

# Speaking Up for Science

A Guide to Whistleblowing  
for Federal Employees

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**Government Accountability Project**

1612 K Street NW, Suite 1100

Washington, DC 20006

 202.457.0034

 [www.whistleblower.org](http://www.whistleblower.org)

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# Introduction

## Science Under Attack

Science-based policymaking is essential to good governance. While the degree to which the White House has depended on science and technology advice to form policy has varied widely from administration to administration, before today, no administration has broadly cast aside science itself as irrelevant, even inconvenient, to public policymaking.

Federal scientists' concern over what appears to be an ideologically based, anti-science culture of the Trump administration is justified. For example, in the last year:

- More than one full year into the Trump Administration, no one has yet been appointed to serve as the presidential Science Advisor that heads the OSTP;
- All across federal agencies and departments, many members of scientific advisory panels have either been removed or replaced by industry representatives;
- High-level federal scientists are being arbitrarily transferred to non-science or administrative positions for which they are poorly suited;
- Censorship of well-established scientific findings is rampant across the Executive Branch. From selective disappearance of website content, word bans, gag orders prohibiting scientists from presenting their findings, to constraints on interactions with the media, these all create a chilling effect that silences scientists.
- The Trump administration is recommending draconian budget cuts to federal science and technology programs, especially in areas that are ostensibly at odds with certain political positions (such as research on renewable energy, climate change, human reproduction and family planning, and threats to public safety as the result of gun violence).

Some members of the federal workforce are leaving their posts—often quietly after many years of dedicated public service. Others are quitting in protest and choosing a “noisy exit” by naming names and calling out the wrongdoing they’ve witnessed or experienced, voicing their complaints in the press and on social media.

Many who choose to remain become silent observers, witnessing affronts to scientific integrity but engaging in self-censorship to maintain job security. In fact, most employees

who witness wrongdoing, no matter the issue, stay silent, either because they fear reprisal or believe speaking out will not solve the problem.<sup>1</sup>

Others, however, use different strategies to actively fulfill their duty to protect the public trust that comes with public service, particularly important in science-based agencies. Some employees question their superiors in small ways and are able to effect positive change from within. Some keep careful records, documenting concerns about an agency's compromise of its public interest missions.

And then there are the courageous employees who decide to exercise their legal rights, whether as part of job duties or in dissent, to disclose illegality and other serious wrongdoing, abuses of authority or threats to public health, safety or the environment. They may do this by sharing information with managers they believe might respond with integrity, to an agency inspector general, to a member of Congress, or to a journalist or advocacy group.

These are whistleblowers.

Whistleblowers are often the best, and sometimes the only, pathway toward holding government institutions accountable, ensuring regulatory compliance, and protecting the public's interests. More than 60 federal whistleblower protection laws exist in the United States today, along with many state and local laws, which give employees the legal right to report wrongdoing free from reprisal. Even in the most factious periods of Congress, whistleblower protection is a policy issue that has consistently garnered unanimous, bipartisan support.

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<sup>1</sup> Research consistently identifies fear of reprisal and fear of futility as the dominant reasons employees stay silent despite witnessing wrongdoing. See, e.g., E.W. Morrison, "**Employee Voice and Silence**," *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, Vol. 1 (2016): 173-197; David Mayer, et al, "**Encouraging employees to report unethical conduct internally: it takes a village**," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 121 (2013):89-103.

# About GAP and this Guide



**The Government Accountability Project (GAP), the nation’s leading whistleblower protection organization**, has assisted over 8,000 whistleblowers since its founding in 1977. GAP helps whistleblowers hold government and corporate institutions accountable by presenting their verified concerns to public officials, advocacy groups, and journalists, and seeking redress for them when they suffer reprisal. GAP has unique expertise minimizing risk and maximizing the effectiveness of whistleblowing.

Journalists and other advocacy organizations are increasingly encouraging employees to come forward with information, a welcome recognition of the important role whistleblowers play in promoting accountability and protecting democracy. However, unlike an experienced attorney, who will both understand how to protect the whistleblower while assessing safe avenues and strategies for disclosing concerns, a reporter or public interest group may place a premium on securing valuable information and may underestimate risks being incurred by the source and inadvertently cause them harm. Given that most employees are neither activists nor media-savvy, consulting with an experienced attorney about how to raise concerns safely and effectively is always a wise first step.

**GAP attorneys have prepared this guide for federal employees who have observed wrongdoing and wish to take action**, but are unfamiliar with the complex terrain of whistleblowing and wish to get a better sense of available protections and avenues for disclosing misconduct. While this guide is neither comprehensive nor should be construed as offering legal advice, it offers some basic guidance and is a starting point for federal scientists who seek information regarding their legal rights and protections. Information is power, as they say, and government scientists better informed of existing whistleblower protections and their legal rights around disclosing wrongdoing will feel more empowered to answer the call of professional integrity and civic duty by reporting serious abuses of public trust.

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# Whistleblowers in Science Who Made a Difference

- **Joel Clement** is a biologist who served as a top-level Policy Advisor to the Secretary of the Department of Interior. After speaking out about the dangerous climate change impacts on Alaskan Native communities, Clement was reassigned from his senior post to an office that collects oil royalty checks. After blowing the whistle by taking his story to the press and filing a formal complaint with the White House Office of Special Counsel (OSC), Clement eventually decided to leave the federal government and to continue to be a public advocate for accountability and scientific integrity. His case is ongoing.
- **Larry Criscione**, an engineer and risk analyst with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), became increasingly alarmed that the Oconee nuclear power plant in South Carolina was at risk of flooding and undergoing a meltdown similar to the disaster at Fukushima. When his warnings went unheeded, he blew the whistle by reporting to Congress in 2012 that the NRC was failing to act on evidence that Oconee and nearly a quarter of the nation's nuclear plants could not withstand an upstream dam break, a risk that escalates as climate change exacerbates the threat of flooding. Criscione's disclosures have drawn public attention to the urgent need to prevent a flood-related nuclear disaster; he received the 2016 Joe A. Callaway Award for Civic Courage.
- **Dr. David Graham**, a Food and Drug Administration safety researcher, demonstrated that the painkiller medication Vioxx had caused over 40,000 fatal heart attacks. Graham testified before Congress in 2004 after the FDA attempted to suppress his findings. His disclosures forced Merck to recall Vioxx and pull it off the shelves, saving countless lives.
- **Rick Piltz** served as a senior associate in the Coordination Office of the U.S. Global Change Research Program (USGCRP). He witnessed a high-level official in the George W. Bush White House editing scientific reports on climate change so as to exaggerate scientific uncertainty and thwart justification for reducing carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuel combustion. Piltz blew the whistle in 2005 by sharing evidence of the edited reports with the New York Times; the front-page story prompted the resignation of the offending official, a former oil lobbyist.
- **Aldric Saucier** was a physicist with the Army Strategic Defense Command who exposed gross mismanagement and waste associated with President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), an anti-nuclear missile defense project Congress funded only after being misled about the program's feasibility and efficacy. Saucier's disclosures substantially eroded support for the SDI program, which was eventually abandoned, and prevented the launch of its next generation, a trillion dollar program named "Brilliant Pebbles."
- **Dr. Susan Wood** served as Food and Drug Administration Assistant Commissioner for Women's Health for five years. When she concluded in 2005 that the President George W. Bush Administration's politics was tying up the approval of Plan-B, not the safety or efficacy of this "morning-after pill" that was supported by strong data, she resigned in protest and spoke out forcefully that FDA science was being held captive by the anti-abortion movement. The political battle continued to be waged until 2013, when a court mandated that the emergency contraception be made available over-the-counter without age restrictions.

# What is Whistleblowing?

## Whistleblowing: Employee Disclosures of Abuses of Public Trust

Whistleblowers are those who witness wrongdoing in the workplace and, rather than stay silent, decide to speak up to expose serious violations of public trust.

While there is no single law that protects all whistleblowers, the Whistleblower Protection Act (WPA), which applies to most non-intelligence federal employees, defines a whistleblower as **an employee who discloses information, either internally (to managers, organizational hotlines, etc.) or externally (to lawmakers, regulators, the media, watchdog organizations, etc.), that he or she reasonably believes evidences a violation of law, rule or regulation; gross mismanagement; a gross waste of funds; abuse of authority; or a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety.**<sup>2</sup>

This definition captures two key points about whistleblowers. First, whistleblowers typically are current or former employees with direct, credible information about wrongdoing that they became aware of while on the job. Second, the concerns are serious and their disclosure promotes legal compliance or protects the public interest.

## Not Whistleblowing: Disclosures of “Lesser” Misconduct and Policy Disagreements

If the misconduct does not rise to a level of serious concern outlined above, it does not mean that the concern may not be important, valid, or even corrosive to workplace integrity. Likewise, an employee may have a legitimate dispute about a decision of management. However, if an employee’s concern is not about legal violations, gross mismanagement, a gross waste of funds, abuse of authority, a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety, or censorship that would result in these forms of misconduct, **the disclosures would not rise to a level that would meet the standard of “whistleblowing” protected under**

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<sup>2</sup> See Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989, 5 U.S.C. § 2302(b)(8) & (b)(9). In the Whistleblower Protection Enhancement Act of 2012, Congress unanimously expanded whistleblowing to shield disclosures of scientific censorship that would result in one of the aforementioned types of misconduct. Whistleblower Protection Enhancement Act of 2012, Pub. L. No. 112-199, § 110(b) (“WPEA”). The WPA, WPEA and other laws that give federal employees the right to blow the whistle are covered in more detail later in this Guide.

**the WPA or most other whistleblower protection laws.** This does not mean the employee is gagged, however. The First Amendment to the constitution prohibits prior restraint, and in some cases will shield speech outside the whistleblower laws. But the rights are far less clear and difficult to prove.

Similarly, if an employee's disagreement with a policy decision is rooted in a difference of opinion, rather than about the specific consequences of the policy decision that the employee reasonably believes would result in legal violations, gross mismanagement, gross waste of funds, abuse of authority or a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety, **that policy disagreement would not constitute protected whistleblowing.** The flip side is reassuring, however, and a lesson for how to frame scientific dissent. While a scientist only has First Amendment rights for policy dissent, disclosing the illegal, abusive or dangerous consequences of a policy triggers whistleblower protection.<sup>3</sup>

## The Truth About Whistleblowers: Tackling Misperceptions

Cultural biases, combined with natural resistance to those who challenge the behavior of their employers, have generated several common misperceptions about whistleblowers. GAP's experience working with thousands of employees of conscience refutes these beliefs with several important truths:

**MYTH #1: Whistleblowing is a crime.**

**FACT: Disclosing evidence of wrongdoing is not a crime. It is a legally protected right.**

The aggressive prosecution of intelligence community (IC) employees who released classified information to expose government illegality and abuses of authority has fueled a widespread belief that whistleblowing is a crime. It's not.

Whether or not you agree with the actions taken by Edward Snowden, Reality Winner, or Chelsea Manning, national security employees who have released classified information dominate the public narrative about whistleblowing. Like Daniel Ellsberg, these were civil disobedience whistleblowers who, because of ineffective internal avenues for disclosure and limited legal protections available for IC employees and contractors, chose to commit

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<sup>3</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 2302(a)(2)(D).

a crime—revealing classified information—in order to report more significant crimes.

Intelligence community whistleblowers are unique, as they have very few legal protections and immense vulnerabilities. Most whistleblowers are not forced to risk breaking the law by disclosing classified information to expose wrongdoing. ***Only a small percentage of whistleblowers work in the intelligence community.***

As a rule, unless public release is barred by statute, whistleblowers who disclose evidence of illegality, financial fraud, environmental violations, or public health and safety threats are engaging in *legally-protected activity*. Disclosures are protected whether as dissent or part of job duties. In fact, the latter is the most common scenario when the Whistleblower Protection Act is relevant.

Unfortunately, prosecutions of IC whistleblowers combined with aggressive “anti-leak” rhetoric fuels the misperception that whistleblowing is rogue rather than legal activity. This confusion is then exploited and exacerbated by new attempts to suppress employee speech, including illegal gag orders, non-disclosure agreements, bans on using certain words in government documents, and mandatory “anti-leak” and “insider threat” trainings. Aimed to prevent “unauthorized disclosures” even when those disclosures are not classified (indeed, most whistleblowing to external sources is inherently “unauthorized”), these efforts create a dangerous chilling effect on employees who are often unclear about or hesitant to exercise their legal rights to blow the whistle.

The good news is that the ongoing proliferation of gag orders is a legal bluff, as brazen as it is unlawful. In three places the Whistleblower Protection Enhancement Act provides protection against repressive gag orders that would violate WPA free speech rights.<sup>4</sup> The bad news is that, despite the law, sweeping gag orders and criminal prosecutions are more prevalent than in decades. It matters to know the difference between the myth and strong legal rights.

**MYTH #2: Whistleblowers are too quick to run to the press with their grievances.**

**FACT: Almost all whistleblowers raise concerns internally first.**

First, it is important to note that employees who raise serious concerns internally to managers or through other internal channels are considered whistleblowers under nearly all whistleblower protection laws.

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<sup>4</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 2302(a)(2)(a)(xi) (definition of “personnel action” to qualify for whistleblower rights); 5 U.S.C. § 2302(b)(13) (independent prohibited personnel practice); WPEA § 115 (generic ban on uncontrolled gag orders).

The vast majority of whistleblowers—over 95%—try to solve the problem internally first.<sup>5</sup> Most employees have faith that raising legitimate concerns to their supervisors, an ombudsman or through another internal mechanism will resolve the issue. Some employees spend months in frustration while diligently attempting to achieve corrective action in-house. Typically, it is only after attempts to address a problem are met with inadequate action or reprisal does an employee decide to “blow the whistle” externally.

**MYTH #3: Many whistleblowers are in it for the money.**

**FACT: Whistleblowers are motivated by a strong sense of professional, civic, ethical and/or legal duty influenced by the seriousness of the misconduct or degree of harm.**

When employees do speak up, it is most often because they feel they are just doing their job.

The majority of whistleblowers do not typically speak up for self-preservation or enrichment. They speak out because they have witnessed misconduct they feel must be addressed, such as dangerous safety problems at nuclear weapons facilities, drugs that should be recalled because they are causing deaths, and gross waste of taxpayer dollars on defense contractor boondoggles.

Some whistleblower laws, like the False Claims Act and the Dodd-Frank Act, do offer whistleblowers a percentage of the portion of money recovered as an incentive for reporting. While these laws have been very successful in encouraging reports of fraud, not only are the chances of winning an award very small, they are also not the norm: The Whistleblower Protection Act for federal employees and most non-financial whistleblower protection laws do not have award provisions.

In our experience, most employees who feel compelled to speak out about wrongdoing explain that they had to act in order to remain true to themselves. As one explained, “I have to keep looking at myself in the mirror.”

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<sup>5</sup> See Ethics Resource Center, [“Inside the Mind of a Whistleblower: A Supplemental Report of the 2011 National Business Ethics Survey”](#) (2012).

# Federal Employee Whistleblower Rights & Remedies<sup>6</sup>

While various rights and remedies exist for federal employees to encourage them to blow the whistle on serious abuses free from reprisal, the legal landscape is complicated. Each law has different remedies, different procedural steps and different paths for enforcement. Not only can it be difficult to evaluate available legal options depending on each unique set of facts—assessing the content of the disclosure, to whom the disclosure should be (or was) made, and what kind of reprisal was suffered—it can also be difficult to navigate the legal process once a particular path is chosen.

Below we highlight the primary laws that support the rights of federal employees, particularly in the science-based agencies, to report serious misconduct they witness on the job. The list is not comprehensive, and we strongly encourage anyone thinking about blowing the whistle to seek advice from an attorney experienced in representing whistleblowers.

## Whistleblower Protection Act Rights

The Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989, amended by the Whistleblower Protection Enhancement Act of 2012,<sup>7</sup> is the primary law that gives (non-intelligence) federal employees the right to blow the whistle—to report serious wrongdoing—free from reprisal.

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6 Government contractor employees who work for non-intelligence federal agencies also have whistleblower protections. Some of these are found in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013 (NDAA), which allows employees of contractors, subcontractors, and grantees to file a whistleblower retaliation complaint with the Office of Inspector General (OIG) if they experience reprisal for disclosing information to specified bodies (Congress, an IG, the Government Accountability Office, the Department of Justice, a federal employee responsible for contract oversight, or a management official of the contractor) that the employee reasonably believes is evidence of gross mismanagement of a Federal contract or grant, a gross waste of Federal funds, an abuse of authority relating to a Federal contract or grant, a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety, or a violation of law, rule, or regulation related to a Federal contract or grant. See 10 U.S.C. § 2409 (defense and NASA contractors), and 41 U.S.C. § 4712 (all other federal non-intelligence contractors). After 210 days if they are not satisfied they may go to federal court and seek justice through a jury trial, an option not available for federal civil service employees. Other whistleblower protections available for government contractors (and other corporate employees) are found in employee protection provisions embedded in 22 federal statutes, including environmental, consumer and food safety, transportation, financial accountability and other legislation. The Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration's Whistleblower Protection Program conducts initial investigations of complaints. Information about the corporate whistleblower protection laws enforced by OSHA can be found here: [www.whistleblowers.gov](http://www.whistleblowers.gov).

7 See Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989, 5 U.S.C. § 2302(b)(8) & (b)(9); Whistleblower Protection Enhancement Act of 2012, Pub. L. No. 112-199, § 110(b).

## Protected Activity

The WPA gives most federal employees<sup>8</sup> the right to disclose information, both **internally** (to co-workers, managers, organizational hotlines, an agency Inspector General, etc.) and **externally** (to Congress, regulators, the media, watchdog organizations, etc.), that he or she reasonably believes evidences:

- a violation of law, rule or regulation;
- gross mismanagement;
- a gross waste of funds;
- abuse of power;
- a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety; or
- censorship related to research, analysis or technical information that is, or will cause, any of the above forms of misconduct.

In addition, federal employees are protected from retaliation if they:

- file a complaint, grievance or appeal;
- testify or help another person with exercising any of their rights;
- cooperate with or disclose information to the Office of Special Counsel (OSC), an agency Inspector General (IG), or Congress;<sup>9</sup> or
- refuse to obey an order that would require the individual to violate a law, rule or regulation.<sup>10</sup>

### A disclosure is protected:

- if the employee is mistaken about the concerns but has a “reasonable belief” that the disclosure evidences serious wrongdoing;
- if the disclosure is made to a supervisor or person who participated in the wrongdoing;

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8 Law enforcement, military and intelligence agencies are exempted from the WPA, as are U.S. Postal Service employees, Government Accountability Office (GAO) employees, and federal contractors.

9 Under the Lloyd Lafollette Act, federal employees have had since 1912 an unqualified right to safely communicate with Congress. 5 USC §7211. This right has also been embedded into the WPA.

10 Employees are safest if they first carry out what they believe to be an illegal order and then report the problem internally or externally, unless the order would violate a statute, rule or regulation; physically endanger the employee; or cause irreparable harm.

- if it reveals information that was previously disclosed;
- no matter the employee's motives for making the disclosure;
- if it is made when the employee is off duty;
- if it concerns events that occurred in the past;
- if it is made in the normal course of an employee's duties.<sup>11</sup>

**A disclosure is NOT PROTECTED under the WPA:**

- if it **reflects only a disagreement with a policy or a decision** that is not otherwise unlawful or would not constitute or result in gross mismanagement, a gross waste of funds, an abuse of authority, a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety, or scientific censorship that would result in such misconduct;
- if, for public disclosures, an **executive order mandates that the information be kept secret in the interest of national defense or the conduct of foreign affairs**;
- if, for public disclosures, **disclosing the information is prohibited by law** (e.g., if public release of the information is barred by a statute, such as the Trade Secrets Act or the Privacy Act).<sup>12</sup> Note: an agency rule or regulation does not qualify as a bar to disclosure.<sup>13</sup>

**Disclosures of classified or other information barred from public release may be made through alternative, lawful channels, including the Office of Special Counsel or an agency Inspector General. But disclosing such information outside of those channels, such as to the press or a non-profit organization, could result in prosecution.**

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<sup>11</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 2302(f).

<sup>12</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 2302(b)(8).

<sup>13</sup> See *Department of Homeland Security v. MacLean*, 574 U.S. \_\_\_\_ (2015) ([https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/13-894\\_e2qg.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/13-894_e2qg.pdf)).

## Whistleblower Rights Supersede Gag Orders

Agencies cannot block federal employees from speaking without including required language that informs employees that their statutory right to blow the whistle supersedes the terms and conditions of the nondisclosure agreement or policy.<sup>14</sup> Congress is prohibited from funding agencies that “implement or enforce” any “non-disclosure policy, form, or agreement if such policy, form, or agreement does not contain” provisions reaffirming that employee whistleblower rights are controlling, despite any non-disclosure restrictions.<sup>15</sup>

The OSC has interpreted “non-disclosure policy, form, or agreement” to include management communications broadly.<sup>16</sup> Examples of non-disclosure edicts that would violate the anti-gag provisions of the WPEA if issued without explicitly noting the primacy of whistleblower protection rights include:

- posters that encourage employees to “Report Possible Insider Threat Indicators;”
- emailed instructions barring employees from using specific words such as “evidence-based,” “climate change” or “fetus” in communications to Congress;
- policies that bar media correspondence;
- directives that mandate pre-screening communications through legal departments or public information officers.

When an agency unlawfully gags its employees, it threatens Congress’s ability to engage in oversight, hampers citizens’ right to know about threats to public health, safety and the environment, and undermines policy-making that depends on science and evidence-based data. These efforts also create a chilling effect on the many federal employees committed to exercising scientific and professional integrity in fulfilling their agencies’ mandates. It is important to know that policies that do not contain explicit language affirming that whistleblower rights trump any communication restrictions are unenforceable and unlawful.

## “Duty Speech” Is Protected

Most whistleblowers do not think of themselves as people who act courageously to report wrongdoing; most view themselves as simply doing their jobs. Many employees are

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14 5 U.S.C. §2302(b)(13).

15 5 USC §2302(b)(13); §§713 and 744, Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2016; Division E, Financial Services and General Government Appropriations Act, 2016; Title VII, General Provisions, Government-Wide.

16 See January 25, 2017, “OSC’s Enforcement of the Anti-Gag Order Provision in Whistleblower Law,” (<https://osc.gov/News/pr17-03.pdf>)

expressly charged with investigating and disclosing wrongdoing as part of their job duties, such as an employee responsible for performing research and analysis that could obstruct a politically-motivated project or policy, or one charged with inspecting industry operations to ensure compliance with environmental or safety laws, or one tasked with preparing accurate scientific reports intended for Congress.

The Whistleblower Protection Enhancement Act corrected case law that previously exempted from protection disclosures of misconduct made in the course of performing one's duties.<sup>17</sup> Now "duty speech"—concerns about illegality, gross mismanagement, gross waste of funds, abuse of authority, a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety, or scientific censorship that would result in such abuses raised in the course of doing one's job—is considered protected whistleblowing. However, there is a slight, but significant catch. For duty speech, a WPA violation requires retaliation, which includes proving animus. For all other disclosures, a mere causal link between the protected disclosure and the personnel action means rights have been violated. For duty speech, the "nothing personal, just business" explanation could cut off a whistleblower's rights.

## Actions Caused by Whistleblowing are Prohibited

While some managers respond appropriately when employees raise concerns, attacking the messenger rather than addressing the problem that has been disclosed is a frequent enough response by employers to have warranted legislation prohibiting reprisal for whistleblowing. The Whistleblower Protection Act prohibits employers from **taking, failing to take, or threatening to take, personnel actions** against an employee because of whistleblowing activity described above.<sup>18</sup> Prohibited personnel actions include:

- a promotion or failure to promote;
- disciplinary or corrective action;<sup>19</sup>
- a detail, transfer or reassignment;
- a poor performance evaluation;
- a change in pay, benefits or awards;
- a decision regarding training or education if it would lead to a personnel action such as an appointment, promotion or personnel action;

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17 5 USC§2302(f)(2).

18 5 USC §2302(b)(8).

19 Disciplinary actions recognized under the WPA include a demotion; a reduction in pay or grade; a furlough; removal from federal employment; a suspension; being put on administrative leave; a warning letter; a reduction in force; a reprimand

- a change in duties, responsibilities, or working conditions;
- ordering a psychiatric exam;
- gag orders or non-disclosure agreements that do not include an exception for whistleblower rights and protections under the WPA;<sup>20</sup>
- threatening an employee with any of the above.

In addition to retaliation being prohibited, recently enacted legislation, the [Dr. Chris Kirkpatrick Whistleblower Protection Act of 2017](#),<sup>21</sup> mandates that supervisors found to have committed a prohibited personnel action be disciplined, with a minimum suspension for the first offense and with proposed removal for a second offense.

## Remedies for Retaliation

Anyone who has experienced any of the actions listed above as a result of a **disclosure, cooperation with an investigation** with an Office of Inspector General or the Office of Special Counsel, or **refusal to disobey a law**, can file a reprisal claim.

To prove a reprisal claim for whistleblowing, an employee must establish by a preponderance of the evidence that:

- he or she **engaged in protected activity** (i.e., disclosure of information he or she reasonably believed evidenced a violation of law, rule or regulation; gross mismanagement; gross waste of funds; abuse of authority; a substantial and specific threat to public health or safety; or scientific censorship that would result in any of these forms of misconduct);
- **a personnel action was taken, threatened or not taken** after the protected activity;
- the **employer had knowledge of the protected activity**;
- that **the protected activity was a relevant, or "contributing factor" that prompted the retaliatory personnel action**.<sup>22</sup>

If the employee can establish these elements of a reprisal claim, the burden shifts to the employer to prove, by clear and convincing evidence (a very high standard of proof), that it

<sup>20</sup> 5 USC §2302(a)(2)(A).

<sup>21</sup> Public Law No: 115-73, S. 585, Section 104 (2017).

<sup>22</sup> 5 USC §1221(e).

would have taken the personnel action against the employee even if the employee had not blown the whistle.<sup>23</sup>

## Who to Contact About Retaliation

Below are the primary entities available to federal employees for addressing retaliation. We strongly encourage consulting with an attorney experienced in representing government whistleblowers for strategic advice and counsel.

### ► Office of the Special Counsel (OSC)

Employees who have experienced **retaliation on a smaller scale**, such as a change in responsibilities or a suspension of fewer than 14 days, must go to the OSC before utilizing the resources of the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB). Employees also may initiate a reprisal claim with the OSC for severe retaliation such as termination. The OSC will conduct an independent investigation, using best efforts to maintain confidentiality if requested by the employee. If the OSC finds that the agency engaged in reprisal, it can seek a stay of the adverse action, or it may seek to use mediation to resolve the claim (which has a very high success rate for resolution). If the OSC decides to take no action, finds against the employee, or delays issuing a finding, the employee can request a hearing with the MSPB by filing an individual right of action (an "IRA"), either 60 days after receiving a determination by the OSC, or 120 days after filing a complaint if no action has been taken. A case that has moved before the MSPB allows for discovery (but within very strict deadlines), a hearing before an administrative judge, and a written decision that can be appealed to the full Board and then to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

### ► Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB)

Employees who experience **retaliation on a larger scale**, such as suspension for over 14 days or termination of employment – or tenured federal employees with additional civil service protections – may go directly to the MSPB for expedited discovery and a hearing before an administrative judge. The case will go before an administrative judge, and if appealed, to the full Board and then before a Federal Circuit Court of Appeals judge. Unfortunately, MSPB Administrative Judges typically **rule against whistleblowers**, deciding against them in the majority of cases. Administrative appeals to the full Board also drag out for years, with the 2018 backlog approaching 1,000 cases and the Board without a quorum to issue decisions. Until the civil service appeals system again becomes functional, whistleblowers should consider a little-used option to bypass the full Board and appeal adverse Administrative Judge rulings directly to the federal court of appeals.

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<sup>23</sup> *Id.*

## ► Union Representative

For employees who belong to a federal employee union, all collective bargaining agreements offer a distinct process for resolving whistleblower retaliation claims through independent, binding arbitration. While more expedited, favorable and less costly, exercising the union right means the whistleblower surrendering control of his or her rights. The case becomes the union's, which can withdraw the case despite the employee's objections.

The latter vulnerability is particularly significant, because an employee must **choose only one venue** (i.e., the OSC, MSPB, or the union grievance procedure) to pursue a claim. The optimal path to pursue depends on the facts of each case. The deadlines and rules for filing are different for each path, so it is always wise to seek advice from an experienced whistleblower attorney as soon as you suffer an adverse personnel action for engaging in protected activity so they can help assess your case and advise you on the best path for seeking a remedy for reprisal.

## Other Speech Rights

While this Guide focuses predominantly on the rights of federal employees to report wrongdoing they witness in the workplace that rises to a level of protected whistleblowing under the Whistleblower Protection Act, federal employees have other speech protections as well. The list below is not comprehensive but seeks to offer some additional insight into the patchwork of speech protections that may apply to federal employees in the science-based agencies and departments. .

## The First Amendment

The First Amendment protects federal employees' ability to speak in their private capacities, on their own time, about matters of public concern.<sup>24</sup> For speech to be protected under the First Amendment, courts must determine that the public benefit of the speech outweighs the government's interest in efficient operations free from disruption.<sup>25</sup> Generally speaking, public employees may not be disciplined for engaging in public discourse about political, social or community concerns as private citizens, such as writing a letter to the editor critical of policy choices or speaking at a public meeting about climate science as a concerned citizen.

The First Amendment has also been effective as a protection against prior restraint, or

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<sup>24</sup> *Pickering v. Board of Education*, 391 U.S. 563 (1968).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

efforts by the government to require employees to seek approval before communicating in their private capacities.

The First Amendment affords very limited protection for employee speech when it touches on matters relating to the internal operations of their workplace, such as office morale or administrative policies, since such speech would be of limited public concern and highly disruptive to government operations.

The balancing test applied by a court—whether the employee's interest in free speech outweighs the government employer's interest in orderly operations—can be complicated and difficult for an employee to prevail. For example, if there are agency rules that mandate that all press interviews must be pre-approved by the communications office,<sup>26</sup> an employee who speaks to the press in violation of this policy would likely be deemed disruptive. Similarly, even off-duty speech as a private citizen may fall outside of constitutional protection if the speech discloses classified information, compromises an ongoing investigation, or violates confidentiality laws would disrupt the efficient operation of the agency.

Finally, duty speech—speech undertaken as part of one's job responsibilities—is not afforded constitutional protection.<sup>27</sup> This protection exists under the WPA and only if it meets the standard of a protected disclosure.

This is why the statutory rights created by the WPA that enumerate specifically the types of speech that benefit the public—disclosures that evidence potential or actual illegality, gross waste, gross mismanagement, abuse of authority, or substantial and specific danger to public health or safety—avoid the uncertainty inherent to constitutional protections. The legal burdens of proof and available remedies provided by the WPA are far more favorable to federal employees than with constitutional claims.

## Environmental Statutes

Seven of the major federal environmental statutes include whistleblower protection provisions that protect employees from reprisal for making disclosures that further the laws' enforcement or administration; five of these give rights to both private sector workers and federal employees.<sup>28</sup> These laws prohibit most forms of reprisal taken against an employee

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26 Assuming such a policy explicitly states as it must that it does not trump an employee's whistleblower rights. See *Whistleblower Rights Supersede Gag Orders*, p. page 12, above.

27 *Garcetti v. Ceballos*, 547 U.S. 410 (2006).

28 The five of the "Big Seven" environmental statutes with whistleblower protection provisions that give rights to federal employees in addition to private sector workers are the Clean Air Act (CAA), 42 U.S.C. § 7622, the Energy Reorganization Act (ERA) (also encompassing the Atomic Energy Act), 42 U.S.C. § 5851, the Resource Conservation and

for disclosures that further the specific statute, recognizing that employees are the most effective mechanism to ensure compliance with the goals and provisions of the Acts.

The laws are enforced by the Department of Labor (DOL). The whistleblower protection provisions are not the same, however, for each statute. Some have 30-day statutes of limitations to file a retaliation claim (such as the Clean Air Act), while others have 180-day statutes of limitations (e.g., the Energy Reorganization Act). After an employee files a complaint with the DOL's Occupational Health and Safety Administration's (OSHA) Whistleblower Protection Program, OSHA must complete an investigation of the violation within 30 days from the time the complaint is filed. Unfortunately, a tremendous backlog of cases (as well as a relatively poor track record of finding in favor of whistleblowers) keeps employees in a limbo stage often for months or even years waiting for a preliminary finding, ordering interim relief if the employee prevails, from the DOL investigator.<sup>29</sup>

Either side may appeal the finding to a DOL administrative law judge, with full discovery rights and a hearing. The judge's recommended decision can be appealed to an Administrative Review Board, which has the Secretary of Labor's delegated authority to issue final orders or decisions. Even then, an aggrieved party may appeal the Secretary's decision to the federal circuit court with jurisdiction, with final appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

## The False Claims Act

The False Claims Act (FCA) is a powerful tool against government contract fraud, allowing individuals, including federal employees, with original knowledge of fraud against the government to file a "qui tam" suit with the Department of Justice to recover funds on behalf of the U.S. Treasury.<sup>30</sup> It makes persons civilly liable for three times the amount of damages the government incurs as a result of the fraud, plus penalties and costs, and an original source, or "relator," can be entitled to a bounty award of 15-30% of the total fraud recovered in a successful case.

To state a claim under the FCA, a plaintiff must allege (1) a false statement or fraudulent course of conduct; (2) made or carried out knowingly, (3) that was material, and (4) that is

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Recovery Act (RCRA) (also encompassing the Solid Waste Disposal Act (SWDA)), 42 U.S.C. § 6901, the Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA), 42 U.S.C. § 300j-9(i), and the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) (a.k.a. Superfund), 42 U.S.C. § 9610. The other two major environmental statutes that do not provide a right of action to federal employees for whistleblower retaliation are the Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA), 15 U.S.C. § 2622 and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (FWPCA) (a.k.a. Clean Water Act), 33 U.S.C. § 1367.

<sup>29</sup> The Energy Reorganization Act allows an employee to file a claim in federal district court if a final decision has not been issued within one year of filing a complaint with the DOL. 42 U.S.C. § 5851(b)(4).

<sup>30</sup> 31 U.S.C. § 3729.

presented to the federal government.<sup>31</sup> Whistleblowers' disclosures of corporate fraud on the government—from sub-standard materials used by federal contractors in the nation's nuclear weapons complex, to fraudulently obtained oil and gas permits, to failures to report hazardous discharges to the environment required by law—have recovered millions of dollars for taxpayers through the False Claims Act.

Finally, although the FCA has strong anti-retaliation provisions, these do not apply to federal employees because of sovereign immunity. However, FCA claims are filed under seal, meaning they are kept confidential while the Department of Justice investigates and decides whether to file an enforcement action. Thus, while there are no anti-retaliation protections for federal employees who report fraud against the government, their identity is inherently protected during the investigative process, which can take months or even years.

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31 E.g., *United States ex rel. Steury v. Cardinal Health, Inc.*, 625 F.3d 262, 267 (5th Cir. 2010).

# Survival Tips: How to Report Wrongdoing Safely & Effectively

No matter how right you may be about an observed wrongdoing, and even though retaliation for blowing the whistle is prohibited, employees who speak out often suffer reprisals rather than thanks. Weighing the most effective legal options can be complicated and confusing, making it all the more important to secure case-specific legal advice.

## Pre-Disclosure Precautions & Practices

Before making any type of disclosure, it is wise to take the following precautions:

- 1. Consult with a lawyer**, specifically one who has **experience helping whistleblowers**. Most lawyers aren't well-versed in whistleblower law, which is extremely complicated. No single law protects all whistleblowers; instead, a patchwork of more than 60 federal statutes and numerous state and local laws provide redress. Determining the legal remedies and strategies which are best in each situation is complicated. The attorney-client privilege will also ensure that your communications will remain protected and confidential.
- 2. Create a paper trail**. Keep a log that is a timeline of all relevant developments: what happened, when and to whom you complained, and any resulting retaliation. Record all dates and note the details of any supporting emails, memos or other documentary evidence.
- 3. Print or save any relevant documents** you possess, such as meeting notes, memos or emails. One can also record meetings secretly in one-party consent states (including 39 states and Washington, DC).
- 4. Keep evidence in a safe place**. Authorities usually are not limited in access to the whistleblower's workplace, but home storage of documents can also be risky, subjecting a whistleblower to pretextual but seemingly valid discipline and harassment such as expanded retaliatory investigations for theft of government or corporate documents. Since agencies have subpoenaed, searched and ransacked homes, the best choice is to secure the evidence with the whistleblower's attorney, where it is shielded by attorney-client privilege.
- 5. Be careful to avoid being accused of stealing** any documents. In instances where it is not practical to take evidence home, tactics such as mislabeling and misfiling records in your office, to be found later, can prevent their destruction. The strategy means keeping careful notes on a document's substance, but "burying" copies of the actual record in an archive file or innocuous electronic folder name. Be prepared to serve as navigator for law enforcement or other outside investigators to trace where to find copies of the documents that an agency acting in bad faith will claim do not exist.
- 6. Before doing anything, make a plan**. For example, decide whether and when to blow the whistle internally or externally. When does it make sense to give up on internal channels? What documents, if any, should be shared with whom? Try to predict how those in the agency or department will react and respond to a disclosure.
- 7. Converse with family members and loved ones** before blowing the whistle. Consider the impact on family members and friends should retaliation occur. This is a decision you must make together, or you may find yourself alone. Develop alternate employment options before drawing attention to yourself. The old adage applies here: plan for the worst and hope for the best.

8. **Avoid creating any other reason to be fired for cause.** Maintain good job performance and follow workplace rules, and if suspected be careful not to take the bait in pretextual confrontations.
9. **Test the waters with work colleagues and attempt to garner their support,** if possible. Determine which colleagues would corroborate your observations or possibly even participate actively in blowing the whistle, although be discreet and start with trusted contacts.
10. **Seek outside help,** including journalists, politicians and public interest organizations, judiciously. Solidarity is essential to both making a difference from blowing the whistle on misconduct and surviving the experience.

## Avenues for Reporting

Below are some considerations about possible avenues for reporting information about serious abuses.

### Reporting Internally

#### ► Management and Agency Officials

This is usually the first place whistleblowers turn, attempting to solve the problem in house for the good of their organization. While legally protected, in some cases, whistleblowers face retaliation after they go to their supervisors, rather than seeing the problem corrected. If you take this route, document any actions and management responses to your disclosures.

#### ► The Office of the Special Counsel (OSC)

In addition to reviewing claims of reprisal, the OSC also accepts disclosures unattached to a complaint of retaliation. The OSC will review submitted disclosures to determine if it is a “substantial likelihood” that a validly disclosable violation occurred. If so, they will require the agency head to conduct an investigation into the matter and issue a report regarding the issue investigated and what steps were taken, or will be taken, to address the problem. The whistleblower then gets the last word to comment on the report’s adequacy and provide further evidence. The OSC finishes the cycle by grading the report pass or fail, and submitting the entire package to the President, congressional leadership, and appropriate congressional committees.

The OSC attempts to keep your identity confidential, but if your disclosure is judged to be an imminent threat to public health or safety, your anonymity may be compromised. Another weakness is that the OSC often doesn’t meet deadlines. It is supposed to review a whistleblower’s disclosure within 15 days, but a backlog of cases often prevents this from happening. Finally, the OSC lacks enforcement authority. It can offer recommendations, but can’t force a government agency to do anything. As a result, it is an excellent outlet to complement other disclosure channels and forces agencies to deal with a whistleblower’s concerns. But in isolation it is unlikely to spark change.

## ► The Office of the Inspector General (OIG)

Each agency has an inspectors general office that investigates complaints of fraud, waste and abuse internally. You have a right to report problems confidentially as well as anonymously. IGs are more reactive than proactive. They are more likely to investigate based on external controversy than an internal whistleblower's disclosure.

When it comes to whistleblower complaints, Inspectors General offices have not always respected confidentiality rights, aren't transparent, have no deadlines and can ignore complaints. Also, as a practical matter, even those with statutory independence are vulnerable to pressure from the head of the agency of which they are a part, meaning they can be compromised by office politics. Even if they do take action, like OSC, they only have power to offer recommendations. While some OIGs are strong and principled, in worst case scenarios, they can be used as a tool of retaliation against whistleblowers, investigating them instead of the disclosure.

## Reporting Externally

### ► Congress

Whistleblowers may disclose information to a member of Congress or a congressional committee. In fact, all communications with Congress are legally protected, not just those with a reasonable belief of misconduct.<sup>32</sup> Be aware there is no guarantee of anonymity when disclosing to a member of Congress, and a single member of Congress has no direct authority over the executive branch. Complaints sent to congressional members usually are sent back to the agency with questions, which could alert them to a whistleblower in their midst who prompted the inquiry.

On the other hand, members of Congress can bring powerful attention to an issue, creating momentum for change and offering a shield for whistleblowers against retaliation.

Congress isn't primarily an investigative institution, but through its oversight duties has some investigatory powers. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) is a formal investigative arm, and a member of Congress can initiate a GAO probe. Individual congressional members can request information from agencies and publicize it. Individual members of Congress and their staff have various levels of expertise and interest in investigating concerns.

Combined with other channels such as the Office of Special Counsel, a congressional champion can be a powerful reinforcement. This is particularly true when a Member has significant legislative, oversight or appropriations authority. Whistleblower advocacy organizations can help you determine which members of Congress to reach out to, taking into account their interests, expertise and whether you are their constituent.

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<sup>32</sup> The Lloyd Lafollette Act of 1912, 5 USC §7211, enforced through the Civil Service Reform Act at 5 USC §2302(b)(12), protects the right of all federal employees to communicate with Congress without interference.

## ► Reporters

You can legally work with reporters to publicize wrongdoing as long as the information is not marked classified or specifically barred by statute from public disclosure. This is often one of the best ways to get the ball rolling to fix wrongdoing, helping you build public pressure and shame the agency into doing right. Active partnerships with media can create a powerful incentive for both law enforcement investigators and politicians to be most aggressive.

Press attention can also sometimes help prevent retaliation, because the spotlight will be on you and your employer would understand that retaliation would make the news. It can also help establish that the employer was aware of the employee's disclosure, critical to proving the "knowledge" element of a whistleblower reprisal claim if retaliation does occur.

Make sure you research the reporter you intend to provide information to so you know that they're serious and have expertise in the subject matter. Figure out if they're a beat reporter, who might have more subject matter expertise, or an investigative reporter, who will have more leeway to pursue a long investigation.

Journalists will also have to vet you and verify your concerns. Having documentation of what happened will help this process.

Be aware that journalism is often slow, especially investigative journalism, and big stories can take journalists months or even years. Journalists should be transparent about whether they're still pursuing the story, but you shouldn't undermine a journalist by going to a different one simply because you feel they're taking too long. You should just check in with them and see where they are.

If there is a deadline before which you believe the disclosure needs to be made public, let the reporter know. However, understand that they may not judge the same things important that you do and may be unable to meet your deadlines. In fact, the article may not turn out exactly as you expect, because journalists will have different judgement than you do.

If you do seek anonymity, be sure you trust the journalist and the news organization to protect your identity. Work out an agreement with the reporter as early as possible; it is essential to work out the ground rules in advance. Otherwise, once you have shared information with a reporter, it's fair game for anything. "On the record" means there are no restraints for your identity. "Off the record" means not revealing your identity or identifying information that can be traced back to you. "Background" means the information can only be used indirectly as the context to ask questions or otherwise seek more information. As a general rule, unless retaliation has begun it is best to communicate on background until a partnership of mutual trust has been earned.

While reporters as professionals are committed to protecting their sources, with many being willing to go to jail rather than divulge a source in response to a subpoena, there is no federal shield law or

reporter's privilege that applies to all journalists' communications; protections vary state by state.

Further, even with a reporter's willingness to defy a subpoena to reveal his or her source, often the identity of a source can be inferred by an employer, either because of the likelihood that the employee first informally raised concerns internally, because of the nature of the information disclosed that would point to job responsibilities and expertise, or because the employee may have used work equipment for communications.

### ► Public Interest Organizations

Non-profit public interest watchdog organizations may have experience with the issue about which you are concerned or your agency. They can be important allies in ensuring that information about government corruption and wrongdoing is used effectively to address abuses of power and protect public interests. Environmental, food safety, science integrity, immigration, fiscal responsibility, and other social and economic justice groups are knowledgeable and influential advocates for reform. Solidarity is the magic word for whistleblowers to make a difference and minimize harassment. These organizations have accumulated credibility, know the territory for political or media partnerships, and represent a political constituency that can magnify the whistleblower's voice. Once a whistleblower has been identified, they can be indispensable partners, both as a lifeline for survival and to have an impact by getting evidence into the right hands.,

However, while a few organizations like GAP represent whistleblowers, most do not. Non-profit advocacy organizations typically have limited experience working with whistleblowers and do not understand the complicated legal landscape and risks involved with disclosing serious concerns. Well-meaning but inexperienced non-profit organizations may appreciate the value of inside information and promise to keep their sources anonymous. But like with journalists, because most employees have either raised concerns internally before going outside of their agency, or because their job responsibilities and expertise would associate them with the disclosure, these promises may be impossible to keep.

Further, unless the organization can explicitly offer legal advice about whistleblowing, your communications will not be protected by the attorney-client privilege. That can be dangerous when their agendas diverge from yours.

Working with a lawyer who is sympathetic to your public interest goals or a non-profit organization like GAP that focuses both on protecting the employee and promoting accountability offers employees the best of both worlds: legal support in navigating internal and external avenues for disclosure and to address retaliation, as well as effective matchmaking with journalists, public interest organizations and elected officials to afford the greatest, and safest, opportunities to address the underlying problems. GAP's strategy is to conduct "legal campaigns," as opposed to conventional cases.

# A Note on Anonymity

Many whistleblowers want to disclose information but also maintain their anonymity. However, anonymity, as mentioned earlier, is not always possible to ensure if the information is used in public ways or through strategic discussions with government investigators, other whistleblowers, or advocacy groups.

Remaining anonymous may also not be the best strategy. For instance, trying to remain anonymous while the disclosure's information is public can make a legal case of reprisal more difficult, if not impossible. Under all whistleblower laws, an employee must show that the employer had knowledge of their whistleblowing. Therefore going public, with the whistleblower serving as a human interest focal point for news stories, can sustain the whistleblower's viable legal rights.

Public disclosure can even preempt reprisal by putting the employer on notice that the employee is engaging in protected whistleblowing. When a whistleblower experiences solidarity with a team of allies—advocacy groups, journalists, champions in Congress, a lawyer—focus can be put on the wrongdoing exposed by the whistleblower, thus defeating efforts to vilify the messenger. Surrounding the whistleblower with support not only can insulate the employee from retaliation, but it can amplify awareness of the underlying problems to demand reform.

Going public guarantees, however, that the employee has burned professional bridges. If a scorched earth, no-prisoners conflict did not already exist, that dynamic is a near-certainty once the whistleblower goes public. Further, isolation will cut off access to information to further prove misconduct. Whistleblowers accordingly should try to maintain anonymity as long as possible, disclosing publicly when there are imminent consequences or when it is clear they already are suspected or blamed.

Be aware, even with strong efforts at protecting a whistleblower's identity, the whistleblower is still at risk while an employer searches for the internal source. Harassing and expensive-to-defend defamation suits can be lodged against journalists and advocacy organizations to force divulgence of sources. Because of limited privileges afforded to journalists and public interest groups, whistleblowers should be wary of unqualified promises of absolute anonymity because it simply cannot be guaranteed. Brokering communications with external parties through an attorney with whom a whistleblower's communications are privileged can offer an important layer of protection for a whistleblower.

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# Best Practices for External Whistleblowing

- 1. Before you begin working with a reporter or an advocacy group, negotiate the scope of what you're willing to disclose, whether you need anonymity, and any other protections or concerns.** It is easier for everyone to be clear on the rules from the beginning.
- 2. If maintaining confidentiality and anonymity is critical, use secure, encrypted means to communicate,** including [Secure Drop](#) for document exchange, [Signal](#) for texts and calls, [ProtonMail](#) or another email platform that uses Pretty Good Privacy (PGP) encryption, or snail mail with no return address.
- 3. Don't communicate with your contacts during your work hours, or use office equipment,** like office phones, computers, or even paper.
- 4. Be aware that the best option for your safety may not necessarily be to remain anonymous,** but to instead blow the whistle publicly with the help of a lawyer. Public disclosure can help an employee prove that the employer had knowledge of the whistleblowing, a necessary element in a reprisal case. It can also preempt reprisal, particularly when you are supported by a team of allies.
- 5. If you intend to leak documents anonymously, make sure that you are not the only person who possesses these documents so they can't be traced back to you.** If possible, send them out innocuously attached to legitimate listserv emails or upload them to an agency server or archiving system. Check whether any traceable marks are encrypted for electronic communications. Above all, unless you want to leave legal rights behind and be a civil disobedience whistleblower, do not make external disclosures with any information marked classified, or whose release is specifically prohibited by a federal statute. Those only can be disclosed internally, to the Special Counsel or an Inspector General.
- 6. Rather than printing secure documents, take pictures of them on your personal secured phone.** Your access to the documents may be able to be tracked, and printing will narrow the pool of potential people who have accessed the documents.<sup>33</sup> If you can't take a photo, make written notes. Again, however, do not take photographs of information for which public disclosure is unprotected. If your phone or camera is seized, you will be blamed for the illegal disclosure and lose your whistleblower rights.
- 7. Instead of providing documents, consider guiding reporters or NGOs in making a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request.** To do this, make sure problematic policies are in writing. Try to get your agency to spell them out, or do it in your own emails. Be careful that the FOIA isn't so specific that it tips off the agency that there is a whistleblower. If the agency denies their existence and you have "buried" copies of the records in camouflaged locations, teaming with the requestor to expose that cover-up can be a significant development when challenging broader misconduct.
- 8. Strip metadata from any documents you send,** such as photo locations, watermarks, or tracked changes.

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<sup>33</sup> Again, the advice in this Guide does not apply to classified documents or to federal employees in the intelligence community. Mishandling and disclosure of classified information can result in criminal prosecution, and there is no public interest defense for whistleblowers charged under the Espionage Act for possessing and releasing classified information.

# Resources

## Contact GAP

The [Government Accountability Project \(GAP\)](#) is the nation's leading whistleblower protection and advocacy organization. A non-partisan public-interest group, GAP litigates whistleblower cases, helps expose wrongdoing to the public, and actively promotes both government and corporate accountability. Our longstanding work with whistleblowers has involved fighting for accountability for decades in the areas of public health, food safety, national security, human rights, energy and the environment, finance and banking, and international institutions and expanding whistleblower protections domestically and internationally.

GAP is available to offer legal and strategic advice and support to public interest organizations and their whistleblower sources, both government and corporate.

Contact us by email

 [info@whistleblower.org](mailto:info@whistleblower.org)

Contact us by phone

 **202.457.0034**

## Government Resources

**Office of Special Counsel** - Whistleblower Disclosure Hotline

<https://osc.gov> (800) 572-2249

**Merit Systems Protection Board**

<https://www.mspb.gov> (202) 653-7200

**Inspectors General Directory (includes all OIGs for federal agencies)**

<https://www.ignet.gov/content/inspectors-general-directory>

## Other Whistleblower Support Organizations

These organizations either offer direct legal representation of whistleblowers or have extensive experience working with whistleblowers and can offer referrals to experienced attorneys.

**ExposeFacts** - <https://whisper.exposefacts.org>

ExposeFacts is a journalism organization that aims to shed light on concealed activities that are relevant to human rights, corporate malfeasance, the environment, civil liberties and war. They offer legal support to national security whistleblowers as well through their Whistleblower and Source Protection Program (WHISPeR).

## **Project On Government Oversight (POGO) - <http://pogo.org>**

POGO is a nonpartisan, independent watchdog organization that promotes good government reforms by investigating and exposing corruption, misconduct and conflicts of interest. POGO frequently works with government whistleblowers and other inside sources to document evidence of corruption, waste, fraud and abuse.

## **Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER) - <https://peer.org>**

Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER) is a national alliance of local state and federal government scientists, land managers, environmental law enforcement agents, field specialists and other resource professionals committed to responsible management of America's public resources. PEER provides advocacy and legal support to employees who speak up for environmental ethics and scientific integrity within their agency.

## **Whistleblower Aid - [www.whistlebloweraid.org](http://www.whistlebloweraid.org)**

Whistleblower Aid is a new non-profit law firm that focuses on federal government whistleblowers, with special emphasis on helping employees expose wrongdoing without unlawfully releasing classified information.

# **Books/Articles on Whistleblowing**

Devine, Tom and Tarek F. Maassarani. [The Corporate Whistleblower's Survival Guide: A Handbook for Committing the Truth](#), Berrett-Koehler (2011)

GAP, POGO & PEER, [The Art of Anonymous Activism: Serving the Public While Surviving Public Service](#) (PDF), (2002) (updated version forthcoming)

Kohn, Stephen, [The New Whistleblower's Handbook: A Step-By-Step Guide To doing What's Right and Protecting Yourself](#), Lyons Press; 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. (2017)

Schwellenbach, Nick, "[Survivor's Guide to Being a Successful Whistleblower in the Federal Government](#)," Just Security (Feb. 22, 2017)

McCutcheon, Chuck, "[Whistleblowers](#)," CQ Researcher, 24.5 (Jan. 31, 2014)

Zuckerman, Jason and Eric Bachman, [The Whistleblower Protection Act: Federal Employees to Root Out Waste, Fraud and Abuse](#) (PDF), Zuckerman Law (2017)

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<https://freedom.press/training>

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