

Investigative Reporting Under the Microscope

Open Society Fellowship

Portfolio Review

Introduction

DURING its six years of existence, the Open Society Fellowship has supported more projects involving investigative reporting (IR) than any other category of work. Of 63 fellowships, 20 (or 32 percent) have funded applicants using journalism to expose wrongdoing by governments, corporations, NGOs, or other actors. (The remaining project categories include advocacy & litigation, community organizing, institution-building, and academic research).¹ The intrinsic value of IR as a tool of advocacy and democratic practice, at a time of diminishing resources to support such work, has been an article of faith for the program from the start.

And yet, the fellowship is not an IR funder in the traditional sense. For one thing, the field is already well populated. The Ford Foundation, Omidyar Network, the International Reporting Project, the Alicia Patterson Foundation, the Pulitzer Center, and many others support watchdog journalism in some form. These funders generally regard their mission as promoting excellence in journalism and tend to see advocacy as anathema to reportorial objectivity. Their advisory and selection bodies are usually composed of reporters, editors, publishers, and professors of journalism, and collaboration with other fields is rarely emphasized (although that may be changing).

Today, as ever, the Open Society Fellowship serves as a pipeline of learning for OSF by providing access to an eclectic and heterodox group of thinkers, practitioners, and activists. The program's primary measure of success has always been service to OSF, and in this way it parts company with the organizations above. When selecting reporters as fellows, the program seeks not so much to promote publication of a specific "story"—whatever its merits—but to arrive at a deeper understanding of journalism as a tool in the Open Society kit.

Of the many reporters who apply every year, the most successful have been a subset of a subset: not just journalists but investigative reporters; not just investigative reporters but those equipped with the skills to advance reform and bring nuance to complex topics. Moreover, the program has found that the best journalist-fellows tend to be those who have developed a deep understanding in a specific area (such as oil, finance, or the trade in weapons), as well as those who have trained in an additional discipline—such as law, science, or economics. The hybrid quality that most journalist-fellows have possessed stands in contrast to the preference of IR funders for recipients who have toiled in the traditional realms of city newsrooms and foreign bureaus (or as free-lancers), covering an ever-shifting

¹ (See Appendix 1) These categories were created after the fact, as a way of identifying discrete pieces of the fellowship's work for this Portfolio Review. Sample sizes are small enough to encourage caution in the drawing of bold conclusions from the data.

range of topics. Facility in an outside domain may have the effect of counteracting a weakness of some reporters: the tendency to be superficially versed in many subjects but master of none.

The application and the interview round was one of the most intense selection processes I've experienced. I particularly found it useful that the questions in the application and those posed by the interviewers made me think beyond specific stories and reflect more deeply on larger themes unfolding in decision-making arenas and on the ground, and try to see what specific value my work could create.

--Chitragada Choudhury (fellow, 2014-15)

Finally, the program hopes to add value by making it possible for reporters to undertake more ambitious and demanding projects—usually involving extensive travel—and to consider how their output can be combined with the work of others to achieve maximum effect. It has become commonplace in the field to speak of the “ecosystem” of journalism, acknowledgement that reportage by itself can rarely do the work necessary to bring about progress in the world. The fellowship’s “theory of change” in this context is that it should be possible to identify the different elements necessary to magnify the impact of investigative reporting and bring these elements together deliberately.

Portfolio Definition

FOR THE PURPOSES of this document, investigative reporting is defined as journalism that is (1) **adversarial** and brings to light information that is closely held; (2) in the **public interest**; and (3) involves problems that are in some degree **systemic** in nature, such as corruption or the violation of basic rights. The program’s support for IR has taken two forms: grants to individuals and cross-disciplinary collaborations, which bring groups of OSF staff, outside experts, and fellows together to ponder innovative approaches to specific problems. The fellowship program adds value to the work of journalists by facilitating numerous encounters with colleagues around the network and encouraging reporters to consider partnering with other practitioners (such as litigators or activists) to achieve meaningful change. This review is an opportunity to revisit specific fellowship projects and events, and with the benefit of hindsight, subject our expectations to critical scrutiny.²

² We acknowledge the very real danger of exaggerating or misstating the intentions that led to the selection of certain fellows over others. To counteract this tendency, we will recreate, to the extent possible, the thinking that informed the vetting process and the concerns raised contemporaneously by fellowship staff, colleagues, and selectors.

Original Ambition and Theory of Change

THE PROGRAM'S GUIDELINES state that projects "should hold the potential to shape policy and inspire critical debate among activists, intellectuals, policy makers, and the public," as well as "sharpen the thinking of OSF itself." Journalists are listed, alongside other "leading practitioners in advocacy, public policy, academia, and the arts," as natural constituencies of the fellowship, but no special priority has been assigned to them.

Nevertheless, the plurality of journalists among Open Society Fellows is not merely the product of serendipity. Reporters possess certain characteristics that play to their advantage as fellows: they tend to be skilled writers, comfortable moving among powerful—and in some cases, corrupt—actors; they avoid becoming isolated in an organizational or academic setting; and they have at least a working sense of the market for their output. The best among them are resourceful and indefatigable in pursuit of the story. But while these attributes may be necessary for applicants to be chosen as fellows—and for fellows to succeed in their aims—they're not sufficient in their own right.

During the vetting process, the fellowship presses journalist-applicants to consider how their work will be received. Those who betray a lack of reflectiveness on why previous reportage on the same topic has failed to produce change, for example, are less likely to be chosen than those who regard this as an interesting question. Moreover, it is not enough for applicants to cite the "general public" as their intended audience; they must also demonstrate a sophisticated grasp of which micro-audiences will have to be moved to act in order to achieve maximum impact. Over the years, the program has become increasingly leery of applicants who seem to be preaching to the converted by favoring "friendly" venues, whose readers (or viewers) already share the reporter's own outlook and biases.

We talked a great deal. I'd never really had that level of interaction before. The fellowship constantly asked: How can we make this different from what already exists? How can we make this useful?

--Howard French (fellow 2010-11)

Fellowship staff and selectors also look for signs of thoughtfulness about the likely aftermath of publication. Reporters are skilled at creating a sense of outrage among readers and viewers, but is outrage sufficient? Much depends on context, of course, but when outrage is not followed by decisive action, do readers and policymakers become resigned and apathetic? Does public exposure in the media pressure governments to act, or does it sometimes dampen their enthusiasm to pursue investigations? As one current fellow put it, applicants should be ready to ask at the conclusion of their investigation, "What should we therefore do?" And not surprisingly, successful applicants tend to show an eagerness to engage with the many sites of expertise within the Open Society Foundations.

Certain missteps the program has taken over the years are also worthy of consideration. The stories of two applications—those of Scott Horton and Susan Faludi—illustrate flawed assumptions the program

brought to the selection of journalists and the conclusions drawn from those experiences.³ Horton, a lawyer and correspondent on legal affairs for *Harper's Magazine*, submitted a proposal in March of 2010 for a book and series of articles outlining the Bush administration's abuses of law in the War on Terror and the Obama administration's complicity with those abuses. Horton's proposal was one of a small group of finalists to advance to the Selection Committee in that round.

Following a spirited debate at the selection meeting, a divided committee declined the application. In discussions following the decision, staff concluded that several red flags should have prompted a more critical approach: First was Horton's unwavering conviction that his reportage (to be published in *Harper's*, whose readers already tended to be critical of the War on Terror) would succeed in achieving a breakthrough where the efforts of many other distinguished journalists had failed. Second was his reticence—evident during his interview and in subsequent conversations—to interact with the Open Society network. He seemed to feel that policy change could be achieved on the strength of his reportage alone. Since then, both criteria (a realistic understanding of the limits of one's own journalism to transform reality, and an eagerness to engage with OSF) have been given greater weight in outreach and selection.

The fellowship pushes journalists to consider their work in the context of broader historical cycles. [In this way] it combines reportage with the rigor of the academy. --Helen Epstein (fellow 2013-14)

Open Society Fellows cannot be expected to solve problems like the persistence of rights violations in the War on Terror by themselves. But thoughtfulness about why previous attempts to bring abuses to light have failed to move public opinion indicate the sort of analytical sophistication and realism the program seeks. As with advocates in other realms, journalists can sometimes be caught up in a desire to “bear witness” to wrongdoing—or “speak truth to power”—without necessarily concerning themselves with the complexities and nuances of achieving policy change.

Faludi's proposal advanced the seductive—but ultimately erroneous—proposition that women, many of whom consider themselves feminists, are an “ascendant power” in the new populist and xenophobic Right in Europe. Serious doubts about the project were voiced during the vetting process, resting on Faludi's lack of expertise in European politics and her inability to speak the languages relevant to her project. Nevertheless, her well-deserved celebrity, as well as the sense that she had identified a new and profoundly counter-intuitive trend in European politics and society, carried the day, and she was awarded a fellowship. To her credit, she turned down the grant when further research showed that there was sparse evidence of any such trend. Since that time, the fellowship has viewed with disfavor applications from journalists who are not deeply immersed in the topic of their research.

³ This is in no way to impugn the work or reputation of two fine writers.

Individual Grants



Ken Silverstein

Graft and Bribery in Oil Markets (2010-2012) * Grant amount: \$136,533

Premise: Understanding the role of brokers, fixers, and middle men in oil markets is essential to advancing transparency in extractive industries.

Selection Process: Silverstein was repeatedly pressed to elaborate on the broader significance of his work and was reluctant to do. (“I’m a reporter,” he said. “I’m not really a big-picture thinker.”) Nevertheless, because he was so conversant with the minutiae and many of the practitioners of corruption in oil markets—and highly regarded for this expertise by OSF colleagues and others outside the world of journalism—his application was selected for a fellowship.

Project: Silverstein reported extensively on oil broker Glencore (for [Foreign Policy](#)), Equatorial Guinea’s Obiang family (also for [Foreign Policy](#)), on mega-fixer Brett Sciaroni (for [Salon](#)), on Tony Blair’s buckraking (for [The New Republic](#)), and several hitherto little-known oil-industry middle men. A year-and-a-half after the end of his fellowship term, his book *The Secret World of Oil* was published.

What did OSF and the fellow gain from this fellowship? In addition to enduring connections he forged with colleagues from the Justice Initiative, Revenue Watch Institute, the Central Eurasia Project, and the Baku and Dakar offices, Silverstein says he was able to conduct more in-depth research than would have otherwise been possible. The fellowship, he said, “allowed me to develop relationships [with brokers/fixers] and deepen existing ones. My time in Geneva [for example] couldn’t have been more valuable and enabled me to bring to light practices people knew nothing about.” Silverstein took part in “What Hurts: Does Investigative Reporting Really Deter Corruption?” in Brussels in 2011, which will be discussed later in this document. He also assisted OSJI on legal action against Teodorin Obiang.

What we learned: A journalist’s expertise, gained over many years of covering a single field, can be as valuable as that of a credentialed scholar or expert. The fellowship is not infrequently a reporter’s first experience inside a large advocacy organization—for better or worse—and Silverstein took maximum advantage of the accessibility of his new colleagues.



Helen Epstein

Why Freedom is a Public Health Issue (2013-2014) * Grant amount: \$127,610

Premise: Reporting on the hidden origins of eight different epidemics—including polio, HIV, schizophrenia, and Ebola—can dramatize their inherently political roots for non-specialist readers.

Selection Process: The vetting of Epstein’s application was perhaps the most hotly contested of any successful fellow’s. The fellowship team was divided in its assessment of her proposal—which underwent no fewer than three revisions as a result—and program colleagues were similarly conflicted. Critics felt that her proposal was poorly thought out and that the various “chapters” of the project (envisaged as a book) did not hold together thematically. Nevertheless, the fellowship Selection Committee ultimately decided that her background as a scientist and her reputation for delivering high-quality reportage on complex issues justified awarding the fellowship. Epstein herself found the application process unusual, a hybrid of the types of rigor seen in academic settings with those found in journalistic institutions.

Project: Epstein has produced a series of pieces for the *New York Review of Books*, based on her fellowship research (examples [here](#), [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#)). Several more are in the works as of this writing. She has investigated the politics of polio in northern Nigeria, the confluence of political brinkmanship and public health in Uganda, schizophrenia among Moroccans in Holland, and Ebola in Liberia. In each case, her conclusions tend to cut against the grain of most reporting on these topics. (“Ebola is such a deeply cultural and political problem,” she said on her recent return from Liberia).

What did OSF and the fellow gain from this fellowship? Epstein has enjoyed many productive interactions with Public Health Program and national and regional foundation colleagues. At two informal conversations she organized for the benefit of these colleagues, she discussed the perplexing rise of HIV among intravenous drug users in Greece (Nov. 2013) and the perverse logic of anti-vaccination militancy in northern Nigeria (June 2014). She also took part in a panel discussion at the PHP’s spring 2014 conference in Barcelona on austerity and public health. Epstein is skilled at deconstructing dubious narratives of causation, and colleagues have tended to find her conclusions provocative if not always persuasive. Early concerns about friction between the fellow and colleagues have largely been allayed. Epstein says she values the sounding-board role that OSF colleagues can play: “It’s great to have a group of people who are interested in your ideas at the half-baked stage.”

What we learned: Publishing in the *New York Review of Books*, as Epstein does, hardly qualifies as “reaching new audiences.” On the other hand, there are few other venues for the forensic intellectual

investigations at which she excels. In the settings in which she is most comfortable—engaging with a handful of colleagues in an informal setting, testing new and counter-intuitive ideas against received wisdom—she has contributed significantly (if in ways that are quite difficult to measure) to the intellectual life of OSF.



Angelo Izama

Oil, Corruption and Power in Uganda (2012-13) * Grant amount: \$107,400

Premise: Investigative journalism can be deployed to counteract the “resource curse” as Uganda prepares to exploit its oil reserves.

Selection Process: Izama was encouraged by fellowship staff to structure his reportage around the premise above, and to consider each piece an elaboration of that premise. Although readers and selectors alike found the thesis promising, some felt the proposal to be overly broad and worried that the lack of a rigorous methodology could mean that his reportage would add up to less than the sum of its (journalistic) parts. The originality of Angelo’s premise, and his reputation as one of the preeminent reporters working on oil in Africa, persuaded the selection committee to award him a fellowship.

Project: A series of investigative pieces focusing on governance—chiefly involving contracts signed with foreign oil companies—and increasing state repression of journalists covering the petroleum sector and other beats. The flow of oil, Izama argued, forces states to make certain decisions—involving the placement of pipelines, for example, the relocation of communities, or the allocation of power to different government ministries—that can become the sites of a corrupting competition for influence. These topics are knowable beforehand and can be addressed through targeted reportage. Most of his pieces were published in *The Daily Monitor* (whose website is blocked at OSF-NY). Though he initially anticipated testing his thesis in other countries, including Nigeria, Angola, and Equatorial Guinea, increasing political pressure in Uganda forced him to devote more time to covering the domestic scene.

What did OSF and the fellow gain from this fellowship? Izama’s belief that the resource curse is primarily a problem of governance was not new to OSF’s thinking, but he was able to add refinements that were of real value, including the insight that crackdowns on the NGO sector and judiciary may be early manifestations of the curse. OSIEA’s Richard Mugisha adds: “Angelo cooled the ‘oil fever’ among civil-society partners and colleagues by debunking many of the government’s exaggerated claims about the timing and scale of oil revenues.” His deepened engagement with OSIEA played to the benefit of both parties.

What we learned: Ultimately, though Izama’s premise has yet to be proved, his shift of focus (to issues of governance) paid off. This has made program staff somewhat less likely to push fellows to tailor their work to a single arresting thesis, which could ultimately prove confining. Says Mugisha: “Angelo brought out an angle we had not envisaged. He pushed civil society to look beyond oil—and beyond Museveni—and to think long term.” The loss of comparative perspective as a result of Izama’s inability to travel widely—and with it, his chance to engage with OSIWA and OSISA colleagues—was a disappointment for the program.



Howard French

Stories of New Chinese Migrants in Africa (2010-2011) * Grant amount: \$155,642

Premise: By a series of in-depth, on-the-ground reporting visits to the continent, it should be possible to debunk myths about Chinese migration to Africa and its implications for minority rights, economic development, and governance.

Selection Process: French’s first proposal dealt with the burgeoning oil industry in West Africa. Program staff, fearing the project was too “journalistic” and thus unlikely to teach OSF much that it did not already know, encouraged him instead to focus on Chinese migration to Africa. Says French today: “I had already written about China [in Africa] and did not want to do so again. But my [alternative] ideas were batted down by you. I had the feeling you knew exactly what you wanted. You weren’t telling me explicitly, but you were nudging me in the right direction.” Ultimately he submitted a proposal of the new theme, which was successful.

Project: A series of pieces ([here](#), [here](#), and [here](#)) culminating in the publication of *China’s Second Continent: How a Million Migrants are Bringing a New Empire to Africa*. French leveraged his fluency in Mandarin, his deep familiarity with Africa, and his status as a knowledgeable outsider to make possible a series of intimate portraits of Chinese migrants and their neighbors that vividly convey the complex reality of their lives.

What did OSF and the fellow gain from this fellowship? French believes a project of this scale would not have been funded by others. He was able to travel to remote areas and interact with migrants in 12 countries, which made the book more geographically representative and authoritative. In partnership with the China Program and AfRO, the fellowship organized gatherings in Johannesburg (with African journalists who cover Chinese migration) and in Hong Kong (with both African and Chinese reporters), at

which French played a facilitating role and was effective in discouraging reliance on ethnic stereotypes. These meetings are discussed in detail below.

What we learned: French’s willing stewardship of the Johannesburg and Hong Kong events showed us that journalist-fellows can be enlisted as credible intermediaries to educate and challenge the OSF network. The program expects to draw on this success with other fellows. His book has received generally positive reviews, though the implications of his reportage for our work on rights and governance are less clear.



Noy Thrupkaew

Human Trafficking Myths Reconsidered (2010-2011) * Grant Amount: \$99,969

Premise: A “systematic campaign of articles and multimedia pieces,” placed in women’s magazines and other venues, to counteract the popularity of “raid-and-rescue” approaches to sex trafficking and sex work in South and Southeast Asia.

Selection Process: Internal reviewers were sharply divided, largely because OSF lacked a common position toward sex work as a labor issue. Said one colleague: “I am not sure that it would be a good idea for OSI to have such a close relationship with someone who takes such an un-nuanced position on such a complicated issue.” Others believed Thrupkaew’s credibility as a journalist would enable her to reach non-traditional audiences with her reportage on the harm caused by law-enforcement suppression of sex work and that she would be able to guide a productive internal conversation on this sensitive topic. As one said: “There are still too many people in our network who see [sex workers] all as victims, or if they use a labor lens, they see it all as an issue of forced labor.”

Project: Thrupkaew committed to a demanding regimen of travel and research in six countries, which took up the bulk of her fellowship term. She accepted numerous invitations to speak, generally on the themes of sex trafficking as a labor-rights issue, the US State Department Trafficking in Persons Report, and “end-demand” legislation. Though she envisioned researching and publishing five investigative pieces, her actual output was modest. An [op-ed](#) she wrote critiquing end-demand legislation was published in the *New York Times*, and she took part in an National Public Radio [segment](#) on human trafficking, both shortly after the end of her term. She says, however, that she has sufficient material for several chapters of an anticipated book.

What did OSF and the fellow gain from this fellowship? Thrupkaew enjoyed productive interactions with the Public Health Program (chiefly the Sexual Health and Rights Project), as well as colleagues from the Southeast Asia and other units, and became an effective advocate for the positions at the heart of her project.

What we learned: Thrupkaew’s lack of journalistic productivity is likely attributable to several factors: for one thing, editors at women’s magazines proved reluctant to publish critiques of anti-trafficking icons, some of whom had been previously depicted as heroes. In addition, she began to see her theme not as sex trafficking per se but as the much broader problem of labor-trafficking, which proved to be of less interest to her editors. In addition, some colleagues were alarmed when Thrupkaew announced her intention to write an opinion piece critiquing a Human Rights Watch report on trafficking (which OSF had partly funded). They argued that OSF should present a common front to the public on sensitive issues and that the fellows with different stances would be perceived as writing on behalf of the organization. As she wrote at the time: “I feel like OSF still hasn’t figured out its relationship to journalists.” Since then, fellows have been given broader latitude to publish on issues that remain unsettled at OSF.

Cross-Disciplinary Collaborations

What Hurts: Does Investigative Reporting Really Deter Corruption?

OSI-Brussels (September 2011) * Participating fellows: James Stewart, Ken Silverstein, Andrew Feinstein.

Premise: To consider practical ways to harmonize the efforts of journalists, activists, and prosecutors in order to increase the effectiveness of investigative reporting on international corruption.

Participants: Seven current and former prosecutors (including Alan Bacarese, Hannah Taylor, and Carlos Castresana-Fernandez); five representatives of civil society (such as Kathi Austin and Maud Perdriel-Vaissiere); and three journalists, along with six OSF colleagues (from OSJI, OSI-Brussels, and the Media Program).

Program: Participants agreed that though progress has been made in tracking the flow of illicit assets and holding corrupt officials and businesses accountable for their crimes, it is still relatively easy to conceal and move ill-gotten gains across borders. As resources for combatting international corruption diminish, the group felt orchestrated interventions may achieve greater impact than isolated individual efforts. Among remedies discussed were creating a reporting mechanism for threats to sources and reporters and identifying ways to attack the entire “food chain” of corruption. Participants also reflected

on the fact that corruption cases often hinge on nuances that are difficult for a non-specialist public to grasp.

Lessons: Bringing together diverse practitioner groups around a common theme can be an effective way of opening new opportunities for intervention and should be tried more often. However, greater advance preparation is needed, and closer attention should be paid to the mechanics of forging relationships. Too much time was spent overcoming a sense of mutual distrust among the practitioner groups. Trust can be built in advance by starting with smaller localized gatherings.

Reporting China in Africa

Johannesburg (May 2011) / Hong Kong (July 2012) * Participating fellows: Howard French, Andrew Feinstein (Johannesburg)

Premise: (Johannesburg) To enable prominent reporters and editors who have covered the growing Chinese presence in Africa to help shape their countries' relationship with China while holding their own political classes accountable.

(Hong Kong) To introduce African reporters to their counterparts in the Chinese business media, on the assumption that such contacts will generally be allowed by China and can lead to more robust forms of interaction.

Participants: (Johannesburg) Ten African reporters (including representatives from Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Angola, Namibia, Swaziland, and South Africa); staff from Wits Journalism (led by Anton Harber); and OSF colleagues (from the China Program and OSISA).

(Hong Kong) Ten Chinese business reporters and five African reporters; Yuen-Ying Chan (HKU Journalism and Media Studies Centre); OSF staff, including Chris Stone and colleagues from AfRO and the China Program.

Program: (Johannesburg) China depicts its interaction with Africa as a “win-win,” but since the Sino-African relationship is not an equal one, African journalists have a special responsibility to pressure their governments to act as guardians of the public interest. The group agreed Chinese migration to Africa has had profound implications for minority rights, economic development, the rule of law, and governance. But a combination of factors—including the language barrier and mutually unflattering stereotypes—makes the subject a fraught one for reporters and their editors. Participants discussed how they and their colleagues can influence the trade deals their governments negotiate with China, including the terms under which individual migrants are allowed to settle in Africa. Prestige projects like stadiums and government buildings may appear to constitute “development,” but they often carry a minimal benefit for society. It falls to journalists to point this out.

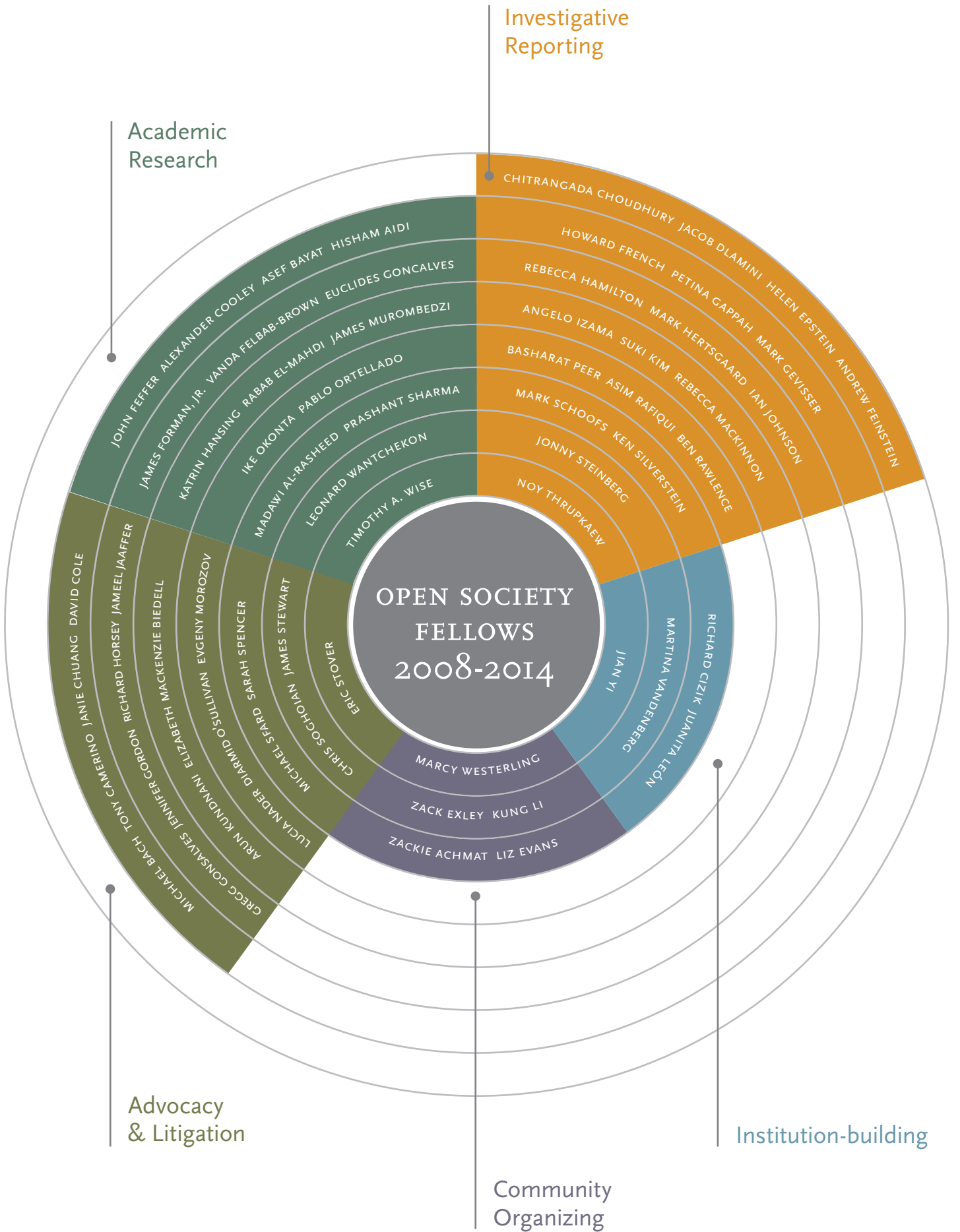
(Hong Kong) The reporters discussed stories that they had covered involving China in Africa, with special reference to barriers to accurate reportage and how they can be overcome. Participants cited the contacts made as the most valuable aspect of the gathering and weighed the possibility of setting up reporting teams consisting of both African and Chinese journalists to cover issues such as China's investment in infrastructure in Africa and its growing resource needs.

Lessons: Once again, with adequate advance preparation, orchestrating unlikely combinations of panelists in this way can illuminate new opportunities for programming. However, the benefits of one-off events can quickly be lost without concerted follow up. The fellowship hopes to revisit the themes raised by this event with China and AfRO partners in the coming year.

Opportunities for Further Collaboration

THROUGHOUT THE OPEN SOCIETY network, support for investigative reporting—whether to the “field” directly or to individuals—has come from over a dozen programs and foundations. These units include the Program on Independent Journalism (previously the Network Media Program), the Justice Initiative, the Fiscal Governance Program, and the Soros Justice Fellows and the Democracy Fund (both part of US Programs), along with the West Africa, South Africa, and Southern Africa foundations. As seen, the fellowship has, on occasion, partnered with these units to organize events or solicit proposals from promising candidates.

The fellowship anticipates cooperating with these programs in the coming months to gather journalist-grantees together to consider the many variables needed to make investigative reporting a more powerful weapon for the advancement of open society.



INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING

Chitrangada Choudhury

Jacob Dlamini

Helen Epstein

Andrew Feinstein

Howard French

Petina Gappah

Mark Gevisser

Rebecca Hamilton

Mark Hertsgaard

Angelo Izama

Ian Johnson

Suki Kim

Rebecca Mackinnon

Basharat Peer

Asim Rafiqui

Ben Rawlence

Mark Schoofs

Ken Silverstein

Jonny Steinberg

Noy Thrupkaew

Appendix 3: Investigative Reporting Under the Microscope

#	Fellow	Year Selected	Grant Amount	Country of Origin	Countries of Research	Project Title	Project Description
1	Rebecca Hamilton	2008	\$ 78,011.00	Australia	Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Netherlands, Sudan	Citizens-based Advocacy for Darfur	to research <i>Fighting for Darfur: Public Action and the Struggle to Stop Genocide</i> , which looks at citizen activism against mass atrocity
2	Rebecca Mackinnon	2008	\$ 107,670.00	United States	China, India, United Kingdom	Networked Authoritarianism in China and Beyond	to investigate how governments and technology companies abridge internet freedom, and what can be done to stop them
3	Mark Schoofs	2008	\$ 125,399.72	United States	Russia, South Africa	A Tale of Two Epidemics	to explore the distinct historical, economic, political, and cultural forces that shaped the Russian and South African AIDS epidemics
4	Jonny Steinberg	2008	\$97,407.00	South Africa	Liberia, United States	Memories of Civil War in Liberia	to write "Little Liberia: An Africa Odyssey in New York City," a history of the civil war in Liberia as recalled by a diaspora community in Staten Island
5	Andrew Feinstein	2009	\$ 144,784.80	South Africa	Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, India, Israel, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States	Tracking the Global Arms Trade	to research <i>The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade</i> , an exposé of fraud and corruption in the trade in weapons, which has a profound impact on governance in both buying and selling countries
6	Mark Hertsgaard	2009	\$ 118,116.00	United States	Burkina Faso, China, Denmark	Climate Change and the Adaptive Imperative	to research and write about the need to adapt to the consequences of climate change
7	Basharat Peer	2009	\$ 94,382.00	India	India	Chronicling the Muslims of India	to research a history of India's 177 million Muslims, one of the world's largest religious minorities

8	Noy Thrupkaew	2009	\$ 99,969.00	United States	Cambodia, India, Thailand, United States	Human Trafficking Myths Reconsidered	to investigate law-enforcement responses to human trafficking in South and Southeast Asia and the United States
9	Howard French	2010	\$ 155,641.54	United States	Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania	Stories of New Chinese Migrants in Africa	to research and write <i>China's Second Continent: How a Million Migrants are Building a New Empire in Africa</i>
10	Ken Silverstein	2010	\$ 136,533.00	United States	Angola, Azerbaijan, France, Portugal, Russia, Senegal, Switzerland, United States	Graft and Bribery in Oil Markets	to investigate the often unsavory role of middlemen and brokers in oil markets
11	Ian Johnson	2011	\$ 143,160.00	United States	China	Religion and Rights Activism in China	to study the intersection of religion and civil society in China at a time of broad revival among many faith-based groups
12	Suki Kim	2011	\$ 117,550.00	United States	China, Laos, Mongolia, South Korea, Thailand	Secrecy and Migration in North Korea	to research the political economy of migration from North Korea and record the stories of ordinary people caught in the division of the two Koreas
13	Jacob Dlamini	2012	\$ 125,253.87	South Africa	South Africa, Swaziland, United Kingdom	The Afterlife of Secrets	to write a book on the lingering effects of apartheid-era collaboration and state secrecy on democracy in South Africa
14	Petina Gappah	2012	\$ 111,300.00	Zimbabwe	Amsterdam, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda	The New Pentecostalism in Africa	to survey the rising influence of Pentecostal churches in Africa and their effect on human rights, democracy, and social justice
15	Mark Gevisser	2012	\$ 148,085.00	South Africa	Egypt, India, Ireland, Nigeria, Russia, South Africa, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States	Sexual Minorities in a Globalized Age	to map how ideas about gender and sexuality are changing societies around the world

16	Angelo Izama	2012	\$ 107,400.00	Uganda	Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Uganda	Oil, Corruption, and Power in Uganda	to chronicle the rise of the oil sector in Uganda to find ways to counteract the "resource curse"
17	Asim Rafiqi	2012	\$ 102,383.00	Pakistan	Pakistan	Visions of Justice	to present a nuanced perspective on the pervasive injustice that afflicts marginalized communities in Pakistan through a variety of media
18	Helen Epstein	2013	\$ 127,610.00	United States	Ghana, Greece, Holland, Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia	Why Freedom is a Public Health Issue	to explore the political roots of epidemics and other public health crises
19	Ben Rawlence	2013	\$ 128,440.00	United Kingdom	Kenya	Seeking Refuge on the Kenya-Somalia Border	to record the stories of young Somali refugees in Kenya and their struggle for survival
20	Chitragada Choudhury	2014	\$ 107,929.00	India	India	Power, Profit and Protests: Mining and Democracy in Central India	to chronicle the effects of resource conflicts on the lives of indigenous and marginalized communities in central India's forested mineral belt
		TOTAL	\$ 2,377,024.93				
		AVERAGE	\$ 118,851.24				