At the beginning of the conversation, the whistleblower emphasized that he felt responsible for what had happened and, therefore, his intention was to inform the public about the details of the CA activities. He also stressed that the perception of CA as the data science company was incorrect, and the more adequate term was the „full service propaganda machine” (*The Guardian* 2018). From 2013, Wylie worked for Alexander Nix and his company SCL Group specializing in influencing elections. Another important person in this matter is the originator of the name of the research company Cambridge Analytica, Steve Bannon, who successfully solicited the nomination of Donald Trump as a candidate of the Republican Party in the presidential election. The future adviser to Trump arranged a meeting with Wylie and Robert Mercer who invested 15 million dollars into CA and also supported Donald Trump financially (Cadwalladr 2017).

The creation of the Facebook (FB) application called „This is your digital life” by Dr Alexandr Kogan should be considered a breakthrough, according to Wylie. This application collected data about FB users, in particular information showing their political views and electoral preferences. It is worth noting that the application's appetite was much larger than the collection of data only from people who decided to share data. Wylie stressed that Facebook users were not aware of any use of data, e.g. private messages, likes, and even the fact of collecting data of the friends by the application, which was the basis for targeting in terms of topics and content. The whistleblower revealed to the media that this method was used to collect data from 50 to 60 million Facebook users within 2–3 months, which was provided by Kogan to the Cambridge Analytica company (*The Guardian* 2018). He briefly presented the mechanism of CA operation and data acquisition: „We exploited

<sup>9</sup> According to the studies conducted in 2017, social media were used by 2.48 billion people, and Facebook was the leader of the ranking (1.54 billion people).

Facebook to harvest millions of people's profiles. And built models to exploit what we knew about them and target their inner demons. That was the basis the entire company was built on" (Cadwalladr, Graham-Harrison 2018).

Information disclosed by Wylie revealed not only the previously unknown techniques of influencing voters, but also caused the image crisis of Facebook and Cambridge Analytica. The issue of the legitimacy of data acquisition, their protection and ways of their use has returned to the public debate once again. The seriousness of the problem was demonstrated, similarly to the information disclosed by Snowden, by the broad interest of the media, public opinion, politicians and public institutions. Comments made by Mark Zuckerberg himself were laconic and not entirely satisfactory, resulted in the American Congress questioning the creator of Facebook and other decision-makers of this social networking site. The questions were asked, among others, why Facebook did not ban Cambridge Analytica in 2015, or whether Messenger collects data about text messages and phone calls, and why Facebook did not inform users and regulators about data leak (Wąsowski 2018).

Christopher Wylie testified in front of British parliamentarians from the Committee on Digital Technologies, Media, Culture and Sport. To support his statement, the whistleblower provided evidence in the form of, e.g., e-mails, contracts or documents. Wylie referenced the details of the activities not only of the Cambridge Analytica itself, but also of the activities related to the Brexit case of other entities associated with it, among others, the Canadian company AggregateIQ (AIQ), which effectively dealt with the recognition of the content sought by the Internet users on the basis of package movement on the network provider's links (Guardian News 2018). He informed the journalist of *The Guardian*, Carole Cadwalladr about the details of these practices and she conducted her own investigation in this area. Wylie perceived the activity of these companies as doping, which in sport is a scam because of the results obtained, and in this case the committees agitating for Brexit used AIQ services in a similar way to CA. Based on the information possessed, Wylie stated that „Facebook broke the law; Cambridge Analytica broke the law; Vote Leave broke the law; Leave EU broke the law; Brexit and Trump were both won through breaking the law; Facebook let it all happen and covered it up" (@chrisinsilico 2018).

### *Second Generation Whistleblowing – Conclusions and Summary*

According to the director of Human Rights Watch, Kenneth Roth, Snowden should be perceived „as a whistleblower who played a major role in protecting our rights. He should be applauded, not charged" (Human Rights Watch 2016). The published documents on surveillance questioned the motives of specific public institutions. In this context, there were often comments made that supported the NSA practices in the name of the fight against terrorism, which resulted in the condemnation of Snowden's behavior by some American politicians and the media. In turn, Wylie's activity drew attention to the current conduct of election campaigns in social media and raised a number of doubts about migration and the way of using data

without the citizens' knowledge. Therefore, it can be concluded that in both cases, the information that was disclosed through journalists triggered a global discussion on respect of privacy in the virtual world and the degree of public awareness of the functioning of society on the Internet.

Snowden's case, which is also a form of censorship when it comes to the functioning of society in cyberspace, drew attention to the actual level of data security and privacy protection in the network. The research conducted on the subject of changes in the behavior of Internet users in the network shows that users change their passwords much more often, approach the websites carefully, pay attention to the content of information published by them, and give up their presence in social media (Grzelak 2015, p. 205–206)<sup>10</sup>. In turn, the information disclosed by Wylie not only strengthened such trends, but also drew attention to political campaigns constructed on the basis of collected data without the knowledge of citizens is legal and moral.

Edward Snowden and Christopher Wylie went down in history as whistleblowers due to the existence of a number of features specific to this phenomenon, given the behavioral logic of other whistleblowers<sup>11</sup>. In both cases, there were reasons to call this type of activity as whistleblowing in the classic sense of the word. In addition to these common elements present in the analysed case studies, it is important to pay attention to the specificity and significance of information that was made public through the media. It should be noted that in the case of Ellsberg or Mark Felt, we dealt with information in the form of paper documents/reports. The progressing innovativeness also covered ways of storing and distributing information, which constituted a facilitation to almost everyone, starting from politicians through media, ending with the citizens. Thus, the information paradigm has been transformed, which Maria Nowina Konopka calls 'information metamorphosis', being a dynamic process implicating the division of the world according to the control of infrastructure and the control of its resources (Nowina Konopka 2017, p. 15). This observation of the researcher is extremely apt and, what's more, it allows us to understand the nature of contemporary information from various perspectives: political, economic, media and social.

Based on the analysis of Snowden and Wylie's actions, one can observe information metamorphosis in the indicated contexts and in the existing division of the modern world. The activities of both whistleblowers focused on revealing not only ethically doubtful practices of specific entities (NSA, Cambridge Analytica, Facebook), but also caused widespread interest in marginalized issues, such as: level of surveillance, security of information provided by users, the possibility of using data by various entities for different purposes, degree of freedom of communication in the network and the illusory freedom of the Internet. Based on the case studies of Edward Snowden and Christopher Wylie, and the use of comparative

<sup>10</sup> The survey was conducted by the think-tank Centre for International Governance Innovation, Pew Research Center, Catherine Tucker z MIT.

<sup>11</sup> We should remember about Assange and Manning, whose actions can be treated as a harbinger of upcoming changes in following areas: information, media, society.

perspective with other cases of whistleblower activity, it was stated that the term 'whistleblowing' in the classic sense does not fully reflect the nature of this phenomenon. Taking into account the transformations defined by the researchers in the world of journalism (journalistic metamorphosis), media (media metamorphosis) and information (information metamorphosis), the concept of 'second generation whistleblowing' is also justified. The activity of 'first generation whistleblowers', such as Ellsberg or Felt, that set a certain path of civic duty was connected with providing information in a traditional form and for natural reasons, did not apply to the virtual world. While the 'second generation whistleblowers' disclosed a number of information in a digital form, which concerned broadly reasonable activity in the cyberspace of various participants. As journalists have stated, Snowden has set a censorship of whistleblowers of the modern generation with his attitude due to the nature and significance of the information made to the public. In practice, it turned out that this forecast proved to be right, if we take into account the information disclosed by Christopher Wylie. It should be emphasized that the separated elements of the classic whistleblowing occurred in each of the analysed cases<sup>12</sup>. It is worth noting that both whistleblowers worked as specialists in the new technologies industry, which was also important for formulating this term. In conclusion, the term of 'second generation whistleblowing' is justified due to the practice of providing information<sup>13</sup> in digital form regarding the selected aspects of our presence/activity in cyberspace by professional individuals associated with new technologies.

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<sup>12</sup> At this point, it should be added that the investigations, e.g. Panama Papers from 2016, initiated by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) were based on the information in digital form made available by anonymous whistleblowers, which also confirms the validity of this concept.

<sup>13</sup> In particular to the media, public institutions, NGOs.

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## STRESZCZENIE

### Od Edwarda Snowdena do Christophera Wyliego: oblicze whistleblowingu drugiej generacji

Za whistleblowerem (polska propozycja terminu: sygnalista/demaskator) uznaje się osobę, która nagłaśnia i demaskuje nielegalne lub nieuczciwe praktyki w swoim miejscu pracy. Whistleblowerzy stanowią ważne źródło informacji dla dziennikarzy. Wystarczy wspomnieć Daniela Ellsberga (afera Pentagon Papers) czy Marka Felta (afera Watergate), bez których nie byłoby możliwe przedstawienie i objaśnienie największych skandali politycznych w Stanach Zjednoczonych w XX wieku. Celem artykułu jest analiza roli wybranych whistleblowerów ostatnich lat, którzy ujawnili dziennikarzom informacje w postaci baz danych i dokumentów w formie cyfrowej na temat praktyk poszczególnych podmiotów działających w obszarze nowych technologii. Zaproponowane pojęcie „whistleblowingu drugiej generacji” jest wynikiem obserwacji i analizy działalności zarówno whistleblowerów, jak również dynamicznie zmieniającego się dziennikarstwa, nowych mediów i informacji w XXI wieku.

**Słowa kluczowe:** whistleblower, Edward Snowden, Christopher Wylie, whistleblowing drugiej generacji, Big Data, dziennikarstwo, nowe technologie