

"All that is needed for evil to prosper is for people of good will to do nothing"—Edmund Burke



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Whistleblowing while mothering

Protection needs to include our children.

Karen Burgess

WHEN I became a whistleblower, I was completely dewy-eyed about how this process was actually going to work. In hindsight, I was not prepared for the events which took place. I knew raising a complaint would not be easy, but I did not expect it to be so hard nor did I understand the personal impact it would have. The reality is, whistleblowers are seen as traitors, defectors and are considered untrustworthy and greedy individuals out for attention, money, glory and fame. Management's perception is that whistleblowers are willing to do anything and say anything which will bring their desired target and accused pain and humiliation. Women whistleblowers additionally face the criticism of having misplaced sexual interest and this is somehow rationalised as an explanation for their supposed attacks on the accused. It is amazing to me, but people actually accept this as a rational argument in defence of the accused.

For me, weighing up whether to blow the whistle was considered and thoughtful. Although I had supporters, I could not have predicted some of the events which ultimately put my children and myself at risk. In determining whether I was going to go to the media with what I knew, part of the decision making included being unwilling to live with the knowledge I had witnessed shocking abuse of people with disabilities, some of whom were children. I felt compelled to ensure others knew what was happening. I had to believe, given the same set of circumstances, and if the roles were reversed, there would be people who value human life as much as I do and would step in and offer protection when they saw lives at risk. I did not think what I did was extraordinary, but I do feel the retaliation I faced as a result was!

Whistleblowing can have a profound and overwhelmingly negative effect on personal relationships. The mental

health of a whistleblower can be greatly affected, their reputation possibly ruined, and future employment prospects eliminated. Often and as a result of these pressures, many relationships do not survive. So, I wonder about the impact of whistleblowing on my relationships with my children.

When chartered accountant Wendy Addison blew the whistle on corporate fraud in 2000, she never could have imagined the consequences. After exposing the misuse of millions of dollars by her employer, South African company LeisureNet, Ms Addison was fired and received death threats aimed at herself and her son. She believed herself "untouchable" to future employers and ended up homeless for six months. "I wanted to die," Ms Addison says, voice cracking as she remembers. Ms Addison wears a purple suit and matching blazer. With straight blonde hair and an easy smile, it's hard to imagine this well-presented, self-assured woman was living rough on the streets with her 12-year-old son. (Alex Turner-Cohen, "I wanted to die: High price of whistleblowing revealed," News.com.au, 28 June 2019)

Several high-profile and more well-known American whistleblowers, such as Erin Brockovich (PG&E), Sherron Watkins (Enron) and Karen Silkwood (Kerr-McGee), reported on wrongdoing in large commercial enterprises. Silkwood, who died in unusual circumstances, reported threats on her children's lives. She had three small children at the time of her death. Watkins and Brockovich also reported their children's safety and lives were threatened.

In 2015 when I went to the media regarding a shabbily created wooden box that the site team leaders and manager had built, where adults and children with autism were placed as a "desensitising device," my daughters were 4, 6 and 9 years old.

A year later, in August of 2016, I was interviewed on "7:30 Report" by Louise Milligan, reporting on abusive treatment of adults and children with complex disabilities who attended a Melbourne Day Service. At the time I

was still fighting my unlawful termination and struggling with stress, insomnia and anxiety. I had no idea of the effort needed to raise issues of abuse coming from the disability sector and I did not have any concept of the profound personal price through the loss of time, reputation, relationships and income this would ultimately cause.



Karen's children

There is no doubt dealing with these pressures impacted on my ability to mother my children. At the time, I was dealing with my own emotional stress and was not available for them. I worry about the impact this had. Whistleblowing is very polarising especially on intimate relationships. It can be difficult for partners, children and other family members in the whistleblower's life, and difficult for the whistleblower, who has to explain the lengths needed to address the wrongdoing. The combination of victimisation, distress, loss of income, anxiety, joblessness, creates a melting pot and puts incredible pressure on relationships. Many couples without children don't survive these pressures. For those with children, if the parents' relationship fails, it means the children lose the right to their family.

I am fascinated that those on the side of management would try to convince women with children not to report on wrongdoing because of the potential harm to their families. This is a very effective tool to silence women with

children into becoming bystanders to workplace wrongdoing.

During my whistleblowing, I noticed people would use my own children as unwitting pawns in an effort to curb my whistleblowing efforts. Among other comments, I was warned by one lawyer, "... they could take you for everything you have. Do you and your children really want to be homeless and living on the streets? Is that the future you want for your children?" At this point, I was struck by the complete lack of protection and support for the whistleblower. I realised that under other circumstances no one would have ever said anything like that. But now that managers and their allies were willing to protect the wrongdoing so much, they become vindictive and willing to use the argument of homelessness and poverty against me and my children. This brought to light the risks I was taking as a whistleblower. These risks now affected my children.

When the lawyer said this to me, it had the opposite effect. It did not make me retreat. Why? Because this highlighted to me the people who were involved were more interested in protecting their own interests. These people had the power, authority, influence and capital, additionally they were also mandated and had a legal obligation to protect people with disabilities. Instead, these people would rather use my children as political fodder in an effort to silence me. When I realised people could use children as political pawns, I understood how the system of abuse in the disability sector was protected. But what scared me was how many people endorsed and protected the wrongdoing and who were willing to go to such lengths to prevent me from talking about what had happened and who was involved.

In a strong democracy, the whistleblower is the key element within a successful anti-corruption system. Therefore, it is critical the whistleblower is protected. These protections need to extend to include family members and especially the whistleblower's children. People who are implicated in corruption and wrongdoing attack and retaliate against the whistleblower. These attacks can last years. Therefore protections need to follow the whistleblower and if the retaliations last for years then so do the protections. I want

these protections to include whistleblowers' children and to form part of the legislation.

To illustrate the impact whistleblowing has on my daughters and the types of situations we have to face day to day, for this article I asked my children what they thought of my whistleblowing. My 11-year-old in particular asked, "What's a paedophile?" Perplexed, I carefully explained. "They are adults who harm children." I did not feel the need to explain any further. With a confused expression on her face she said, "I don't know why they called you a paedophile, can't they see you don't harm us!" My 11-year-old has her own iPad and apparently can access comments made about me on social media.



My detractors use these vicious comments as a way to ridicule and discredit me. I am regularly having to defend myself professionally but also now, as my children access social media, they are also having to defend me. This brings a lot of hurt because my daughters are forced to confront information of which they have little understanding, all the while feeling they need to defend their mother. While I use these occasions as teachable moments, I can't help feeling let down by the system which did not and does not offer support and protection.



Protecting the innocent

Whistleblowers take a bow

National Whistleblowers Day
30 July 2020

WITH wall-to-wall coverage of Covid-19, it's almost as if the world has ground to a halt, but of course, it hasn't. There's any number of things going on that shouldn't be. Things that we only know about because whistleblowers have been quietly going about their job and leaving centre stage to those who deserve it most.

A year ago the parliamentary investigation into the alleged \$100 million sports grant "slush fund" was already centre stage, with those leaked colour coded spreadsheets providing an enduring backdrop a year later.



Bridget McKenzie

Former Sports Minister Bridget McKenzie continues to shrug it off. Nothing to see here even as the parliamentary process carefully teases out the truth about why there were so many versions of those now infamous colour coded spreadsheets going back and forth between Bridget and her boss, and making it more and more difficult for the Prime Minister Scott Morrison to resist the truth. Yet still he stares down his critics, hoping you'll be gullible enough to buy it. His latest pitch: he was only doing what we voted him in for. That's pork barrelling on an industrial scale!

Well thankfully, Beechworth Lawn Tennis Club doesn't buy it. It is taking on the Australian Sports Commission over a \$500,000 grant in a landmark legal action expected to pave the way for other clubs, that believe they were also duded in the process.

And this week we learnt about the biggest underpayment in our history, that is, since the four big banks and financial services industry made fraud

and wage theft an artform in the years leading up to and since the Hayne Royal Commission in 2018. Celebrity chefs like George Calombaris, Neil Perry, Thomas Pash and Heston Blumenthal tried to gull the system, saying they hadn't noticed the extra millions in profits coming in. That is, the millions they've since had to pay back. Then there are big players like the Caltex owned 7-Eleven, which had to pay back more than \$5.7 million to their workers for the underpayments uncovered by whistleblowers. That's just a handful of them.

But this is the big one. A cache of leaked documents handed over by an iCare whistleblower has revealed insurance agents are gaming the system for financial incentives and an underpayment scandal that could cost the NSW government up to \$80 million. Victoria's WorkSafe is in a similar predicament with both states contemplating the possible collapse of the two workers' compensation schemes. This, like all those who went before it, is organised crime bedded down as the business model. Robbing anyone and everyone, including the taxman.



Chris McCann, iCare whistleblower

It makes you see the longstanding "wage suppression" lament from business and economists in an entirely new light.

But let's back up a little, to last March when the NSW Health authorities and others allowed passengers from the cruise ship Ruby Princess to disembark in Sydney, despite knowing that test results, which would prove whether or not coronavirus was present among sick passengers, would be available within hours. We wouldn't have known there was anything amiss, but for the

emails and datalogs leaked to the press 6 days earlier.

As it turned out, the media were waiting just before dawn on 19 March, when accountability slipped down the gangway hand in hand with the passengers and covid-19.

Those leaked emails forced the NSW government to commission Bret Walker SC to investigate the incompetence, in-fighting and interference between federal and state agencies that saw covid-19 released into the community.

Then in May the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported Macquarie University Hospital CEO Walter Kmet had launched a hunt for the whistleblower who had called attention to orthopaedic surgery performed during the covid-related elective surgery ban, when governments were paying private hospitals to halt non-essential procedures. In the leaked email the CEO

demanded the clinicians front a panel of external investigators, saying he was concerned about the leak, because it might mean having to repay Medicare rebates as a result of state and federal governments providing private hospitals with a joint \$2.6 billion viability guarantee to gain their support for the elective surgery ban, after the sector warned it would otherwise have to stand down staff who would be needed in the event of a surge in coronavirus cases.

In his email to staff, the CEO said the hospital was concerned about whether patient privacy had been compromised by the leak. Nothing else! It's gob-smacking that fraud can and has become so very ordinary.

And this month ABC TV revealed Australian special forces had killed up to 10 unarmed Afghan civilians during a 2012 raid in Kandahar Province, which the unidentified whistleblowers say is believed to be the worst one-day death toll uncovered since the leak of what have become known as the "Afghan Files" in 2017. Former defence lawyer David McBride is being prosecuted for allegedly criminally leaking those files and his contact, journalist Dan Oakes, is waiting to hear whether he too, may face criminal charges for doing his job.

The leaks to media in 2017 were forced by the apparent failure of the Australian Defence Force to deal with it

internally. This in turn forced the hand of then army chief Angus Campbell, who appointed former Justice Paul Brereton to conduct an independent investigation. Brereton has already formally advised the government that he will be recommending criminal charges against some of the now former officers. It's said to have taken so long because some witnesses are only just becoming willing to make disclosures as their confidence in the process grows.

That reluctance is real and can be seen increasingly, across the board.

But before we comfort ourselves by making the obvious comparisons with say, Donald Trump, who was reported by the *New York Times* saying the "Ukraine" whistleblower was "close to a spy" and that "in the old days," spies were dealt with differently. "I want to know who's the person who gave the whistle-blower the information because that's close to a spy." And "You know what we used to do in the old days when we were smart with spies and treason, right? We used to handle it a little differently than we do now." I want you to reflect on the fact that the many, many whistleblowers I refer to above chose to leak confidentially, because it is more than prudent to do so and more likely to succeed if centre stage is reserved for those who deserve it most.

Whistleblowers Australia wants all those whistleblowers to take a bow, because it's been a great production! Thank you.

Cynthia Kardell, President
Whistleblowers Australia

Explaining the inexplicable: Ruby Princess revisited

Cynthia Kardell

In the July issue of *The Whistle* I was in a lather about Ruby as I watched government and agency heads downplay the significance of leaked documents and blame others, including all of us for not being team players in difficult times. I was worried the leak was anonymous, with no overarching insights to shape public conversation and the terms of an eventual investigation.



By Ruby, of course, I mean the cruise ship Ruby Princess, whose passengers were hurried down the gangway on 19 March in Sydney, in circumstances that inquiry led by Bret Walker SC (“Walker”) later described in the report released 14 August as inexplicable and inexcusable. And I was right to be worried. Walker did not entertain the possibility that whatever drove the whistleblower to leak an email and data logs to the media may have explained why the events unfolded as they did. Which is why Walker — like the journalist before him — was operating in an *allegation-free* vacuum. This has to be the missing piece of the puzzle that would explain the inexplicable.



Bret Walker

Walker found only that “in light of all the information the Expert Panel had, the decision to assess the risk as ‘low risk’ — meaning, in effect, ‘do nothing’ — is as inexplicable as it is unjustifiable. It was a serious mistake.” And that the “the delay in obtaining test results for the swabs taken from the Ruby Princess,” which should have been tested immediately, was inexcusable. He went on “at the risk of sounding crude, this is not ‘rocket science’. It is simply an obvious precaution against the ‘very big problem’. ‘No evidence provided to this Commission, or given by witnesses in the public hearings, comes even reasonably close to satisfactorily explaining how a decision to ‘do nothing’ by means of precaution was adequate, or rational.” He did not make any recommendations in relation

to the experts involved, believing it would only amount to urging them “to do your job” because “despite the best efforts of all, some serious mistakes were made.”

This is all well and good as far as it goes, but when mistakes are made inexplicably and inexcusably, it is usually when someone has done a poor job, even a bad job, but unexpectedly so. There is no sense of that here. No sense of them having been asked why their best efforts fell so short of what was required and why it should not be seen, as incompetence making them unfit for office. No sense of *why*, in this instance, all should be forgiven.

In my experience if no one will explain the inexplicable, then something else is going on. Something that could be explained here by the infighting and aggravation revealed by the leaked emails and data logs, which had public health considerations running a very poor third. If that happened, we don’t know why that was so.

What we do know from the facts laid out in Walker’s Report is that a panel of specialists got it very wrong, individually and as a group. Critical information was not passed on. No one questioned the “suspect case” definition being applied, which had been superseded 8 days earlier. Only one expert took issue with the “low risk” rating put forward. A Port Authority official thought their decision was just not credible. Even two of the Carnival Cruise executives could not quite believe that the passengers would be allowed to disembark without covid testing. If that was their best effort, then you would have to ask whether they were up to the job and say so. That did not happen.

However Walker does conclude:

there is also a kind of “sanity check” that can be applied to the circumstances (something that bears no relationship to, and is avowedly not, a “pub test,” whatever that might signify). That sanity check involves this: when the Ruby Princess docked in Sydney on 19 March, it did so during a pandemic. The cause of that pandemic, COVID-19, is a nasty, easily transmissible virus for which we have no immunity. Even putting aside the CDNA definition of a “suspect case,” the Expert Panel were informed that the Ruby Princess had on board 104 (really 120) persons who had been

diagnosed with an ARI, of which 36 (really 48) had an ILI. 48 tests for influenza were conducted, of which 24 were negative. The response of the Expert Panel should not only be seen as assessing the ship as “low risk” for COVID-19. It should be seen for what it really was: a decision to do nothing. Professor Ferson saw all of this as amounting to “probably low” risk. “Probably low” should have itself been seen as a “red flag.” It indicates a degree of uncertainty that should not have resulted in a “do nothing” approach.

That sanity check is reflected in an email to other Port Authority employees on 10 March 2020, when a Neil Mackenzie made the following observations regarding the health assessment of the Ruby Princess on 8 March:

Reading about the US response to the Grand Princes it seems to me that the Ruby Princess incident was similar except that in the end the ... testing was negative. Surely everyone should have been kept on board until testing took place & then, quarantined if a positive result was detected. Instead the health authorities allowed approximately 2500 people who may have been contagious to just walk off the ship onto the streets of Sydney. Is this a serious response?

I’d say no, as does Walker. But I can’t tell you *why* a specialist employed for the job, would have been operating in a covid-free “bubble” as no one was asked to explain why.

And no one, not even the Premier, thinks anyone should be censured, which is extraordinary given the public health risks associated with the failure. But then she wasn’t having any of it from the outset. It was the Australian Border Force’s fault and incidentally, she may still turn out to be right on that. Instead she condemned us for not getting behind (the experts) in what she said were very difficult circumstances. Which is what she did. Got behind them, that is! And nothing changed on reading the Walker report, when she contented herself with saying she was sorry for those who continue to suffer loss or trauma as a result, of the outbreak on board the cruise ship.

So as it stands we have the how, what and when, but not the *why* to explain the inexplicable.

There were always clues, quite apart from there being a whistleblower involved.

I heard one doctor testify they were told to “make the passengers’ travel commitments their priority.” Walker SC aggressively dismissed this in no uncertain terms, but he did not ask, why (the witness) would rather be thought a complete incompetent than explain who had directed him to make it his priority and why. An Australian Border Force (ABF) official gratuitously approved Ruby to dock, as if he was in charge. A Port Authority official testified the ABF Force was initially running the show, which he thought “unprecedented,” but then it wasn’t (running the show), because it pulled back without explaining *why*.



Australian BORDER FORCE

As tantalising as these clues are, the Walker inquiry didn’t even get to explore the second issue, because the federal government refused to allow its officials to give evidence. It even went so far as to threaten a High Court challenge if it persisted, like it did when Walker SC subpoenaed federal officials in the South Australian inquiry into the Murray Darling Basin plan almost two years ago. You might recall this is what the Prime Minister explained was him “cooperating” with the Walker inquiry. More the usual ploy, I say.

Another clue is the “bespoke” arrangement the Prime Minister announced on 15 March, to allow the ABF to take charge in getting the passengers onboard Ruby ashore. This would have indeed been “unprecedented” had it unfolded in this way as should legally, with biosecurity officials from the Department of Agriculture, Water and Environment (DAWE) controlling human biosecurity risks with ABF assistance only as required.

We need to know whether those bespoke arrangements were developed and circulated and if not, whether in the making they were informally enforced anyway: to ensure the passengers’ travel commitments became the driver. And leading on from that, ask why in all

the circumstances a government would want the passengers off the ship and away without testing.

We do know from a Senate parliamentary committee inquiry since the Walker Report was released that the DAWE officers inexplicably did not do their job either. They too, apparently forgot to use the correct forms or “suspect case” criteria. Now why is that? DAWE chief Andrew Metcalfe couldn’t shed any light on it, so he took the question on notice. And on 23 August when DAWE Minister Littleproud was on the ABC TV program *The Insiders* he was pushed into undertaking to ask the biosecurity inspector general to find out *why* his officials didn’t do their job. But don’t be swayed by any of this. Minister Littleproud could have allowed his officials to testify in the Walker inquiry, but he didn’t. And although he said he is sympathetic to those who lost loved ones, suggesting that they look to the Walker Report for answers is a dead giveaway.

So why did state and federal officials use outdated forms and infection criteria almost in unison, if it wasn’t orchestrated at some level? And if so, was that the bespoke arrangement the PM announced on 15 March? One that allowed them to downplay infection rates so that the passengers’ travel commitments could become the priority? Would that explain why some officials may have inexplicably gone along with it? Why some pushed back like the whistleblower, who leaked emails and data logs to the press? And why some like the ABF officials may have played a double game to bring it about?

These questions won’t go away.

And so it was on 17 September on the ABC TV program Q&A, when Labor’s Senator Keneally explained the evidence to the Senate inquiry was that on 18 March when the ship’s doctor was too busy with illness to update her report for health officials, the DAWE officials should have stepped into the breach to do it for her. Instead the DAWE and ABF officials waved the passengers down the gangway. That inquiry is set to continue later this year.

The Walker Report records that 5 days before Ruby docked in Sydney on 14 March “at least 142,539 people had been infected with the disease globally, with at least 5,393 deaths. There were

295 confirmed cases of COVID-19 in Australia, with 22% of those linked to travel from the USA (as compared to 8% linked to travel from China).” The first four cases were diagnosed in the week before Australia Day, but I don’t recall any discussion about any of it in the media and nothing about what was done to trace, treat and isolate those 295 cases. I do recall the Prime Minister downplaying the virus from end January to end March. It was a China thing: a bit like Trump. And the more I come to know, the more I appreciate what might have been at play for those who had secrets to hide when the leaked documents first appeared in the press and why they may have been the catalyst for bespoke arrangements as a cover for political coercion or incompetence or both.

This is a salutary lesson for anyone thinking governments should hold themselves to account *on our call*. There is a possibility that federal intervention may prove helpful, but to date the Walker inquiry appears to have been dead in the water the moment that the whistleblower decided to remain entirely anonymous. Because leaks have their limitations, as this story demonstrates. The quandary remains whether to leak only the once and risk the real issues being ignored or sidestepped as they seem to have been here. Or whether to keep a finger on the political pulse, leaking more material as and when the players leave themselves exposed. Or to step out into the open and risk everything personally, to shape the public narrative and its purpose.

I am glad the whistleblower is safe. But if there is more to know, if the wrongdoer has escaped unscathed yet again then that responsibility lies with all of us, not the whistleblower. We all need to learn to instinctively get behind the whistleblower’s call, not behind those who would silence them.

Cynthia Kardell is president of Whistleblowers Australia.



The most effective whistleblower reward system you've never heard of

Mark Worth

Front Line Whistleblower News
22 August 2020

THE US' many whistleblower reward programs are very well known, even outside legal and anti-corruption circles. It's no secret that American laws enable people who report tax evasion, foreign bribery, and various financial and environmental offenses to receive monetary compensation.

Halfway around the world, another reward system arguably has been just as successful as the US in motivating people to report misconduct, prosecuting criminals and recovering squandered funds. The only difference is that hardly anyone outside of the country knows anything about it.



Since 2008 the Republic of Korea has paid 26.5 billion KRW — \$22 million — to people who reported corruption, public safety violations, unsafe consumer products and environmental harm. Among these 7,103 cases is the person who received \$425,000 for helping South Korean authorities recover \$4.4 million from a crooked hospital, the person who earned \$100,000 for helping authorities recoup \$480,000 from a crooked research organization, and the person who was paid \$17,000 for exposing a crooked defense contractor.

As staggering as these figures are, the big number is this: whistleblowers have been directly responsible for bringing in 314 billion KRW — \$265 million — in benefits to Korean society. That would be enough to cover one-

year scholarships for 85,000 students to attend the University of Seoul.

Reading through the new annual report of Korea's Anti-Corruption and Civil Rights Commission is like looking into a crystal ball of the future of whistleblower rights and rewards.

South Korean citizens have submitted 61,000 reports of alleged corruption since 2002. The impressive results: 1,782 corruption cases have been opened, 4,452 people have been prosecuted, and 2,029 people have been disciplined.

Citizens have sent 33,000 reports since the whistleblower law was passed in 2011. Most of these involved public health problems including unsafe food and unlicensed medical products, public safety problems including faulty construction and inadequate firefighting facilities, the environment, consumer protection and unfair competition. Fully half of these reports were forwarded to investigators, leading to 1,874 prosecutions and 2,053 fines.

Since 2008, 685 people have asked the Commission for employment, physical and other protections. This was granted to 210 people, including an employee who reported a company's fraudulent claim for public subsidies, and an employee who reported the improper euthanizing of abandoned animals.

Commission Chairperson Pak Un Jong wrote in the annual report that the agency is "committed to creating a society free of corruption and foul play," including "expanding the scope of protection for public interest reporters": whistleblowers.

Still, the Commission isn't satisfied with this remarkable track record. It wants to do even more. Last year a key anti-corruption law was amended to allow citizen to use "proxy" lawyers to file reports on their behalf, thus shielding their identity. Better still, the government will pay these legal fees.

The amendments also increased the penalties for certain violations. Improperly revealing a whistleblower's identity is now punishable by up to five years in prison or a \$40,000 fine. Failing to stop retaliation is now punishable by up to one year in prison or a \$8,000 fine.

These programs are in addition to Korea's two highly successful reward programs for tax whistleblowers. These paid 51 billion KRW — about \$44 million — in more than 2,000 cases from 2010-17.

The loneliness of a whistleblower in Vietnam

Nguyen Dong

VnExpress International, 28 July 2020

A MAN who single-handedly exposed corruption against all odds with no support from family or friends was thanked officially with a thankless gesture.

A certificate of merit.

After he fought non-stop for six years against corruption and protecting public interest, Pham Tan Luc, 61, was finally recognized for his brave and selfless act.

It was a day in early June. Authorities of Binh Trung Commune in Quang Ngai Province's Binh Son District called Luc on the phone and asked him to drop by their office whenever he was back home.

Luc was working as a guard at a building in Da Nang City, not far from Quang Ngai, when he received the call. He did not hesitate. That night, he took a bus and traveled 130 kilometers (81 miles) to reach his house in Binh Trung.

The next morning, Luc dressed up and went to the commune's office at 8 a.m. He had been informed that the commune's chairman would hand over a certificate of merit signed by the chairman of Binh Son District.

Luc was taken to a small meeting room, where four commune officials were waiting. After one of them read out loud a decision on rewarding him, Sau was given the certificate along with a bouquet and VND1 million (\$43) in cash.

There was no fanfare, not a single member of the public in attendance.

The "ceremony" lasted all of five minutes.

"I felt so lonely and sorry for myself. I asked one of the officials to take a photo of me as a souvenir of that day."

As the photo was taken, Luc could not smile.

A dangerous road

The 5-minute ceremony was not the first time he had felt isolated and lonely.

There were many such instances throughout his six-year journey of dogged persistence, shedding sweat, tears and blood protecting the quality of the Da Nang-Quang Ngai Expressway, which runs 139 km (86 miles) between Hoa Vang District of Da Nang City and Tu Nghia District of Quang Ngai Province.

Throughout those long years, as he kept reporting wrongdoings by China's Jiangsu Provincial Transportation Engineering Group Co., Ltd, or JTEG, the contractor for a VND1.3-trillion (\$56-million) section of the expressway that runs 10.6 km through Binh Trung Commune, he never had anyone by his side.



Pham Tan Luc stands by the Quang Ngai-Da Nang Expressway, May 2020
Photo by VnExpress/Nguyen Dong

JTEG is quite a famous name in the infrastructure industry. The group's website states that it makes seven billion yuan (\$979 million) each year implementing projects in poor and developing countries, from Central African Republic to Mongolia, Fiji, Cambodia and Bangladesh.

Luc's arduous journey started after JTEG hired him in 2015, when he was just an ordinary resident living next to the construction site, as one of its guards. With his own experience in the construction sector, Luc detected a series of mistakes by the Chinese contractor.

He took photos, notes, filed petitions, and repeatedly sent them to higher authorities and the Vietnam Expressway Corporation (VEC), the expressway's main investor, but got no response. During his process of denouncing JTEG, he was tempted with

bribes, assaulted and received death threats from both unknown sources and workers at the site.

A lone wolf

A poor man who sometimes ran out of money to top up his mobile phone, Luc stood tall as a public citizen when the authorities were conspicuously absent.

He was a lone wolf whose own family did not support him in the fight; even his neighbors turned their backs against him.

In some cases, Luc successfully convinced the contractor into fixing the faults he had pointed out, but for the most part, no one bothered.

He asked relatives working in state agencies and friends in the police to help him with petitions, but no one lifted a finger. He traveled hundreds of kilometers to the office of the expressway management board in Da Nang City, but they always refused to meet him in person.

It was only in 2018 when completed sections of the expressway, including those not built by JTEG, started revealing faults, that people took notice.

In November last year, police detained and probed four VEC officials.

In early May this year, Le Quang Hao, deputy general director of the firm, was arrested.

And it was not until investigations were launched into the wrongdoings in constructing and assessing the expressway's quality that local authorities considered recognizing Luc's key role in exposing corruption.

On the certificate of merit, Luc is praised for "promoting the people's supervision spirit, participating in supervising projects in Binh Trung Commune."



There is no mention of the Da Nang-Quang Ngai Expressway in particular and no mention of the actions Luc had taken to fight corruption. Explaining the omission, the commune officials said that they had put the name of the

project in the file making a recommendation to acknowledge Luc's contribution.

No one believed that Luc's reports on JTEG could make any difference, especially when they saw how seriously he was assaulted, requiring hospitalization for several days.

We have heard about stones being thrown into Luc's house in the middle of the night. Luc and his wife collected the stones and put them into a bag as "evidence." But who would they send the evidence to? What could be done to help him?

It is impossible to quantify the effort that Luc has quietly devoted for the expressway. He was not just a guard on the site; he was a guardian for the nation whose conscience and courage are reflected in statements that he was "not afraid of death" and that he "has to fight to make sure we have a qualified road to leave for our next generations."

To repeat, the importance of Luc's work cannot be understated, even as the Transport Ministry is in the process of choosing a contractor for five North-South Expressway sections.

One of these, the HCMC – Trung Luong section, the only expressway that connects Ho Chi Minh City and the Mekong Delta, will need VND22 billion (\$947,000) for repairs. After it opened to traffic just 10 years ago, the expressway's surface is already flaked and chipped.

The expressways are not the only infrastructure projects that have quality problems, of course.

But in each and every instance, the official system of monitoring and supervision failed.

It took a poverty stricken but honest man like Luc to dare raise his voice and "show responsibility of the residents."

In other instances of people who speak up or act against corruption, we can see that it is indeed a thankless task; worse, the retribution can be nasty.

In 2017, Nguyen Tien Lang, 79, and Nguyen Cong Uan, 80, in the northern province of Bac Ninh were terrorized when people splashed their houses with urine and stool and chopped down their pomelo trees in just one night. This was how they were rewarded for reporting that 3,000 counterfeit war invalids' certificates were being used to get undeserved financial aid from the state.

And in the central province of Quang Tri, a man named Mai Xuan Lan was stabbed to death last August as he tried to tell a man not to run a red light.

We are afraid

It is a sad state of affairs that the fear of retaliation, of getting involved and of other consequences of speaking out and denouncing those engaged in wrongdoing has prompted most of us to avoid the responsibilities of being a public citizen and to resign ourselves to accepting that these things happen. Our fear makes us conclude that we can do nothing about it.

In fact, not many people know that denunciation is a basic right of any citizen guaranteed by Vietnam's constitution, and an extremely important channel to help state agencies access information, detect and handle violations.

To be responsible citizens, we do not need to bust a billion dollar project like Luc. We can start with very small things in our daily life.

When we see a neighbor block the sidewalk with something, we decide to ignore it to avoid spoiling the relationship. If we see someone litter, we simply shake our heads and walk away. Not our responsibility, we tell ourselves.

When he was given the certificate of merit without a single public person present, Luc asked a pertinent question. "How can they encourage people to monitor (projects) if they reward me like this?"

A famous quote goes: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

Luc has shown us what a normal citizen can do, but what does it say about us that he is isolated both by authorities and the community around him?

Luc could not smile for the photograph. We should not be smiling either.

Whistleblower policy is ineffective

Editorial, *Punch*, 5 August 2020

FOR YEARS, there have been some half-hearted efforts to protect citizens who disclose corruption and malfeasance in the public sector. Now, even that feeble attempt is under threat. The anti-corruption

war of the regime of the President, Major General Muhammadu Buhari (retd.), is gradually metamorphosing into an insipid campaign because of several reports of whistleblowers being victimised, intimidated or unpaid even as corruption scandals continue to rock his regime. There should be a strong legal cover to protect citizens willing to put themselves at risk to uncover waste, fraud and abuse in government.

Not too long ago, a whistleblower lamented that he had not been paid his reward two years after exposing a government account named "NNPC Brass LNG INV Fund," housing funds in a bank to the tune of \$223 million in contravention of the Treasury Single Account policy. Out of frustration, he has filed a suit before a High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, which has exposed his identity and put his life at risk. Nigerians will not forget in a hurry how a man who blew the lid on the \$43 million cash in an apartment in Ikoyi, Lagos, struggled for over seven months to get part of his reward after being branded mentally unstable by the government. It took spirited efforts from his lawyer and widespread condemnation from Nigerians before he was eventually paid part of the money. This ought not to be so.

Ironically, the authorities are quick to arrest, expose and arraign whistleblowers whose tips turn out to be false. No doubt, the adoption of whistleblowing is a veritable tool in the fight against corruption here, but there has been no legal guarantee on the implementation of the policy in almost four years. An act of parliament should be a firm warranty for the whistleblower to get the reward and secure protection from harassment, intimidation and job loss.

Sadly, several attempts to create laws for the protection of whistleblowers since 2008 have failed. This is not surprising since the powerful and wealthy are usually on the receiving end of the policy. The "Whistleblower and Witness Protection Bill, 2019" sponsored by a senator, Benjamin Uwajumogu, has failed to pass its first reading at the Senate since the sudden demise of its sponsor in February 2020. There must therefore be collaboration among all stakeholders, including civil society groups, to ensure that the bill does not end up in the dustbin of history like the previous ones.



Benjamin Uwajumogu

According to the Attorney-General of the Federation, whistleblowers will only be paid after all legal hurdles have been crossed. Unfortunately, the snail's pace with which some of these cases progress in court could dampen the morale of whistleblowers and undermine the success of the policy altogether. The suspended acting Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Ibrahim Magu, captured this succinctly when he stated last year, "The whistleblower policy is still working. Maybe most of the information we stumble on is not reliable and then from the information we have, it is the court process that is discouraging people, but we want to beg people to come with information."

Magu stated that the \$9.8m cash owned by a former Group Managing Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation that was discovered in a dingy apartment in a Kaduna suburb in 2017 was still a subject of litigation; hence, the whistleblower could not be paid. Such cases must therefore be given time limits like election cases since they are non-conviction based forfeitures.

Protection must be given to whistleblowers while they wait for the process to conclude. According to reports, some of them are forced to quit their jobs, go underground and are subjected to harassment and intimidation while awaiting their reward. This is most unfortunate, unjust and could lead to the total failure of the policy.

There has also been a disturbing trend whereby whistleblowers that expose secret government accounts operating outside of the TSA are told by the authorities that they were aware of the existence of such funds prior to the exposure and therefore the whistleblowers are not entitled to rewards.

The reports emanating from the public service are equally discouraging.

The draconian Official Secrets Act, which is a vestige of military dictatorship, needs to be repealed. The Act states that any person who obtains, reproduces or retains any classified document, which he is not authorised on behalf of government to obtain, may be guilty of an offence and liable to conviction. Both journalists and public officials have been hounded, detained and sometimes arraigned based on this Act.



The Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre, which is Transparency International's chapter in Nigeria, revealed the reasons Nigeria dropped in ranking to 146 out of 180 countries on the Corruption Perception Index. It stated in January, "Government has a whistleblower policy, yet whistleblowers are attacked and sometimes even sent to jail! Even governmental data recently launched through the Second Bribery Survey shows that Nigerians do not report corruption because they are afraid of repercussions."

States can also lead the way by promulgating laws that encourage whistleblowing and deepen the fight against corruption. It should not be left to the Federal Government or else it would fail to live up to its potential like the Freedom of Information Act.

It is increasingly becoming clear that whistleblowers are the first line of defence against corruption, crime and cover-ups. It is high time the whistleblower policy became a reality and for parliament to actually protect those who witness wrongs and try to make the government better or at least live up to its mandate. In 1998, the United Kingdom granted whistleblowing some legal protection in certain circumstances under the Public Interest Disclosure Act, which was the first of its kind in the European Union. Essentially, fighting corruption or any other form of crime can only be successful when those who are willing to expose such vices are guaranteed of their safety and reward. An anti-corruption campaign in

which the people do not trust that their lives would be protected after blowing the whistle is dead on arrival.

Some federal agencies have dissent channels.

A report says they aren't working.

Joe Davidson

Washington Post, 31 July 2020

TO CREATE a safe space for criticism, a few agencies, starting with the State Department almost 50 years ago, created internal, dedicated complaint procedures. But a new report by an outside watchdog organization indicates they fall short in their mission.

Although some employees use the mechanisms without reprisal, "many federal employees say these channels are a waste of time, and that they fear retaliation ... or have faced reprisal from agency management for using them," says the report by the nonprofit Project On Government Oversight, or POGO. "There appear to be few public success stories where use of dissent channels led to change, or factored into a serious reconsideration of policies."

POGO PROJECT ON GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT

Exposing Corruption. Exploring Solutions.

Consider the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Its Differing Professional Opinion program's "rare degree of transparency is laudable," the report says, "even as it reveals a troubling picture." Citing a 2016 survey, the report says 100 percent of responding NRC employees felt the agency's process "led to negative consequences, such as changes to their professional responsibilities or being excluded from

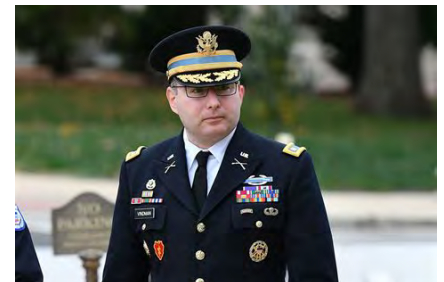
meetings or career development opportunities."

In a statement, the NRC said it "continues to work to resolve differing views on agency regulatory actions with no fear of reprisal by the employees for their perspectives."

Complaint pathways generally include an internal agency website for staff comments that are reviewed by a designated office, which sends them to the appropriate official. Some agencies allow anonymous comments, and some do not.

Whatever the process, whistleblowing is a risky business for federal employees. Retaliation is real for many feds who dare to speak against wrongs.

Just ask retired Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman and former ambassadors Marie Yovanovitch and Gordon D. Sondland, who lost their high-powered positions after telling the truth about President Trump during House hearings that led to his impeachment.



Alexander Vindman

One prominent use of protest platforms occurred in 2017 when 1,000 State Department employees used its Dissent Channel to complain about Trump's initial travel ban against some Muslim-majority countries. Fanning the fear of retribution, then-White House press secretary Sean Spicer said the dissenters should "get with the program or they can go."

The report noted a "heightened risk of retaliation against dissenters under the current administration." It said "despite professing to prize independent and critical thought, bureaucracies often tend to penalize it in practice, especially when it ... might embarrass or anger agency leadership and even the White House."

Data from the Best Places to Work in the Federal Government report, compiled by the Partnership for Public Service from federal employee surveys over 10 years, indicate steadily increas-

ing agreement that employees can disclose violations “without fear of reprisal.”

Yet, the portion never exceeded 67 percent, which means almost 700,000 employees disagree.

Although Trump’s acts of revenge are notably egregious, reprisals against federal whistleblowers are not bound by party or administration. Procedures designed to facilitate “open, creative, and uncensored dialogue,” as the State Department describes its channel, frequently do not, particularly before bad things happen.

The report suggests that future reviews of Trump administration policies related to the coronavirus pandemic may unearth instances of federal employees whose unheeded warnings might have saved lives.

Similarly, the report says a future look back at the “innumerable unjust deaths of Black Americans at the hands of police” could result in a revisiting of “policy changes made early in the Trump administration that significantly eased federal civil rights oversight of local law enforcement” and possibly enabled more police abuses.



Daniel Van Schooten

Yet as POGO authors Daniel Van Schooten and Nick Schwellenbach note, “retrospective oversight is no substitute for mechanisms ... that offer a protected channel for employees to propose policy changes or point out concerns with policies before a disaster occurs.”

That’s what the dissent channels are designed to do. Most agencies don’t provide dedicated channels for dissent. The report authors found only a half-dozen.

The first one was created in 1971 after William Rogers, secretary of state during the Nixon administration, realized he wasn’t getting accurate infor-

mation about the Vietnam War. It’s not used much, only five to 10 times a year.

A State Department statement did not directly address questions about its Dissent Channel, but did say that “this is an important process that the Secretary and State Department senior leadership value and respect. ... We welcome all points of view and opinions as part of this process.”

Usage might be low because the agency’s Dissent Channel seems useless to some employees. Citing a dissenter who criticized responses as “mealy-mouth,” the report said that “it’s common for dissenters to receive a response that does not engage the merits of the dissent.”

Even worse is when the response is retaliation.

Raymond Gallucci of Frederick knows about that. He described his NRC experience two years ago in a 2017 letter to *The Washington Post*. “I have filed three differing professional opinions, and I have found myself not being assigned to projects or excluded from working groups on which I am ‘the’ agency expert, or being denied support for professional conferences that others with smaller roles and fewer presentations are permitted to attend,” Gallucci wrote, adding, “It is a sad state when one is ostracized for speaking up.”

Retaliation against whistleblowers: the insidious effects

Jane Turner

Whistleblower News Network
21 September 2020

A WHISTLEBLOWER is like a tall oak tree. Retaliation against a whistleblower is pouring poison on the roots of that oak tree.



The tree’s ecosystem is shocked and deeply affected by the poison, and it spreads slowly, inexorably, to surrounding plants. A whistleblower has family, relatives, friends, coworkers, and society itself that interacts with them. The poison poured on a whistleblower can do long-term damage not only to the whistleblower but to their network as well.

“She was gone for years,” said one member of a whistleblower’s family. “After she blew the whistle, her whole personality changed. She was no longer the happy-go-lucky adult that we used to know. Communication was limited, and she seemed very depressed.”

A whistleblower’s daughter said she has “gaps in her memory” of the period her father blew the whistle. Her father told her that she had been sent to therapy during the first few years of his whistleblower saga, but she cannot remember any of it. Her father also told her that the therapist said she had bottled up her emotions because she saw her parents’ unhappiness and was afraid to add to their burden.

Another whistleblower stated that his kids had to go without for several years because there was no measurable income coming into the household. Stories of financial ruin are common for whistleblowers. After being retaliated against, the whistleblower’s agency or company will disseminate false narratives about the whistleblower in order to discredit and marginalize them, making finding employment difficult.

One whistleblower lives with her mother, sick and broken from an illness she contracted at an overseas duty station. The whistleblower’s agency allegedly fired her after she blew the whistle on malfeasance and corruption with federal agents stationed at Guantanamo Bay Detention Camp. She says her agency also denied her medical benefits. Now, deathly ill with Rat-bite fever with complications that stem from her time on duty in Cuba, she is tended to by her older mother, who is broken-hearted to see her daughter treated so poorly for doing the right thing. The whistleblower is now dependent on her mother for survival.

Another whistleblower’s daughter expresses that living with a whistleblower is frustrating. “You have to grow up much earlier than you should because you have to deal with grown-

up issues,” she said. “You are expected to deal with things outside your grasp.” She states she felt like she had to “fix things,” and she could not do so. It is “confusing and frustrating,” she said. She also has lapses in memory and feels it is due to “dealing with a parent who is a whistleblower suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSD),” and, at some point, “her brain that is being traumatized” took over and blocked her memories. She feels she did not have a normal childhood, either in school or socially, because adult problems took up most of her childhood. Currently, she advised that she has suffered permanent damage because “being scared of raised voices and having to walk on eggshells” is one residual effect of living with a whistleblower.



Another whistleblower says that after losing his job, he developed PTSD and became withdrawn after engaging in a civil action against his federal agency. The multi-year battle against the federal government eventually cost him his wife and kids. The pressure that is felt by family members is wide-ranging, and some families cannot provide the support that a whistleblower needs or wants.

A wife of another whistleblower said that when she married her husband, he was a different individual. The stress he underwent as a whistleblower changed his personality, and he became consumed by anger at the injustice of a system that covered up criminal activity in law enforcement. He refused therapy, telling her “that he could not be seen as weak.” She can no longer live with him.

Whistleblowing is a noble action, but it comes at a high cost to the whistleblower, family and friends, and the community. It carries a moral burden and often results in disillusionment, as your trusted organization proves itself to be untrustworthy and detrimental to the truth. The whistleblowers believe in an organizational structure that provides a process for speaking out

against corruption, malfeasance, and criminal acts, but instead find betrayal. It is no wonder that whistleblowers are disillusioned, as trust in a process, system, or organization is broken. A whistleblower is subjected to ostracism, humiliation, isolation, retribution, and loss of social and peer support. But it is not just the whistleblower who suffers: it is also society. When the truth is hidden, society suffers.

An informant for a federal intelligence agency advises that they worked with a Special Agent, and both had successfully covered sensitive cases together. One of these cases allegedly involved the gang known as Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and young girls transported between the United States and Mexico. According to the informant, the information concerning MS-13 was relevant, current, and important enough that the federal agency was paying the informant for highly-detailed information on a regular basis. The Special Agent the informant worked with became a whistleblower, reporting on misconduct and corruption in the agency. The Special Agent was removed from the federal office.

When the informant called the federal office to provide important information concerning a crime, they were advised the Special Agent would no longer be working with them. In fact, no one was going to be assigned to the informant. The federal agency did not want to take information from the credible, vetted source, and kept money the informant was owed for prior information concerning abducted children. The informant also discovered that information previously given on a federal case, which resulted in the apprehension of a federal offender, had been falsely attributed to a Special Agent and not the informant. It was all a lie. The federal agency buried the federal whistleblower and buried all informants dealing with the whistleblower. The terminated Special Agent whistleblower backed up the informant concerning all facts regarding lost payment and information the informant provided.

Retaliation against whistleblowers not only hurts the whistleblower but hurts society in many ways, big and small. When the truth is hidden or covered up, it affects not only the

whistleblower but all of us. The rot that occurs after retaliation against a whistleblower spreads in many different directions and many different ways, poisoning civil discourse, changing the direction that truth would have exposed, and breaking the arc bending toward justice.



Jane Turner

Jane Turner is a whistleblower and highly decorated 25-year veteran Special Agent within the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The first woman named the head of an FBI resident agency, Turner led the FBI's highly successful programs to combat crimes against women and child sex crime victims on North Dakota Indian Reservations. She won awards for successfully investigating significant crimes on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Federal prosecutors described her as the leading FBI agent solving child crimes in the entire United States. In retaliation for her efforts, Turner was removed from her position by the FBI. Years later, Turner would win a historic decision for all FBI whistleblowers, when the court held that Ms. Turner set forth sufficient facts to justify a trial by a jury. Turner also successfully challenged her retaliation in federal court and obtained the largest compensatory damage award permitted under the law for federal employees. Since becoming a whistleblower advocate, Turner has served as the Chair of the Whistleblower Leadership Council at the National Whistleblower Center and is a member of its board of directors. Turner's weekly column, Whistleblower of the Week, highlights the stories of whistleblowers who have stood up to massive corruption, fraud, and abuse. Whistleblower of the Week columns will take an in-depth look at

the experiences of those who blew the whistle and the realities of what it means to be a whistleblower.

Here's why some people are willing to challenge bullying, corruption and bad behaviour, even at personal risk

Catherine A. Sanderson

The Conversation, 18 June 2020

UTAH SENATOR Mitt Romney voted in February to convict President Donald Trump on the charge of abuse of power, becoming the first senator ever to vote against his own party's president in an impeachment trial.

Two Theranos employees — Erika Cheung and Tyler Shultz — spoke out about their concerns regarding the company's practices, even though they knew they could face lasting personal and professional repercussions.

Actors Ashley Judd and Rose McGowan came forward to report Harvey Weinstein's sexual harassment and assault, despite his threats to ruin their careers if they did so.



Ashley Judd

All of these people spoke up to call out bad behaviour, even in the face of immense pressure to stay silent. Although the specifics of each of these cases are quite different, what each of these people share is a willingness to take action. Psychologists like me describe those who are willing to defend their principles in the face of potentially negative social consequences such as disapproval, ostracism and career setbacks as “moral rebels.”

Moral rebels speak up in all types of situations — to tell a bully to cut it out, to confront a friend who uses a racist slur, to report a colleague who engages in corporate fraud. What enables some-

one to call out bad behaviour, even if doing so may have costs?

The traits of a moral rebel

First, moral rebels generally feel good about themselves. They tend to have high self-esteem and to feel confident about their own judgment, values and ability. They also believe their own views are superior to those of others, and thus that they have a social responsibility to share those beliefs.

Moral rebels are also less socially inhibited than others. They aren't worried about feeling embarrassed or having an awkward interaction. Perhaps most importantly, they are far less concerned about conforming to the crowd. So, when they have to choose between fitting in and doing the right thing, they will probably choose to do what they see as right.



Kids learn to stand up for what they believe in when they see their role models doing so.

Research in neuroscience reveals that people's ability to stand up to social influence is reflected in anatomical differences in the brain. People who are more concerned about fitting in show more gray matter volume in one particular part of the brain, the lateral orbitofrontal cortex. This area right behind your eyebrows creates memories of events that led to negative outcomes. It helps guide you away from things you want to avoid the next time around — such as being rejected by your group.

People who are more concerned about conforming to their group also show more activity in two other brain circuits; one that responds to social pain — like when you experience rejection — and another that tries to understand others' thoughts and feelings. In other words, those who feel worst when excluded by their group try the hardest to fit in.

What does this suggest about moral rebels? For some people, feeling like

you're different from everyone else feels really bad, even at a neurological level. For other people, it may not matter as much, which makes it easier for them to stand up to social pressure.

These characteristics are totally agnostic as to what the moral rebel is standing up for. You could be the lone anti-abortion voice in your very liberal family or the lone abortion rights advocate in your very conservative family. In either scenario it's about standing up to social pressure to stay silent — and that pressure of course could be applied about anything.

The path of a moral rebel

What does it take to create a moral rebel?

It helps to have seen moral courage in action. Many of the civil rights activists who participated in marches and sit-ins in the southern United States in the 1960s had parents who displayed moral courage and civic engagement, as did many of the Germans who rescued Jews during the Holocaust. Watching people you look up to show moral courage can inspire you to do the same.

A budding moral rebel also needs to feel empathy, imagining the world from someone else's perspective. Spending time with and really getting to know people from different backgrounds helps. White high school students who had more contact with people from different ethnic groups — in their neighbourhood, at school and on sports teams — have higher levels of empathy and see people from different minority groups in more positive ways.

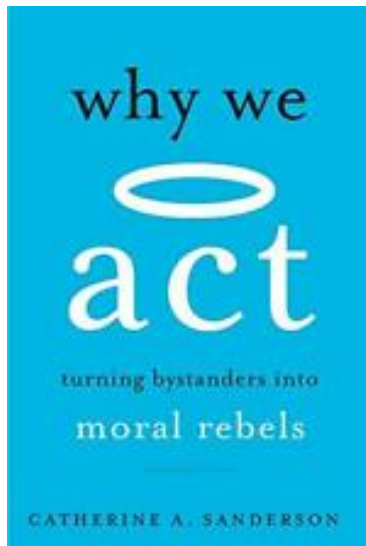
These same students are more likely to report taking some action if a classmate uses an ethnic slur, such as by directly challenging that person, supporting the victim or telling a teacher. People who are more empathetic are also more likely to defend someone who is being bullied.

Finally, moral rebels need particular skills and practice using them. One study found that teenagers who held their own in an argument with their mother, using reasoned arguments instead of whining, pressure or insults, were the most resistant to peer pressure to use drugs or drink alcohol later on. Why? People who have practiced making effective arguments and sticking with them under pressure are better

able to use these same techniques with their peers.

Moral rebels clearly have particular characteristics that enable them to stand up for what's right. But what about the rest of us? Are we doomed to be the silent bystanders who meekly stand by and don't dare call out bad behaviour?

Fortunately, no. It is possible to develop the ability to stand up to social pressure. In other words, anyone can learn to be a moral rebel.



How to be more authentic at work

Despite the pressure to conform, showing your true self is the path to more satisfying work.

Patricia Faison Hewlin
Greater Good Magazine
3 August 2020

WHEN I WORKED in banking, I saw a lot of pressure to conform. To get ahead and gain favor, many employees made their best efforts to reflect the values that were dominant within their organization. Whether a workplace was fiercely competitive or extremely team-orientated, people's success depended on conforming in terms of physical attire and "talking shop" to show they could fit in socially. This generated a great deal of stress for employees whose backgrounds, values, and perspectives did not readily fit the prototype for success in their work environments.

So, about 20 years ago, I started to conduct some research on what drives

conformity and delve into the experience of suppressing authenticity at work.



According to that research, about a third of employees in North America feel pressure to suppress their personal values and pretend to go along with the values of their organization. They worry about being passed over for promotions if they show how important being a parent is to them; they worry about being viewed as radical if they wear clothing that reflects their religion. They worry about speaking out against organizational directives that are inconsistent with their views on social justice and environmental sustainability; they worry about being misunderstood and outcasted if they disclose personal experiences of inequity and workplace microaggression.

In these situations, we often perceive it is safer to put up a facade of conformity, where we silence our divergent perspectives. There's a smile when there needs to be a smile, a frown when there needs to be a frown, and a nod when there needs to be a nod.

Unfortunately, when we put up this facade, it creates a sense of dissonance, and we experience higher symptoms of depression. We end up less engaged and less committed to our organization, with more intentions to leave. That's the irony of it all: Because we're pretending to fit in, we eventually decide we don't want to.

The opposite of creating facades is authenticity, the alignment between our internal sense of self and our outward behavior. Research suggests that when we experience authenticity—when we feel that we're living out our personal values and perspectives—we feel a greater sense of well-being. We have lower levels of depression, we tend to be more satisfied with life, and we are highly engaged in our jobs. With that in mind, I've devoted my recent research to uncovering what authenticity looks

like at work, and how we can cultivate more of it even when it feels risky.



What drives conformity

According to my research, certain situations and environments tend to promote conformity. In organizations where employees are not invited to participate in decision making, we tend to feel more pressured to create facades. We think, "If I can't even say where I think the coffee maker should go, I am definitely not going to talk about what I did over the weekend, because no one's going to relate to that, anyway."

Authenticity requires psychological safety—an environment where people can freely take interpersonal risks by sharing their true concerns, detecting errors, and saying, "Hey, we made a mistake here; let's fix it." If our organization does not allow for that, we are certainly not going to feel comfortable expressing aspects of ourselves that might be in conflict with organizational values. Importantly, authenticity requires a sense of belonging based on our contributions to the organization, not whether we hold "acceptable" points of view or "look the part." If an environment feels threatening, we'll tend to conform in order to achieve a sense of protection and safety.

Certain leadership styles can promote conformity, too. If someone with higher status talks in a way that assumes everyone has the same political values, for example, or the same shared childhood experiences, we may feel pressure to just be silent. Even good leadership can drive conformity: In my research with Tracy Dumas and Meredith Burnett, we found that employees who hold values not fully aligned with organizational values tend to conform more when they view their leader as high in integrity. People highly esteem leaders of integrity, to the point that they may be willing to suppress their points of views as a way

of reciprocating the benefits of good leadership.



Our own experiences can also encourage us to conform, including minority status. In my surveys, I ask people how much they feel that they are a minority, and in which categories, such as age, political orientation, and race. The more areas where we identify as being a minority, the more likely we are to feel pressured to create a facade of conformity. In more collectivist-oriented cultures, which place value on group harmony, the pressure to conform is even greater.

Sometimes, we actually get advice from people we trust that encourages us to conform. I've had some older people in my life say, "Be careful now, keep your head down. Everybody doesn't have to know what's going on in your life." My elders were concerned that I, an African American woman in the business world, not create a stir and become overscrutinized on matters beyond my work performance. This well-intended advice (and often useful advice, depending upon the context), alongside my inherent human desire to self-actualize, continually inspire me to understand what it means to be more authentic. How do we do that?

What authenticity looks like

When we were children, many of us were told to just be ourselves. But no one ever told us *how* to do it—because people don't know how. It takes some self-analysis, and a deeper understanding of what it means to be authentic.

1. Authenticity is relational. We live in a world of relationships. We exude our authenticity, and then it is witnessed by others. Because of that, authenticity needs to be combined with emotional intelligence and respect, listening and understanding. Authentic-

ity requires perspective taking, not only from ourselves but from others. As one student I encountered said very poignantly, "If you are going to be authentic, that requires you to be accepting of the authenticity of others."

That doesn't mean that our authenticity must be shaped so we are universally liked; it's OK that our authenticity might challenge some people. We might even offend a bit. But if our authenticity is intended to hurt or disrespect someone, our motives are questionable.

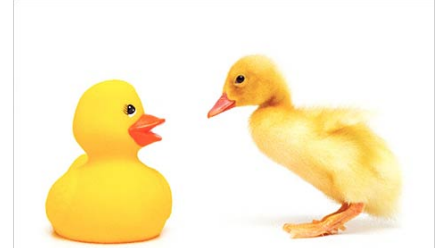
2. Authenticity is a personalized journey. For some of us, our values line up with the values of our environment. When we exude authenticity, it is welcome. But in many cases, the choice to be authentic is a bit risky. Authenticity could be a pathway with no signposts that you have to navigate alone. You may have a few people whose steps you can follow, but you're all still trying to figure it out.

It helps to find others who are practicing authenticity, so that you can learn from them. But authenticity should always be on your own terms. How you choose to be authentic may be very different from how your colleague, your sister, or your friend chooses to do it. You may find that your attire (such as clothing and hairstyle) is critical to reflecting your authenticity, while someone else may want to integrate family life as an extension to work (for example, occasionally bringing their children into their workplace). Others may choose to honor their culture with art or other artifacts set on display in their office space.

3. Authenticity is based on core values. Authenticity is not about whether we should place the coffee maker on the second or third floor. It's about fundamental aspects about ourselves—our identity, our beliefs, and our perspectives about what is right.

While some of our values are malleable and can change over time, others are core to us and are very difficult to shake. If we compromise them, we're not going to feel good. We can have core values related to politics, religion, upbringing, or social or economic status. As noted above, we may also have core values regarding

family life, our culture, and our physical appearance.



How to be more authentic

Now for that part no one ever explained to you: the nuts and bolts of how to be authentic. To start off, the first question to ask about your core values is whether they are functional. Do they compromise relationships? Is there any bias connected to them? If they are dysfunctional, then it is time to reevaluate them and develop new core values, understanding that it may take some work. Core values are the basis of our habits and are therefore difficult to change, but it's necessary if those habits (although authentic) are working against you.

As you evaluate your core values, you can ask these questions: What are my negotiables and non-negotiables? What would make my work environment more engaging for me? What would make me feel more authentic? When I am unable to be myself when it comes to my values, how do I feel?

The principle is that when you compromise your core values, you are compromising your well-being.

As you consider these questions, it helps to think about your threshold. Your threshold of authenticity is the level of authentic engagement that brings about benefits to your well-being—that level of satisfaction of feeling true to yourself. Think about those times when you were fully engaged and you thought, "This is my moment. I feel authentic." Whom were you with? What were you doing? How can you replicate that more?" In order to get there, it might mean having vulnerable conversations, or sharing more of your identity with others. Take the time to think about those places where you can bring more of yourself.

You don't have to do it all at work. Maybe there are other contexts where you can express your political values, for example. Authenticity is not really about exuding everything and baring your soul all the time. It's about identifying what's important to you and

determining how much you can integrate those values into your work life or other areas, so that you can experience life satisfaction, feel engaged, and make a positive contribution to work and society.

The challenge of organizations today is how to manage a workplace that encourages authenticity. As a leader, what do you do when everyone is bringing in diverse perspectives? You have to manage those perspectives in a way that still allows the organization to be efficient and thrive. More than ever, it's going to require courage. Leaders who are not afraid of difficult conversations. Leaders who are willing to do the work to address their biases and counteract longstanding prejudices against certain perspectives in the workplace.

Those leaders who are willing to take this on will benefit from more innovative conversations, organizational learning, and employees feeling confident and engaged because they're bringing their true selves into the workplace.



Patricia Faison Hewlin

It starts with you taking those risks, according to your level of comfort, and taking more steps to reach that threshold where you and those around you experience the full benefits of your authenticity. Remember, authenticity is a journey, and no one can tell you where it should lead you. For some of you, being authentic might be the most courageous thing you have ever done.

The plight of the police whistleblower

Isidoro Rodriguez

The Crime Report, 18 June 2020

EVEN AS municipal and state officials around the country react to the killing of George Floyd with measures aimed at curbing police misconduct, members of the criminal justice community warn that little will change unless officers feel safe enough to expose wrongdoing in their ranks.

Interviews with policing experts and former cops underlined the strength of a systemic police “culture of silence” that protects and supports bad officers, ignores officers in distress, and actively prevents good officers from speaking out as “whistleblowers” and demanding reform.

“There is tremendous pressure in policing, a cultural pressure, to not expose fellow officers to either professional or physical threats,” Seth Stoughton, an associate professor of law at the University of South Carolina School of Law, and a former Tallahassee, Florida, police officer, told *The Crime Report*.



Seth Stoughton

“[Reporting] on other cops is, in some sense, a betrayal of that cultural imperative to support and protect each other.”

Police officers are an extremely insular group. They work closely with one another in what can often be a confrontational, adversarial and legitimately dangerous work environment. In a job where the man or woman next to you could be responsible for saving your life, it can be very difficult, if not impossible, to separate the character of someone who chooses to report misconduct from that of someone who will leave them in the lurch when their life is at risk.

“Whistleblowers aren’t just seen as stabbing other officers in the back, they’re almost inevitably seen as a potential physical threat to every officer,” said Stoughton.

And that perceived threat is often met with retaliation. One of the most well-known examples is Frank Serpico, a former New York Police Department detective whose accusation of widespread corruption in the department during the late 1960s nearly cost him his life—and formed the plot of a gripping Hollywood film released in 1973.



Frank Serpico, 2013

But more than half a century later, police whistleblowers are still at risk.

Modern-day Serpicos risk stalled careers, ostracism from their colleagues, hostility from their superiors—and worse.

After reporting an instance of officer brutality in 2011, former Baltimore police officer Joe Crystal was actively harassed for the next two years by fellow officers who labeled him a rat, threatened his career, refused to help him, and placed a dead rat on the windshield of his car outside of his home.

At times, when Crystal called for backup while pursuing suspects on the job, he would be ignored.

In 2018, a female former Spokane, Washington, police officer who accused a male colleague of sexual assault reported being immediately ostracized by her fellow officers, facing open hostility in the workplace, and being avoided by people who, before her complaint, she had considered friends.

In both cases, the officers eventually left the force. Joe Crystal had to leave the state.

“Because officers rely on each other so much, once an officer has blown the

whistle or complained about a colleague, now that trust that had to exist between them either doesn't exist anymore or has been weakened," said Stoughton.

"It puts a target on their back."

Officers who decide to report misconduct are often penalized by their superiors as well.

In 2019, Chicago police officer Sergeant Isaac Lambert filed a lawsuit against his department for allegedly retaliating against him after he refused to change a police report regarding the shooting of an unarmed, autistic teen. He claimed they immediately transferred him from the department's detective division to a shift in the patrol division.

In 2017, the police department in McFarland, California, settled a lawsuit with two officers who claimed they were demoted and fired respectively after informing the FBI of their department's attempts to quash a warrant and protect the son of a city councilman suspected of being in possession of a stolen firearm.



Stan Mason

"When officers challenge things or say things are unfair or not right, it's looked at as if the officer is challenging the chief's authority," said Stan Mason, host of the radio program "Behind The Blue Curtain", in an interview with TCR.

"The indoctrination is almost like the military."

A 25-year veteran of the Waco, Texas, Police Department, Mason argues that too often good officers enter departments where any misconduct they identify has most likely already become an unwritten policy that superiors and fellow officers would much

rather sweep under the rug than actively address.

"It's easier to get rid of that person, or to bad-mouth that person, than it is to objectively look at their complaint and say whether it has merit or not," said Mason.

In a 2018 study examining how Swedish police officers learn and reproduce informal norms that condition the conversational and working climates of their organization, roughly 100 officers revealed the existence of two dominant narratives in their department: that sanctions will follow if officers voice their opinions, and that one's behavior must be adjusted if the ceiling of opportunity is to remain high.

The study further revealed that this culture is shared on a hierarchical level, with supervisors teaching trainees the culture of retaliation by retelling their own experiences with it and thereby granting it greater legitimacy, and that the discourse of a "low ceiling" of opportunity for those who speak up works performatively, constituting a plausible truth that few dare to question or challenge.

The benefits of staying silent are made clear in unobvious ways, said Mason.

"Whether it's getting the vacation schedule before the next guy, getting to pick days off for the next year, getting to go to day shift, or this promotion or that promotion, of course they're going to keep toeing that line that got them there," he said.

The rewards of "playing ball"

The culture of keeping your head down and your mouth shut to get ahead was one of the first things Shannon Spalding learned when she joined the Chicago Police Department (CPD).

"What I learned very quickly is that if you play ball you go far, and if you don't you won't," said Spalding, who is no longer with the department.



Shannon Spalding

An undercover narcotics officer working the neighborhoods of Chicago's South Side, Spalding spent five years working on a joint FBI/CPD internal affairs investigation that uncovered a massive criminal enterprise within the department.

A lawsuit that she later filed forced then-Mayor Rahm Emanuel to publicly admit that the CPD had protected crooked cops from justice, the first time in city history a powerful politician had ever publicly acknowledged the code of silence and the lives it destroys.

However, when she first made the decision to expose this corruption, Spalding says she was offered a way out that would have supposedly benefited everyone.

"I was promised that if I shut my mouth I would be made: new car, a work-from-home position, an insane amount of money, never having to show up for work. Just ride my time out and go away quietly," Spalding recalled.

This type of ethical erosion creates a lower standard for police behavior in a department where officers become numb to any of the varying degrees of misconduct they witness.

"You have officers inside the departments who see things that they know are inherently wrong, but if you say something you're told to mind your business," said Mason.

"How do you walk around in a department with 500 people who won't speak to you? How do you know they're not going to put something in your locker or your car and say we just ran the dogs around and they alerted on your car?"

The EPIC approach

"You really have to change the way you approach this issue," said Jonathan Aronie, the federal monitor overseeing the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD). "Make sure that officers are never in the position of having to choose between doing the right thing and not because, in some environments, those decisions are hard to make."

Responsible for reviewing, assessing, and reporting publicly on their compliance with a 2013 Consent Decree, Aronie assisted the NOPD in creating Ethical Policing Is Courageous (EPIC), a peer intervention program tool that teaches officers how to more effectively intervene in another

officer's conduct to prevent mistakes, misconduct, and promote health and wellness.



Jonathan Aronie

"On the whole, officers don't want their colleagues to get in trouble and they don't want their colleagues to violate the law, so if you have a better, safer and more effective way to tell your partner, 'sit this one out and I'll take it from here,' most people will use that tool," Aronie said.

Such approaches represent a major departure from the harsh discipline that most officers fear if they step out of line, and could help call early attention to those who are experiencing the kind of stress or behavioral issues that boil over into over-aggressive policing on the street.

"If there are incidents you see that look like misconduct, there is a high likelihood there was a health and wellness issue somewhere in the past," said Aronie.

Aronie, who serves as an instructor at the FBI National Academy's professional development course for U.S. and international law enforcement leaders, said the majority of the officers in his classes regularly acknowledge that their departments are continually underperforming when it comes to monitoring the health and wellness of their officers.

He maintains that EPIC can be a solution to this problem.

"Every time I teach EPIC, I tell the officers real life stories about misconduct and mistakes," said Aronie.

"I give them three stories and I ask which one of these could have been prevented with EPIC? They always answer 'all three of them.'"

Daily exposure to violence and trauma on the beat can also result in hyper-aggressive behavior, according to a 2015 study for the Walden Univer-

sity College of Social and Behavioral Sciences.

Another study, a 2018 report by the federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services found that behavioral dysfunctions associated with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) can, if untreated lead to mental impairment and substance abuse.

"On the whole, police departments do a poor job on officer health and wellness," said Aronie.

"They underserve their officers, which means that they underserve their communities. EPIC is one of the few programs that hits these problems from all angles and, even in a dysfunctional department, it's still going to save careers and lives. It's still better than not having it."

Since its creation, aspects of EPIC have been developed and incorporated into training by departments in North Carolina and Clemson University. Law enforcement agencies in Dallas, Burlington, Vt., and Ithaca, N.Y., have since followed suit.

These are steps in the right direction, but even the most promising policies can sometimes fail.

The risks of intervention

The Minneapolis Police Department, which has been on the firing line since the Floyd death, implemented an intervention policy in 2016, stating that it is an officer's duty to intervene and stop or attempt to stop another sworn employee when force is being inappropriately applied or is no longer required.

The rule did not prevent three Minneapolis officers from standing by during the killing of Floyd by their colleague Derek Chauvin.

Chauvin was their training officer. He had at least 16 other misconduct complaints over two decades.

Officers inclined to intervene cross the line at their risk.

In 2014, when former Buffalo Police Officer Carol Horne intervened to stop a fellow officer from punching and choking an arrested man, the officer punched her in the face. She was later fired and charged with obstruction.

According to Joseph Moseley, a 32-year veteran of the Chicago Police Department, retribution for whistleblowing will continue unless there are reforms to the how internal affairs investigations are conducted.

"If you look at the Internal Affairs divisions in Chicago, and you start looking at the names, in most cases their officers are either second generation or they're married to different people in the force," said Moseley.

"How am I going to go to internal affairs to report misconduct when half the guys in internal affairs have family members on the job?"

Is misconduct contagious?

Another troubling lesson from research: misconduct can be contagious.

According to a study published in the journal *Nature Human Behavior*, for every 10 percent increase in the proportion of a police officer's peers with a history of misconduct (for instance, adding one allegedly misbehaving member to a group of 10), that officer's chances of engaging in misdeeds in the next three months rose by nearly 8 percent.

This is exemplified by cities like Chicago and Minneapolis. Both police departments have displayed a penchant for violence, corruption and general misconduct that has spread like a disease from officer to officer with little to no successful efforts in place for containment or prevention.

To tackle this issue, Moseley insists that departments should take a page out of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) playbook.

"The FBI operates off a thing called 'candor'; it's basically their ethics clause," said Moseley.

"It starts from the ground level, the day you walk in, and it's chargeable."

A review of the FBI's disciplinary system by the Department of Justice states that, under FBI policy, employees must report all allegations of misconduct to appropriate FBI officials, who are, in turn, required to report them to the DOJ Office of the Inspector General.

"If they enacted those same parameters to local law enforcement, a lot of this misconduct would probably wipe itself out," Moseley argued.

Lack of legal protection for whistleblowers

A good first step, according to experts contacted by TCR, is enshrining protection for police whistleblowers in state statutes.

"The lack of legal protection for officers making reports about the conduct of fellow officers is a problem," said Ann Hodges, Professor of Law Emerita at the University of Richmond.



Ann Hodges

In a 2018 study, Hodges found that while most states now have whistleblower protection laws in place for public employees who choose to speak out against their employers, a 2006 Supreme Court decision went in the other direction for law enforcement.

The ruling in *Garcetti v. Ceballos* effectively removed Constitutional protection from retaliation for officers who report unlawful conduct through their chain of command, she said.

"Police officers have a duty to report and take action with respect to unlawful conduct. That's their job, but *Garcetti* says that if you're speaking out as a part of your job duties you don't have First Amendment protection and you can be retaliated against or fired."

The theory behind this decision is that it prevents bad employees from being able to claim retaliation when and if they are terminated from their employment. However, Hodges points out that this reasoning creates a limitation on remedies for employees who are legitimately retaliated against, and that the whistleblower protections or civil service statutes that states may have in place saying, for example, that an employer cannot terminate someone without cause often have limitations of their own.

"With respect to the First Amendment protections and whistleblower laws, those protections are not there for the employees who are speaking pursuant to their job duties," said Hodges.

"And it isn't always termination you need protection from. Maybe you're transferred to the night shift, maybe you're moved to a more dangerous place to do police work. Even if you have protection and have to be fired for

cause they can make your life pretty miserable in other sorts of ways."

After *Garcetti*, potential whistleblowers are left exposed.

In order to make it easier for officers to protect themselves while also exposing misconduct, Hodges recommends a return to the "Pickering balancing test," a once-common court practice that resulted from the 1968 Supreme Court decision in *Pickering v. Board of Education* and served to buttress whistleblowing cases for three decades before being overturned by *Garcetti*.

"Pickering says that if they're speaking out on a matter of public concern, which clearly this would be if someone is reporting serious misconduct by a police officer, then the court will balance the employee's and the public's interests in the speech vs. the employers' interests in taking some sort of action," Hodges said.

John Kostyack, executive director of the National Whistleblower Center (NWC), a U.S. nonprofit providing legal assistance to whistleblowers and advocating for stronger whistleblower protection laws, believes that changes like this are necessary if police departments are to be brought to task for retaliating against the men and women who are just doing their jobs properly.

"When retaliations happen it needs to be more than just getting your job back," said Kostyack.

"There has to be serious compensation that sends a strong message."

However, Kostyack believes that, in general, police departments are not at the forefront of creating effective whistleblower programs, and that in order to effect change, states and their courts must be pushed to create very clearly stated anti-retaliation laws and principles that force departments into compliance and offer sever sanctions for those that violate them.

"State legislatures could fix *Garcetti v. Ceballos* in a heartbeat," said Kostyack.

He sees Idaho as a perfect example. In 2015, Idaho State Police Detective David Eller filed a lawsuit against his department after management retaliated against him for testifying against a fellow officer who faced a vehicular manslaughter charge after a fatal crash in 2011.

With the help of the NWC, Eller was able to eventually win his case, earning

a \$1.29 million settlement for lost wages, legal fees and damages including emotional distress.

"That's an example of how you could build a program that sends a strong enough message that retaliation is taken seriously by the state and will be penalized," said Kostyack.

However, change is slow, and the culture of silence and retribution in policing is commonplace in departments around the country.

Complicating the problem, there are roughly 18,000 state, county and local law enforcement agencies in the United States today. With no national standards, two departments in two neighboring towns can have completely different rules and policies.

Changing one does not mean the others have to follow suit.

As a result, misconduct in police departments continues while small changes and major failures occur seemingly at random and are dealt with in the same fashion. Meanwhile, good police are forced to decide between speaking up and losing everything they hold dear in the process.

Even, at times, their lives.

"There's a legitimate fear of real retribution," said Peter Moskos. "A bullet through your window kind of retribution."

But it's in the interests of officers as well as the communities they serve to end a culture that rewards silence and concealment, said Shannon Spalding.

"Most officers go to work to serve and protect and will die for you," she said. "We have to find a way for these officers to safely speak out about serious civil rights violations and crimes."

"These kinds of crimes need to be reported."



Isidoro Rodriguez is a contributing writer for *The Crime Report*

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Annual general meeting

Whistleblowers Australia's AGM will be held at 9am Sunday 22 November — online via Zoom. If you wish to attend, contact the national secretary, Jeannie Berger, phone 0414 911 160, email jayjellybean@aol.com, or postal address as below. Participants will be notified of the meeting URL and password prior to the meeting. Participants can join via video or phone, and can request use of a pseudonym if desired. More details will be available closer to the meeting time.

Nominations for national committee positions must be delivered in writing to the national secretary (Jeannie Berger, PO Box 458, Sydney Markets NSW 2129) at least 7 days in advance of the AGM, namely by Sunday 15 November. Nominations should be signed by two financial members and be accompanied by the written consent of the candidate.

Proxies A member can appoint another member as proxy by giving notice in writing to the secretary (Jeannie Berger) at least 24 hours before the meeting. No member may hold more than five proxies. Proxy forms are available online at <http://www.whistleblowers.org.au/const/ProxyForm.html>.



Whistleblowers Australia membership

Membership of WBA involves an annual fee of \$25, payable to Whistleblowers Australia. Membership includes an annual subscription to *The Whistle*, and members receive discounts to seminars, invitations to briefings/ discussion groups, plus input into policy and submissions.

To subscribe to *The Whistle* but not join WBA, the annual subscription fee is \$25.

The activities of Whistleblowers Australia depend entirely on voluntary work by members and supporters. We value your ideas, time, expertise and involvement. Whistleblowers Australia is funded almost entirely from membership fees, donations and bequests.

Renewing members can make your payment in one of these ways.

1. Pay Whistleblowers Australia Inc by online deposit to NAB Coolum Beach BSB 084 620 Account Number 69841 4626. Use your surname/membership as the reference.
2. Post a cheque made out to Whistleblowers Australia Inc with your name to the Secretary, WBA, PO Box 458 Sydney Markets, Sydney, NSW 2129
3. Pay by credit card using PayPal to account name wba@whistleblowers.org.au. Use your surname/membership as the reference.

New members: http://www.bmartin.cc/dissent/contacts/au_wba/membership.html