Center for International Media Assistance



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The Center for International Media Assistance at the National Endowment for Democracy invites you to a panel discussion on

Models of Muckraking: Supporting Investigative Journalism Around the World

### Investigative Reporting in Emerging Democracies:

Models, Challenges, and Lessons Learned

A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance

**By Drew Sullivan** 

January 14, 2013

### Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support

A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition By David E. Kaplan January 14, 2013 wment.



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## **EMPOWERING INDEPENDENT MEDIA**

U.S. Efforts to Foster a Free Press and an Open Internet Around the World

#### SECOND EDITION: 2012



Branković, and ultimately his resignation."3

In 2003, the Georgian TV channel Rustavi-2 was

heralded as the voice of that nation's peaceful "Rose

Revolution," helping overturn a rigged election and

Rustavi-2's staff, trained by Western journalists, had

built much of its credibility through investigative report-

In 2000, the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism ran an eight-month investigation into the hidden

assets of Philippine President Joseph Estrada, detailing

how Estrada had amassed luxury homes and held secret

stakes in a dozen companies. The series goaded the

months later. m

Philippine media into action, helped form key charges

in an impeachment trial, and led to Estrada's downfall

What these cases have in common is that they were

journalists in developing and democratizing countries.

Supporting dedicated teams and individual reporters to

do in-depth investigations has always been a straggle,

the result of determined, in-depth investigations by

ing on government corruption and organized crime."4

tahar Rahamugic, an editor for the Center for Investigative Reporting in itorria-Herzeg owns, works with investigative journalists Alexin Abdage (left) and literina Pelomacovic (right). Photo: City

The investigation led to public protests, an indictment of even in Western countries where the practice is well established. It is risky, expensive, and often controversial. But investigative reporting has earned a unique and honored place in the profession. Investigative reporters are, in a sense, the "special forces" of journalism. They force the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze. tend to be better trained, go after tougher targets, and have greater impact than beat and daily news reporters.

#### Muckraking Goes Global

The modern era of investigative journalism dates back a century, to American "muckrakers" such as Ida Tarbell and her History of the Standard Oil Company and Lincoln Steffens and his Shame of the Cities. These crusading journalists helped set a standard for tough reporting in the public interest, taking on corrupt politicians, organized crime, consumer fraud, and corporate abuse. The practice got a major boost in the Watergate era, during which two young Washington Post reporters helped bring down the most powerful man in the world, President Richard Nixon. The scandal made investigative journalists into heroes and enshrined into the American psyche





### **Global Investigative Journalism:** Strategies for Support

#### A Host of Challenges

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Investigative journalism as practiced by major media in the West is still largely unknown in much of the world. Vast regions in the developing world have only the most basic kinds of reporting. Skill levels in even relatively modernized countries still tend to fall far short of what is possible, particularly in a field that is changing rapidly with technology.

A host of challenges have so far limited the success of developing investigative reporting. In many countries, investigative reporters face among the toughest obstacles of any in journalism. Reporters at Ukraine's Rustavi-2 were harassed, beaten, jailed, and ultimately murdered. Journalists with the Philippine center have been repeatedly threatened, and they have watched with dismay as their colleagues in smaller cities are slain with impunity. Twenty years of data from the Committee to Protect Journalists who that as many journalists are killed covering crime and corruption—a common focus for investigative reporters—as are killed covering wars.<sup>16</sup>

Others regularly face criminal libel cases, government spying, and intimidation from both officials and powerful local interests. Conditions taken for granted by Western journalists-access to public records, corporate reports, and honest police and prosecutors-are almost nonexistent



in some countries. Still other problems include high costs, compromised owners, and a lack of qualified trainers and editors. Although media development NGOs can play important roles in spreading investigative techniques, few of those working in the field–even those with media backgrounds–have run or participated in an investigative project. Fewer still possess the understanding of how to track dirty money, foreign assets, or complex corporate supply chains.

Adding to the problem is that the pool of potential trainers is further limited by the profession itself. Concerned over potential conflicts of interest, American investigative journalists are generally wary of being sponsored by government-funded groups, and in many cases they are precluded from taking fees from a government entity. Leading nonprofits such as Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) will not accept government funding.

#### A Small Slice of the Pie

CIMA

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Comparatively small amounts of media development funding have gone to support investigative journalism. A precise figure is difficult to estimate, but consider the budget size of nonprofit investigative journalism nonprofits surveyed by CDMA. Of 50 organizations responding to CIMA's questionnaire, 32 were based in developing or transitioning countries. This includes the field's most prominent and successful centers in those regions—in the Philippines, Brazil, Jordan, South Africa, and the Balkans. Their combined budgets for 2011: a modest \$6 million. Nine groups declined to provide budget figures; based on their size and staff, CIMA estimates their combined budgets at about \$1 million. Another nine nonprofits in developing or transitioning countries were identified since CIMA's survey, and their combined budgets are also estimated at about \$1 million. That gives a total estimated amount of some \$8 million annually.

Clearly, additional funding goes to investigative reporting projects outside the centers-to other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), universities, and fellowship programs-but a search of these programs suggests that those amounts can be measured in the hundreds of thousands, not millions of dollars. IREX, for example, ran a series of investigative journalism initiatives in the Republic of Georgia, at a cost of \$200,000 in 2011. ICFJ has supported several Knight International Fellows working on investigative projects in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. European NGO initiatives are of similar scale.

Other initiatives also make important contributions, such as the African News Innovation Challenge With \$1 million pledged by a half-dozen backers, including Google and the Gates, Knight, and Omidyar foundations, the ANIC has included support for a handful of initiatives on open government and data analysis that can be critical tools for investigative journalists. But much of the ANIC's funding goes to projects such as new digital delivery systems and workflow management software, which contribute little to the kind of detective work that still undergirds most investigations. Similarly, digital media programs funded by the State Department and USAID are directed largely at security and circumvention measures, citizen journalism, and open government initiatives-all helpful and important to media development, but not the kind of systematic investigative journalism that can track hidden assets and criminal activity around the world. If one allowed, generously, an additional \$4 million from programs like the ANIC, and added that to the \$8 million burget estimated for the nonpurfit groups, this would put combined speeding on investigative journalism there are a provide the state to program the state on the state of the state of the nonpurfit groups, this would put combined speeding on investigative journalism for media development at rought \$12 million annually.

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# Definitions...

## What It Is

- systematic, in-depth, original research and reporting
- primary sources, forming and testing a hypothesis, and rigorous factchecking.
- unearthing secrets
- focus on social justice and accountability.

- heavy use of public records
- data/computer-assisted reporting

### What It's Not

- Leak journalism
- Critical reporting
- Beat reporting
- Crime and corruption reporting

## Investigative journalism...

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exp

is in serious need in Benin, Ghana,

"You need reporters who can find the links and correlations between events. You need the resources to find and expose what is purposely hidden."

> --- Gordana Jankovic Open Society Foundations

report, 2007

HOME					
You are currently - H	Total	C	OUTTING CORRU OUT OF BUSINES OST BUSINESS (	SS:	C TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL
	Argentina		32%	56%	
Total	Austria		50%	47%	
	Brazil		42%		70%
Argentina Austria	Chile		39%	6	496
Brasil Chile	China		40%	54%	
China Crach Republic	Czech Republic	11%		33%	
Egypt Fighte	Egypt		32%	30%	
Germany Ghana	France		18%	37%	
Hong Kong Hungary	Germany		43%	49%	
india Indonesia	Ghana		24%	45%	
Japan Malayela	Hong Kong	5	8%	609	6
Mardoo Maraase	Hungary		27%	39%	
Nigeria. Pakistan	India	59	%	52%	
Philippines Poland	Indonesia		45%	57%	
Russia Sanagal	Japan	62%	5	54%	
Singapare South Atrica	Malaysia		40%	51%	
South Korea Turkey USA	Mexico		27%	35%	
Usta United Kingdom	Morocco		27%	35%	

# Challenges

- Lack of funding
- Changing technology
- Violent assaults
- Legal harassment
- Compromised owners
- Lack of access, public records
- Lack of standards
- Lack of training
- Lack of commitment



### **US International Aid FY2011**





# Sources of Change

- Globalization: open borders, ICT
- International aid: seed money, grants and training
- Journalism nonprofits: training, reporting, networking, conferences.















# The CIMA Survey

- 2007: 39 nonprofits in 26 countries
- 2012: 106 nonprofits in 47 countries





Largest Investigative Journalism Nonprofits (non-U.S.	), 2011 Annual Budgets
The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (UK)	\$900,000
Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (Jordan)	\$886,000
M&G Centre for Investigative Journalism (South Africa)	\$590,000
Pascal Decroos Fund (Belgium)	\$535,000
OCCRP (Bosnia)	\$586,000
Center for Investigative Journalism (Bosnia)	\$468,000
SCOOP (Denmark)	\$454,000
Regional Press Development Institute (Ukraine)	\$360,000
Centre for Investigative Journalism (UK)	\$325,000
Forum for African Investigative Reporters (South Africa)	\$300,000
Total	\$5,404,000

Largest Investigative Journalism Nonprofits (U.S.), 2011 Annual Budgets		
ProPublica	\$10,100,000	
Center for Investigative Reporting	\$5,200,000	
Center for Public Integrity	\$5,100,000	
Investigative Reporting Workshop, American University	\$1,700,000	
Investigative Reporters and Editors	\$1,200,000	
Investigative Reporting Program, UC Berkeley	\$1,000,000	
Schuster Institute, Brandeis University	\$800,000	
Nation Institute Investigative Fund	\$600,000	
Stabile Center, Columbia University	\$500,000	
Investigative News Network	\$400,000	
Total	\$26,600,000	

Source: Investigative Reporting Workshop and Center for International Media Assistance







## GIJC 2013 – Rio de Janeiro







## Recommendations...

- Provide greater support to investigative journalism programs.
- Support the nonprofits especially building capacity and revenue diversification.
- Different models for different countries.
- Integrate into broader media reform.
- Invest in a global networking infrastructure.
- Evaluate based on quality.
- Coordinate with investigative journalism professionals.
- Don't fund data at the expense of reporting.

### Why Open Data Isn't Enough

Hacks and hackers meetups. Open government initiatives. Hackathons and datafests.

The media development world has discovered big data, and it is embracing it big time. Internews is sponsoring hackfests while the International Center for Journalists has turned its Knight International Journalism Fellowships into technology grants that emphasize "mobile services, data mining, storytelling and social media." Donors like the Knight and Omidyar foundations are focused almost exclusively on tech fixes to what ails the media. As one prominent donor told a nonprofit newsroom executive, "We no longer fund content."

### Foundation executive: "We no longer fund content."

Blogger Dave Winer: "Journalism itself is becoming obsolete. Now we can hear directly from the sources and build our own news networks."

### NYPD PROBE

AP Investigative Stories

# Inside the spy unit that NYPD says doesn't exist



AP Investigative Stories

### NYPD monitored Muslim students all over Northeast



AP Investigative Stories

## NYPD eyed US citizens in intel effort

By ADAM GOLDMAN, EILEEN SULLIVAN and MATT APUZZO Sept. 22, 2011

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NEW YORK (AP) — The New York Police Department put American citizens under surveillance and scrutinized where they ate, prayed and worked, not because of charges of wrongdoing but because of their ethnicity, according to interviews and documents obtained by The Associated Press.







June 17, 2009

#### Tighter controls placed on officers, informants

By: Wendy Ruderman and Barbara Laker

September 25, 2009

#### previous | index

No sexual relationships. No gifts. No "social, financial or business" dealings. No undocumented meetings or telephone conversations.

Those are just a few of the rules spelled out in a new police directive that places tighter controls on officers and their confidential informants.

The directive - issued Sept. 11 - comes in the wake of a Daily News series detailing allegations that narcotics officer Jeffrey Cujdik improperly rented a house to one informant, provided cash to bail another out of jail, and gave gifts, including cartons of cigarettes, to at least three informants.

"One of the things that [the new directive] does is eliminate the idea of an officer using poor discretion," said William M. Johnson, executive director of the Police Advisory Commission, a city-funded watchdog agency. "It's telling officers, 'Don't do this. Don't do that.' That comes across very clearly."

He added, "It's designed to act as a safeguard against the conduct we've been reading about in the newspaper."

Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey was unavailable for comment yesterday.

The 22-page directive replaces a shorter, vaguely worded and less-stringent policy implemented in October 1986.

The stricter rules for officers and informants is the latest step in an ongoing effort to prevent police misconduct and root out corruption within the Police Department's narcotics units.

Earlier this year, Ramsey split up the officers in Cujdik's squad and appointed a chief integrity officer to scrutinize drug investigations that use informants.

Cujdik is at the center of an FBI-led probe into allegations that he became too close to his informants and lied on search-warrant applications to gain access to suspected drug homes. Cujdik allegedly told informants to make drug buys elsewhere if they couldn't make a buy from the targeted house.

A Daily News review of search warrants revealed that many read like form letters and, in some cases, confidential informants made drug buys across the city, just minutes apart, defying the laws of physics.

Four officers - Cujdik, his brother Richard Cujdik, Robert McDonnell and Thomas

VENTURA MARTII toughest streets dead man. At home, Martine

Did he?

By: Barbara

Februarv 9,

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But Martinez now and motivated by evidence to the Commission. Mar hundreds of case

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Martinez, 47, cla about evidence i make arrests, for bring down drug



Lady Gonzalez breaks officer allegedly fondle 2007. (Sarah J. Gover/s

HER BACK PRESSED ag as Officer Thomas Tol

It was just after 5 p.r Kensington rowhouse telling her that he nee

"He started rubbing m 33-year-old mother of Rodriguez said she gra she said.

" 'You've got some big size are you?' " she sa "I said, 'No! No!' I was up . . . . He kept rubb (Sarah J. Glover/staff

Lady Gonzalez sheds

a raid at her Kensing

BURLY narcotics offices stood in the doorway

The officer - one of downstairs - alleged away, he grabbed he

The penetration of h said she thought he

A few hours later, sh and alerted the polic

That night, Oct. 16,

But the police Intern

Officer Thomas Tolst

"Despite the lack of

Home > Politics & Social Issues

### Anas Aremeyaw - Ghana's Madhouse Story

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## **INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM:** FOSTERING ACCOUNTABILITY



Credit: OCCRP

- Worldwide growth: 110 nonprofits in 42 nations
- Key role in battling corruption, exposing abuses, raising standards
- Many challenges
  - Lack of skills, resources, trainers, access to info, supportive owners, laws, uncorrupt officials

# Making an impact...

- European Parliament 2012 report: plays a key role in "tracking irregularities, fraud and corruption, and uncovering misspending" in EU member states and EU institutions.
- Business leaders rank investigative journalism as best single tool to fight corruption – more effective than anti-bribery laws, civil society initiatives, and due diligence by business.





### APPENDIX: INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

This list includes nonprofit newsrooms, online publishers, professional associations, NGOs, training institutes, and academic centers in 47 countries. In its selection, CIMA applied the following criteria: the group is a nonprofit or non-governmental organization operating in the public interest; its primary mission includes support of investigative journalism; and, for reporting organizations, there is a substantial, on-going commitment to in-depth project reporting or data journalism.

Africa		
Organization	Country	Website
Africa Investigative News	Kenya	
Service		
Center for Investigative	Ghana	
Reporting Ghana		
Forum for African	South Africa	http://fairreporters.net
Investigative Reporters		
Investigative Journalism	South Africa	http://www.journalism.co.za/index.php/about-
Workshop, Wits Univ.		investigative-journalism html
M&G Centre for	South Africa	http://www.amabhungane.co.za
Investigative Journalism		
Wole Soyinka Centre for	Nigeria	http://www.wscij.org
Investigative Journalism		Construction and the second
Asia/Pacific		
Organization	Country	Website
Center for Investigative	Pakistan	http://www.cirp.pk
Reporting in Pakistan		
Global Mail	Australia	http://www.theglobalmail.org
India Spend	India	http://www.indiaspend.com
Philippine Center for	Philippines	http://pcij.org
Investigative Journalism	100 B 100 B	An entropy of the State of the

http://www.ciinepal.org/

Organization	Country	Website
Agency for Journalistic Investigation	Russia	www.ajur.info
Association of Investigative Journalists of Azerbaijan	Azerbaijan	
atlatszo.hu	Hungary	http://atlatszo.hu
Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN)	Bosnia	http://birn.eu.com
Baltic Center for Investigative Journalism	Latvia	http://www.rebaltica.lw/en
Belarus Agency for Investigative Reporting	Belarus	
Bosnian Center for Investigative Reporting	Bosnia	http://www.cin.ba
Bulgarian Investigative Journalism Center	Bulgaria	http://www.bijc.eu/en
Crimean Center for Investigative Reporting	Ukraine	http://investigator.org.ua
Foundation for Investigative Journalism	Russia	
Gobolyos Jozsef "Soma" Foundation	Hungary	http://www.gsoma.hu
HETQ	Armenia	http://hetq.am/eng
Investigative Journalism Center of Moldova	Moldova	http://www.investigatii.md/eng
Investigative Reporting Bureau "Svidomo" (Kiev)	Ukraine	www.svidomo.org
Kosovo Center for Investigative Journalism (KCIJ)	Kosovo	http://preportr.com
Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project	Bosnia	http://www.reportingproject.net
Regional Press Development Institute	Ukraine	www.irp.org.ua
RISE Project	Romania	http://www.riseproject.ro
Rivne Agency for Investigative Reporting	Ukraine	http://www.4viada.com
Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism	Romania	https://www.crii.org

Centre for Investigative

Journalism

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CIMA