

# Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support

*A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance*

*2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*

*By David E. Kaplan*

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**National Endowment  
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*Supporting freedom around the world*

**The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA)**, at the National Endowment for Democracy, works to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of independent media development throughout the world. The Center provides information, builds networks, conducts research, and highlights the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies. An important aspect of CIMA's work is to research ways to attract additional U.S. private sector interest in and support for international media development. The Center was one of the of the main nongovernmental organizers of World Press Freedom Day 2011 in Washington, DC.

CIMA convenes working groups, discussions, and panels on a variety of topics in the field of media development and assistance. The center also issues reports and recommendations based on working group discussions and other investigations. These reports aim to provide policymakers, as well as donors and practitioners, with ideas for bolstering the effectiveness of media assistance.

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# About the Author

## David E. Kaplan

David E. Kaplan is director of the Global Investigative Journalism Network, an association of more than 70 organizations in 35 countries dedicated to the expansion and support of investigative reporting. For more than 30 years he has managed investigative teams, nonprofit newsrooms, and cross-border projects.

During the 1980s and early '90s, at the original Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco, Kaplan helped develop the model of a nonprofit investigative news organization. In 2007 he became editorial director of the Washington, DC-based Center for Public Integrity, where he oversaw its award-winning International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, a reporting network with members in 50 countries. During this time he managed widely acclaimed investigations into the tobacco, asbestos, fishing, and energy industries, working with the BBC and other leading media worldwide. Prior to that, Kaplan served as chief investigative correspondent at *U.S. News & World Report*, then a 2 million circulation newsweekly. His stories there attracted international attention, including exposés of racketeering by North Korean diplomats, Saudi funding of terrorist organizations, and the looting of Russia.

Kaplan has reported from two dozen countries and his stories have won or shared more than 20 awards. He is a four-time winner of the Investigative Reporters and Editors Award, including three medals, IRE's highest honor. His work has also been honored four times by the Overseas Press Club. Kaplan's books include *YAKUZA*, published in 12 languages and widely considered the standard reference on the Japanese mafia. As a consultant to CIMA, he served as editor and chief writer of the 2008 and 2012 editions of *Empowering Independent Media*.

## Disclosures

The author has worked in international media development for 25 years and has led workshops and seminars for many of the groups noted in this report, including Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism, the International Center for Journalists, Investigative Reporters and Editors, and IREX. He serves on the board of the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project and on the advisory board of the Forum for African Investigative Reporters.

The National Endowment for Democracy, CIMA's parent organization, supports many civil society groups and non-governmental organizations around the world that sometimes engage in or support investigative journalism. Some of those groups are included in this report, but most of them are not pure centers of investigative journalism and are outside the paper's scope.

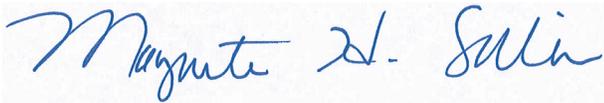
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# Preface

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the National Endowment for Democracy commissioned this survey of investigative journalism centers around the world as a second edition of a 2007 CIMA report, *Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support*. It focuses on supporting investigative journalism centers in developing countries and on the important role investigative reporting plays in holding governments accountable.

CIMA is grateful to David Kaplan, a veteran investigative journalist and media development specialist, for his research and insights on this topic. We hope that this report will become an important reference for international media assistance efforts.



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# Executive Summary

Fueled by globalization, international aid, and the efforts of journalism groups, the worldwide practice of investigative reporting has grown dramatically since the fall of communism began in 1989. The field's emphasis on public accountability, targeting of crime and corruption, and demonstrated impact have attracted millions of dollars in media development funding from international donors, who see it as an important force in promoting rule of law and democratization. Support for investigative journalism, however, has been identified as a major gap in international media assistance, marked by funding that is largely episodic and that makes up but a small fraction of that spent on overall media development. Veteran trainers and implementers broadly agree that sustained programs, support of nonprofit investigative journalism groups, and adherence to high standards can produce impressive results both in fostering public accountability and in building a professional news media.

This report was originally published in 2007. Given the field's rapid growth, in 2012 CIMA updated and expanded its research and commissioned a new survey to understand the nature and scope of investigative journalism as a facet of media development. As before, this report looks at key drivers and actors and suggests ways to best support and professionalize the practice in developing and transitioning countries. Among the findings:

- Investigative journalism has spread rapidly around the world in the past decade, helping to hold corrupt leaders accountable, document human rights violations, and expose systematic abuses in developing and transitioning countries. Despite onerous laws, legal and physical attacks, unsupportive owners, a lack of qualified trainers, and other obstacles, the practice has found a footing even in repressive countries.
- Global and regional networks of investigative journalists, backed by donors and fueled by globalization and an explosion in data and communications technology, are growing increasingly effective and sophisticated. Journalists are linking up as never before to collaborate on stories involving international crime, unaccountable businesses, environmental degradation, safety and health problems, and other hard-to-report issues.
- Strategic investments into investigative journalism programs can have significant positive impact in a wide range of countries, including those in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Such funding will be most effective if it is long term and integrated into broader initiatives that include legal reform and freedom of information.
- Despite its frontline role in fostering accountability, battling corruption, and raising media standards, investigative reporting receives relatively little support—about 2 percent of global media development funding by major donors.
- Nonprofit investigative reporting organizations—now numbering 106 in 47 countries—have been pivotal drivers of the global spread of investigative journalism. These include reporting centers, training institutes, professional associations, grant-making groups, and online networks.

- These nonprofit groups have proved to be viable organizations that can provide unique training and reporting, serve as models of excellence that help to professionalize the local journalism community, and produce stories with social and political impact. Different programs will be appropriate for different regions and markets.
- Few nonprofit investigative journalism organizations, particularly reporting centers, have adequate sustainability plans. To survive in a competitive and poorly funded environment, many will need to diversify and become more entrepreneurial, drawing revenue from various sources and activities.
- Because of its emphasis on longer-term, high-impact journalism, investigative reporting projects can be difficult to evaluate. Training and reporting projects aimed at creating a culture of investigative journalism should be evaluated based on their quality and impact, not broad numbers of people trained and stories produced.
- Better coordination and communication are needed between those in government-funded programs and the investigative journalism community. NGOs would benefit by drawing expertise whenever possible from the ranks of professionals.

# Scope and Methodology

This report examines the worldwide expansion of investigative journalism, with a focus on strategies to help support and sustain it in developing and transitioning countries. The research draws in particular on several key sources:

- Surveys by CIMA in 2007 and 2012 of nonprofit investigative journalism organizations, in which groups worldwide responded to a detailed questionnaire.
- Discussions and interviews at investigative journalism and media conferences in 2011-12 in Brazil, Germany, Jordan, the Netherlands, South Africa, Ukraine, and the United States.
- Interviews with more than 50 trainers, funders, reporters, and managers involved in investigative journalism teaching and training, media development, reporting centers, and funding.
- A broad search of training materials, media development program literature, websites, academic curricula, and books, articles, and guidebooks on investigative journalism worldwide.

# Overview: Investigative Journalism Goes Global

In 2011, the Chinese magazine Caixin revealed that local officials in a southern county were kidnapping babies and selling them on the black market, prompting an official investigation and international attention. The magazine, known for digging into hidden stories, was founded by journalist Hu Shuli, who pioneered investigative journalism in China after completing a 1998 Knight Fellowship at Stanford University.<sup>1</sup>

In the Brazilian state of Parana, home to 10 million people, the Gazeta do Povo newspaper and RPC TV spent two years building a database to reveal how the legislative assembly systematically pilfered as much as \$400 million in public funds. The 2010 series drew 30,000 people to the streets in anti-corruption protests and resulted in more than 20 criminal investigations.<sup>2</sup>

In 2007, the Bosnian Center for Investigative Reporting used public records to expose how Nedžad Brankovic, prime minister of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's Republika Srpska, received a nearly free apartment through a dubious government privatization deal. The investigation led to public protests, an indictment of Brankovic, and ultimately his resignation.<sup>3</sup>

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 force the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze. Rustavi-2's staff, trained by Western journalists, had built much of its credibility through investigative reporting on government corruption and organized crime.<sup>4</sup>

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 Philippine media into action, helped form key charges in an impeachment trial, and led to Estrada's downfall months later.<sup>5</sup>

What these cases have in common is that they were the result of determined, in-depth investigations by journalists in developing and democratizing countries. Supporting dedicated teams and individual reporters to do in-depth investigations has always been a struggle, 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 tend to be better trained, go after tougher targets, and have greater impact than beat and daily news reporters.

In the United States, investigative journalism is best known for helping topple a president for abuse of power. But in American journalism schools, those hoping to emulate Watergate reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein are quickly taught that they belong to a century-old tradition, to a craft that dates back to the nation's proud 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, in-depth reporting in the public interest, taking on corrupt politicians, organized crime, consumer fraud, and corporate abuse.

## Defining the Craft

While definitions of investigative reporting vary, among professional journalism groups there is broad agreement of its major components: systematic, in-depth, and original research and reporting, often involving the unearthing of secrets. Others note that its practice often involves heavy use of public records and computer-assisted reporting, and a focus on social justice and accountability.<sup>1</sup>

*Story-Based Inquiry*, an investigative journalism handbook published by UNESCO, defines it thus: “Investigative journalism involves exposing to the public matters that are concealed—either deliberately by someone in a position of power, or accidentally, behind a chaotic mass of facts and circumstances that obscure understanding. It requires using both secret and open sources and documents.”<sup>2</sup> The Dutch investigative reporters group VVOJ defines investigative reporting simply as “critical and thorough journalism.”<sup>3</sup>

Some journalists, in fact, claim that all reporting is investigative reporting. There is some truth to this—investigative techniques are used widely by beat journalists on deadline as well as by “I-team” members with weeks to work on a story. But investigative journalism is broader than this—it is a set of methodologies that are a craft, and it can take years to master. A look at stories that win top awards for investigative journalism attests to the high standards of research and reporting that the profession aspires to: in-depth inquiries that painstakingly track looted public funds, abuse of power, environmental degradation, health scandals, and more.

Sometimes called enterprise, in-depth, or project reporting, investigative journalism should not be confused with what has been dubbed “leak journalism”—quick-hit scoops gained by the leaking of documents or tips, typically by those in political power. Indeed, in emerging democracies, the definition can be rather vague, and stories are often labeled investigative reporting simply if they are critical or involve leaked records. Stories that focus on crime or corruption, analysis, or even outright opinion pieces may similarly be mislabeled as investigative reporting.

Veteran trainers note that the best investigative journalism employs a careful methodology, with heavy reliance on primary sources, forming and testing a hypothesis, and rigorous fact-checking. The dictionary definition of “investigation” is “systematic inquiry,” which typically cannot be done in a day or two; a thorough inquiry requires time. Others point to the field’s key role in pioneering new techniques, as in its embrace of computers in the 1990s for data analysis and visualization. “Investigative reporting is important because it teaches new techniques, new ways of doing things,” observed Brant Houston, the Knight Chair of Journalism at the University of Illinois, who served for years as executive director of Investigative Reporters and Editors. “Those techniques blend down into everyday reporting. So you’re raising the bar for the entire profession.”

### Endnotes

1. For a lengthy discussion of investigative reporting definitions, see *Investigative Journalism in Europe*, Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten, (VVOJ), 2005, 12-25.
2. Story-Based Inquiry Associates, <http://www.storybasedinquiry.com/>.
3. Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten (VVOJ), <http://www.vvoj.nl/cms/vereniging/profiel/onderzoeksjournalistiek>.

This vital tradition has now spread worldwide. Great reporting everywhere has always used investigative elements, but since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the practice of investigative journalism has grown dramatically overseas. Enterprising news media in Brazil, China, and India now field investigative teams. The number of nonprofit investigative reporting groups has jumped from only three in the late 1980s to more than 100 today, with vibrant centers in such diverse places as Romania, the Philippines, Jordan, and South Africa. Seven global conferences on investigative journalism since 2000 have brought together some 3,500 journalists from 100 countries, introducing data journalism on a global scale and training hundreds of reporters from developing countries in state-of-the-art methodologies.<sup>6</sup>

With a tradition of focusing on accountability and social justice, investigative reporting has proven to be an obvious tool for media development donors and implementers. In much of the developing and democratizing world, the contributions of investigative journalists include fostering accountability and transparency, battling corruption, exposing organized crime, strengthening civil society, fueling reform, and calling for justice. Equally important, they act as role models and mentors, establishing investigative traditions in newsrooms and helping set the standard for professional reporting in their societies.

This global expansion owes much to millions of dollars from international aid agencies (particularly from the United States and Northern Europe) and a handful of private foundations (led by the Open Society Foundations), as well as to the efforts of professional journalism associations and NGOs that have run trainings and spread expertise around the world. The sums invested have been modest compared to other areas of media development, but the impact has been impressive. Aiding in the field's rapid growth have been the forces of globalization—rapidly expanding mobile phone use and Internet access, open borders, and an explosion of data and computing power—allowing journalists to network, collaborate, and report as never before.

## The Case for International Assistance

The contribution of investigative journalism to accountability, development, and democracy is now widely recognized. Donors have found that adding investigative journalism can strengthen programs for independent media, anti-corruption work, and democracy and good government.

“Investigative journalism can have a significant impact on improving governance at the national level,” observed economist Daniel Kaufmann, who has studied how media development and transparency can combat corruption. “In countries where the executive and judiciary have essentially failed in their accountability duties, investigative journalism helps fill such a void. And where they function but weakly so, it helps strengthen them. It’s a crucial pillar for fighting corruption.”<sup>7</sup>

Kaufman’s conclusions are supported by a 2012 survey by Transparency International. TI asked 3,000 business people in 30 countries how to best combat corruption, and investigative journalism was identified as the single most effective technique. Respondents were given a choice of six approaches: international conventions on bribery and corruption; national anti-bribery laws; investigative journalism; multi-stake-holder initiatives involving business, government, and civil society; due diligence by business partners, governments and banks; and inclusion of corruption risks in investors’ valuation models. Consistently, in 21 of the 30

countries, a plurality of respondents picked investigative journalism. “From Poland to Pakistan, the business people surveyed think that investigative journalism can play a really important role,” TI reported. “In most countries surveyed, more people believed in the effectiveness of journalists than in national anti-bribery laws.”<sup>8</sup>

The African Peer Review Mechanism, a donor-backed program in which 31 African governments have engaged in self-criticism, has also taken note of the key role of investigative journalism.<sup>9</sup> Since 2005, the APRM’s reports—on Benin, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Uganda, among others—have repeatedly identified the need for more investigative reporting in fighting corruption and fostering accountability.<sup>10</sup>

The contribution of investigative journalism prompted a European Parliament budgetary affairs department to commission a 2012 report on the field’s potential role in combating fraud. The 300-page study concluded that investigative reporting can make an important contribution “to greater transparency on this issue, tracking irregularities, fraud and corruption, and uncovering misspending on different levels and scales in the EU member states and the EU institutions.”<sup>11</sup>

## A Gap in Media Development

Despite such endorsements, funding for investigative journalism amounts to but a fraction of that spent on overall media development. Investigative reporting programs are believed to account for about 2 percent of the nearly \$500 million CIMA has estimated is spent on international media assistance annually.<sup>12</sup> In 2007, a report by the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID) identified investigative journalism as one of seven key gaps in media development funding; few in the field believe that has changed.<sup>13</sup>

The growing attention to digital tools by donors, moreover, threatens to diminish what funding exists, warn advocates of investigative journalism. Building movements for reform and social change takes more than tweets and YouTube videos, they say; an essential step is the systematic documentation of corruption, human rights abuses, injustice, and lack of accountability—work that investigators from the media and NGOs need to do. Many of the items circulated on social media during the Arab Spring, for example, had their roots in more substantive reports first revealed by al-Jazeera and other “mainstream” media.<sup>14</sup>

“Technology is an extremely attractive tool for people to become engaged, to express their opinions and grievances,” argued Gordana Jankovic, director of the Media Program at the Open Society Foundation’s London office. “But it is not necessarily the best tool to encourage better understanding of the issues. The depth and context are missing, the understanding of the full picture is missing.”<sup>15</sup>

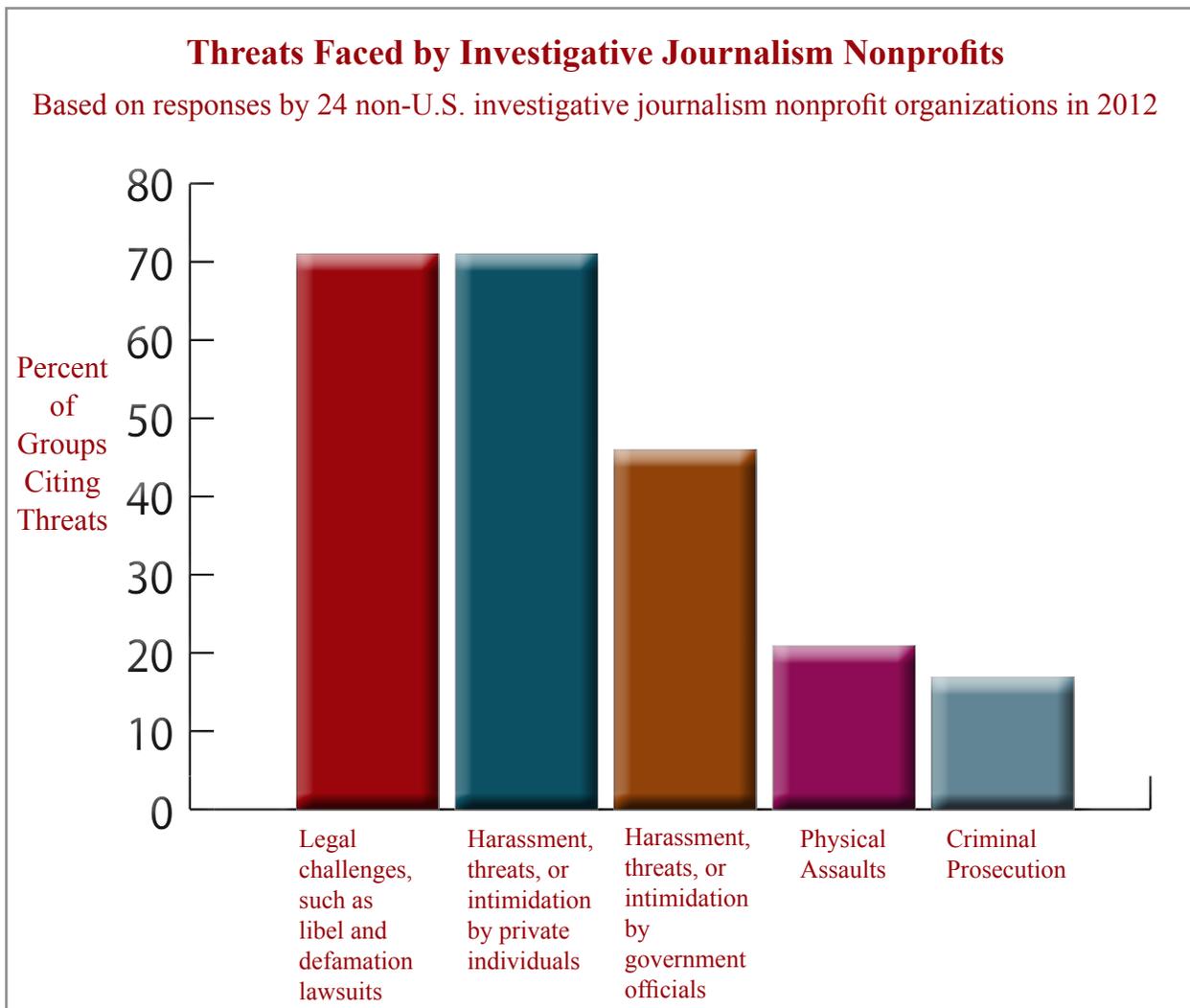
Jankovic’s program has been instrumental in launching investigative journalism initiatives around the world, and she is convinced that such work remains essential. “We’re forgetting that somebody needs to develop enormous amounts of original reporting and content,” she said. “For that, you need reporters who can find the linkages and correlations between events. You need the resources to find and expose what is purposely hidden.”

## A Host of Challenges

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 Georgia’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 show 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

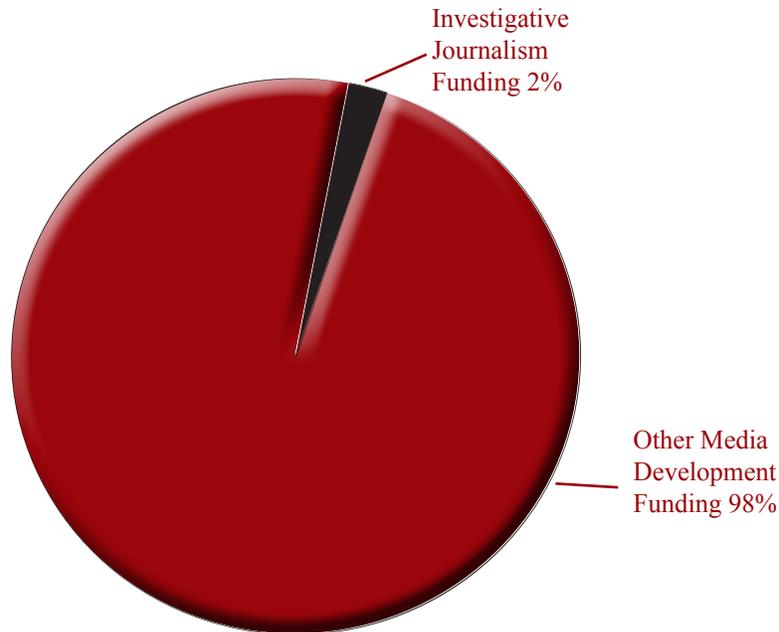
Comparatively small amounts of media development funding have gone to support investigative journalism. A precise figure is difficult to estimate, but consider the budget size of nonprofit investigative journalism nonprofits surveyed by CIMA. Of 50 organizations responding to CIMA's questionnaire, 32 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 budget estimated for the nonprofit groups, this would put combined spending on investigative journalism for media development at roughly \$12 million annually.

Compare that \$12 million to the estimated \$487 million CIMA found was spent in 2010 by donors on international media assistance.<sup>17</sup> That's 2.46 percent of the pie.

### International Media Development Funding for Investigative Journalism



Estimated amounts are \$12 million for investigative journalism (2011) and \$487 million for total international media assistance (2010).

The sparse funding is keenly felt in the field. Trainers and program coordinators interviewed for this report were unanimous in their view that funding for investigative work has been limited, episodic, and seldom seen as an integral aspect of media development. As media development consultant Mary Myers concluded in her DFID report on gaps in media development funding, “Donors could do more to support investigative journalism, particularly by in-country journalists.”<sup>18</sup>

The lack of support is manifest in both training and reporting. Journalists in the West can attest that even in “the good old days” of substantial ad revenue and expanding budgets, it was always a struggle in commercial media to get support for in-depth reporting on controversial issues. “Investigative reporting is always in danger,” observed Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Lowell Bergman, who teaches at the University of California at Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. “It challenges the status quo, the established centers of unaccountable power.”<sup>19</sup>

Although the robust U.S. tradition dates back to the muckrakers of the Progressive Era a century ago, the practice of investigative journalism has risen and fallen with social interest and economic times. Following the Watergate scandal in the early 1970s, the field enjoyed a renaissance, with U.S. newspapers large and small routinely engaged in investigations, TV network newsmagazines featuring hard-hitting reports, and local TV stations fielding consumer and watchdog reporting. But by 2007 the one-two punch of a stubborn, deep-seated recession combined with the advent of the Internet Age sent audiences and ad revenue plummeting, prompting sharp cutbacks in investigative

work. Membership in U.S.-based Investigative Reporters and Editors fell by more than 30 percent between 2003 and 2009, while applications for Pulitzer Prizes dropped more than 40 percent in some investigative categories.<sup>20</sup>

The heavy staff cuts and hollowed out newsroom budgets have prompted the formation of dozens of U.S. nonprofit reporting centers to help fill the gap. For years, starting with the original Fund for Investigative Journalism in 1969, a handful of U.S. donors recognized the need to support independent, watchdog reporting on issues of social and public policy importance. But that support, once limited and given to a handful of national nonprofits, has now spread to new nonprofit newsrooms at the city and state level, with funding from local philanthropists, community and family foundations, and national foundations with interest in media and public policy. In recognition that the American news media was failing to adequately cover the issues of the day, in 2012 the Ford Foundation broke new ground by giving the ailing *Los Angeles Times* \$1 million

### **A Model for Muckracking: The Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism**

Few nonprofit groups win the kind of accolades showered on the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism. “The people who impressed me the most were the PCIJ,” said Roderick Macdonell, who ran the World Bank’s investigative reporting program for five years.<sup>1</sup> “They were doing just incredibly courageous work, and under threat at times,” added Suzanne Siskel, who ran the Ford Foundation office in Manila during the late 1990s. “They always kept their integrity; they always were doing very innovative work.”<sup>2</sup>

Founded in 1989 with a few hundred dollars and a single typewriter, the PCIJ has grown into the gold standard for investigative reporting in Asia. The center is best known for its series on the hidden wealth of President Joseph Estrada, which forced his resignation, but the PCIJ’s impact goes far beyond that scandal. Its reporters have broken hundreds of stories in print, radio, TV, and online; produced eight documentaries; and written two dozen books, meticulously documenting official corruption and corporate abuse. Its trainers have almost single-handedly educated a generation of investigative journalists in the Philippines and spread their know-how across Asia. The center’s alumni, moreover, are now ensconced at major TV stations, newspapers, online sites, and universities.

PCIJ’s co-founder and longtime executive director, Sheila Coronel, offered several reasons for the center’s success. First, she said, there was a reformed legal environment following the end of the Marcos regime in 1986. Another factor was the Philippines’ long tradition of a lively and competitive press—with a diversity of owners—which gave the PCIJ a market for its stories. Third was public support. “People paid attention,” stressed Coronel. “There were congressional hearings; people were fired for what we wrote. There were enough checks and balances for investigative reporting to generate either reform or some action.”<sup>3</sup>

Key to its efforts was building a public constituency. “We didn’t realize this in the beginning,” said Coronel, “but when we started getting threats, we went around talking about our work and why it’s important—to Rotary Clubs, parishes, universities, civic groups.” At one point, Coronel noted, she spoke to 300 priests. “It’s important for people to understand why you’re doing this, who your sources are, what methods you use.” Some of the most important meetings were with those in government. “A lot of them really believe in what we’re doing—even in the military and the most

to bolster reporting on immigrant communities, the California prison system, the border region, and Brazil. “We and many other funders are experimenting with new approaches to preserve and advance high-quality journalism,” a Ford Foundation spokesman explained.<sup>21</sup> The foundation followed that up with a second grant of \$500,000 to the *Washington Post* to support journalists working on special projects related to money, politics, and government.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, in the UK, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation provided more than \$2.5 million for the 2010 launch and support of The *Guardian*’s website on global development.<sup>23</sup>

It is not only reporting that needs help, but training, too. News organizations in many countries are notorious for investing little in training—a critical factor for developing the often complex skills needed for investigative work. Even in North America and Western Europe, with developed advertising markets, strong independent media, and traditions of muckraking, much of the mid-career and advanced training is provided by nonprofit professional associations and centers—

corrupt agencies. If you’re in a new democracy, where the rules are all new, it’s all still being figured out. You need to be able to stake out your position and explain that to people.”

Coronel also credited the center’s methodical, painstaking approach to reporting. “If you do this kind of work you cannot afford major mistakes,” she explained. “We set high standards for what we published. Stories were put through multiple levels of editing. We’ve waited months just to get the other side of the story—including Estrada.”

Another major factor, she added, is an endowment from the Ford Foundation, which has provided as much as 30 percent of the PCIJ’s annual budget of about \$500,000. Despite its success and high profile, the PCIJ typically generates only about 20 percent of its income from fees for training journalists and selling their stories to media outlets. “Grants don’t pay for much overhead or salary,” she said. “An endowment gives you the flexibility so you don’t have to constantly think of your next month’s rent.”

The Ford Foundation’s Siskel added a final reason for the PCIJ’s success: leadership. Coronel, now director of the Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism at Columbia University, deserves great credit, Siskel said, but “it wasn’t just one person. They were very bold and very brave, and they stuck to their principles. The kind of courage they had is something you can’t really teach anybody.”<sup>4</sup>

## Endnotes

1. Interview with the author, Roderick Macdonell, former Director, Investigative Journalism Program, World Bank Institute, October 22, 2007.
2. Interview with the author, Suzanne Siskel, Director of Community and Resource Development, Ford Foundation, October 17, 2007.
3. Interview with the author, Sheila Coronel, October 1, 2007.
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such as Investigative Reporters and Editors and the Centre for Investigative Journalism at City University in London. In the United States, these efforts are supported heavily by foundations and individual donors, and in Europe, government funds often play a key role.<sup>24</sup>

Relying solely on market-support to investigative journalism—particularly on such core topics as crime and corruption—is especially precarious in democratizing and developing countries, according to investigative reporters there. “In new democracies, you have strongly vested interests in the media—from disenfranchised elites holding onto power to newly enfranchised elites just taking advantage of commercial opportunities,” explained Sheila Coronel, former director of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ) and now director of the Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism at Columbia University. “There are very few institutions which stand for the public interest.”<sup>25</sup>

A major obstacle, investigative reporters note, is that local media ownership itself often represents part of the problem, with many owners tied to the same corrosive power structure as corrupt politicians, security forces, and organized crime. Research by the Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism, for example, found that as many as half of all media owners in Bucharest had been under investigation for racketeering or money laundering.<sup>26</sup> Journalists with the Bosnian Center for Investigative Reporting have documented a similar pattern in local media there.<sup>27</sup> Such owners are unlikely to sponsor workshops on how to investigate crime and corruption, or allow their editors to run hard-hitting stories on local abuses of power.

Philanthropic support of investigative journalism can be further developed at the local and national level, but the area is fraught with controversy. Groups in South Africa and Serbia, among other places, are wary of raising money online through micro-financing because they fear powerful interests will seek to sway or tarnish their work through large donations.

One Montenegrin watchdog group which sponsors investigative reporting returned some 300 euros from an online fundraising effort after learning the money came from a notorious Balkan mafia figure blacklisted by the U.S. government.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the Philippine center’s high profile and success, it has relied heavily on grants from overseas to subsidize its work. “If we got a lot of money from local foundations, it would have put us in a tough spot,” explained Coronel. “They’re connected to business, and we’d be attacked for being on the payroll of families or politicians.”

What is needed, argue some experts, is an integrated and sustained approach by the media development community and its donors. George Papagiannis, who spent years at Internews building up training programs and is now with UNESCO, stressed that a long-term strategy is essential. “You need to establish ongoing training, coaching, mentoring, not just for reporters

***A major obstacle, investigative reporters note, is that local media ownership itself often represents part of the problem, with many owners tied to the same corrosive power structure as corrupt politicians, security forces, and organized crime.***

but for editors,” he said. “You need an understanding across the board—investigative reporting is a long-term investment. If you want to create a true cadre of reporters who can do this kind of journalism, it takes a sustained investment over not weeks but years.”<sup>29</sup> Mark Whitehouse, IREX’s vice president for media development, agreed. “Training should be comprehensive and long term to really get change,” he said. “In some respects it makes sense to have fewer participants over a longer period of time.”<sup>30</sup>

Some veteran trainers make a distinction depending on a country’s level of economic development. To a nation with a growing economy and a vibrant and sophisticated press, such as Brazil, the best combination of outside aid may be short-term workshops, consulting, and targeted funding. For less developed countries, long-term projects with staff on the ground will likely be more effective.

All agreed that support to individual projects needs to be integrated into a broader program to develop an investigative news media. “Resource deficits in media houses, skills deficits among journalists and the need for protection in cases where reporting may attract direct threats to the lives or freedom of journalists need addressing,” wrote Myers in her report for DFID. “This involves a holistic ‘package’ not only of training, but of protection of individual journalists, incentives, reliable information streams (e.g. Internet access), institutional support to the better-quality media outlets, legal backup and support to centres such as the Philippines [Center for Investigative Journalism].”<sup>31</sup>

# Mapping the Field

A detailed census of investigative journalism worldwide is beyond the scope of this report, but interviews, CIMA's survey of investigative centers, and a review of recent initiatives reveal an impressive level of activity and interest among journalists worldwide.

The growth of large training conferences has been particularly noteworthy. Since 2001, seven Global Investigative Journalism Conferences have brought together some 3,500 journalists from 100 countries, and they have sparked the formation of numerous regional and national groups, networks, and conferences. The conferences are heavily training oriented, with workshops and panels featuring top reporters explaining interview techniques, undercover work, data analysis, how to follow dirty money, and more.

The annual conference of Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism hosts 300 journalists from Morocco to Iraq. The Conferencia Latinoamericana de Periodismo de Investigacion (COLPIN), sponsored by Peru's Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (Institute of Press and Society), similarly attracts hundreds of journalists from across Latin America each year, as does the Power Reporting Conference from sub-Saharan Africa, co-sponsored by the Forum for African Investigative Reporters and the Journalism Program of South Africa's Wits University. None of these gatherings existed before 2005. In the United States, Northern Europe, Brazil, and Colombia, large national conferences are also held. (The annual congress of ABRAJI, the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism, attracts 800 people drawn from every Brazilian state, half of them students.) Awards are typically given out at these events, honoring the best quality journalism and setting examples of world-class reporting.

The sharing of skills, contacts, and experience are invaluable to young and experienced reporters alike. Equally important, the conferences offer moral and emotional support, which are often in high demand given the threats and pressure journalists can face as they investigate powerful people and institutions. Consider the impact the global conference had on Aamir Latif, a prominent Pakistani journalist based in Karachi:

The best thing I learned at the Global Investigative Journalism Conference was how to work and save yourself in a country like Pakistan, where the right to information means nothing. Senior investigative journalists, at official sessions and on the sidelines, told junior reporters how to tackle uncooperative government and security officials—and how to save ourselves from crossing the RED LINES.

Meeting and learning from veteran investigative reporters was wonderful and unforgettable. The experience really helped in reshaping my career as an investigative reporter, especially how to convert a simple idea into a good investigative story—not spiced up with exaggeration but supported by the sinews of facts and figures, proper quotes, and selection of appropriate analysts.<sup>32</sup>

The growth of the conferences has paralleled, and been enhanced by, an increase in investigative work by the news media in developing countries.<sup>33</sup> Journalists in China have exposed financial fraud, crooked sports games, and environmental degradation.<sup>34</sup> Indian reporters have revealed

political corruption, deadly worksites, and how Hindu nationalist officials secretly abetted anti-Muslim riots.<sup>35</sup> In Slovenia, a pair of journalists used that nation's freedom of information act to reveal how \$1 billion of arms from the defunct Yugoslav army fed local wars, black markets, and corruption in the Balkans.<sup>36</sup> The winner of the Latin America investigative journalism award in 2012 was a Brazilian team from the daily *Folha de Sao Paulo*, who produced an exposé that prompted the indictment of the president's chief of staff for personally profiting from his position.<sup>37</sup> In the 2012 African Investigative Journalism Awards, top honors went to a *Sunday Times* exposé of a South African police death squad; the *Zambezi Daily News*, for uncovering of government corruption in illegal logging in Mozambique; and undercover investigations of violent gangs in Kenya and horrific mining conditions in the Democratic Republic of Congo.<sup>38</sup>

A number of forces are aiding these reporters on the front lines: better training and investigative techniques; digital communications, ranging from mobile phones to social media; and access to regional and global networks of colleagues, sources, and data. In repressive countries where reporting on powerful interests can be too dangerous, journalists have begun doing investigations by digging into less controversial issues as food safety, child care, and public health.<sup>39</sup>

One of the more thorough looks at the spread of investigative journalism was done in 2005 by VVOJ, the Dutch-Flemish association of investigative journalists. The survey, *Investigative Journalism in Europe*, is a 355-page study based on 200 interviews with journalists in 20 countries, including Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine. The study found vibrant examples of investigative reporting in nearly every country surveyed, despite wide disparities in professional training, press freedom, libel laws, and access to information. The report also noted, unsurprisingly, that countries with greater degrees of press freedom—and lesser degrees of corruption—were more likely to host investigative reporting. For example, the four Nordic countries, which typically earn top rankings for press freedom and lack of corruption, all are home to investigative reporting associations.<sup>40</sup>

Most striking, perhaps, is the study's finding of no clear relationship between a media outlet's financial health and an investigative tradition. Mid-size Danish and Swedish newspapers, often strapped for resources, hosted strong investigative reporting, while large French papers did not. "Both within countries and in cross-country comparisons there are no obvious relations between budgets and investigative journalism," the study noted. "Some small and poor media are very active; some big and rich media are not." The key ingredients for investigative work, according to those interviewed: good management, creative newsrooms, and an ability to accept risk.<sup>41</sup>

## Donors and Development

A review of the field for this report shows interest by a handful of major donors in investigative journalism. Among the more notable programs:

- The Open Society Foundations (OSF) has played the largest and most critical role among donors in supporting the field, providing seed money, program support, and grants to cutting-edge initiatives to dozens of investigative journalism groups worldwide. Through its London-based Media Program and various regional and program funds, OSF has supported national reporting centers such as the Baltic

## The World Bank: Back in the Game

Development experts at the World Bank Institute, the bank's training arm, began to focus on investigative journalism in the mid-1990s. As the bank prioritized battling corruption, the importance of an independent, investigative press seemed obvious to its staff. But as the institute backed workshops across the developing world, costs began to mount. To economize, the bank turned to distance learning, setting up an innovative series of videoconferencing programs based out of its Washington, DC, headquarters.

Overseen by Canadian investigative journalist Roderick Macdonell, the free courses proved popular and the program boomed. Macdonell and colleagues could reach some 150 journalists through face-to-face workshops each year—but with videoconferencing, the numbers quadrupled. “It has gone from a cottage industry rate of production to industrial levels,” he wrote as the program took off.<sup>1</sup> From 2000 to 2004, the institute's program trained more than 1,500 journalists in some 35 countries, mostly in French- and English-speaking Africa, but also in Asia and Latin America. The weekly classes consisted of 10 sessions per course, stressing multiple sourcing, use of public records, and Internet resources.<sup>2</sup>

Despite being highly regarded and sparking scores of hard-hitting stories, the program was a victim of its own success. Complaints piled up from host countries about overly aggressive journalists coming out of the trainings, according to bank officials. Finally, in 2004, the bank leadership killed the program, leaving even its trainers in the dark as to the reason why. “There was a feeling that the World Bank shouldn't be doing that much media training,” remembered Macdonell, “and that others should pick it up.”<sup>3</sup>

Center for Investigative Journalism and Brazil's Publica; international reporting networks such as the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP); funding vehicles such as the European Fund for Investigative Journalism; training initiatives; and global and regional conferences.

- The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the world's largest media development donor, has made numerous grants over the years to bolster investigative journalism. Its major recent initiative is a three-year, \$3 million grant to the OCCRP and the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ), to support OCCRP's editorial and capacity-building work with investigative reporting centers and newsrooms in 14 countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. USAID also has funded recent investigative journalism programs in the Middle East, Georgia, Ukraine, and elsewhere.
- The State Department has funded long-term projects in the Balkans and Azerbaijan, and workshops in El Salvador, Indonesia, and Nepal, among other countries. State Department foreign-visitor programs also bring several dozen investigative journalists to the United States each year for seminars, newsroom visits, and fellowships. In addition, U.S. embassies have provided small grants to investigative journalism centers and initiatives in various countries.

Today, the bank is back in media training. The World Bank Institute has run trainings in Africa on how to cover government budgets and procurement. Armed with gigabytes of data that the bank collects, institute staff are training journalists to follow key trends in health, education, government finance, and more.<sup>4</sup> And in Zambia, the bank's Governance Group sponsored a successful series of workshops and a competition that boosted investigative journalism by local media.<sup>5</sup>

Will the World Bank's renewed interest continue? As bank offices get more aggressive in pushing for transparency and combating corruption, host countries are likely to push back again. "We're aware of the history," said one insider.

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- Scandinavian governments have funded a variety of programs. The Danish and Swedish governments have provided substantial grants to the Amman-based Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism. The Danish Foreign Ministry has also given multiyear funding to SCOOP, which in turn gives small grants to journalists in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus.
- The National Endowment for Democracy has contributed to a number of investigative journalism initiatives. The list includes reporting centers in Chile (the Centro de Investigación e Información Periodística, or CIPER), Peru (IDL-Reporteros), and Serbia (the Serbian Center for Investigative Journalism, or CINS).
- UNESCO has funded a guide to investigative journalism now available in five languages, including Arabic, Chinese, and Russian, as well as model curricula for teaching investigative reporting. The UN Development Programme is funding a guide to corruption reporting.
- Private foundations besides OSF have made important contributions. Since 1994, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation has supported the Knight International Fellowships, administered by ICFJ, and some of these focus on investigative projects. The Gates Foundation also provides backing for the Knight fellows to do health reporting work in sub-Saharan Africa, and these also at times involve investigative projects. Other donors have sponsored one-shot projects

such as trainings or investigations into topics such as human trafficking, the environment, and corrupt practices.

- Donors that come out of the technology industry are making important contributions to foster open data and news applications that can help investigative journalism. Millions of dollars have been spent on grant competitions in Africa, Europe, and the United States to fund such projects as document and data managers, mapping software, security measures, and data analysis tools. Among the backers: Google, the Knight Foundation, and the Omidyar Network.

## Investigative Implementers

Although the range of activity is broad, international efforts to support the spread of investigative reporting appear largely uncoordinated and without a central strategy. As in media development generally, a lack of communication among donors and competition among implementers is often blamed. Complicating matters is a bifurcation among those active in investigative media development—on one side, U.S. officials and the NGOs they fund, and on the other, the professional investigative journalist community, which has largely steered away from participation in government-backed programs. Most notable is the absence of IRE, likely the world’s largest trainer of investigative journalists. The independent-minded IRE refuses to accept any federal funding. The result: despite IRE’s central role in the field, several U.S. media development officials interviewed for this report knew little or nothing about the organization.

Supported by membership and training fees, foundation grants, and volunteer staff, IRE has played an important role in international investigative reporting. The organization has helped start or inspire investigative journalism centers in a half-dozen countries, co-sponsored global conferences and scores of workshops, and reached thousands of journalists abroad through its online resources and consulting. IRE’s annual conferences, which regularly attract a thousand journalists, were once largely domestic affairs; they now draw about 10 percent of their attendees from overseas, including top journalists from East Asia, Europe, and Latin America. The State Department now times its annual investigative journalism visitors’ program to coincide with the IRE conference—exposing them to more than a hundred panels of reporters and editors sharing tips and techniques, including the latest in data journalism.

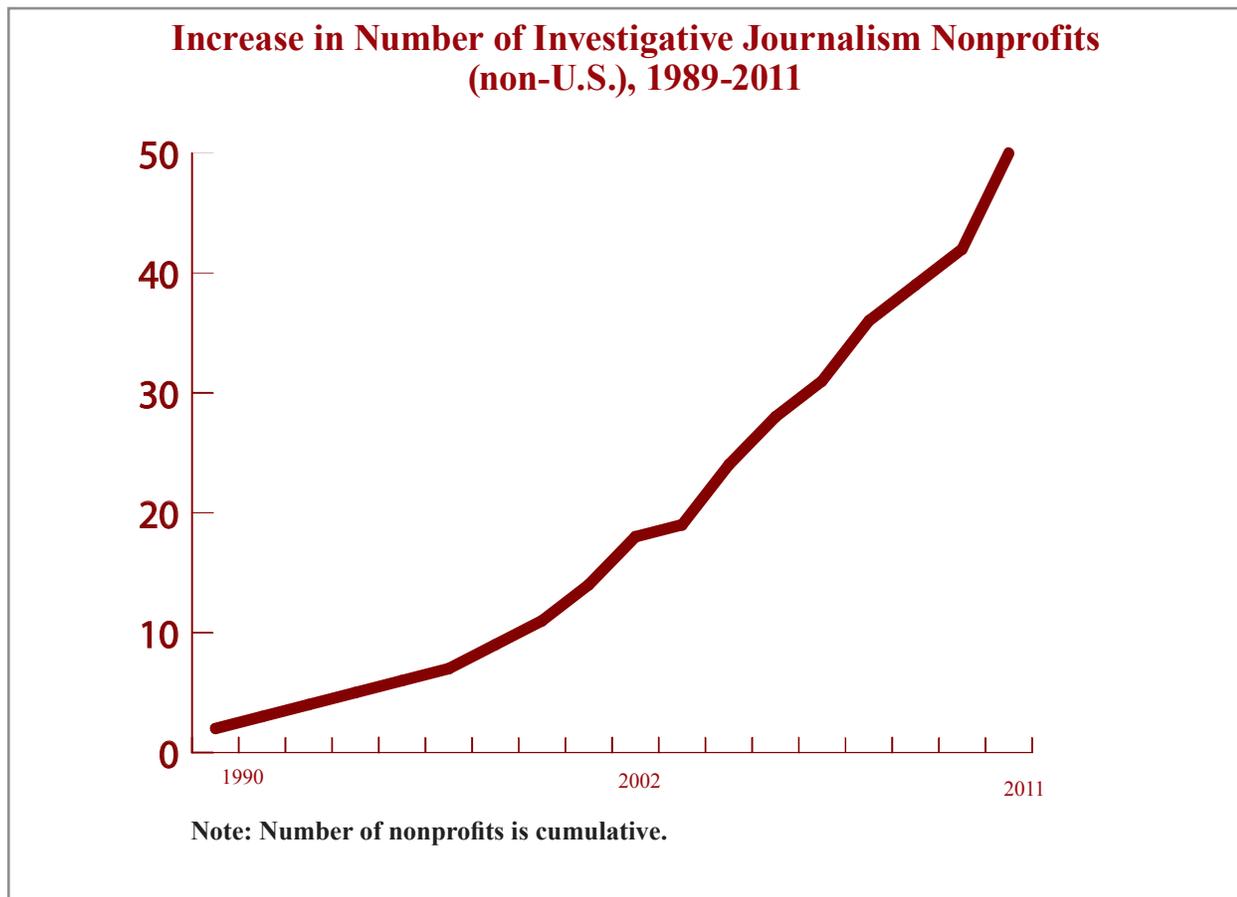
The lack of contact between the media development community and the professional journalism community can produce some surprising results. International assistance program staff often know little about journalism, and even less about investigative journalism. How else can one explain how USAID funded a Dyncorp subsidiary to run an investigative reporting program in Timor-Leste in 2012?<sup>42</sup> Dyncorp, a Pentagon contractor that provides security in hot spots worldwide, has attracted controversy in years past over allegations of sex trafficking, contract mismanagement, and misspending and has been the focus of reporting by journalists.<sup>43</sup>

# The Nonprofit Model

The development of investigative journalism overseas owes much to the growing network of nonprofit organizations, according to veteran trainers and journalists active in the field. The groups are a diverse array of actors that includes reporting organizations, training institutes, small grant-making bodies, and regional and global networks that link journalists in person and online. Some organizations combine several of these roles.

The nonprofit model, which started in the United States, has spread rapidly both in the U.S. and abroad. The trend began in the 1970s and '80s, with a handful of U.S.-based nonprofits devoted to advancing investigative journalism. Joined by organizations in Scandinavia and the Philippines, the model caught on after the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. New centers in Armenia, Romania, and Bosnia began in the early 2000s, offering a home for reporters to write hard-hitting stories that major media in those countries would not carry. At the same time, similar groups were formed in Brazil, the Netherlands, and South Africa. International conferences, workshops, and online media have helped spread the model worldwide.

The various groups range widely in staff and budget, from one-person operations in the developing world to the multimillion-dollar ProPublica with offices on New York's Wall Street. The nonprofits are not appropriate everywhere, and not every model will work in a given environment. But they have proved to be a viable model for several reasons. In developing



## Nonprofit Journalism: A Global Model?

The growth of investigative reporting centers is part of an important, larger trend toward nonprofit journalism, according to Charles Lewis, founder of the Center for Public Integrity. In an influential 2007 paper for the Joan Shorenstein Center at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, Lewis argued that growing market pressures on the traditional news media are highlighting the need for an expanding nonprofit media sector that will act more directly in the public interest.<sup>1</sup> Lewis pointed out that nonprofit media are already more prevalent than widely thought. The Associated Press, for example—with 3,700 staff members in 300 locations worldwide—is a nonprofit cooperative. Similarly, National Public Radio now boasts 34 bureaus with 26 million weekly listeners. Other nonprofit media include the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *St. Petersburg Times*, *National Geographic*, and *Consumer Reports*, to name a few.<sup>2</sup>

A 2011 study by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission, *The Information Needs of Communities*, noted that nonprofit news media include “journalism schools that field reporters, concerned citizens who start a nonprofit website, community Low Power FM stations, anyone contributing to a Wikipedia page, state-based C-SPANs, software developers who write open source code in nonprofit settings, public access channels, newspapers run by foundations, religious broadcasters, citizens tweeting news from the scene of a disaster and public broadcasting.” The report concluded that “the nonprofit sector will, in many cases, need to play a greater role in filling remaining media gaps.”<sup>3</sup>

The irony of investigative journalism's expansion overseas is that it is under siege in its birthplace, the United States. Buffeted by the loss of ad revenue, cutbacks on reporting staff, and shorter deadlines in the Internet era, American investigative reporting has taken a considerable hit, with investigative teams disbanded, time to devote to projects shortened, and veteran investigators leaving the field.<sup>4</sup> The hollowing out of serious news media has sparked the formation of dozens of nonprofit newsrooms. Most notable, perhaps, was the 2007 commitment by a wealthy California couple of \$10 million annually to found and support the investigative nonprofit ProPublica.

In 2009 the Investigative News Network was established to serve as a hub and resource for U.S. nonprofit newsrooms. By 2012, INN had more than 70 member organizations, ranging from NPR to websites on juvenile justice, education, and city news sites often focused more towards local news than investigative journalism.<sup>5</sup>

The Investigative Reporting Workshop at American University has done two surveys of what it calls the “new journalism ecosystem,” identifying 75 nonprofit news organizations in the United States. In its latest study, released in 2012, the IRW estimated the groups had a cumulative annual operating budget of \$135 million and 1,300 full-time staff. Nearly half of those employees, and one-third of the budget, came from just one publisher, *Consumer Reports*, with an annual budget of \$43 million and roughly 600 full-time employees. Nearly \$30 million more belonged to three groups: the *Christian Science Monitor* newspaper, now entirely online (\$10 million), *Mother Jones* magazine (\$9.3 million), and ProPublica (\$10 million).

An ongoing tally by American University's J-Lab has found similarly impressive numbers. The group identified 279 foundations that since 2005 have spent more than \$247 million on U.S. news and information projects. These figures do not include the considerable funding donated annually to public broadcasting.<sup>6</sup>

How applicable is the U.S. nonprofit model in other countries? Under U.S. law, nonprofit corporations receive several advantages, including contributions on which donors can take a full tax deduction, and no taxation on income received by the organization (although employee salaries are taxed). Such potent economic incentives do not exist in most countries. The growing U.S. nonprofit sector also benefits from a strong tradition of philanthropy and a large domestic market from which to solicit support. But the model is not isolated to the United States. One of the UK's most prominent daily newspapers, *The Guardian*, is owned by the Scott Trust, formed in 1936 "to safeguard the journalistic freedom and liberal values of the *Guardian*."<sup>7</sup>

Besides the nonprofit model, other forms of public subsidies support media around the world. Among them: discounted postal rates for print media, discounted broadcast licenses, government-sponsored advertising, and direct subsidies. In many countries, particularly in Western Europe, taxpayers provide considerable support to the news media through parliamentary allocations or license fees given to public broadcasting. The large donated figures to U.S. media stand in sharp relief to the comparatively low support Americans give public broadcasting. U.S. annual per capita spending on public broadcasting is less than \$4, compared to \$30 in Canada, \$91 in the United Kingdom, and \$131 in Germany.<sup>8</sup>

## Endnotes

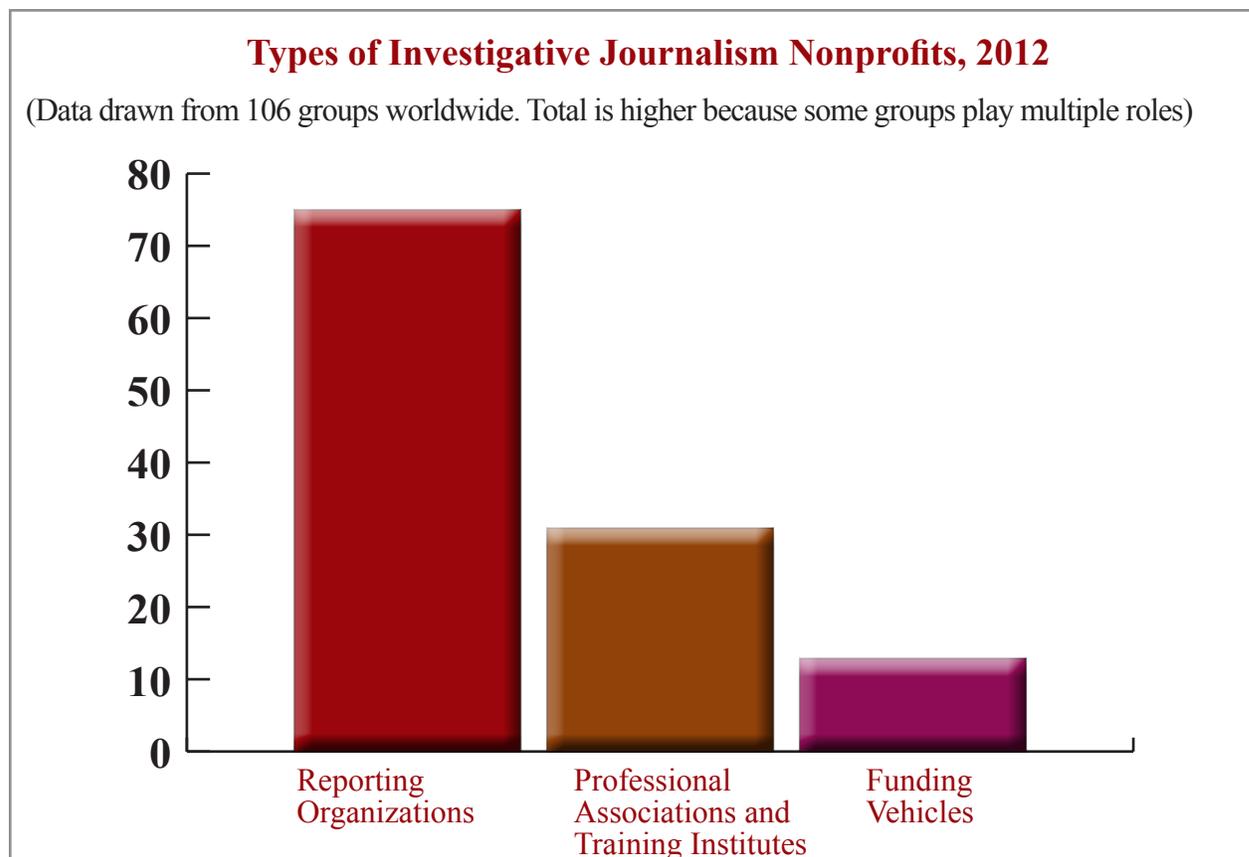
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and democratizing countries, they often serve, quite literally, as centers of excellence, offering firsthand proof that top-flight reporting can be done on crime, corruption, and accountability. “The role of the Center is as a catalyst—to show that this kind of reporting is possible and to encourage others to do it,” said Sheila Coronel, co-founder of the Philippine center. The PCIJ’s work has indeed inspired the creation of investigative teams at Filipino TV news stations and newspapers. Drew Sullivan, founder of the Bosnian Center for Investigative Reporting (known by its local acronym CIN) calls it “leveraging standards into the local media.” Newspapers in Sarajevo, he noted, began telling their reporters they want CIN-type stories—well-documented, in-depth pieces that stand apart from the opinionated, thinly reported fare that fills many dailies.<sup>44</sup>

When CIMA surveyed nonprofit investigative journalism centers in 2007, it found 39 in 26 countries, with more than half of those appearing since 2000. A follow-up 2012 survey shows that this rapid growth has continued, with 106 nonprofits in 47 countries.

Most organizations outside North America and Western Europe have received international assistance, with the Open Society Foundations, USAID, and Denmark’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs among the most significant supporters. Groups in Latin America, such as ABRAJI in Brazil and CIPER in Chile, have successfully developed local sources of private funding, much like their U.S. counterparts.

These investigative nonprofits fall generally under three types: reporting centers, which produce editorial products ranging from documentaries to beat stories; associations and training centers, which include membership organizations and professional networks; and funding organizations,



which typically give out relatively small grants, ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand dollars, to journalists for investigative stories.

Some combine characteristics of all three models. Here's an overview:

## Reporting Organizations

Starting with the Berkeley, CA-based Center for Investigative Reporting in 1977, nonprofit in-depth reporting groups have flourished over the past decade. Among the pioneering organizations outside the U.S. were the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism and the Bosnian Center for Investigative Reporting. The Open Society Foundations, both through its London-based media program and through national offices, has been instrumental in providing seed grants for many of these groups, including startups in the Baltics, Hungary, Macedonia, and South Africa.

Several regional networks have also formed:

- The Forum for African Investigative Reporters began in 2003 and includes members across sub-Saharan Africa. In addition to running its own investigations, FAIR holds conferences and gives out grants and awards.
- Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism, formed in 2005, similarly conducts its own projects while acting as an association for journalists in the region. Its annual conference has exposed hundreds of journalists from the Middle East and North Africa to investigative reporting.
- The Sarajevo-based Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, formed in 2006, is an umbrella group of centers in Eastern Europe and former Soviet states. Backed by a three-year, \$3 million USAID grant in partnership with the International Center for Journalists, OCCRP's 14 member centers and news organizations collaborate on gutsy stories on crime and corruption and get access to media insurance, databases, and help in capacity-building.
- The U.S.-based Investigative News Network was founded in 2010 and offers its more than 70 nonprofit members in the United States and Canada help on sustainability models, technology, collaboration, syndication, and back office support. Its membership includes many of the local and regional American centers and online publishers formed in recent years.<sup>45</sup>

Some U.S.-based nonprofits also work internationally. The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists is a reporting network with 160 journalists in more than 60 countries. Formed in 1997 by the Washington, DC-based Center for Public Integrity, ICIJ's cross-border investigations have produced award-winning reports on the black markets in fish, tobacco, human tissue and asbestos, military aid and human rights, and more.<sup>46</sup> The group also presents the Daniel Pearl Award for Outstanding International Investigative Reporting. The New York-based ProPublica, Berkeley-based CIR, and DC-based 100Reporters also do international projects, as do university-based investigative journalism programs at American (Investigative Reporting Workshop), Brandeis (Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism),

Columbia (Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism), and UC Berkeley (Investigative Reporting Program).

### Professional Associations and Networks

At the international level, the Global Investigative Journalism Network has emerged as a critical hub for the world's investigative reporting community. The GIJN serves as an umbrella organization for more than 70 member organizations in 35 countries that support investigative journalism, including nonprofit newsrooms, professional associations, online publishers, training centers, and academic departments. Founded in 2003, the GIJN grew out of the biennial Global Conference on Investigative Journalism. Seven of these training and networking conferences since 2001—in cities ranging from Toronto to Copenhagen to Kiev—have hosted a total of some 3,500 journalists from more than 100 countries, with panels on investigative techniques, data analysis, and the latest tech tools. The conferences have at times a missionary feel to them, with passionate reporters working overtime to spread the gospel of investigative journalism worldwide. The gatherings have played a central role in spreading data journalism and investigative reporting worldwide, led to the founding of numerous investigative reporting groups, and sparked collaborations among journalists worldwide.<sup>47</sup>

In 2012, the GIJN created a secretariat to build capacity and strengthen the loose networks tying together the world's investigative journalists. [Note: The author is serving as the GIJN secretariat's first director.] Through conferences and workshops, social media that extend into 100 countries, and a global network of volunteers, the GIJN reaches thousands of journalists and provides expertise on investigative methodology, sources, and nonprofit and project management. “The Global Investigative Journalism Network has been the number one catalyst for fostering not only the spread of investigative reporting around the world, but it also has shared and established methodologies and standards that can insure the credibility and impact of investigative stories,” observed Brant Houston, a co-founder of the network and the Knight Chair of Investigative and Enterprise Journalism at the University of Illinois.<sup>48</sup>

The international reporting networks described above also play important roles in connecting investigative journalists to one another, as does SCOOP (discussed under Grant-Making Organizations, below). At the national level, as well, there are professional associations in 18 countries, most prominent among them the US-based Investigative Reporters and Editors.

In the wake of the Watergate scandal, American investigative journalists felt the need for a professional association that would support the craft, provide training, and help protect its members. Thus was born IRE, the world's largest and oldest association of investigative journalists. From its base at the University of Missouri Journalism School, IRE has pioneered data journalism, gives out coveted awards, and holds annual conferences that draw up to a thousand journalists from around the world. With 4,200 members, and workshops across the U.S. and overseas, IRE is one of the world's largest trainers of journalists. Because it does not accept government funding, its work tends to be less known within the development community.<sup>49</sup>

IRE is particularly well known for one of its first acts, responding to the car bombing and murder of *Arizona Republic* reporter Don Bolles. The organization pulled together and coordinated an unprecedented team investigation that completed Bolles' work on organized crime and public

**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
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$5,404,000</b>

Source: Center for International Media Assistance survey, 2012

**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
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$26,600,000</b>

Source: Investigative Reporting Workshop and Center for International Media Assistance

corruption in Arizona. The project, joined by 38 journalists from 28 newspapers and broadcast stations, shined a spotlight on local officials and the Mafia for months, helped push forward multiple indictments in the case, and put U.S. organized crime on notice that killing reporters in the United States would come at a high price.<sup>50</sup>

Among those groups successfully building on the IRE model is ABRAJI, Brazil’s association of investigative journalists. Formed in 2002, ABRAJI now boasts more than 3,000 members and has trained more than 5,000 people through its courses, seminars, and workshops. Professional groups are also active in various northern European countries, among them FUJ (Denmark), Gravande Journalister (Sweden), Netzwerk Recherche (Germany), SKUP (Norway), and VVOJ (Netherlands). In addition to training at home, a number of their members conduct workshops overseas.

Groups in developing countries include Morocco's L'Association Marocaine pour le Journalisme d'Investigation (AMJI) and Nigeria's Wole Soyinka Centre for Investigative Journalism (WSCIJ).

### Grant-Making Organizations

A third nonprofit model employs a kind of small-scale grant making, in which NGOs dispense amounts ranging from several hundred to several thousand dollars for journalists to do investigative projects. This approach has won important backing from donors, who find it an effective way to overcome the first major hurdle facing investigative journalists: giving them enough time and money to do reporting. Relatively small grants can allow journalists, particularly in developing countries, to break free long enough to do in-depth stories, giving them invaluable time to learn and practice the craft. Among the groups using this model:

- The first investigative nonprofit, the Washington, DC-based Fund for Investigative Journalism, founded in 1969, has pioneered the small-grant-making model. A young freelance journalist named Seymour Hersh received one of FIJ's earliest grants—\$250 to investigate an alleged massacre at a Vietnamese village named My Lai. A second grant of \$2,000 helped him finish the story, which helped change the course of US history (and won Hersh a Pulitzer Prize).<sup>51</sup> Over three decades FIJ has dispensed more than \$1.5 million to freelance reporters, authors and small publications, helping enable some 700 stories and 50 books.<sup>52</sup>
- SCOOP makes small grants to investigative projects in 12 countries in the Balkans and Eastern Europe. The organization is managed by the Danish Association of Investigative Journalism (FUJ) and run in cooperation with International Media Support, a Danish NGO.<sup>53</sup> Since its founding in 2003, SCOOP has made hundreds of grants. Much of its funding comes from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. IMS is also supporting a similar project in West Africa, the Programme for African Investigative Reporting (PAIR).<sup>54</sup>
- The European Fund for Investigative Journalism, founded in 2008, gives grants to investigative projects in Europe. In late 2011, OSF gave a two-year €324,000 grant to the European Fund and its sister projects. The Fund is a program of the Pascal Decroos Fund, which makes similar grants to journalists in Flanders.<sup>55</sup>

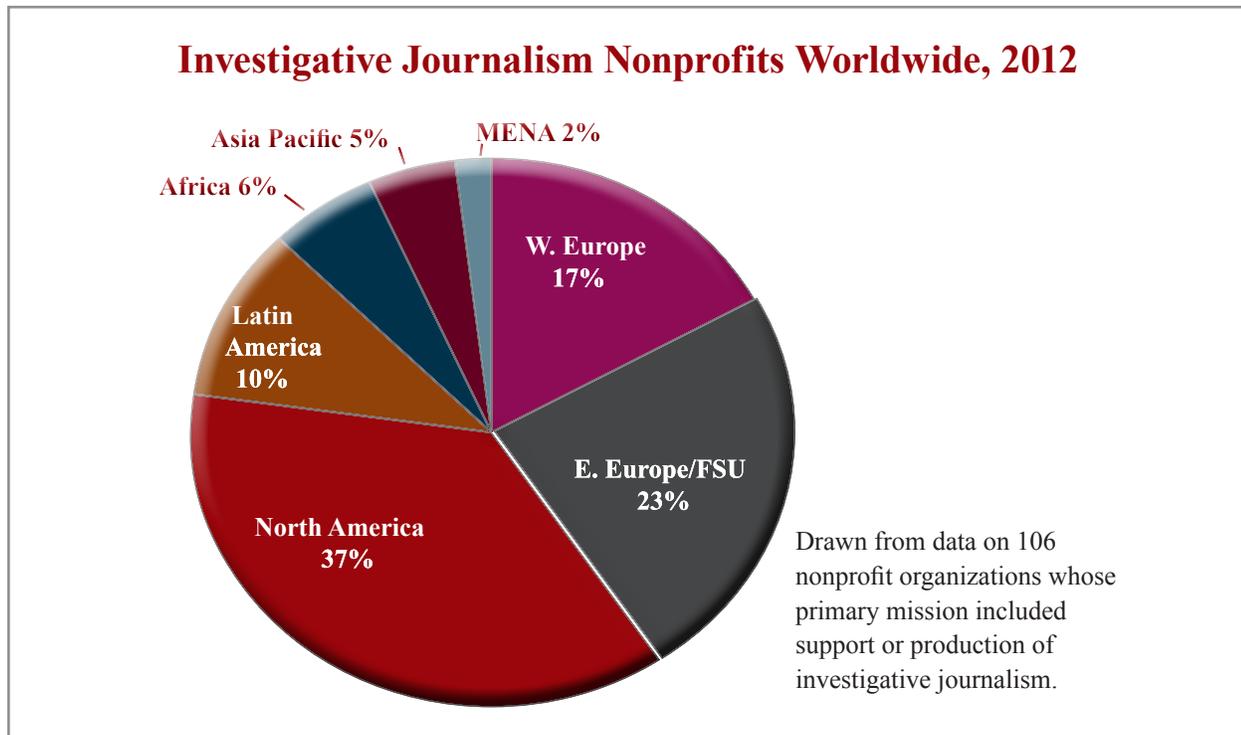
### The CIMA Survey

In 2007, CIMA sent questionnaires to 39 nonprofit investigative journalism organizations in 26 countries. To update its findings, a new round of research was conducted in early 2012, including interviews with experts on the field and a comprehensive search of literature, online sites, conference proceedings, and donor reports. The 2012 research identified 90 nonprofits in 37 countries. Recent data already existed on 37 of those organizations, which were based in the United States, compiled by the Investigative News Network and the Investigative Reporting Workshop.<sup>56</sup> Questionnaires were thus sent to 53 that were located outside the United States.

Additional research by CIMA since the survey identified another 16 organizations, all outside the United States. That resulted in a total of 106 nonprofits in 47 countries.

CIMA used the following criteria to include groups in its tally:

1. It is a nonprofit or non-governmental organization operating in the public interest. Such organizations would be recognized under U.S. law as a nonprofit corporation.
2. Among its primary missions is the support of investigative journalism, whether through reporting, training, grant-making, conferences, or as a professional association.
3. For reporting organizations, there is a substantial, on-going commitment to in-depth project reporting or data journalism.



By combining data on all 106 groups from the various surveys and research, one can draw a global picture that shows the organizations are widely dispersed. Well over one third (37 percent) are in North America, with 37 of 39 groups based in the United States. Eastern Europe and former Soviet states, with 25, are home to nearly a quarter; Western Europe has 18 groups; Latin America and the Caribbean have 11; and the rest of the world—Africa, Asia/Pacific, the Middle East/North Africa—has 13.

The 2012 CIMA survey, as noted earlier, focused exclusively on groups outside the United States. Response to that survey was substantial. Of the 53 nonprofits that received questionnaires, 50 responded, a 94 percent response rate. Not all groups responded to all questions, however.

Of the non-U.S. groups surveyed, the list includes 41 that are primarily reporting organizations, 25 that are professional associations and networks, and 12 that are funding organizations. There is some cross-over: five of the groups combine several of these functions,

acting as professional associations, funding vehicles, and reporting agencies. These include important regional groups such as Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism, the Forum for African Investigative Reporters, and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project.

Most of the non-U.S. groups are small operations. One-fifth have staffs of only one to two people; more than half have five staff or fewer. Only three had more than 20 employees: the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network and Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, which are recipients of large international aid grants, and the Global Mail in Australia, backed by a high-tech entrepreneur. Nearly 17 percent did not have a physical office and functioned as a virtual network .

Of the 50 respondents to the CIMA survey, 42 provided budget figures for 2011. Their combined annual budgets totaled a modest \$8.6 million, less than the annual budget that year of ProPublica in New York. Indeed, the combined budget of just the top 10 U.S.-based investigative journalism nonprofits—nearly \$27 million—was three times the total of all non-U.S. groups. The U.S. nonprofits have flourished in large measure due to favorable tax law (a tax exemption for nonprofits and a 100 percent tax deduction for contributions by donors), the nation’s wealth and population, and a strong philanthropic tradition.

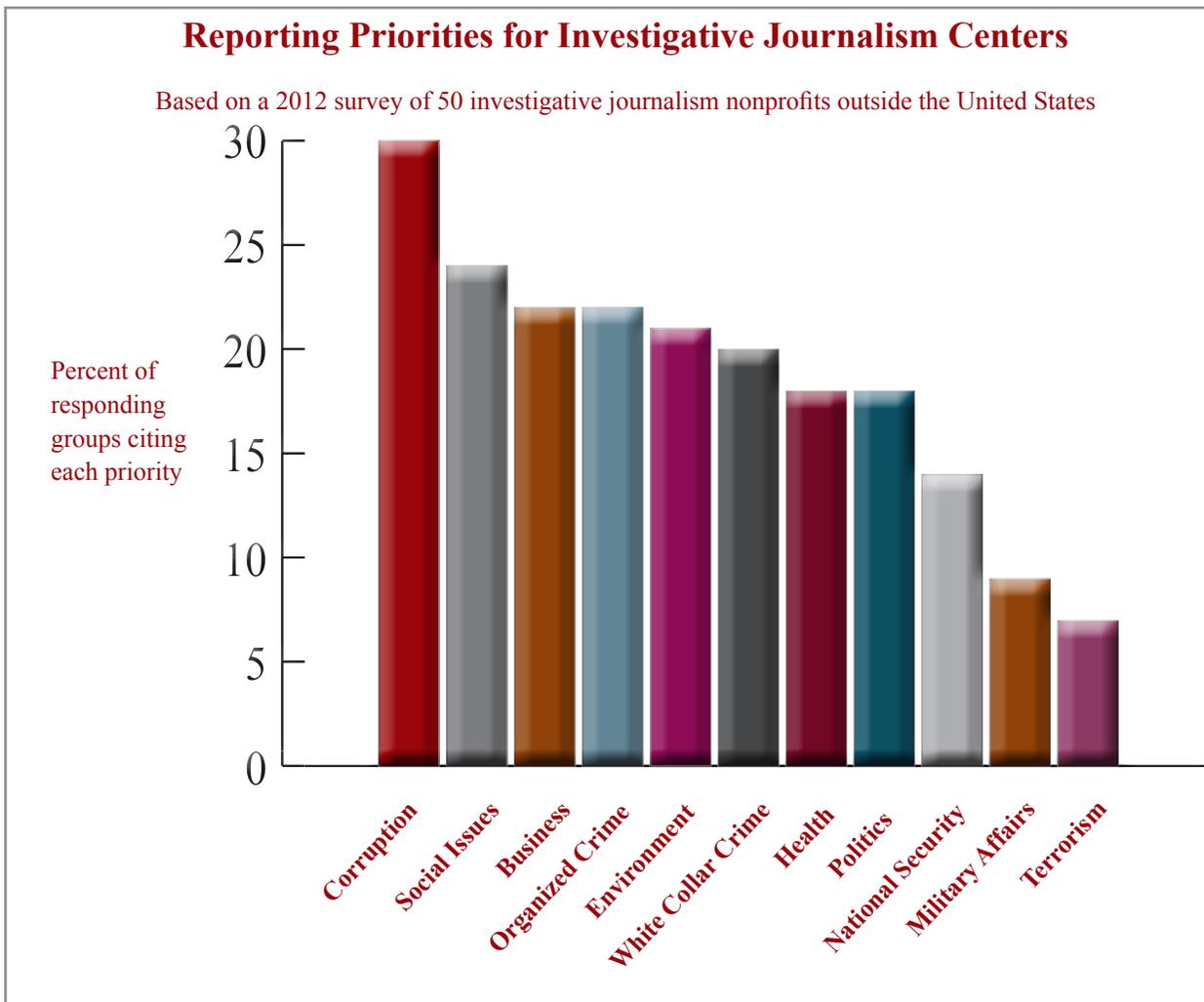
Nonetheless, the non-U.S. nonprofits have grown markedly since CIMA’s 2007 survey, due in large measure to backing from the media development community. In the 2007 survey, 16 groups in developing or democratizing countries provided budget data, with an aggregate figure for 2006 of just \$2.6 million. Those data included budgets for the sector’s largest and most successful nonprofits—in the Balkans, Brazil, and the Philippines. In CIMA’s current survey, 29 groups based or focused on developing and transitioning countries reported a combined 2011 budget of nearly \$6 million, representing a more than doubling in financial size.

The average annual budget for all non-U.S. groups is about \$162,000, although just seven groups account for half the total. The largest: the London-based Bureau of Investigative Journalism at \$900,000; the Amman-based Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism at \$886,000; the Johannesburg-based M&G Centre for Investigative Journalism at \$590,000; the Sarajevo-based Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project at \$586,000; and the Brussels-based Pascal Decroos Fund at \$535,000.

These budgets can fluctuate considerably, due to the vagaries of fundraising and management among the groups. In Europe, the Brussels-based European Fund for Investigative Journalism and related programs saw its budget double in 2012, from \$106,000 to \$217,000, thanks to a two-year grant from the Open Society Foundations Media Program. The U.S.-based groups have had swings in the millions of dollars. The Washington, DC-based Center for Public Integrity, for example, increased its 2010 budget by more than half to \$8.8 million, through an infusion of new grants and by spending its reserves on a shaky business plan to become an online daily newspaper; when the plan failed, CPI’s budget plummeted 42 percent and it eliminated more than a third of its staff.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, the rival Berkeley-based Center for Investigative Reporting increased its budget through grants and by merging with a local nonprofit, Bay Citizen, jumping in size from \$2.3 million in 2010 to \$10.5 million in 2012.

More than half of the groups reporting budget figures in CIMA’s survey—22 nonprofits—had annual budgets of more than \$100,000. Particularly in developing and transitioning countries, where salaries are typically lower than the West, such budgets can go far to support independent journalism. Eight of the groups – nearly 20 percent – were essentially volunteer or one-person operations, with budgets of \$5,000 or less.

Asked to rank their most important needs, the responding groups unsurprisingly put at the top general support funding followed by project-specific funding. Other priorities were, in order of importance, access to databases, equipment such as cameras and computers, libel and legal protection, and Web and multimedia training. Lesser priority was put on office support, journalism training, security technology, and, lastly, physical protection.



Those nonprofits engaged in reporting tended to function as multimedia, multiplatform newsrooms, the survey found. Print and online stories are produced by most of the groups, but more than half are engaged in TV production and a quarter in radio production. More than 30 percent produce books and research reports. Asked to rank the kinds of stories they report,

the responding groups reported editorial priorities largely consistent with those from the 2007 survey. The top five reporting topics in 2011: corruption, social issues such as poverty and minorities, business, and organized crime, and environmental affairs.

Many of the reporting centers have embraced data journalism. Spreadsheets and data visualization software are used by about half of the groups surveyed, and about a quarter use database managers and data scraping techniques. More than a third produce or integrate databases into their story production.

Asked to rank their biggest threats, two areas emerged as the biggest concerns: more than two-thirds of responding groups (71 percent) each ranked legal challenges and harassment and intimidation by private individuals. Nearly half (46 percent) also cited harassment and threats by government officials. Seventeen percent cited criminal prosecution as a major concern.

Other facts derived from the survey:

- Most of the groups reported that they publicly disclosed their funders, although more than a fifth (21 percent) did not.<sup>58</sup>
- More than one fifth (21 percent) lacked an ethics and standards policy.
- More than half (55 percent) published or broadcasted in more than one language.
- Social media was widely embraced, although seven groups (14 percent) did not believe it is important.

Finally, the survey found that women are playing a significant leadership role in the various nonprofits. Despite investigative journalism's reputation as a somewhat "macho" field, women served as presidents or executive directors of 38 percent of the groups.

# Sustainable Models

The trend to create investigative journalism nonprofits does not appear to be abating. New reporting centers or funds are being planned or seriously considered in Belgium, India, the Netherlands, Norway, and Zambia. Despite their growing popularity, though, the nonprofits are not always an appropriate model. Several organizations are dormant or no longer in operation, including centers in Bulgaria, Mexico, and Timor. The reasons for their failure are varied—lack of funding, lack of fundraising, managerial problems, small and uncompetitive markets, poor editorial standards. An innovative program in Tbilisi, Georgia, run by ICFJ and the Eurasia Foundation, created the Caucasus Investigative Reporting Center and trained more than 20 reporters in investigative techniques during 2005-06. Initial funding came from the State Department and the British government’s Global Conflict Prevention Pool, as well as from ICFJ’s Knight program. Despite the program’s success, a lack of support left the Center “in suspended animation,” according to former program director Jody McPhillips.<sup>59</sup> Similar programs come and go, abandoned when funding runs out.

Columbia University’s Sheila Coronel is wary of programs that are top-down attempts to instill an investigative culture into a nation’s news media. “Local journalists should be willing to make this happen,” she said. “You need local buy-in. There’s no assurance your stories will be published or that you’ll steer clear of the law. It requires genuine commitment—and you can’t program that from Washington.” A more effective strategy in some countries, such as Pakistan or Bangladesh, may be to work directly with receptive news outlets through targeted grants or a mentorship program. “In some places it would not work,” Coronel added, “but it might as a unit within a newspaper, where you have an enlightened editor or publisher who’s interested.”

William Orme of the United Nations Development Programme’s Human Development Report Office likewise warns of inapplicable models, particularly where basic journalism skills are lacking and the legal environment is onerous. Orme calls for more support to investigative reporting, but says the conditions must be right. “There’s a totally different dynamic” in parts of Africa, he cautioned. “You can’t do investigative reporting in a country that has enforced criminal libel statutes on the books.”

A reporting center will not be practical in many places. The Philippine center, considered by many to be a model, has lasted nearly a quarter century due to various factors, including a reformed legal environment, a lively and competitive press, public support, high standards, strong leadership, and a small but critical endowment. (See *A Model for Muckraking*, page 16.)

As an alternative, donors and local journalists should consider the investigative journalism fund model. This requires less overhead than a fully staffed reporting center, and it can leverage local media resources by providing grants or matching funds to let editors and reporters develop project-length stories. Eighteen of the centers surveyed by CIMA make grants to outside reporters to do investigative projects. This could be expanded, and non-partisan NGOs such as open government groups could be used as a base. The challenge is ensuring high editorial standards. It is not enough to simply dole out grants to promising projects and reporters, say veteran investigative journalists. Funding should be allocated so that a professional editor with

global standards is working as a coach and mentor, and can follow the reporter from story inception to publication or broadcast.

Regardless of the model, funding remains critical to the nonprofits' success. As a group, they are heavily dependent on donors—84 percent cited grants and donations as their major source of income, followed by story fees and membership and conference fees at 11 percent each, and teaching and training at 9 percent. Even the best-run, most entrepreneurial centers have to fundraise for more than half of their budget, much like other NGOs. Key to the Bosnian Center's early success, for example, was a three-year, \$1.8 million grant from USAID in 2004. The Philippines center received a Ford Foundation endowment that provides as much as 30 percent of that center's annual budget. Asked to rank what kind of assistance is most important to them, the various center respondents listed two kinds of funding at the top of the list, well ahead of such priorities as legal and physical protection, training, and equipment.

Given the rapid growth of these centers, donors have raised the obvious question of how sustainable they are. The amount of funding available is not large, and new donors have not appeared in substantial numbers. At the same time, the number of groups is growing, and many appear overly dependent on grants from international aid agencies and the Open Society Foundations. In CIMA's survey, just over half of the responding groups (53 percent) reported having a sustainability plan in place. Some observers believe that the large number of nonprofit groups is in fact not sustainable – funders will lose interest or be forced to cut back on grant-making. Pressure on Western governments to pare budgets may affect international assistance, for example, while poor yields on foundation investment portfolios can reign in private giving.

The answer, say nonprofit management experts, is to diversify revenue and expand the pool of donors. The model is not new. The original Center for Investigative Reporting during the late 1980s had contracts with CBS's *60 Minutes* program and the San Francisco NBC News affiliate, built a production studio to co-produce documentaries with the Public Broadcasting System's Frontline series, did day-rate work for foreign news media, and charged for newspaper and magazine stories. By 1989, CIR produced 40 percent of a \$1.5 million budget through commercial fees.<sup>60</sup>

Such an entrepreneurial approach is fast-catching on at U.S. nonprofits, who see donors losing interest in media as rapidly as they gained it. A number of groups, such as MinnPost, the Texas Tribune, and the Voice of San Diego, are scrambling to diversify their revenue streams, with positive results—and there are lessons for their counterparts overseas. Among the means of revenue: individual donors, commercial media fees, membership dues, online “crowd-funding,” university affiliations, events and benefits, database vending, newsletter subscriptions, and training and teaching. For enterprising managers, there is a full menu of methods to choose from:

***The amount of funding available is not large, and new donors have not appeared in substantial numbers. At the same time, the number of groups is growing, and many appear overly dependent on grants from international aid agencies***

**Better fundraising.** Few groups can afford the kind of development professionals who work in the big U.S. nonprofits. Those developing local funding sources, moreover, can face major obstacles: a lack of philanthropic traditions and economic incentives to donate, and attempts by powerful political and economic interests to influence coverage. But many groups appear relatively unsophisticated in fundraising and could do much to improve and diversify their donor base. One important measure is better research on potential donors—both government and private. Many groups lack even a “DONATE” button on their websites or mailing lists to appeal for contributions. In Latin America several nonprofits have been successful in finding independent, local backers, while groups in Eastern Europe have tapped into expatriate communities for support. In the CIMA survey, the major sources of funding cited most by responding groups were, in order, private foundations, the EU and its member governments, the U.S. government, and private individuals. Only 26 percent cited individual donors as a significant source, suggesting that this is a potential area of growth.

**Commercial media fees.** Many of the nonprofits give away their stories, a response to the controversial nature of their reporting and pressure from donors to maximize impact. But commercial fees from news media can make a substantial contribution to a nonprofit’s budget. Television news programs tend to pay particularly well and are widely watched. Doing contract work for foreign media can also be lucrative, and some groups are considering setting up a unit to do day-rate work for visiting reporters, helping on documents, research, and reporting.

**Training and teaching.** Training journalists and students in investigative techniques can be an important source of revenue. In the CIMA survey, 84 percent reported that they are already engaged in training. Affiliation with a university can also help, through teaching fees, subsidized office space, cheap or free student labor, and institutional protection. The survey found that 27 percent of the groups were affiliated with a university.

**Membership dues and newsletters.** Offering memberships for a reasonable fee could bring in needed income. Members could receive a regular newsletter, briefings by staff members, and early announcements of major stories. Writing a subscription-only “insider” newsletter, offered at a premium to interested clients, could also raise needed funds.

**Events and benefits:** Some nonprofits hold regular events, such as public forums and lectures by famous speakers, as benefits for the organization.

**Crowd-funding:** Sites like Kickstarter and Indiegogo allow enterprising groups to fundraise online, and there are signs that the practice will only increase. By using social media, crafting clever pitches, and offering important, attractive projects, media professionals have raised tens of thousands of dollars through these sites.

## 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.”

There is a feeling afoot among some enthusiasts that digital technology can do it all, that the information and communication revolutions have so fundamentally altered how people gather and consume information that in-depth research and reporting are no longer necessary. “Journalism itself is becoming obsolete,” wrote prominent software developer and blogger Dave Winer. “Now we can hear directly from the sources and build our own news networks.”<sup>1</sup> Somehow, the belief goes, open data, citizen journalism, and crowd-sourcing will enforce a kind of high-tech accountability on the corrupt and powerful. Veteran investigative reporters, who were among the first to embrace digital tools and computer analysis, believe that couldn't be further from the truth.

As a group, investigative reporters are hardly a bunch of technophobes. “Investigative journalism serves as the research and development department of the profession,” noted Brant Houston, whose *Computer-Assisted Reporting* book has helped train two generations of journalists.<sup>2</sup> “They brought data analysis and visualization into journalism long before the recent open government movement, and they are the reporters who demonstrate how these new techniques can be used most effectively.”<sup>3</sup>

But Houston and others are uneasy over programs that focus solely on spreadsheets and code writing at the expense of reporting. The explosion in data around the world is indeed a windfall for investigative reporters, and techniques such as crowd-sourcing can be useful. But they alone cannot do the kind of detective work that quality investigative journalism requires. The core skills of investigative reporters are similar to those of skilled prosecutors and police detectives, of field anthropologists and private investigators: the use of primary sources, the marshaling of evidence, interviewing first-hand witnesses, and following trails—trails of people, documents, and money.

Those skills have not markedly changed since the days of the great muckrakers over a century ago. Nellie Bly, whose classic *Ten Days in a Madhouse* exposed medieval conditions in a New York mental asylum in 1887, would have been helped by digital tools, but the fundamentals of her undercover investigation would not be different today. Indeed, her exposé was essentially repeated in 2009 by Ghanaian journalist Anas Aremeyaw Anas, who went undercover in an Accra mental institution and revealed outrageous conditions.<sup>4</sup>

Consider the stories that have won Pulitzer Prizes in investigative journalism from 2010-12: an Associated Press 10-part series digging into the New York Police Department's secret program that spied on more than 250 mosques; a year-long investigation by the Sarasota, FL, a *Herald-Tribune* that exposed the weakness of property insurers in the state, tracing the ownership of more than 70 companies through shell corporations; and a *Philadelphia Daily News* exposé of a rogue police narcotics squad, reported by doing face-to-face interviews with scared victims in poor neighborhoods.<sup>5</sup>

Open data and smart tech apps can certainly help these kinds of investigations, but there is no substitute for the kind of street-level digging, personal interviews, and detective work these projects entailed.

“The increasing access to data creates, more than ever, a need to make sense of disparate pieces of information,” noted Paul Radu, the executive director of the Sarajevo-based Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project. Radu has won accolades from colleagues and backing from Google for his Investigative Dashboard, a digital directory and portal to the world’s business registration databases. But he stresses that the magic bullet is combining technology with street-level investigation. “It is the mix of local and global information, the combination of local shoe-leather reporting and leaps across borders through databases, that will make the difference on the long run.”<sup>6</sup>

Giannina Segnini agrees. The pioneering data journalist at *La Nación* in Costa Rica has won awards for her team’s work on data-fueled stories on political corruption, and she has helped introduce its practice across Latin America. “Data journalism empowers reporters with more tools to tell better stories, but it doesn’t replace journalism’s best practices; neither does it do away with on-the-street reporting,” she cautioned. “Collecting data without conducting deep and rigorous analysis or the verification of every single record is not journalism. Tools or technical skills could never replace those essential steps from investigative journalism.”<sup>7</sup>

## Endnotes

1. “Arrington is the future of what we used to call journalism,” Scripting News, Dave Winer, <http://scripting.com/stories/2011/09/02/mikeArringtonIsTheFutureOf.html>
2. *Computer-Assisted Reporting: A Practical Guide*, Brant Houston, Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2003.
3. Email communication with Brant Houston, December 5, 2012.
4. On Anas, see “Smuggler, Forger, Writer, Spy,” *The Atlantic*, November 2010, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2010/11/smuggler-forger-writer-spy/308267/#>
5. “The Pulitzer Prizes: Past winners & finalists by category,” <http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat>
6. Email communication with Paul Radu, December 9, 2012. For Investigative Dashboard, see <http://www.investigativedashboard.org>.
7. Email communication from Giannina Segnini, December 10, 2012.

# The Role of Journalism Schools

Gauging the presence of investigative reporting in journalism education is difficult at best. A global census of journalism education has identified some 2,300 programs worldwide, but it is unknown how many include coursework on investigative reporting.<sup>61</sup> Complicating matters, some investigative journalism courses overseas are steeped in theory and bear little resemblance to what is taught in modern journalism departments or practiced by professionals in the field. Still, some universities and nonprofit media groups have made progress working with individual schools overseas to modernize their curricula.

The International Center for Journalists set up a U.S.-style program that features investigative reporting at the Caucasus School of Journalism in Tbilisi, Georgia, and ICFJ's staff works with China's prestigious Tsinghua University on a global business journalism program that includes in-depth reporting. IREX has also worked with universities across the Middle East on developing a modern journalism curriculum that includes investigative elements.

Another force for change is the large number of foreign students at leading U.S. journalism schools. Some have returned home to challenge and change how investigative reporting is taught. After graduating in 2010 from Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, for example, Mar Cabra returned to her native Spain to co-found that country's first-ever master's degree program on investigative and data journalism, at University Rey Juan Carlos of Madrid.<sup>62</sup> The various fellowship programs at U.S. universities—the Niemanns at Harvard, the Knights at Stanford, and various Fulbright awards, among others—have also made a substantial contribution. When the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists was formed in 1997 and sought to create a global network of top-flight reporters, it used as a base the alumni from the Knight and Nieman programs.

Universities and other institutions are also sponsoring summer schools that attract a wide range of international students. In 2012 five sessions on investigative journalism were held in the United States and Europe: at the Centre for Investigative Journalism at City University in London; Columbia University's School of Journalism in New York City; the Stockholm School of Economics Riga Centre for Media Studies in Riga, Latvia; the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network in Mavrovo, Macedonia; and the New England Center for Investigative Reporting at Boston University.

UNESCO has made important contributions to the field, as well, starting in 2007 with *Model Curricula for Journalism Education*, a 150-page guide targeted at journalism faculty in developing countries and emerging democracies.<sup>63</sup> The guide stresses the importance of classes on in-depth and investigative techniques, and includes a detailed course plan on the subject by the University of the Philippines' Yvonne Chua, former training director of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism. The guide has been published in nine languages, including Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, and Russian. UNESCO followed up in 2009 with *Story-based Inquiry*, an investigative journalism manual, issued in collaboration with Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism, and then reissued it as a global edition accompanied by a book of case studies.<sup>64</sup>

Other guides have been published around the world and used at training institutes and universities. IRE's authoritative *Investigative Reporter's Handbook*<sup>65</sup> has been widely used overseas, and ICFJ's *10 Steps to Investigative Reporting* has been translated into multiple languages.<sup>66</sup> There are impressive regional guidebooks, as well, including *Digging Deeper: A Guide for Investigative Journalists in the Balkans*, published by the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network; and *Investigative Journalism Manual*, published by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation with the Forum for African Investigative Reporters and Wits University.<sup>67</sup>

## Standards and Quality

With the rapid expansion of investigative reporting internationally, the importance of emphasizing standards and quality has never been greater. Even among some well-regarded investigative reporters in developing and democratizing countries, stories are often produced with few sources and little attempt to explain to readers and viewers where information is coming from. In some countries, the term “investigative journalist” is widely misused; beat reporters, attracted by the cachet of the term, refer to themselves as investigative journalists while serving up single-sourced scandal stories filled with unproven allegations.

Worse, the term has been appropriated by extortionists posing as reporters, who dig up dirt on companies or individuals and threaten to write about them unless paid off. A wake-up call for the Indian media came in 2012 with the indictment of two TV journalists for allegedly trying to extort millions of dollars from a steel company boss in exchange for not airing their investigation into the firm. “Paid news or plugs for cash has replaced serious newsgathering in the Indian media,” the country’s information minister complained to the press in Delhi.<sup>68</sup>

Others use investigative skills for political hit jobs, working in the service of political bosses or organized crime. Such abuses have led to the terms *denuncismo* in Latin America—the journalism of denunciation—and *kompromat*, or comprising propaganda, in the former Soviet Union. Asked why he and others founded the Romanian Center for Investigative Journalism, Paul Radu noted similar problems with the state of journalism in his country. “Most of the investigative articles were used for blackmailing, advertisement racketeering, commissioned articles, or were just an edited form of some official files,” he told veteran investigative journalist Charles Lewis.<sup>69</sup>

Establishing high standards is critical not only to professionalizing the media but to having a positive impact on the public. “Unless you meet some minimum standards, you’re not going to have an effect—on clarity, on accuracy, on fairness, on reader-friendliness, on newsworthiness,” argued Sullivan of the Sarajevo-based OCCRP. “There’s good reporting and reporters are doing courageous work, but unfortunately investigative reporting in this part of the world is not meeting those minimum standards often enough.”

Ethical issues also pose a major problem. The overuse and abuse of undercover cameras, misrepresentation, and payment of money for information all are nettlesome issues that must be dealt with, say veteran trainers. Such ethical and professional shortcomings affect not only investigative reporting but all of the news media and need to be part of basic journalism education.<sup>70</sup>

The presence of investigative programs and nonprofit centers with high standards can help establish a benchmark against which to measure the rest of the news media. Outside audits—preferably done by experienced investigative editors—are one tool that could help ensure that reporting programs are operating at a professional level. Integrating ethics training into investigative programs could help, as well. Another tool used to good effect is sponsoring an awards competition. Offering awards—with a cash prize—highlights and rewards the best, most responsible work while helping to build the status and popularity of investigative reporting. Such awards are being offered by NGOs in Indonesia, South Africa, and Ukraine, among others.

## ABRAJI: A Success Story

For Brazil's increasingly sophisticated investigative reporters, the time was right. All they needed was a spark. That came with the brutal 2002 murder of Tim Lopes, a fearless TV Globo reporter who went undercover into Rio de Janeiro's notorious favelas (slums) to document drug gangs and child prostitution. Lopes' killing galvanized Brazilian reporters into forming the Associação Brasileira de Jornalismo Investigativo (ABRAJI)—the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism. Backed by the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas at the University of Texas at Austin, ABRAJI began with a simple listserv, allowing reporters across Brazil to exchange ideas. "Especially with the big size of Brazil, the Internet played a key role in the start-up," recalls founding member Fernando Rodrigues, an award-winning journalist with the daily *Folha de S. Paulo*. "We could talk to each other every day."<sup>1</sup>

With help from the Knight Center and the U.S.-based Investigative Reporters and Editors, ABRAJI held a series of conferences and planning meetings, and quickly grew into one of the world's largest, most active associations of investigative journalists, with more than 3000 members. ABRAJI workshops and conferences have trained more than 5,000 journalists in coverage of organized crime and corruption, personal security, computer-assisted reporting, and more. As many as 800 attend the group's annual conference—half of them students. And the listserv is still buzzing, with some 2,000 people registered. ABRAJI also coordinated a coalition of 18 organizations, including lawyers' and judges' groups, that successfully pushed for a national freedom of information act.

Rodrigues attributes ABRAJI's success to several factors. First, the group has been fueled by often passionate and sustained volunteer efforts. Second, Brazil has a large and sophisticated media sector, and its news managers, recognizing the need for professional training, welcomed ABRAJI from the start. "It came not from a fringe movement but from a wide range of news media," Rodrigues said. "It attracted people from all parts of Brazil and all parts of journalism—radio, TV, newspapers. That helped a lot to legitimize the idea."<sup>2</sup>

### Endnotes

1. Interview with the author, Fernando Rodrigues, Executive Director, Associação Brasileira de Jornalismo Investigativo (ABRAJI), October 17, 2007.
2. For more on ABRAJI, see Marcelo Soares, "Tim Lopes's Murder Sows a Seed," *Global Journalist*, 3rd Quarter, 2003; Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, "Brazilians Create New Organization," December 18, 2002, [http://knightcenter.utexas.edu/knightcenternews\\_article.php?page=160](http://knightcenter.utexas.edu/knightcenternews_article.php?page=160); also see ABRAJI's Web site, <http://www.abraji.org.br> (in Portuguese).

# Monitoring and Evaluation

Measuring the impact of investigative journalism programs poses unique problems. Broader journalism training programs can count the number of participants enrolled and the quantity of stories produced. Journalism schools can boast of how many of their alumni work in major media. Content analysis might be useful for coverage of specific topics such as corruption or crime, but not for in-depth investigative stories. The Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism's series that brought down President Estrada for corruption took eight months and consisted of only three stories. Yet their impact was profound, both on the government and on the media.

Reporters digging into corruption have prompted police, prosecutors, and courts to perform their jobs better, moving their countries closer to consolidated democracies. They also have promoted the work of official anti-corruption agencies, providing them cover against powerful enemies who want to avoid scrutiny. Even their persistence in checking records and asking questions helps keep leaders in check. Many of these achievements do not show up in measurements taken of corruption or press freedom.

The challenge is that donors are investing in changing newsroom culture by building mentors, role models, and centers of excellence—and these can't be measured well over the period of a grant. How does one produce a Woodward and Bernstein? As former World Bank Institute trainer Roderick Macdonell wrote, "It's much like asking a journalism school what impact it has had on society."<sup>71</sup>

Another difficulty is gauging the impact of investigative reporting on a news organization as a whole. Use of public records, data journalism, and other techniques used in investigative training have wide application in the newsroom. "Sometimes you use those techniques as explanatory, not investigatory, journalism," explained IRE former Executive Director Brant Houston. "On demographics, the environment, crime—there are all sorts of other stories that good investigative techniques can spawn."

One way to evaluate investigative programs, say veteran editors, is to examine the impact on a per-story basis, shown most dramatically in the case of the PCIJ's investigation of Estrada. Have a project's stories resulted in change? Have policies or practices been reformed, or officials held accountable? Have they generated public attention or been honored with awards?

Another method is to attempt to gauge whether the environment for investigative reporting has improved. "Is there a market for your work?" asked Patrick Butler, vice president for programs at the International Center for Journalists. "Are media owners and managers supportive?"<sup>72</sup> A program's impact on editors and other news managers is key, agreed Houston. "You can train a reporter all you want," he said, "but if the editor isn't on board, good luck."

# Findings and Recommendations

Even in the best of times and the freest of societies, investigative journalism can be risky, expensive, and controversial. Expanding its practice to developing and democratizing countries brings it face to face with even more formidable challenges: repressive regimes and criminal libel laws, corrupted media owners, and a sometimes striking lack of professional standards, financial resources, and access to information.

As with much of media development, funding for investigative reporting is in short supply. Despite its potential for far-reaching change, investigative journalism receives but a small fraction of overall media development funding. New and larger sources of funding need to be found, and new models need to be explored to sustain the expansion of investigative nonprofits. More practical, story-based training is needed, tailored to a country's needs and capacity, and mentoring local investigative editors should be a priority. The media development community also needs to bridge the gap between professional investigative journalists and the development world. Ways should be found to tap the expertise of the small supply of proven investigative editors in the Western media, who are generally wary of development NGOs and governmental donors.

Despite all this, the ranks of courageous journalists eager to learn new skills, plunge into weeks-long investigations, and take on powerful and unaccountable forces continues to grow. Indeed, the global spread of investigative journalism is a success story that the media development community should embrace and be proud of. Investigative teams and enterprising journalism now exist in places scarcely imaginable just 10 years ago, and they are having major impact on issues of corruption, accountability, and democratization. Global networks of like-minded investigative reporters are sharing tips and techniques in increasingly sophisticated and far-reaching ways. With smart investments in a handful of key areas, donors can expect the methodology of muckraking and watchdog journalism to spread even further over the coming decade.

To build on the substantial progress already made, this report makes the following recommendations:

- Provide greater support of investigative journalism programs.

Despite its frontline role in fostering public accountability, battling crime and corruption, and raising standards in the news media, investigative reporting receives as little as 2 percent of media development funding. Donors should ramp up support of investigative journalism initiatives whenever appropriate. Even modest increases in funding of this vital area could have a major impact in developing and transitioning countries.

- Integrate investigative journalism into broader media reform.

Donors and implementers should ensure that major media development programs in appropriate countries include investigative journalism components and integrate them into broader initiatives. Investigative reporting programs have a greater chance of success when part of a comprehensive approach that includes legal reform, freedom of information, and data journalism.

- Support investigative journalism nonprofits.

Central to any strategy aimed at strengthening open government and public accountability should be support to the world's nonprofit groups specializing in investigative journalism. These organizations have been pivotal drivers of the global spread of investigative journalism and form an increasingly vital link in world journalism.

- Invest in nonprofit capacity building and revenue diversification.

To ensure their survival and growth, nonprofit investigative journalism groups should adopt an entrepreneurial approach and build capacity that results in diversified revenue streams, such as improved fundraising, commercial media fees, membership development, training and teaching, and events production. Donors should prioritize investing in building the capacity of the nonprofits to undertake these initiatives.

- Consider different models for different countries.

Investigative journalism nonprofits vary in size and function, and include reporting centers, training institutes, professional associations, online networks, and funding vehicles. Donors and implementers should recognize that different models will be appropriate in different places. Media development groups should also partner with motivated and established local media, particularly in regions where these nonprofit groups may not be sustainable.

- Invest in a global networking infrastructure.

Donors, implementers, professional groups, and nonprofits should work to strengthen the global “infrastructure” of investigative journalism by investing in collaborative networks, platforms, and hubs around the world. Better networking among the world's investigative journalists can substantially increase their access to reporting, databases, training materials, and other resources; further cross-border collaboration; and markedly expand the progress already made

- Support investigative journalism training conferences.

Investigative reporting conferences play a key role in training and networking journalists, particularly from developing countries, helping to cost-effectively broaden the scope of their reporting. Donors should consider support to these skills-based conferences through fellowships and other grants.

- Evaluate based on quality.

Donors should be flexible in evaluation of investigative reporting projects. Training and reporting projects aimed at creating a culture of investigative journalism should be evaluated based on their quality and impact, not broad numbers of people trained and stories produced.

- Promote high standards.

Media professionals and implementers should recognize that investigative journalism programs, because of their influence and high visibility, need to represent the highest professional standards—in reporting, editing, and ethical conduct. Outside audits by veteran investigative editors could help ensure that the high standards are adhered to. Donors and implementers can

help by ensuring that partnering organizations are truly committed to investigative journalism. Sponsoring or subsidizing awards competitions can also draw attention to and encourage top-flight investigative work in a given region.

- Support regional reporting funds.

The creation of regional funds like the Washington DC-based Fund for Investigative Journalism and the Danish-backed SCOOP program should be strongly considered by donors. By offering small grants to independent journalists, the funds can have a major impact for a relatively small investment, but high standards should be built into the process.

- Coordinate with investigative journalism groups.

Managers and implementers of international assistance programs on investigative reporting should draw expertise and advice whenever possible from the ranks of professional groups such as Investigative Reporters and Editors, the Investigative News Network, and the Global Investigative Journalism Network's secretariat and member organizations.

# 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.

<b>Africa</b>		
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Website</b>
Africa Investigative News Service	Kenya	
Center for Investigative Reporting Ghana	Ghana	
Forum for African Investigative Reporters	South Africa	<a href="http://fairreporters.net">http://fairreporters.net</a>
Investigative Journalism Workshop, Wits Univ.	South Africa	<a href="http://www.journalism.co.za/index.php/about-investigative-journalism.html">http://www.journalism.co.za/index.php/about-investigative-journalism.html</a>
M&G Centre for Investigative Journalism	South Africa	<a href="http://www.amabhungane.co.za">http://www.amabhungane.co.za</a>
Wole Soyinka Centre for Investigative Journalism	Nigeria	<a href="http://www.wscij.org">http://www.wscij.org</a>
<b>Asia/Pacific</b>		
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Website</b>
Center for Investigative Reporting in Pakistan	Pakistan	<a href="http://www.cirp.pk">http://www.cirp.pk</a>
Global Mail	Australia	<a href="http://www.theglobalmail.org">http://www.theglobalmail.org</a>
India Spend	India	<a href="http://www.indiaspend.com">http://www.indiaspend.com</a>
Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism	Philippines	<a href="http://pcij.org">http://pcij.org</a>
Centre for Investigative Journalism	Nepal	<a href="http://www.cijnepal.org/">http://www.cijnepal.org/</a>

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

Organization	Country	Website
SCOOP	Eastern Europe/FSU	<a href="http://www.i-scoop.org">www.i-scoop.org</a>
SCOOP Macedonia	Macedonia	<a href="http://www.scoop.mk">www.scoop.mk</a>
Sebastopol Center for Investigative Journalism	Ukraine	<a href="http://911sevastopol.org">http://911sevastopol.org</a>
Serbian Center for Investigative Reporting	Serbia	<a href="http://www.cins.org.rs">http://www.cins.org.rs</a>
Studio Monitor	Georgia	<a href="http://www.monitori.ge">www.monitori.ge</a>
<b>Latin American and Caribbean</b>		
Organization	Country	Website
Abraji – Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism	Brazil	<a href="http://www.abraji.org.br">http://www.abraji.org.br</a>
Center for Investigative Journalism (CIPER)	Chile	<a href="http://ciperchile.cl">http://ciperchile.cl</a>
Connectas	Colombia	<a href="http://connectas.org">http://connectas.org</a>
Consejo de Redaccion	Colombia	<a href="http://consejoderedaccion.org">http://consejoderedaccion.org</a>
El Faro	El Salvador	<a href="http://www.elfaro.net">http://www.elfaro.net</a>
Haiti Fund for Investigative Journalism	Haiti	<a href="http://fijhaitienglish.blogspot.com">http://fijhaitienglish.blogspot.com</a>
IDL-Reporteros	Peru	<a href="http://idl-reporteros.pe">http://idl-reporteros.pe</a>
Institute for Press and Society	Peru	<a href="http://www.ipys.org">http://www.ipys.org</a>
Mexican Foundation for Investigative Journalism	Mexico	<a href="http://fundacionmepi.org">http://fundacionmepi.org</a>
Plaza Publica	Guatemala	<a href="http://www.plazapublica.com.gt">http://www.plazapublica.com.gt</a>
Publica	Brazil	<a href="http://apublica.org">http://apublica.org</a>
<b>Middle East/North Africa</b>		
Organization	Country	Website
Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism	Jordan	<a href="http://arij.net/en">http://arij.net/en</a>
L'Association marocaine pour le journalisme d'investigation (AMJI)	Morocco	<a href="http://amji.e-monsite.com">http://amji.e-monsite.com</a>

<b>North America</b>		
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Website</b>
<b>National and International Groups</b>		
100Reporters	U.S.	<a href="http://100r.org">http://100r.org</a>
Canadian Center for Investigative Journalism	Canada	<a href="http://canadiancentreinvestigates.org">http://canadiancentreinvestigates.org</a>
Center for Investigative Reporting	U.S.	<a href="http://cironline.org">http://cironline.org</a>
Center for Public Integrity	U.S.	<a href="http://www.publicintegrity.org">http://www.publicintegrity.org</a>
FairWarning	U.S.	<a href="http://www.fairwarning.org">http://www.fairwarning.org</a>
Food & Environment Reporting Network	U.S.	<a href="http://thefern.org">http://thefern.org</a>
Fund for Investigative Journalism	U.S.	<a href="http://fij.org">http://fij.org</a>
Global Investigative Journalism Network	U.S.	<a href="http://www.gijn.org">www.gijn.org</a>
International Reporting Program, University of British Columbia	Canada	<a href="http://www.internationalreporting.org">http://www.internationalreporting.org</a>
Investigative Fund	U.S.	<a href="http://www.theinvestigativefund.org">http://www.theinvestigativefund.org</a>
Investigative News Network	U.S.	<a href="http://www.investigativenewsnetwork.org">http://www.investigativenewsnetwork.org</a>
Investigative Reporters and Editors	U.S.	<a href="http://www.ire.org">http://www.ire.org</a>
Investigative Reporting Program, Univ. of California at Berkeley	U.S.	<a href="http://journalism.berkeley.edu/program/investigative">http://journalism.berkeley.edu/program/investigative</a>
Investigative Reporting Workshop, American University	U.S.	<a href="http://investigativereportingworkshop.org">http://investigativereportingworkshop.org</a>
OpenSecrets.org	U.S.	<a href="https://www.opensecrets.org">https://www.opensecrets.org</a>
ProPublica	U.S.	<a href="https://www.propublica.org">https://www.propublica.org</a>
Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism at Brandeis University	U.S.	<a href="http://www.brandeis.edu/investigate">http://www.brandeis.edu/investigate</a>
Toni Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism	U.S.	<a href="http://stabilecenter.org">http://stabilecenter.org</a>
<b>Local and Regional Groups</b>		
Austin Bulldog	U.S.	<a href="http://www.theaustinbulldog.org">http://www.theaustinbulldog.org</a>
Broward Bulldog	U.S.	<a href="http://www.browardbulldog.org">http://www.browardbulldog.org</a>
Centro de Periodismo Investigativo	U.S.	<a href="http://www.cpipr.org">www.cpipr.org</a>

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Website</b>
City Limits	U.S.	<a href="http://www.citylimits.org">http://www.citylimits.org</a>
Connecticut Health Investigative Team	U.S.	<a href="http://c-hit.org">http://c-hit.org</a>
Florida Center for Investigative Reporting	U.S.	<a href="http://fcir.org">http://fcir.org</a>
I-News Network	U.S.	<a href="http://www.inewsnetwork.org">http://www.inewsnetwork.org</a>
Investigative Newsource	U.S.	<a href="http://inewsource.org">http://inewsource.org</a>
InvestigateWest	U.S.	<a href="http://www.invw.org">http://www.invw.org</a>
Midwest Center for Investigative Reporting	U.S.	<a href="http://investigatemidwest.org">http://investigatemidwest.org</a>
MinnPost	U.S.	<a href="http://www.minnpost.com">http://www.minnpost.com</a>
New England Center for Investigative Reporting	U.S.	<a href="http://necir-bu.org">http://necir-bu.org</a>
Oklahoma Watch	U.S.	<a href="http://www.oklahomawatch.org">http://www.oklahomawatch.org</a>
PublicSource	U.S.	<a href="http://publicsource.org">http://publicsource.org</a>
Texas Tribune	U.S.	<a href="http://www.texastribune.org">http://www.texastribune.org</a>
Texas Watchdog	U.S.	<a href="http://www.texaswatchdog.org">http://www.texaswatchdog.org</a>
The Lens	U.S.	<a href="http://thelensnola.org">http://thelensnola.org</a>
Voice of San Diego	U.S.	<a href="http://www.voiceofsandiego.org">http://www.voiceofsandiego.org</a>
Watchdog New England, Northeastern University	U.S.	<a href="http://www.northeastern.edu/watchdognewengland">http://www.northeastern.edu/watchdognewengland</a>
Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism	U.S.	<a href="http://www.wisconsinwatch.org">http://www.wisconsinwatch.org</a>
WyoFile	U.S.	<a href="http://wyofile.com">http://wyofile.com</a>
<b>Western Europe</b>		
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Website</b>
Associazione di Giornalismo Investigativo	Italy	<a href="http://www.giornalismoinvestigativo.eu">http://www.giornalismoinvestigativo.eu</a>
Bureau of Investigative Journalism	United Kingdom	<a href="http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com">http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com</a>
Centre for Investigative Journalism	United Kingdom	<a href="http://www.tcij.org">http://www.tcij.org</a>
Danish Association for Investigative Journalism (FUJ)	Denmark	<a href="http://www.fuj.dk">http://www.fuj.dk</a>
Dutch-Flemish Association for Investigation (VVOJ)	Netherlands	<a href="http://www.vvoj.nl">http://www.vvoj.nl</a>
European Fund for Investigative Journalism	Belgium	<a href="http://www.journalismfund.eu">http://www.journalismfund.eu</a>

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Website</b>
Finnish Association for Investigative Journalism (TJY)	Finland	<a href="http://www.tutkiva.fi">http://www.tutkiva.fi</a>
Fonds Pour Le Journalisme	Belgium	<a href="http://www.fondspourlejournalisme.be">http://www.fondspourlejournalisme.be</a>
Fundación Ciudadana Civio	Spain	<a href="http://www.civio.es">http://www.civio.es</a>
Grävände Journalister	Sweden	<a href="http://www.fgj.se">http://www.fgj.se</a>
Icelandic Center for Investigative Journalism	Iceland	<a href="http://www.icij.is">http://www.icij.is</a>
Investigativ.ch	Switzerland	<a href="http://www.investigativ.ch">http://www.investigativ.ch</a>
Investigative Reporting Denmark	Denmark	<a href="http://www.ir-d.dk">http://www.ir-d.dk</a>
Mary Raftery Journalism Fund	Ireland	<a href="http://maryrafteryfund.ie">http://maryrafteryfund.ie</a>
Netzwerk Recherche	Germany	<a href="http://www.netzwerkrecherche.de">http://www.netzwerkrecherche.de</a>
Pascal Decroos Fund for Investigative Journalism	Belgium	<a href="http://www.fondspascaldecroos.org/en">http://www.fondspascaldecroos.org/en</a>
Norwegian Foundation for Investigative Journalism (SKUP)	Norway	<a href="http://www.skup.no">http://www.skup.no</a>
Swiss Investigative Reporters Network	Switzerland	<a href="http://www.swissinvestigation.net">http://www.swissinvestigation.net</a>

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