

No Place to Hide, Before and After Data(Driven) Journalism

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Abstract: *No Place to Hide*, written by Robert O’Harrow, Jr., an award winning investigative reporter, was published in 2005. Five years later, Sir Tim Berners-Lee, credited with development of the World Wide Web, affirmed that “data journalism,” is the future for journalism. In 2014, famed author and investigative reporter, Glenn Greenwald, published, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State*. This comparative qualitative data study briefly analyzes and contrasts two similarly titled books regarding surveillance, written in two different genres, one before the advent of data journalism and one after. O’Harrow, Jr.’s and Greenwald’s books share the same title and address the topic of government and corporate surveillance of U.S. citizens. O’Harrow Jr.’s book uses beat investigative journalism and microanalysis to report on the corporate and government entities that help drive forward the advent of “data reporting.” Greenwald’s book is a piece of political, data driven journalism, illustrated with infographics and narrates a “coming out,” story about Edward Snowden’s history making revelations about U.S. government surveillance, that fits the criteria of Sociologist Ken Plummer’s formulaic methodology for storytelling, as laid out in his book, *telling sexual stories* (1995).

Keywords: Data journalism, storytelling, beat journalism, surveillance, whistleblowers

Introduction

Robert O’Harrow Jr.’s 2005 book titled, *No Place to Hide* is a beat reporter’s exposé that “goes behind” the rise of corporate and government surveillance in pre and post 9/11 U.S.A. It is written in a press oriented, literary narrative style, characteristic of pre-internet and traditional publishing era. It is written for a general readership of ordinary Americans, to inform them of complex socio-economic changes occurring in the aftermath of the events of 9/11 that threaten the privacy and integrity of people’s electronic data. Nine years later, Glenn Greenwald’s data-reporting styled book, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State* (2014) documents whistle-blower Edward Snowden’s coming-out with history-making revelations of U.S. government spying on U.S. citizens, in the context of the turbulent 2000s. Edward Snowden the former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor who worked for Booz Allen Hamilton (a defense contractor) and Dell Corporation, stationed in the NSA offices, where he collected a vast array of documents that describe secret surveillance programs intended to be used on, or already being used to spy on Americans’ electronic data.

According to Snowden’s own narrative captured in Greenwald’s book and Laura Poitras’s film, *Citizenfour* (2014), he became alarmed at the range of surveillance being imposed on law-abiding citizens. Snowden contacted Greenwald and Poitras for a secret meeting in Hong Kong in order to “come out” with his leaked documents and history making revelations of government abuse. After Greenwald and Poitras document his revelations, along with his commentary about how the stolen documents proved serious abuse of privacy rights, the story went viral on the Internet. Later Greenwald’s book was published and Poitras’ film took an award. Edward Snowden left Hong Kong and became stranded in Russia when the U.S. froze his passport.

There is considerable background history pertaining to the post September 11, 2001 (9/11) bombings of the Twin Towers and Building Seven in N.Y.C., which along with many other social facts enabled the formation of the surveillance state that O’Harrow Jr.’s and Greenwald’s books discuss. Some of that history is capsuled below to set context for discussion of the two books. Discussion about the emergence of data journalism and the changing definition of Computer Assisted Reporting (CAR) or data journalism is included in the methodology section. O’Harrow Jr.’s book is discussed first, followed by a discussion of historical events that transpired between the publication of O’Harrow Jr.’s book in 2005 and Greenwald’s book in 2014; followed by discussion about Greenwald’s book. The conclusion presents some analysis drawn from all of the above.

Methodology

This is a comparative historical qualitative data analysis of two different books written in two different styles or genres, that share similar titles, are written nine years apart, by two fine investigative reporters, about the growth and development of the U.S. surveillance state. The first book, written by Robert O’Harrow Jr. in 2005 is titled *No Place to Hide*. The second book was written by Glenn Greenwald in 2014 and is titled *No*

Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State. Although the books discuss surveillance of people's banked electronic data, in the name of national security, the books are written in two different genres or styles, namely beat and data journalism. O'Harrow Jr.'s book is beat journalism, microanalysis and investigative reporting. Greenwald's book is data-driven political journalism couched in storytelling methodology that appears akin to Ken Plummer's storytelling method. Discussion regarding the definitions and differences of beat investigative reporting and data driven, political journalism, and an explanation of Ken Plummer's storytelling methodology, which applies to Greenwald's book, follows.

Beat Journalism

O'Harrow Jr.'s *No Place to Hide* (2005a) book is in the tradition of beat investigative journalism that presents facts showing the U.S. has developed a surveillance-industrial complex. Beat journalism is a traditional style of human labor reporting that is driven through person to reporter relationships, wherein the reporter gathers facts and writes news reports based on facts. The name "beat" is adapted from police work, wherein a policeman is assigned to a specific area to patrol regularly. The beat reporter traditionally covers a certain topic area (sports, politics, society etc.) and writes his/her news stories about people and events within his/her beat. The beat journalist usually works closely with a news editor and is expected to develop relationships with important agents that pertain to his/her beat. A seasoned journalist may cover a beat for years and become well acquainted with actors in his/her beat. While beat journalist may use computers to help them write their news stories, skilled and seasoned reporters generally author their reports themselves and adhere to reporting facts, while abstaining from imposing judgment, sensationalism or celebrity opinion, in order to provide balanced information that the reader can use to draw his/her own interpretation from. If the news reporting is bias, sensational or slanted than the news outlet may lose customers and/or the news may not be considered accurate or may be dismissed as tabloid journalism.

Data Journalism

Glenn Greenwald's book, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State* (2014) presents data driven, political reporting and data analysis, macro analysis and info-graphics, all while narrating Edward Snowden's whistleblower revelations about government spying. According to Wikipedia, data journalism is a specialized, new form, of interactive journalism wherein the content producers (the journalists) draw on banked statistical data, computer science design and other overlapping fields, to assemble news articles that are often highly visual or info-graphic oriented. Much is written about this new field of journalism since it does usurp traditional "beat" journalism. Like many other occupations being encroached upon by automation, robotics and artificial intelligence, journalism and news reporting is being downsized and economized partly because readership has moved to social media and partly because of the advent of faster computational thinking data journalism, automated news item assemblage software and computer assisted reporting (CAR). (Borges-Rey 2016; Lewis, & Westland 2015; Lewis 2015)

Megan Knight's "Data journalism in the UK; a preliminary analysis of form and content" published in *Journal of Media Practice* (2015) offers a condensed history of the development and advancement of Computer-Assisted Reporting (CAR) from the 1990s into data journalism of the 2000s. She maps out the major actors that shaped and promoted the advent of this new computer enhanced field of journalism from 1989, when the National Institute for Computer Assisted Reporting was founded in Missouri, through the 1990s when Philip Meyer, Brant Houston and Matthew Levy were publishing instructional books about how to do CAR within university journalism curriculum. Knight points out that such instruction and application training doesn't encompass the journalistic skills of reporting regarding the "why" of a journal account. In other words, teaching the technical skills for CAR might provide a journalist with more data and technical skills but those don't necessarily matter much if the reporter/technician lacks qualitative data analysis skills needed for balanced reporting. Knight reports that there haven't been many studies done about data journalism. One study indicates that info graphics using mathematical information are often miscalculated or misinterpreted. Knight sums up the studies this way:

The studies, while useful, tend to be uncritical of the impact or desirability of CAR as a journalistic method, and focus instead on simple measurement of its use. What little discussion of the value of CAR is limited to unreferenced and unsubstantiated comments asserting its importance to the profession: 'Reporters using online databases and analyzing government data consistently won Pulitzer's for their in-depth reporting' (Davenport, Fico, and Detwiler 2000, 3) (Knight, 2015 p. 57)

Knight explains how data-driven journalism arrived just prior to Edward Snowden's revelations, namely the dumping of massive numbers of secret documents that were leaked by Bradley Manning. In 2010

Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning, a former U.S. Army soldier, leaked videos of U.S. instigated airstrikes in Afghanistan and Baghdad and a trove of nearly 750,000 diplomatic cables and Army reports, dubbed the “Iraq War Logs” and the “Afghan War Diary” to Wikileaks. After a long military court-martial and arduous imprisonment Manning was convicted of violations of the Espionage Act and other offenses and sentenced to prison for 30 years. While in prison he decided to change his gender to a female and became Chelsea Manning. President Obama commuted Manning’s sentence and Manning was released from confinement in May 2017.

Knight describes how Manning’s leaked documents impacted and changed news reporting by forcing reporters to use computer enhanced technology in order to decipher and interpret the massive quantities of data inside the leaked documents. Manning’s leaked trove of data pushed the limits of the reporting world and forced reporters to adapt to a new kind of reporting practice. It was the *Guardian* that was best prepared to report on the leaks and *Guardian* reporter Glenn Greenwald championed Manning throughout Manning’s saga. Here is how Knight explains this important development:

These two strands of the development of news production: increased use of graphics, and the availability of data and access to the means to analyze it continued through the first decade of the twenty-first century, but somewhat overshadowed by other technological developments in the field. In 2010, it was revived though, apparently, single-handedly, by Simon Rogers and the team at the *Guardian* newspaper with help from Bradley Manning and Julian Assange. In July of that year, Wikileaks released the Afghan War Logs, followed by the Iraq War Logs in October to a number of news outlets, and then to the public. These massive data dumps contained hundreds and thousands of records of the activities of coalition troops in the two countries and, while damning, were frustratingly complex and detailed and required a whole new level of analytical tools to make sense of them. The development of the custom data browser allowed the reporters to ‘search stories for key words or events. Suddenly the dataset became accessible and generating stories became easier’ (Rogers 2011, para. 261). The size of the data set was daunting and making sense of it was a challenge-not just in terms of the management of files, but also in terms of making the individual data points meaningful to readers. The *Guardian* used maps and charts to great effect with this data, and apparently simple Iraq War Logs map of every death, made using Google Maps, remains one of the best examples of interactive data journalism around.

Rogers’ book on the *Guardian’s* data journalism projects is one of the few published works on data journalism, or data-driven journalism. Like the others, it is largely for practitioners, and remains somewhat uncritical of the impact of data journalism, or even aware of its actual use. Rogers is inevitably something of an evangelist for data journalism:

‘So we are not alone in this: every day brings newer and more innovative journalists, developers and entrepreneurs into the field, and with them new skills and techniques. Not only is data journalism changing in itself, its changing journalism too. And the world.’ (Rogers 2011, para. 40) (Knight, 2015, pp. 57-8).

Knight’s reporting of the “data-driven” journalism and the impact it has on the vocation of journalism highlights what Big Data means for news reporting; concentration of news analysis in fewer, more technologically endowed companies (like the *Guardian*, *Telegraph* and *Times*) with analysis of potentially overwhelming quantities of data that need to be filtered through custom data browsers that shape the “story”. What news emerges from this automated and filtered process might look like what appears inside Glenn Greenwald’s book.

Ken Plummer’s Storytelling Methodology

Greenwald’s book *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State*. (2014) is data driven political reporting that also narrates a story regarding Edward Snowden’s coming out of the NSA with revelations about government spying. The narrative appears to adhere in method, to Sociologist Ken Plummer’s story telling methodology, as described in Plummer’s *telling sexual stories* (1995). Plummer believes storytelling holds a central place in social thought and provides “tropes for making sense of the past”(1995, p.18). Plummer maps a storytelling methodology for the “personal experience and narratives of the intimate.”(p. 19) Plummer specializes in gay coming out stories although he states that this methodology is applicable to any story telling process. For Plummer, storytelling is at the heart of symbolic interaction.

According to Plummer’s sexual story telling methodology there are generic elements in modernist stories. Those elements include: suffering; an epiphany; transformation; a journey; enduring suffering; engaging in contest; pursuing consummation and establishing a home (Plummer 1995, pp. 54-55). According to the methodology, closely allied to the storytellers are what Plummer calls, “a second kind of producer: *coaxers, coaches and coercers*” who help to “seduce the stories” by listening and questioning (Plummer, 1995, p. 21).

Plummer says these coercers can be courtroom interpreters, doctors, therapists, and tabloid journalists who shift and change the story.

Plummer introduces another agent in his methodology, the consumers, readers and audiences who consume, interpret and make sense of the stories. Plummer writes “Just how these ‘readers’ interpret the story is a crucial process in understanding stories. Sometimes the reader is brought to outrage or to a better understanding. Sometimes the consumption becomes a passionate hobby and sometimes it is all a matter of great indifference.” (1995, p.21) Plummer goes on to explain all these actors (tellers, coaxers, and audiences) are engaged in assembling life stories because “. . . they can not actually grasp the *actual* life.”(p. 21) and so they create a story object that contains the meaning of their actions. Plummer sums up this valorization of the story-as-object, process in this way:

These congeal or freeze already pre-constituted moments of a life from the storyteller and the coaxer and await the handling of a reader or consumer. The meanings of stories are never fixed but emerge out of a ceaselessly changing stream of interaction between producers and readers in shifting contexts. They may of course become habitualised and stable; but always and everywhere the meanings of stories shift and sway in the contexts to which they are linked.” (Plummer 1995, p. 22)

Plummer’s methodology defines the story-object or product created by tellers and coaxers and other actors which comes to contain the meaning of the interaction, which is beyond grasp of actual life and is consumed in an interactive social world (which today might be the social media world of the Internet). Although Plummer’s book precedes the Internet it also foretells of the effects of social media. Greenwald’s social media interactive story about Snowden coming out with his secrets about the NSA appears to fulfill the criteria of Plummer’s methodology. It may also exemplify the nature of people’s lives being ungraspable in the context of social media.

Applying Plummer’s methodology to Greenwald’ book, the results resemble Plummer’s schematic infographic “Figure 1 Stories as joint actions,” in his book on page 23, wherein one can adapted the schema in the following way to depict the Snowden coming out story methodology. Insert “Snowden’s secret” under the LIVES AND EVENTS heading in Figure 1 (hereafter schema). Then insert “Greenwald, Poitras and *Guardian* editors” under the PRODUCERS heading. Insert “American public” under the CONSUMERS heading. Insert *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State* (2014) and *Citizenfour* under the STORIES IN TEXTS heading. Insert “Social Media” under the INTERACTIVE SOCIAL WORLDS heading and insert “Collective action or pacification and increased use and payment for telecommunications services” under the NEGOTIATED NETWORKS OF COLLECTIVE ACTIVITY heading. When Plummer’s schema is applied to the Greenwald book in this way, it appears to correspond. Likewise when Plummer’s generic elements in modernist stories as listed above, are compared to the story elements in Greenwald’s book, the elements correspond, as will be described below.

Background Information: Setting Historical Context for O’Harrow Jr.’s book

In 2005 O’Harrow Jr. explained his book, *No Place to Hide* (2005a) in a lecture that was published in the *John Marshall Journal of Computer and Information Science* (2005b, pp. 35-56). The lecture started with a non-stop oral presentation about information gathering companies and their dubious founders and mergers, the lack of government oversight of these companies, their abundance of government contracts, their immunity to liability and their vast holding of people’s personal data, used for many purposes unknown and unaccounted for. Using comparative historical method O’Harrow Jr. ended his lecture with an explanation for the title of his book. The explanation began with President Bush’s response to the assumed terrorist attack on the World Trade Building in New York on September 11, 2001 (9/11) and then reminded the audience of earlier history regarding how the U.S. had reacted to President Nixon’s Watergate wiretapping scandal in 1972, namely the formation of the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities in 1975, headed by Senator Frank Church of Idaho. The so-called Church Committee uncovered massive abuses by government agencies that ranged from assassination plots, to on-going human rights abuses occurring in secret government funded human experimentation programs on unwitting people, to spying and surveillance of unwitting citizens who had done nothing illegal. The Church Committee published 14 reports on the committee’s investigations into abuses by the CIA, NSA, and FBI. The findings shocked the nation and led to the passage of the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). This act established the FISA court, which oversees requests by government agencies regarding covert surveillance programs (Young, 2015).

But after the events of 9/11 these protections for citizens were largely superseded by passage of the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act" of 2001 or the USA PATRIOT Act. The PATRIOT Act mandated that due to a state of

national emergency the government and its' contractors could hunt for terrorists and use people's electronic data as a hunting grounds, without much regard for privacy rights and protections. This set the stage for the fast coupling of government intelligence agencies (endowed with ample federal tax monies) to a vast array of commercial data collectors and telecom industry corporations(O'Harrow Jr. describes this in his book).

In 2005 Americans were still in trauma from 9/11 and divided over whether the bombings of the Twin Towers and Building Seven were really done by terrorists or were a staged "inside" job used to open up the opportunity to suspend civil liberties and enable a merger of the government with tele-com and data gathering companies. Grassroots organizations like 9/11 Truth continue to challenge the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States findings, which produced the final official government statement on 9/11. The commission claimed CIA and FBI failures enabled the terrorist attack and published its report, closed the investigation and archived its website in 2004. Some people lost their jobs for challenging the government's claims and many witnesses of the 9/11 events died, sometimes leaving behind recorded testimony that generated questions that are still unanswered. It is in this historic context that O'Harrow Jr. ends his book promotion lecture by explaining where the book title comes from; he tells the audience about President Bush announcing his plans for the war on terror, stating:

President said, "We want every terrorist made to live like an international fugitive, on the road with no place to settle, no place to organize and no place to hide." It was a powerful moment.

It also was an ironic echo to a warning from Senator Frank Church three decades before. Church had served as the head of a commission formed to examine the nation's history of domestic surveillance. He had seen firsthand what could happen when law enforcement and intelligence agencies amass too much secret influence. In the late sixties and early seventies, some of those officials worked outside the rules targeting innocent people and groups for their political views or because someone mistakenly assumed an individual posed a threat. Church was especially concerned about the government's use of computers and eavesdropping technology. Such equipment he said could serve as a powerful weapon abroad. The use of it could also spin out of control, especially in the hands of tyrannical leaders. Church said that capability at any time could be turned around on the American people and no American would have any privacy left, such as the capability to monitor everything, telephone conversations, telegrams.

It doesn't matter; he said on a television news program in 1975, there would be no place to hide.

Like it or not, the technology is now being turned on American citizens and foreigners alike. It is being deployed at every level of law enforcement and intelligence. It's vastly more powerful, varied and sophisticated than Church ever contemplated those many years ago. As a consequence, the President's wish may come true and the terrorists will have no place to hide. But then there's a chance that neither will we. (O'Harrow Jr. 2005b, p. 41)

Ironically, nine years later in 2014, these exact words spoken by Senator Frank Church and quoted by O'Harrow Jr. in his lecture, to explain the title of his book, would also appear in the opening pages of Glenn Greenwald's *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State*, on the page before the Table of Contents.

Robert O'Harrow Jr.'s *No Place to Hide* (2005) Described

Robert O' Harrow, Jr., a reporter for *The Washington Post* and an associate of the Center for Investigative Reporting published *No Place to Hide* in 2005. The book summarized O'Harrow Jr.'s traditional "beat reporting" findings about the development of a new surveillance state in post 9/11 U.S. O'Harrow Jr. was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for articles on privacy and technology and received the 2003 Carnegie Mellon Cyber Security Reporting Award. O'Harrow Jr.'s *No Place to Hide* (2014) is a carefully crafted, heavily foot noted, traditional, beat journalism, micro-analytic and investigative report of the post 9/11 merger of private data telecommunications companies with government anti-terror initiatives, which along with the PATRIOT Act produced something new to the U.S. – a security-industrial complex. O'Harrow documents the unfolding of this historical process in narrative and beat investigative reporting style, applied to a broad array of people, events and developments across the U.S.

Chapters in O'Harrow Jr.'s book details among other things: local police departments buying and implementing privately produced, but government paid for, surveillance equipment; the history of U.S. privacy legislation and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA); the history of the government's roll-back of that legislation to make way for the PATRIOT Act (with attention paid to explaining the Act and to the people who questioned and challenged the Act); information about "Section 215" of the PATRIOT ACT which expanded the powers of the PATRIOT ACT to allow investigators to obtain records from Internet providers, stores and basically any business without requiring that the target be "an agent of foreign power" (O'Harrow Jr.,

2005a, p. 27); detailed and engaging reporting on the inside workings of data collection company Acxiom which “systematically matches and analyzes the information it collects to create fine-grained portraits about roughly 200 million adults.” (2005a, p. 37); detailed analysis of how companies like Acxiom share information about Americans with other companies who also collect data about Americans; how government regulations mandate telecommunication companies to collect customer data, store and share it with government surveillance agencies; how telephone numbers are almost used like Social Security numbers to track people; detailed reporting of the lack of privacy that consumers “consent to” with almost all service calls or transactions; how companies track survey data to individuals (O’Harrow Jr. 2005, p. 55). O’Harrow Jr. explains how the U.S. government primed the pump for a surveillance-state by upgrading its’ surveillance capabilities by contracting with private companies like Acxiom for services to “authenticate people” (2005a, p. 60). One chapter details the ruination of people’s lives by identity theft and the use of “data elements” to authenticate identity. Another chapter details how data banking corporation Seisint teamed up with Equifax to create the fastest profiling service available to hunt for terrorists for government agencies and were joined by federal prosecutors who helped the companies obtain more data about Americans by issuing subpoenas (p. 107).

Each chapter and each page O’Harrow, Jr. builds a fine grained, insightful and detailed step-by-step account of how the U.S. surveillance state evolved, reporting on earlier history and bringing it forward, told from the perspective of many different actors – police, lawyers, employees who collect data out of libraries for huge data collection companies, wealthy owners of data collection companies with dubious pasts, politicians, government employees, Defense Intelligence agencies, Attorney Generals, Senator Leahy and the list goes on. O’Harrow Jr.’s coverage is comprehensive across the U.S. in terms of geography and in terms of stratification. From ordinary tax payers to the corporate elite, to victims of I.D. theft, every page in the book relates detailed facts from interviews, investigations and documents, that substantiates the end- all thesis of the book, that the government and private corporations have merged forces to monitor citizens lives – from bank accounts, to book purchases, to health expenditures, to travel patterns, to grocery bills, to voting patterns. In the end it is all justified as being for “national security”, but as lawyer, Robert Corn-Revere, who represented one telecommunication company, Earthlink, which resisted giving consumer data to the government’s “Carnivore” data sweeping program put it:

We believed it would enable the government to acquire more information than the law permits, not just about the person who was the target of the investigation, but potentially about a large number of other subscribers who had nothing at all to do with the investigation. . . . Over time, the cumulative effect of widespread surveillance for law enforcement, intelligence, and other investigatory purposes could change the climate and fabric of society in fundamental ways. (O’Harrow Jr., 2005a, p. 257)

Much of the rest of the book considers that un-folding reality. The book ends with 30 pages of detailed and finely printed endnotes and a 12 page, user friendly, well crafted and detailed Index and a page and a half of Acknowledgments. In 2006 the book was republished in paperback with a new Afterword that listed all the latest and most significant thefts, losses and misuse of hundreds of thousands of corporately held electronic data files occurring since the first publication of the book in 2005.

O’Harrow Jr.’s book is a qualitative data analysis of the contemporary history of the surveillance state rendered in beat journalism, microanalysis and investigative reporting style. It utilizes interviews, news articles, documents, conversations and narrative throughout the book; hence it has a multi-perspective quality to it and informs the reader in micro-detail about how corporations can use and abuse customer’s electronic data. How fortunate O’Harrow Jr. did this painstaking beat reporting of the early stages of the U.S. surveillance state formation, just before the advent of computer assisted reporting (CAR) or data reporting and data dumping, leaving a record of a skilled beat reporter’s rendering of these events, which can be compared with a data journalism book regarding similar subject matter, namely Greenwald’s 2014 *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State*.

Setting Historical Context for Greenwald’s Book

O’Harrow Jr.’s lecture conclusion, as noted above, paints a picture of post 9/11 era USA landscape but a fuller picture of the events that transpired in the U.S. between the publication of O’Harrow Jr.’s book in 2005 and Greenwald’s book in 2014 is worth recapping. For example, three years after O’Harrow Jr.’s book was published, the devastating sub-prime mortgage real estate debacle was rising (Anonymous, 2008) and crashed the U.S. economy in 2009 causing the U.S. middle-class, aging, baby boomers and others, to lose jobs, homes and savings, on par or beyond the damage that The Great Depression had caused in the 1930s.

In Great Depression, however, immigrants couldn’t fly into New Deal America (air travel was very limited) to buy up foreclosed homes, fill up vacant jobs and send earnings out of the country to

electronic, offshore, bank accounts. In de-regulated 2000s era America, however, with immigrant friendly sanctuary cities, easy electronic banking, ill-defined immigration laws and financially strapped universities eager for wealthy foreign students, immigrants found it easy to flock to the U.S. Cash rich immigrants fleeing drug cartel countries to the south, Asians with abundant real estate investment money, Russians with tech firm start-up money, refugees and many fellow travelers, provided a new, ready-made, imported, American middle class, to displace the now impoverished and often homeless, jobless, native U.S. baby boomers and former middle-class. But regardless of changing population demographics, most people, impoverished or rich, a U.S. native or a new immigrant, old or young, had made (or was making) the transition to using cell phones and doing much life enabling activity on-line. While many people lost their jobs, homes and much more, they still kept a tight grasp on their electronic monitoring devices, even when the technology was upgraded regularly at considerable expense. One might have lost a home, a job, a savings account, medical coverage, a car, or an education but by the mid-2000s almost everyone had a cell phone; if for no other reason than that might be the only way one could be located, when all else was lost.

In the midst of the 2000s era depression, in 2010, the U.S. Supreme court ruled in favor of Citizen's United in the Citizens United V. the Federal Elections Commission (hereafter Citizen's United) court case (Dunbar, 2016). Citizen's United legislated that corporations had free speech rights like individuals. Essentially the law says corporations are persons and it allows unlimited amounts of money to be spent on political campaigns. Now U.S. corporate-citizens (corporations) can legally finance a candidate's campaign with unlimited funding and justifiably expect favors from the government. The telecom industries were always huge contributors to presidential candidates; in the 2016 election they contributed to Clinton, Sanders and Trump's campaigns. A social revolution, like the Occupy Movement, regardless of who provokes it, increases profits for the telecom industry when the hunt for the terrorists or the revolutionaries ensues; yet even elections increase the use and profits of the telecom service providers, as Presidential candidates began Tweeting messages to the public. After the 2016 election Tweets from President Trump helped drive data-journalism with "breaking news" so frequently that the tweets are archived in their own "trumptwitterarchive" website.

In 2010 Sir Tim Berners-Lee, credited with development of the World Wide Web, affirmed that data journalism or the new computer assisted reporting (CAR) "is the future" for journalism. "Data-driven journalism is the future," Berners-Lee insisted. To which his colleague Nigel Shadbolt, who with Berners-Lee has been working to get the civil service and local government to open up their data, added succinctly: "Well, part of the future." (Arthur, 2010). This announcement appeared in an article in the *Guardian* a newspaper, which was Glen Greenwald's employer while writing *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the NSA and the US Surveillance State*. The subtitle of the article states: "Inventor of the World Wide Web says reporters should be hunting for stories in datasets" which seems to imply that not only are people's data a hunting grounds for terrorists but also for news stories.

The Guardian boasts it has always used data journalism or info-graphics (or essentially etchings and illustrations that pre-dated photography) since its' founding in 1821 and hosts a website with the history (<http://www.Guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/video/2013/apr/04/history-of-data-journalism-video>). *The Guardian's* historic use of proto infographics at the turn of the century corresponds to similar innovative press developments in Germany. During the Weimar Republic era, 1925-1933, the Reich' Statistical Office, in conjunction with the Institute for Business-Cycle Research and lead by Ernst Wagemann, pioneered the rapid generation and dissemination of statistical data in the press. J. Adam Tooze (1999) reports on these historic developments writing that ". . . the mass of new data, the publication of new adventurous new estimates such as the annual figures for national income, and increasingly bold predictive efforts of the institute constituted a major innovation." (Tooze, 1999, p. 533).

In 2012 Media Benjamin, co-founder of human rights organization Global Exchange and CODEPINK, published a book titled, *Drone Warfare Killing by Remote Control* (2012) about Obama's pioneering and precedent setting remote controlled, "wireless" targeted drone killings of people deemed terrorists by the CIA in countries abroad. This topic was made the focus of *The Drone Memos: Targeted Killing and the Law* (2016) by investigator Jameel Jaffer, Executive Director of the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University. The same year Jeremy Scahill of *The Intercept* also published a book on drone warfare titled *The Assassination Complex* (2016). Scahill is an investigative reporter famous for documenting U.S. military actions in Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia and other countries in his award winning movie *Dirty Wars* (2013) also the name of a companion book, *Dirty Wars: the World is a Battlefield* (2013). After Edward Snowden's revelations were documented in Greenwald's *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden the N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State* (2014) and Poitras' film, *Citizen Four* (2014) Scahill teamed with Greenwald and Poitras as founding editors of *The Intercept*, a multiplatform media company and digital magazine for investigative and often data-driven reporting. It provides an outlet for independent voices (or whistle blowers), documentary films, culture,

entertainment and the arts. *The Intercept* is published by First Look Media and financed by eBay founder Pierre Omidyar.

By 2014 the homeless and unemployed population had become pandemic in the U.S. and the Occupy Movements that sprang up across the U.S. to protest the depression, homelessness and wealth inequity, put many people into jail and made everyone afraid of losing whatever it was they had left. Later on, when employment statistics were optimistically reported as raising (a few thousand jobs at a time) the broadcasters tempered the upbeat news with statements about how Labor Department statistics omit those who have stopped looking for work. Climate change and income disparity in the world became a growing public concern (Packard, 2015). An Oxfam study claims that the eight richest billionaires in the world owned as much wealth as the poorest half of the world population (Elliot, 2017). Of the those eight billionaires, six had financial ties to electronic media related corporations, such as, Microsoft, Grupo Carso, Facebook, Amazon, Oracle and the Bloomberg news and financial information services. Such is some of the background history that followed O'Harrow's 2005 book. What O'Harrow had reported on, namely companies amassing electronic data on the U.S. population, had in a few short years manifest in a national shift towards cell phone use, electronic banking and data journalism.

Glenn Greenwald's, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, The N.S.A. and the U.S. Surveillance State Described*

Glenn Greenwald's, 2014, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State* was written in conjunction with Laura Poitras who filmed *Citizenfour*. At the time of publication Glenn Greenwald was a former U.S. constitutional lawyer and correspondent for *The Guardian*, living in Brazil with his husband, David Miranda. Greenwald is the recipient of a 2013 investigative journalism award from the Online News Association, the Esso Award for Excellence in Reporting and the 2013 Pioneer Award from the Electronic Frontier Foundation and the 2013 George Polk Award for National Security Reporting and was named by Foreign Policy as one of the top 100 Global Thinkers. His articles are featured in *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The American Conservative*. He authored *With Liberty and Justice for Some, A Tragic Legacy* and *How Would a Patriot Act?*

Greenwald's *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State* (2014) is narrating a dramatic story about being summoned by a mysterious whistleblower who uses cryptic messages and code names to communicate that he/she has important information to share with the world regarding National Security Administration (NSA) spying on U.S. citizens. The first chapter titled "Contact" details how Greenwald is being sent mysterious messages from "Cincinnatus" (Snowden's code name). The story continues in this vein with much conversation regarding how Greenwald and Snowden communicate in coded ways to assure privacy. The narrative follows Greenwald as he travels to a meeting where he is to give talks on government secrecy and civil liberties abuses in the name of the War on Terror. In transit to New York Greenwald receives email from documentary filmmaker Laura Poitras who has also been contacted by Snowden. And so begins the drama of how Greenwald and Poitras together travel to Hong Kong to meet Snowden in a hotel room where Poitras films Snowden making an pronouncement that he is going public with un-deniable proof that Americans are being spied on by government contractors at the bidding of the government in the name of War on Terror. Snowden's announcements, captured on film in the *Citizenfour* and captured in print in Greenwald's *No Place to Hide* book, assures Americans they are being spied upon by government and corporate-citizens; so the legal clock of the statute of limitations to challenge such government abuses has begun ticking.

The story of Edward Snowden as captured in the book and the movie is fraught with suffering as he has a secret to hide and to share, must avoid detection, leave his home and job, take a journey, make contact with Greenwald and Poitras, give them the documents he is leaking. Essentially Snowden is coming out the NSA publically and politically. Then Snowden has to continue his journey to another country (which entails suffering too) before he can establish a new home (in keeping with Plummer's storytelling methodology). Greenwald's book narrates in detail how Greenwald himself also has to suffer the loss of his job with the *Guardian* after publication of the news leak that Verizon has been handing over customers' electronic communications to the NSA (a story that caused news net works across the U.S. to request interviews with Greenwald). Greenwald narrates Snowden's coming out story in dramatic style, as exemplified when he wrote:

Given Snowden's plan to out himself after the first week of stories, we both knew that his freedom was likely to come to an end very shortly. For me, the depressing certainty that he would soon be under attack – hunted if not caged as a criminal – hovered over everything we did. It didn't seem to bother him at all, but it made me determined to vindicate his choice to maximize the value of the

revelations he had risked everything to bring the world. We are off to a good start, and it was just the beginning.

“Everyone thinks this is a onetime story, a stand-alone scoop.” Snowden observed. “Nobody knows this is just the tip of the ice-berg, that there’s so much more to come.” He turned to me. “What’s next and when?”

“PRISM,” I said. “Tomorrow.” (Greenwald, 2014, pp. 72-73)

While Greenwald’s book uses storytelling methodology (with Greenwald and Poitras being coaxers or coaches in the Plummer methodology), it also draws heavily on and introduces, data-driven journalism, particularly in Chapter Three titled, “Collect it All” where there is abundant use of infographics to illustrate the NSA’s working relationships with telecom industries, the government, other security agencies and governments across the world, such as the Five Eyes group, Israel and British GCHQ. Chapter Three sets out to explain what has been leaked in Snowden’s documents by connecting a mesmerizing array of secret, code named projects, such as PROJECT BULLRUN, EGOTISTICAL GIRAFEE, MUSCULAR, OLYMPIA, STEEL KNIGHT, BLARNEY, FAIRVEIW, OAKSTAR, STORMBREW, SILVERZEPHYR, ARTIFICE, WOLFPOINT, BRECKINRIDGE, QUAILCREEK and PRISM to NSA’s attempts to “collect it all.” The infographics used to explain these programs are not captioned nor have source credits and as such are to be taken at face value as leaked documents whose information is important, because a data-journalist who has expertise and access to data-shifting technology (rather than to human sources) can decipher the complex, secret, overload of dumped secret data files.

Adding to the complexity of Chapter Three, “Collecting it all” and the book in general, Greenwald refers to newspaper articles and passages from other books to back-up his analysis in a way that seems a bit negligent towards the very sources he is using. He often quotes excerpts from other authors’ work and even NSA reports, providing some of the reference information, but leaving out in-line citations. Without inline citations fact checking is more difficult, making it harder for readers to draw their own conclusions regarding content analysis (Greenwald 2017, pgs. 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 109, 112, 117). Instead, the book refers the reader to a website, www.glenngreenwald.net to view the book’s endnotes and Index; which seems a bit user-unfriendly, having just informed readers their on line activity is being monitored by the NSA. Greenwald often mentions the work of traditional beat reporters (even lifting the title of his book from another investigator’s book) and sometimes gives the name of the reporter whose work he wants the reader to know about.

The story continues with a detailed accounting of how the *Guardian* publishes the article that outs Snowden to the world as a 29-year-old top security clearance, contracted, technical assistant to the CIA, employed with Booz Allen Hamilton, who has leaked significant documents that prove NSA spying through “BOUNDLESS INFORMANT” the NSA’s data-tracking program that stores billion of telephone calls and emails sent through telecommunication networks. *The Guardian* published the BOUNDLESS INFORMANT article and Greenwald and Snowden tracked how many people posted links to the articles and watched the Snowden interview on You Tube; sealing in meta-data a record of Americans adapting themselves to the concept of being officially made “witting” of their loss of privacy.

And so the book continues with this story line into Chapter Four, “The Harm of Surveillance” wherein Greenwald engages in a narrative debate about how privacy is devalued by those who profit off social media and yet CIO’s of social media companies and government officials go to great expense and effort to assure their own privacy. He writes that:

All oppressive authorities-political, religious, societal, parental-rely on this vital truth, using it as a principal tool to enforce orthodoxies, compel adherence and quash dissent. It is in their interest to convey that nothing their subjects do will escape the knowledge of the authorities. Far more effectively than the police force, the deprivation of privacy will crush any temptation to deviate from rules and norms. (Greenwald, 2014, p. 173)

Greenwald discusses George Orwell’s 1984 and quotes from the book about the “telescreen” (which unlike a cell phone is not purchased willingly by a person who holds it in hand for hours at a time). Greenwald introduces a discussion about Bentham’s Panopticon, after which he engages in a discussion about Michel Foucault’s theory of ubiquitous surveillance being internalized. Greenwald thinks that worsening economic conditions have caused governments to turn to para-military ways of dealing with impoverished populations, including surveillance. Greenwald repeats in many ways that dissent is difficult when the government is watching everything that people do. He backs up what he is saying with historical facts about the McCarthy era and Watergate. Then he writes about how everyone has something to hide and privacy is relational according to Reporter Barton Gellman.

Greenwald continues the historical and philosophical discourse regarding privacy and surveillance, giving a nod to COINTELPRO (which prompted the creation of the FISA court) while jumping back and forth between discussions about Snowden, to discussions about Greenwald and Laura. Interestingly, Laura is named by first name only and Snowden is named by last name only. There is narration about negotiating with the *Guardian* to send some corrupted but leaked files by Fed Ex across the globe. Several pages describe the struggle Greg has uniting with his husband, David, who is detained by U.K. authorities at the Heathrow airport on his way to Berlin. The narrative juts back and forth from the personal struggle Greg and David and the *Guardian* lawyers have with freeing David, to Greg's narrative asides that seem to be hinting to the reader, "See this is what the power of the surveillance state can do to you!" Or perhaps it is affirming the coverage that O'Harrow Jr.'s book gives to people detained in airports because their names are on no fly lists? (O'Harrow Jr., 2005a, pp. 228-234)

In the Epilogue Greenwald explains how Snowden's revelations and the public expose that they and the *Guardian* accomplished, moved the government to denounce the NSA and almost pass a bill put forth by Congressmen Conyers and Amash to defund NSA meta data collection. After that Greenwald discusses the future direction of the surveillance state taking the position that:

The alternative to mass surveillance is not the complete elimination of surveillance. It is instead, targeted surveillance, aimed only at those for whom there is substantial evidence to believe they are engaged in real wrongdoing. Such targeted surveillance is far more likely to stop terrorist plots than the current "collect it all" approach, which drowns intelligence agencies in so much data that analysts cannot sift it effectively. And unlike indiscriminate mass surveillance, it is consistent with American constitutional values and basic precepts of Western justice. (Greenwald, 2017 p. 251)

At the end of the book Greenwald returns to where he began the book, with reference to the Church Committee and the establishment of the FICA court, which he thinks is too weak. "Converting the FISA court into a real judicial system, rather than the one-sided current setup in which only the government gets to state its case, would be a positive reform" writes Greenwald (2014, p. 251) He also suggests that people can stop using the services of the tele-com industries and use more encryption and browsing-anonymity tools. (p. 252) Essentially Greenwald seems to imply that challenges to the surveillance state need to come mostly from individual actions, something akin to Snowden's individual action. Left unmentioned are class-action lawsuits, mass boycotts or consumer protection legislation.

The last page of the narrative demonstrates this lauding of individual action by giving praise to Snowden for showing the world that an ordinary person, raised without wealth or power and without even a high school diploma, working as an employee in a huge corporation can through a single act of conscience change history (Greenwald 2014, pg. 253). Greenwald concludes that promoting human capacity to think and reason and make decisions is the purpose of whistleblowing and activism and "political journalism." (Greenwald 2017, pg. 253) Although the endnotes and Index are excluded from the book (accessible on a website) two pages of acknowledgements praise leakers like Daniel Ellsberg (who leaked the Pentagon Papers which helped end the Vietnam War) and Chelsea Manning, along with the editors of the *Guardian*, the book publisher and Greg's husband David Miranda, who "injected" him with fearlessness, that "makes everything possible." (2017, p. 259) Unacknowledged is fellow journalist and investigator O'Harrow Jr. whose 2005 book *No Place to Hide*, Greenwald borrowed a title from.

In a sense Greenwald's book is a qualitative data analysis of the contemporary history of the surveillance state in and of itself. It is a book that utilizes interviews, news articles, documents, conversations and narrative just like O'Harrow's beat journalism book but Greenwald's book also introduces the reader to data-driven journalism, an interactive kind of book format (footnotes and index is on-line) and couched in a sensationalized, celebrity making, storytelling style that fits Plummer's storytelling methodology.

Conclusion and Analysis

O'Harrow Jr.'s *No Place to Hide* (2005a) book informs the reader of what a surveillance-industrial complex means to ordinary citizens using facts and beat journalism. A 2004 pre-publication book review of Harrow Jr.'s book uses a subtitle that does not appear in the published book. Amy Rennert's *Publisher's Weekly* prints the title of the book as, *No Place to Hide: Behind the Scenes of Our Emerging Surveillance Society*. Perhaps Greenwald's book would have had a different title if the title of O'Harrow Jr.'s book had been published with the subtitle shown above. Rennert writes in her review:

O'Harrow gives the government's push for increased surveillance heavy play, but he effectively presents the story's many sides, as when he juxtaposes the perspectives of a Justice Department

attorney, a civil liberties activist and Senator Patrick Leahy in the first chapter. His evenhanded account underscores the caveats of surveillance, as well-intentioned people can deploy technologies for all the right reasons only to see their apparatuses misused later on. This is a thought-provoking, comprehensive account that strikes the right balance between dismissive and alarmist. (Rennert, 2004).

Another reviewer wrote that O'Harrow Jr.'s writing style is too cliché, but it seems worth noting that the O'Harrow Jr.'s book is very detailed documentation about all kinds of viewpoints about interacting with the difficulties of a new, unpredictable, risky electronically mediated world. The focus is kept on carefully describing the complexities of those human, legal and ethical struggles, so as to better inform the reader how to negotiate such a world in a way that is empowering, and offers a sense of choice and confidence that these developments are still within our grasp to control. This stands in contrast to Greenwald's book, that focuses on shiny, hard NSA screens full of coded infographics (can this information be verified?) and a sensational coming out story that might leave the public wondering if they should accept this news at face value, like they are expected to accept the 9/11 assumed terrorist bombing story at face value. Greenwald self-reports he is providing political reporting (Greenwald, 2014, p. 253) which is different from beat reporting. One might consider the historic ramifications of the political thinking of the Hellenic Greek statesmen (men only!) whose thinking was entirely political, since scientific ways of thinking, which offered a counter balance, developed later. Writing about this history in "Science as a Vocation," Max Weber followed this observation, with the rye comment, "And for these reasons one did engage in science." (Weber, 1919/1958, p. 141)

Whereas O'Harrow Jr.'s book informs the reader with investigative journalism and facts that allows the reader to draw their own conclusions, Greenwald's book is telling the reader a story that seems in keeping with Plummer's storytelling methodology, that in fact, the reader is unable to grasp control of the real situation and so the story is all that can be manipulated by the audience and others, who shape shift it through social media. However, what people really do grasp are material electronic monitoring devices (cell phones, computers, tablets, smart phones, etc.) and regardless of what is communicated in social media, isn't it more important that the telecom bills be paid and the devices used even if they are radioactive, cause brain tumors and enable corruption?

Greenwald's book is a narrative of Edward Snowden's story and informs U.S. citizens of Snowden's coming out revelations, which correspond to Plummer's storytelling methodology. Snowden had a secret and had to out it after a hard struggle and suffering. He accomplished his whistleblowing mission with the couching and help of skilled investigative reporter, Greg Greenwald, documentary filmmaker, Laura Poitras, the editors of the *Guardian* and the electronic social media. After Snowden went public with his secrets he fled Hong Kong and became stranded in Russia. According to the *Citizenfour* (2014) movie Snowden established a new home and lives with his girlfriend in a gated community in Russia. All these elements of the Snowden coming out story correspond to the elements of Plummer's storytelling methodology (Plummer, 1995, pp. 54-55). Meanwhile Greenwald, Poitras and Scahill, with backing from eBay founder Pierre Omidyar, went on to found a new kind of data journalism media platform, *The Intercept* that characterizes the new "data reporting" Sir Tim Berners-Lee says is the future for journalism (Arthur 2010). This new data driven journalism can actually thrive off whistleblowers dumping huge quantities of data into the media, as long as there are well-equipped data journalists who can hunt for stories in the data sets. Meanwhile the NSA is hunting through the data sets looking for terrorists.

Data-journalism is a contested field (Fink & Anderson, 2014) but Greenwald's book shows us what it looks like. Knight (2015) points to errors and shortcomings with data-journalism and the high cost of sifting dumped data and data-driven journalism. Borges-Rey (2016) reports that computational thinking in data journalism, backed up by scientific rigor, is viewed as more accurate and transparent because of the collaborative nature of this kind of news reporting. He concludes his study writing:

. . . data journalists' authority is not affected when members of the public challenge their data or when alternative angles to their stories are suggested by audiences. In fact they embrace this kind of public engagement as a natural part of their news reporting. (Borges-Rey 2016, p.842).

Borges-Ray's conclusions seem to indicate that data journalism is considered more scientific, collaborative and transparent (than beat journalism) and it embraces public storytelling type public engagement, which does not affect the data journalists' authority. Taking this line of thought further, one might consider the possibility of data journalists and their authority being replaced completely with automated systems. For example, a presentation paper for a 2012 Artificial Intelligence conference, titled, "Simulating Data Journalism to Communicate Hydrological Information from Sensor Networks" (Molina, 2012) explains how already existing river flow monitoring systems could be hooked up to a data-journalism automated system to report the news of

certain river flows automatically, via the internet, to viewers. This shows the potential for reporter-less automated data-driven journalism applied to rivers (and then perhaps to people?).

Greenwald's *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State* (2014) has a multi-perspective and multi platform and multi-purpose quality to it that goes beyond reporting facts, to advocating and storytelling that fits into the social media landscape (boosting telecom data and fee collection along the way). Overall the book is a product of what the author does – political, data-driven reporting. It might also be introducing things similar to those being applied to ubiquitous learning technology, namely “. . . intuitive ways of identifying appropriate learning collaborators and right learning contents and services at the right place and at the right time . . . line of research at the Informatics and Information System Research Institute of the National University of Santiago del Estero. . .” (Durán and Álvarez, 2015, pg. 202) In other words, the introduction of a political message to the U.S. public at the right time, that they are learning to adapt to the concept of being witting, from this time forward, of a lack of privacy of their most important information, because leaked secret documents, that have been dumped onto the press and sifted with specialized computer assistance, by specialized journalists, who publish evidence of this activity, at a time which is perhaps too late, but nevertheless starts the legal clock ticking for collective action to address the trespasses and opens the social media door for everyone to participate in shape shifting the story.

What kind of civil recourse is there for citizens to take for what O'Harrow Jr., Snowden and Greenwald are warning us of? Even if there were class action lawsuits leveled against the data collecting companies, they could claim immunity because the government granted it to them (Kerr, 2012) or perhaps because the data was sifted and handled by the third party data journalists? If court action is unviable and civil unrest is instigated through electronic monitoring devices (Tufekci, 2017) and social media and leads only to the police arresting suspected organizer/terrorists who they track down through social media (Dwoskin, 2017) than only telecom companies gain information and profits off any so-called social movement. While the people who rise up against injustice lose even more. Looking backwards, if the subprime mortgage crisis, which caused such a horrific economic downturn, were repeated, would beat journalists like O'Harrow Jr., who report on what the people behind the data banks are doing to the economy, be around to inform us of the facts? Looking forwards, perhaps this all leads to what Jeff Halper writes about in his book, *War Against the People*, (2015) namely global pacification?

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