



CODEBOOK MEDIA SCRUTINY

Version: 06/2021

This codebook includes all questions and answer options of the media scrutiny survey conducted by the Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung Berlin (WZB) and the Stiftung Neue Verantwortung (SNV) in 2021. The questions and answer options are targeted at journalists reporting on intelligence-related issues in France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

This research was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation - Project Number 396819157).

www.guardint.org

Table of Contents

1. Resources	3
1.1 Human Resources	3
1.2 Expertise	4
1.3 Financial Resources	5
1.4 Freedom of Information	5
1.5 Appreciation	7
2. Media Reporting	7
2.1 Scope of coverage	7
2.2 Transnational Scope	8
2.3 Perceived Impact	9
3. Protection	10
3.1 Operational Protection	10
3.2 Legal Protection	12
3.3 Right to Access (journalists)	13
4. Constraints	15
4.1 Censorship	15
4.2 Interference by state authorities	16
4.3 Self-Censorship	18
5. Attitudes	19
6. Demographic Characteristics	21

1. Resources

1.1 Human Resources

1.1a) *What is your employment status?* [MShr1]

- A. Full-time (40 hours per week)
- B. Part-time, 50% or more
- C. Part-time, less than 50%
- D. Freelance
- E. Unpaid
- F. Other

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

[MSRh1other]

[if answer F=other]

If you selected 'other', please specify: _____

1.1b) *How many days per month do you work on surveillance by intelligence agencies?*
[MShr2]

Please estimate: _____ days per month

1.1c) *Which type of medium do you work for?* [MShr3]

- A. Daily newspaper
- B. Weekly newspaper
- C. Magazine
- D. Television
- E. Radio
- F. News agency
- G. Online outlet (stand- alone)
- H. Online outlet (of offline outlet)

1.1d) *Within the past year, did you have enough time to cover surveillance by intelligence agencies?* [MShr4]

- A. I had enough time (I was able to cover surveillance by intelligence agencies in sufficient detail)
- B. I had some time (I was able to cover main issues of surveillance by intelligence agencies)
- C. I had very little time (I was hardly able to cover surveillance by intelligence agencies at all)
- D. I had no time (other topics were always prioritised over surveillance by intelligence agencies)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.2 Expertise

1.2a) How *many* years have you spent reporting on surveillance by intelligence agencies?
[MSexpertise1]

___ years

1.2b) How do you assess your expertise concerning the **legal** aspects of surveillance by intelligence agencies? (For example knowledge of intelligence law, case law) [MSexpertise2]

- 4 Expert knowledge (I rarely require external advice)
- 3 Advanced knowledge (I only require external advice in exceptional circumstances)
- 2 Some knowledge (I require external advice from time to time)
- 1 Basic knowledge (I require external advice in most cases)
- 0 No knowledge (I always require external advice)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.2c) How do you assess your expertise concerning the **political** aspects of surveillance by intelligence agencies? (For example intelligence oversight processes, policy making processes) [MSexpertise3]

- 4 Expert knowledge (I rarely require external advice)
- 3 Advanced knowledge (I only require external advice in exceptional circumstances)
- 2 Some knowledge (I require external advice from time to time)
- 1 Basic knowledge (I require external advice)
- 0 No knowledge (I always require external advice)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.2d) How do you assess your expertise concerning the **technical** aspects of surveillance by intelligence agencies? (For example implementation of communications interception, intelligence data processing) [MSexpertise4]

- 4 Expert knowledge (I rarely require external advice)
- 3 Advanced knowledge (I only require external advice in exceptional circumstances)
- 2 Some knowledge (I require external advice from time to time)
- 1 Basic knowledge (I require external advice)
- 0 No knowledge (I always require external advice)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.3 Financial Resources

1.3a) *How do you assess the financial resources that have been available for research on surveillance by intelligence agencies over the past 5 years?*

[MSfinance1]

4 There was a great deal of funding (I have always been able to conduct research to scrutinise surveillance by intelligence agencies)

3 There was sufficient funding (In most cases I have been able to conduct research to scrutinise surveillance by intelligence agencies)

2 There was some funding (Sometimes I can conduct research to scrutinise surveillance by intelligence agencies)

1 There was very little funding (It is exceptional for me to conduct research to scrutinise surveillance by intelligence agencies)

0 There was no funding (I never conduct research to scrutinise surveillance by intelligence agencies)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.3b) *If you wanted to conduct investigative research into surveillance by intelligence agencies, could you access extra funding for this research? (For example, a special budget or a stipend)* [MSfinance2]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.4 Freedom of Information

1.4a) *In your capacity as a journalist, have you requested information under the national Freedom of Information Law for investigations on intelligence agencies over the past 5 years?* [MSfoi1]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

[If no, please turn to Question 1.4e]

1.4b) *[if 1.4a]= yes]* How often did you request information? [MSfoi2]

_____ times in the past 5 years

1.4c) *[if 1.4a) = yes]* Over the past 5 years, did you receive a response to your FOI request(s) in a timely manner? [MSfoi3]

2 Yes, my request(s) were responded to within 30 days

1 No, my request(s) were not responded to in a timely manner and often took longer than 30 days to process

0 I never received responses to my request(s)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.4d) *[if 1.4a) = yes]* How helpful have Freedom of Information requests been for your reporting on intelligence-related issues? [MSfoi4]

2 Very helpful (FOI requests substantially contributed to my reporting)

1 Helpful in parts (FOI requests contributed to my reporting to some extent)

0 Not helpful at all (FOI requests did not contribute to my reporting)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

1.4e) *[if 1.4a) = no]* Why haven't you requested information under the national FOI law when you reported on intelligence-related issues over the past 5 years? [MSfoi5] [check all that apply]

A. I was not aware of the possibility

B. The authority I would have requested information from is not covered by the FOI law.

C. It seemed too expensive

D. It seemed too time-consuming

E. I was afraid that asking for official information could lead to data destruction

F. I was afraid of personal or professional discrimination

G. Other

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

[if answer to 1.4e = G]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

1.5 Appreciation

1.5a) *In the past 5 years, have stories on surveillance by intelligence agencies been nominated for a journalistic award in the country you primarily work in?* [MSapp1]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know

[MSapp1specify]

[if answer 1=yes]

If you selected 'yes', please specify which award:

1.5b) *Are there specific awards in the country you primarily work in for reporting on intelligence-related topics?* [MSapp2]

1 Yes

0 No

If yes, please list them here:

777 I don't know

[MSapp2specify]

[if answer 1=yes]

If you selected "Yes", please list them here

2. Media Reporting

2.1 Scope of coverage

2.1a) *Please estimate: how many journalistic pieces have you produced on intelligence-related topics in the past year?* [MSsoc1]

_____ pieces

2.1b) *Please estimate: how many of these pieces focused on surveillance by intelligence agencies?* [MSsoc2]

_____ pieces

2.1c) *How regularly do you report on surveillance by intelligence agencies?* [MSsoc4]

- 4 Very regularly (weekly),
- 3 Regularly (monthly),
- 2 Somewhat regularly (Once every 3 months),
- 1 Sometimes (Once every 6 months or less)
- 0 Rarely or never (Once a year or less)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

2.1d) *When covering surveillance by intelligence agencies, which topics usually prompt you to write an article? [select applicable answers]* [MSsoc5]

- A. Follow-up on other media reporting
- B. Statements by Government
- C. Oversight reports
- D. Leaked material
- E. Own investigations
- F. Other, please specify _____

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

2.1e) *When covering surveillance by intelligence agencies, which of the following topics do you report on frequently? [select all that apply]* [MSsoc6]

- A. National security risks
- B. Successful intelligence operations
- C. Misconduct by intelligence agencies
- D. Oversight interventions
- E. Oversight failures
- F. Policy debates and/or legislative reforms
- H. Other, please specify _____

2.2 Transnational Scope

2.2a) *How often does your work on surveillance by intelligence agencies cover a transnational angle?* [MStrans1]

- 4 Always
- 3 Often (~75% of the time)
- 2 Sometimes (~50% of the time)
- 1 Rarely (~25% of the time)
- 0 Never

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

2.2b) *How often do you collaborate with colleagues covering other countries when working on surveillance by intelligence agencies?* [MStrans2]

4 Always

3 Often (~75% of the time)

2 Sometimes (~50% of the time)

1 Rarely (~25% of the time)

0 Never

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

2.2c) [only if 2.2b is 'rarely' or more] *Have those collaborations included an investigative research project with colleagues from abroad?* [MStrans3]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

2.3 Perceived Impact

2.3 a) *When you think about public responses to your articles on intelligence agencies by readers and colleagues, did you receive any of the following forms of public feedback or engagement? [select all that apply]* [MSImpact1]

A. An above average number of comments on social media or in the comment section of the specific publication

B. An above-average number of shares of the coverage on social media platforms

C. An above-average number of readers of the coverage

D. Letters to the editor replying to the coverage

E. Follow-up reporting by other media outlets subsequent to the coverage

F. Other

G. None of the above

[MSImpact1other]

[if answer f = yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

2.3 b) *When you think of responses to your articles on intelligence agencies by*

administrations or policy makers, did your reporting contribute to any of the following forms of political action? [Select all that apply] [MSimpact2]

- A. My reporting led to diplomatic pressure being exercised
- B. My reporting spurred civic action, such as open letters, petitions, NGO-campaigns
- C. My reporting led to a conversation with policy makers
- D. My reporting spurred official inquiries
- E. My reporting prompted the government to issue a public statement
- F. My reporting led to a conversation with intelligence practitioners
- G. Other
- H. None of the above

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

[MSimpact2other]

[if answer f = yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

3. Protection

3.1 Operational Protection

3.1a) Have you taken any of the following measures to protect your data from attacks and surveillance? [MSprotectops1]

	1 Yes	0 No	777 I don't know	999 I prefer not to say
A. Participation in digital security training				
B. Provision of secure drop or similar anonymous leaking platform				
C. Use of end-to-end encrypted communication channels				

3.1b) [If either answer to 3.1a) = yes] -> Were any of these measures provided by your employer? [MSprotectops2]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

3.1c) How important is the use of the following technical tools for you to protect your communications, your online activities and the data you handle? [MSprotectops3]

A. Email Encryption (e.g. PGP)	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important 1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say
B. VPN	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important 1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say
C. TOR	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important 1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say
D. End-to-end encrypted messenger services	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important 1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say
E. Encryption for your devices (e.g. hard drive, thumb drives)	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important 1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say
F. Two-factor verification	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say

	1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	
G. Other	4 Very important 3 Important 2 Somewhat important 1 Slightly important 0 Not important at all	777 I don't know 999 I prefer not to say

[MSprotectops3other]

[if answer h = 4-1]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

3.1d) Which of the following statements best describes your level of confidence in the protection offered by technological tools? [choose one of the following answers]

[MSprotectops4]

- A. I have full confidence that the right tools will protect my communication from surveillance.
- B. Technological tools help to protect my identity to some extent, but an attacker with sufficient power may eventually be able to bypass my technological safeguards.
- C. Under the current conditions of communications surveillance, technological solutions cannot offer sufficient protection for the data I handle.
- D. I have no confidence in the protection offered by technological tools.
- E. I try to avoid technology-based communication whenever possible when I work on intelligence-related issues.

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

3.2 Legal Protection

3.2a) When working on intelligence-related issues, do you feel there is reason to be concerned regarding the protection of your sources? [choose one of the following answers]

[MSprotectleg1]

- 4 Always (When I cover intelligence, there is almost always reason to be concerned regarding the protection of my sources),
- 3 Often (When I cover intelligence, in most cases there is a reason to be concerned regarding the protection of my sources),
- 2 Sometimes (When I cover intelligence, there is reason to be concerned regarding the protection of my sources from time to time)
- 1 Rarely (In exceptional cases of reporting on intelligence, there is reason to be concerned

regarding the protection of my sources)

0 Never (I never have reason to be concerned regarding the protection of my sources when covering intelligence)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

3.2b) Do you regard the existing legal protection of sources in your country as a sufficient safeguard for your work on intelligence-related issues? [MSprotectleg2A]

1 yes

0 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

3.2c) Are any of the following forms of institutional support readily available to you? [MSprotectleg3]

	1 Yes	0 No	777 I don't know	999 I prefer not to say
A. Free legal counseling for journalists by media outlets or journalists' unions				
B. Legal cost insurance provided by media outlets or journalist unions				
C. Other				

[MSprotectleg3other]

[if answer c = Yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

3.2d) Over the past 5 years, have you made use of any of the below-mentioned forms of institutional support? [MSprotectleg4]

	1 Yes	0 No	777 I don't know	999 I prefer not to say

A. Free legal counseling for journalists by media outlets or journalists' unions				
B. Legal cost insurance provided by media outlets or journalist unions				
C. Other				

[MSprotectleg4other]

[if answer C = Yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

3.2e) *In your experience, how common is it for news organisations to assume liabilities for the content of published articles?* [MSprotectleg5]

4 Very common (Publishers always assume liability)

3 Common (Publishers assume liability in most cases)

2 Somewhat common (Publishers assume liability from time to time)

1 Slightly common (Publishers assume liability in exceptional circumstances)

0 Not common at all (Publishers never assume liability)

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

3.3 Right to Access (journalists)

3.3a) *As a journalist, do you have a special right to know if you have been subjected to surveillance in the past?* [MSprotectrta1]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

3.3b) *[If 3.3a) = yes] Have you ever made use of this right?* [MSprotectrta2]

1 Yes

0 No

777 I don't know
999 I prefer not to say

3.3c) [If 3.3a) = yes] Is this right available to all journalists, even non-citizens?
[MSprotectrta3]

1 Yes
0 No

777 I don't know
999 I prefer not to say

3.3d) Have you ever submitted a data subject access request (based on your right to access as defined in the GDPR) related to surveillance by intelligence agencies? [MSprotectrta4]

1 Yes
0 No
777 I don't know
999 I prefer not to say

3.3e) [if 3.3d) = yes] Over the past 5 years, have you received responses to your data subject access request(s) in a timely manner? [MSprotectrta5]

2 Yes, my request(s) were responded to in a timely manner of up to 30 days
1 No, my request(s) were not responded to in a timely manner and often took longer than 30 days
0 I never received responses to my request(s).

777 I don't know
999 I prefer not to say

3.3f) [if 3.3e) = 1 or 2] If you received a response to a data subject access request, was the information provided helpful? [MSprotectrta6]

2 Yes, the information provided was helpful
1 Partly, the information provided was somewhat helpful but contained omissions
0 No, the information provided was not at all helpful

777 I don't know
999 I prefer not to say

4. Constraints

4.1 Censorship

4.1a) *When covering intelligence related issues, have you consulted state bodies or officials prior to the publication of the story due to the sensitivity of information?*

[MSconstraintbylaw1]

0 Yes

1 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

4.1b) *Is there an institutional setting that advises journalists to engage in a consultation process prior to the publication of sensitive information (i.e. a code of conduct or a committee)?*

0 Yes

1 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

4.1c) *[if 4.1a) = yes] Please estimate: How often have you consulted state bodies or officials prior to publishing intelligence-related stories in the past 5 years?* [MSconstraintbylaw2]

4.1d) *[if 4.1a) = yes] Has this consultation process prevented a story of yours from appearing?* [MSconstraintbylaw3]

0 Yes

1 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

[MSconstraintbylaw3sp]

[if = Yes]

If you selected 'y', please specify:

4.1e) *[if 4.1a) = yes] Have you been required to make edits as part of this consultation process?* [MSconstraintbylaw4]

0 Yes

1 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

[MSconstraintbylaw4sp]

[if = Yes]

If you selected 'yes', please specify:

4.2 Interference by state authorities

4.2a) *Has your news organisation or have you yourself been subjected to surveillance by intelligence agencies in the past 5 years?* [MSconstraintinter1]

0 Yes, I have evidence that I or my news organisation was subjected to surveillance

1 Yes, I suspect I or my news organisation was subjected to surveillance

2 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

4.2b) *In the past 5 years, have you been threatened with prosecution, or have you actually been prosecuted for your work on intelligence-related issues?* [MSconstraintinter2]

0 Yes

1 No

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

4.2c) *[If 4.2b) = yes] What was the outcome?:* MSconstraintinter3]

A. I was threatened with prosecution

B. I was prosecuted but acquitted

C. I was prosecuted and convicted

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

4.2d) *In the past 5 years, have you experienced any of the following interferences by public authorities in relation to your work on intelligence related topics?* [MSconstraintinter4]

	0 Yes	1 No	777 I don't know	999 I prefer not to say
A. Police searches of workplaces and/or private				

domiciles				
B. Seizure of material				
C. Extortion				
D. Violent threats against you, family members or friends				
E. Special inspections during travels				
F. Detention				
G. Surveillance signalling				
H. Online harassment directed at you, your family members or friends (such as doxing, tampering with social media accounts)				
I. Entry on deny lists				
J. Exclusion from press conferences or other events by state authorities				
K. Public defamation				

4.2e) *In the past 5 years, have you been approached by intelligence officials and received ...*
MSconstraintinter5]

- A. ...unsolicited information
- B. ...invitations to off-the-record-conversations or meetings
- C. Other

777 I don't know

999 I prefer not to say

(MSconstraintinter5ot)

[if answer C = Yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

4.2f) *When working as a journalist on surveillance by intelligence agencies, have you ever experienced harassment by security agencies or politicians due to your...*

MSconstraintinter6] [select all that apply]

	0 Yes	1 No	777 I don't know	999 I prefer not to say
A. Gender				
B. Ethnicity				
C. Political orientation				
D. Sexual orientation				
E. Religious affiliation				
F. Other				

[CSconstraintinter6ot]

[if answer F = Yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

4.3 Self-Censorship

4.3a) Which of the following behaviours have you experienced or observed in your professional environment related to covering intelligence-related topics? [MSconstraintself1]

	0 Yes	1 No	777 I don't know	999 I prefer not to say
A. I, or someone I know, avoided sensitive issues in a story related to intelligence.				
B. I, or someone I know, changed the focus of a story related to intelligence due to its sensitivity.				
C. Due to the sensitivity of a story related to intelligence, I, or someone I know, changed the timeline for publication.				

D. I, or someone I know, abandoned a story related to intelligence due its sensitivity.				
E. I, or someone I know, considered leaving the profession altogether due to the sensitivity of intelligence-related issues				
F. Other				

(MSconstraintself1oth)

[If Other = Yes]

If you selected 'other', please specify:

5. Attitudes

5a) The following four statements are about intelligence agencies. Please select the statement you most agree with, based on your national context. [necessity of intelligence agencies] [MSattitude1]

- A. Intelligence agencies are incompatible with democratic values and should be abolished.
- B. Intelligence agencies contradict democratic principles, and their powers should be kept at a bare minimum.
- C. Intelligence agencies are necessary and legitimate institutions of democratic states, even though they may sometimes overstep their legal mandates.
- D. Intelligence agencies are a vital component of national security and should be shielded from excessive bureaucratic restrictions.

999 I prefer not to say

5b) The following four statements are about intelligence oversight. Please select the statement you most agree with, based on your national context. [role of intelligence oversight] [MSattitude2]

- A. Intelligence oversight generally succeeds in uncovering past misconduct and preventing future misconduct
- B. Intelligence oversight is mostly effective, however its institutional design needs reform for oversight practitioners to reliably uncover past misconduct and prevent future misconduct
- C. Intelligence oversight lacks efficacy, hence a fundamental reorganization of oversight capacity is needed for oversight practitioners to reliably uncover past misconduct and

prevent future misconduct

D. Effective intelligence oversight is a hopeless endeavour and even a systematic reorganization is unlikely to ensure misconduct is uncovered and prevented.

999 I prefer not to say

5c) *In your personal view, what are the goals of intelligence oversight? Please select the three goals of oversight you subscribe to the most.* [MSattitude3]

Check all that apply

Please select from 1 to 3 answers.

- A. Ensuring the rule of law
- B. Protecting civil liberties
- C. Ensuring the effectiveness of intelligence agencies
- D. Ensuring the legitimacy of intelligence agencies
- E. Building trust in intelligence agencies
- F. Enabling public contestation and critique of intelligence agencies

999 I prefer not to say

Other: _____

[Text box intro attitudes:] Besides the media, there are several other actors that are engaged in intelligence oversight. In the following three questions, please rank the actors according to how much you trust them to perform certain oversight practices, but only if they exist in your national context.

5d) *Which of the following actors do you trust the most to enable public debate on surveillance by intelligence agencies?* [MSattitude4]

Double-click or drag-and-drop items in the left list to move them to the right - your highest ranking item should be on the top right, moving through to your lowest ranking item.

Select only those actors that exist in your country. [random order = yes]	Please rank here:
Parliamentary oversight bodies Judicial oversight bodies Independent expert bodies Data protection authorities Audit courts Civil society organisations	1. 2...

5e) Which of the following actors do you trust the most to contest surveillance by intelligence agencies? [MSattitude5]

Double-click or drag-and-drop items in the left list to move them to the right - your highest ranking item should be on the top right, moving through to your lowest ranking item.

Select only those actors that exist in your country. [random order = yes]	Please rank here:
Parliamentary oversight bodies Judicial oversight bodies Independent expert bodies Data protection authorities Audit courts Civil society organisations	1. 2...

5f) Which of the following actors do you trust the most to enforce compliance regarding surveillance by intelligence agencies? [MSattitude6]

Double-click or drag-and-drop items in the left list to move them to the right - your highest ranking item should be on the top right, moving through to your lowest ranking item.

Select only those actors that exist in your country. [random order = yes]	Please rank here:
Parliamentary oversight bodies Judicial oversight bodies Independent expert bodies Data protection authorities Audit courts Civil society organisations	1. 2...

6. Demographic Characteristics

(6a) Which country do you primarily work in? [MSCountry]
(Does not have to conform with your country of residence.)
Name of country: _____

(6b) Gender: How do you identify? [MSgender]
A. Woman

- B. Non-binary
- C. Man
- D. I prefer to self-describe, below
- E. I prefer not to say

[MSgendersd]

Please self-describe here: _____