



CROSS-FIELD COLLABORATION

HOW AND WHY JOURNALISTS AND
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS
AROUND THE WORLD ARE
WORKING TOGETHER

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The report is available online at collaborativejournalism.org/cross-field-collaboration.

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About the Center for Cooperative Media

The Center for Cooperative Media is a primarily grant-funded program based at the School of Communication and Media at Montclair State University. Its mission is to grow and strengthen local journalism and support an informed society in New Jersey and beyond.

The Center for Cooperative Media's flagship program is the NJ News Commons, which is a network of more than 300 publishers and dozens of freelancers in the state of New Jersey. The Center's work for the NJ News Commons focuses on regular communication and networking, training, coaching and support, grant opportunities, ecosystem research, coordinating collaborative projects and more.

Nationally the Center studies and advocates for the practice of collaborative journalism. That work includes maintenance of collaborativejournalism.org, an international database of collaborative reporting projects, a monthly newsletter, the publication of research studies and whitepapers and the annual Collaborative Journalism Summit.

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Abstract:

Cross-field collaboration is a partnership involving at least one journalism organization and one civil society organization (usually an advocacy organization but not always) in which they work together to produce content in the service of an explicit ideal or outcome. In this study we analyze 155 cross-field collaborations involving 1,010 entities across 125 countries around the world. The most common topics of the projects we looked at were corruption and governance, climate and environment, and human rights. Some countries were more likely to be *exporters* of cross-field collaboration, meaning that entities based in those countries participated in projects based outside of their borders, while some countries were only ever *subjects*, meaning the project focused on their country but none of the entities involved were based there. These designations were correlated with gross national income and levels of perceived corruption. A third category into which cross-field collaborations fall is *self-directed collaborations*, where the entities participating are based in the country being examined. We also looked at other characteristics of cross-field collaborations including the balance of journalism and civil-society organizations, the size of projects, management, and funding.

Perhaps the main impetus for cross-field collaboration is the desire for impact, and with that comes complicated ethical considerations for the journalists involved. Over the course of 52 interviews with people from both journalism and civil society organizations, we unpacked the types of impact most commonly recorded from cross-field collaborations and how the journalists—especially those schooled in the tradition of objectivity—negotiate the tension between neutrality and advocacy. Despite myriad difficulties in tracking impact from collaborative projects, we identified the most common (or commonly recorded) impacts: those on organizations such as businesses, and those on the political realm. In addition, we categorized impact as both accordant and discordant with the goals of the project. Journalists negotiated the desire for impact and the need to remain neutral by employing specific practices and narratives that allow them to keep a distance from desired outcomes, and by reflexively pushing the boundaries of journalism practice in how they talk about this type of collaboration. Finally, we identify benefits of cross-field collaboration, factors common to successful projects, and common points of tension.

In this research:

Total number of collaborations: 155

Total number of countries: 125

Total number of entities: 1,010

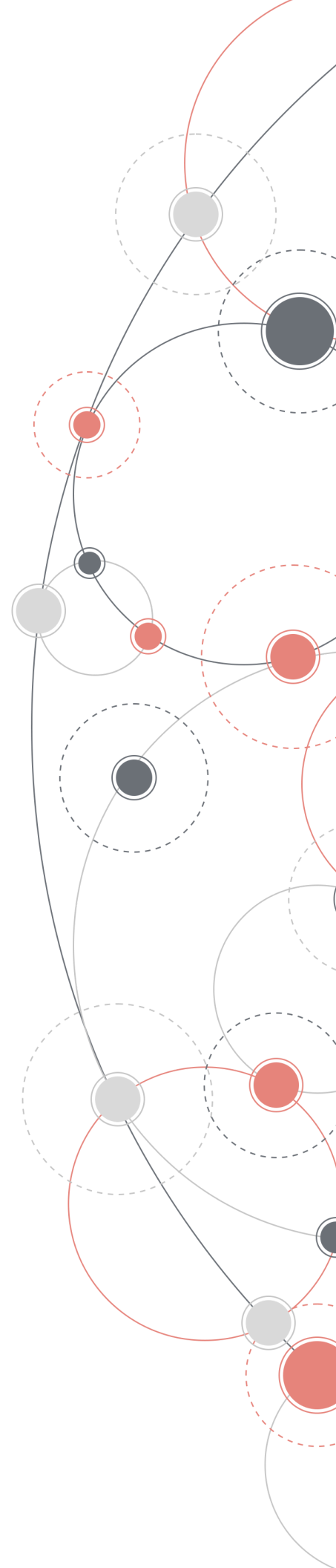


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Key findings and recommendations

Finding: 55% of organizations that participated in the cross-field collaborations we identified were journalism outlets, 21% were NGOs. The remaining civil society organizations included universities, journalism-support organizations, and civic-tech and arts organizations.

Recommendation: Canvass the relevant fields for NGOs that would be willing to participate in a cross-field collaboration.

Finding: The United States, Mexico, Germany, the UK, Brazil, and Bulgaria all have more than 30 entities that have participated in cross-field collaboration. Close behind are France, Indonesia, Nigeria, Ghana, Netherlands and Argentina (Table 4).

Recommendation: Cultivate entities in countries with robust journalism and civil society sectors where cross-field collaboration has been practiced, but not as commonly.

Finding: Certain countries (e.g. USA, UK, France, Germany, Belgium) were more likely to be exporters of cross-field collaboration than others, meaning that entities based in those countries were participating in a project that was looking at malfeasance in another country. On the other hand, some countries (e.g. Azerbaijan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Afghanistan) were only ever the subjects of an investigation, without any of their own entities participating.

Recommendation: When a project is focusing on a traditionally subject country, try to bring in some local organizations.

Finding: Nearly 800 (77%) entities in our sample have participated in only one cross-field collaboration (Table 10).

Recommendation: Perhaps through further research, identify those entities that would be willing to participate in future cross-field collaborative projects.

Finding: One of the benefits of cross-field collaboration is the addition of different formats provided by partners for greater reach. Another benefit of cross-field collaboration is the addition of supplemental skills and humanpower to a project.

Recommendation: Foster collaborations based explicitly on complementary skills and expertise.

Finding: Impact occurs in various realms and can be either accordant or discordant with the goals of a project (p. 40-42), but is still difficult to track systematically because it occurs after a project is complete, is diffuse, often presents itself in qualitative ways, and is measured using different metrics depending on the organizations involved. Many organizations still do not track impact at all due to lack of resources. The most common types of (recorded) impact in our study were on organizations not involved in a project such as businesses, and on political institutions and individuals, and were accordant with the goals of a project.

Recommendation: Require that projects build impact tracking in from the beginning, and continue to track impact several months (years?) after the project is complete, and provide the necessary resources to do so. Require organizations to track not only accordant impact but also unintended, or discordant, impact.

Finding: Collaborations are often structured around specific topics. For example, about 24.5% of collaborations fell into the category of 'Democracy/Transparency/Governance/Corruption.'

Recommendation: If undertaking a collaboration with a specific topic in mind, look at previous cross-field collaborations on the same topic; Who were the partners? How was it structured? What were the stress points?

Introduction

In 2009, *Nieman Lab* ran a series of articles called “NGOs and the News” about collaborations between journalism organizations and NGOs (Price, Morgan, Klinkforth, 2009). In the first essay of the series, Kimberly Abbot of International Crisis Group (an NGO) articulated the optimism some had about the nascent trend: “With new space opening for this kind of collaboration, NGO-media partnerships are offering a new future to international news.” As evidence of the uncertain nature of these collaborations at that time, Abbot ended by saying: “Although many organizations lack official policies, and while it might not be the perfect match for everyone, the fact is, NGO-media partnerships are happening. And they have the potential to lead to stronger foreign news reporting and better serve audiences interested in an increasingly interconnected world” (Abbot, 2009).¹

Now, in 2022, we cataloged 155 cross-field collaborations, as we’re calling them, and we increasingly felt we were just scratching the surface. The emphasis in 2009 on the potential of such collaboration to supplement and even replace diminished international reporting has been borne out: with cross-border scope, sophisticated visualizations, and detailed impact plans, some of the most important and impactful investigative journalism, as well as some of the most effective advocacy campaigns, now come out of cross-field collaborations.

Closely related to collaborative journalism, which is a partnership between two or more journalism organizations (Stonbely, 2017), cross-field collaboration occurs when journalism organizations work with civil society organizations such as NGOs, civic-tech groups, and/or universities in a way that goes beyond serving as sources or providing funding.² As we’ll discuss below, we define cross-field collaboration broadly to capture the full breadth of partnerships that are occurring.

One of the main questions raised by cross-field collaboration is what its increasing prevalence means for journalism; concerns about autonomy, ethical integrity, and too much emphasis on impact are common. However in many cases, these concerns are outweighed by the gravity of the problems that journalists working on these topics are covering – projects addressing corruption, environmental damage, and human rights abuses are common – and an increasing impatience with a lack of impact from their reporting.

¹ Another early example of this type of collaboration was the project “Reading the Riots” (2011), involving *The Guardian* and London School of Economics (Center for Media, Data and Society, 26 June 2020).

² Though some might argue that universities/academics share a closer affinity to journalism than advocacy (e.g. Alfter, personal communication, 9 June 2021), we follow Benson (e.g. 2007) in associating them with civil society.

Closely related to ethical issues around the tension between advocacy and neutrality is the question of impact, which in some ways is at the heart of cross-field collaboration; often it is its impetus and reason for being. As cross-field crime and corruption have become more sophisticated, so too have the networks that seek to uncover and challenge them (Koch, 2017). For the journalism organizations, partnering with a civil society organization (CSO) makes it more likely that whatever is uncovered will have greater impact; for CSOs, partnering makes it more likely that their work will get the attention of both the grassroots and those in power, and for policy to change accordingly. Using a matrix that looks at both the realm and type of impact, we try to identify which kinds of change are most likely.

In the analysis below we focus less on the largest, best-known collaborations (e.g. Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project/Transparency International) and more on the many smaller partnerships that are driving this trend forward. One example is a cross-field project called IJ Meets IT. Comprised of four organizations based in four countries, it “responds to the changing research conditions in investigative journalism” by bringing together investigative journalists and information technology specialists (n-ost, n.d.). In addition to bringing journalists and CSOs together, the organization behind this project, n-ost, is representative of a new kind of mindset that is open to cross-field collaboration and thoughtful about what it means for journalism.

As we’ll show below, the cross-field collaborations we’ve cataloged range from very large cross-border partnerships to hyperlocal, involving only one journalism organization and one CSO. We found collaborations operating in, originating from, or otherwise touching 125 different countries on six continents.

Another important dynamic is the one between what is often referred to as the “Global North” and the “Global South,” sometimes used as a shorthand for economically richer and poorer countries, respectively, but also invoking the era of Colonialism that ended only a few decades ago, in some places. We have observed broad differences not necessarily in the practices of cross-field collaboration between the Global North and Global South, but in the way that the people involved think about it, especially in terms of the potential tension between advocacy and neutrality.

We have also found, through our quantitative data, a marked propensity for countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, in the Global

North, to be “exporters” of cross-field collaboration; and for less affluent countries – often in the Global South – to be the subject of an investigative project but to have no country-based organization participating.

As always, caveats must be mentioned. The first is that our research team, though made up of people based in several different countries, was schooled largely from a Western perspective, and though we have all made efforts to be thoroughly aware of our biases, and made every effort to mitigate them, nonetheless do not have first-hand knowledge of the trends we describe from other traditions (except through the people we interviewed). Related, both co-authors’ first and only fluent language is English, which surely limited our ability to search for projects based further afield, especially in Asia and the Middle East.

Another caveat is that the projects we analyze here are those that were at least somewhat successful; as one of our interviewees pointed out, the projects on his organization’s website are “only what you see as being completed and published, because obviously there are like 10 times more attempts to do stuff” (Candea, personal communication, 14 April 2021).³ In other words, no one is going to dedicate web space to a failed project, and in the case of investigative projects in particular, there are many false leads and dead ends.

A brief note on historical context

As with collaborative journalism, cross-field collaboration as we know it today largely became possible (or was forced to occur) because of the internet (e.g. Benkler & Nissembaum, 2006; Berglez & Gearing, 2018; Lewis, 2018), coupled with the roughly simultaneous decline of the 20th-century business model for journalism and trends within the field of nongovernmental organizations that interacted with both (Powers, 2018).⁴ An early example of cross-field collaboration was Human Unlimited Media (HUM) News, founded in 1997 (Abbott, 2009). Their impetus was a global “geographic gap” in news coverage: “To us, the biggest concern not being addressed is that the planet’s fastest growing, youngest economies and populations are not included as part of the international information flow of today’s major news gatherers and distributors” (HUM Media, 1997; see also Bardoel and Deuze, 2001). They were “searching for a wider world view at the intersection where global news and information meets the countries and cultures in which humanitarian organizations, international coalitions and civic associations work.”

³ Interview with authors.

⁴ For a broader history related to these trends, see Keck & Sikkink (1998), chapter 2.

Image 1: HUM media "About Us" page



The *Nieman Lab* series from 2009 (which, perhaps intentionally, is itself a cross-field collaboration) suggests that the early 2000s was a turning point for the practice. Organized by the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Global Communication Studies and *Nieman Lab* at Harvard University, civil society advocates, practitioners, and academics surveyed the state of civil society/journalism collaboration, cataloging emerging practices, partnerships, and affordances made possible by rapid changes in technology (with a focus on the United States). As is clear from the various pieces – and the existence of the series itself – the overlapping of civil society and journalism organizations was common enough by 2009 to merit such an exploration, but was still something of an object of fascination, its contours yet undefined.

One of the major changes since the 2000s is the ease with which mediated communication is now possible from nearly every corner of the earth. An early justification of journalism/CSO collaboration was the expense of, and often danger for, journalists to be in many of the places that lacked coverage; civil society organizations were there already, so why shouldn't journalists work with them? While it is still true that making efficient use of limited resources is a driver of collaboration, access is no longer the issue it was 20 years ago, when mobile computers/cameras/voice recorders, in the form of cellular devices, weren't in everyone's pocket.

We identify three major drivers of the uptick in cross-field collaborations over the last decade:

1. Information producers can no longer rely on their content being seen via the usual channels; collaboration helps content take on more incarnations (i.e. text, video, graphics, etc.) and have broader reach.
2. The resource constraints faced by newsrooms, along with the increasingly complicated nature of investigative stories, necessitate specialized skills and supplemental manpower.
3. There is an increased desire for impact from investigative journalism (or, stated differently, an increasing impatience with lack of impact), which cross-field collaboration makes more likely.

These motivations are shared by both journalists and civil society actors, though journalists tend to be the ones who need more convincing (e.g. Powers, 2018; Shiffrin, 2017). As we'll discuss below, the hesitation is more prominent depending on where in the world one looks.

Elsewhere, the evolutionary impetus is explained thus: "There is no guarantee that journalism will remain the privileged truth-telling public narrative which it has claimed to be in its various historical guises unless it is able to engage positively with the increased flows and generic variety unleashed by deregulation and the multiplication of forms of public information" (Gearing, 2016, p. 223-224, quoting Conboy, 2004). We argue that, indeed, cross-field collaboration is one way that journalism has answered the questions posed by the technological, social, and political turbulence of the 21st century.

Seen another way, the rise in cross-field collaboration is an example and extension of what Powers (2018) calls *field diffusion*, "the process in which...journalists diffuse the sensibility and norms of journalism into the advocacy sector" (p. 17). The main way this happens, says Powers, is by journalists being directly employed by CSOs. Our data suggest that cross-field collaboration is just as effective a means of field diffusion. Further, it is not just the norms and sensibilities of journalists that have diffused into the advocacy sector; the emphasis on impact and the willingness to acknowledge one viewpoint as more legitimate than another are just two of the sensibilities that have diffused from advocacy into many journalism organizations and actors.

From today's historical vantage point, we can see that, despite concerns about media technology that centered on evermore trivial coverage, the internet has in other ways opened up space for the kinds of reporting that would before have been almost unthinkable. For example, in 2009 Cottle and Nolan stated the following:

Research and anecdotal evidence suggests that, in a competitive media environment informed by the pursuit of readers, ratings and revenue, the media spotlight is drawn selectively to images of distress rather than issues of structural disadvantage, and is apt to roam quickly from one disaster or emergency to another. Such fleeting coverage, at best, generally provides sparse context or historical background and even less follow-up coverage of post-conflict or post-emergency communities or longer term processes of development.

The fact is, the migration of news to the internet has made it more likely that the topics that advocacy organizations care about will be covered. Plumaje ("plumage" in English) is a project of the journalism outlet *Animal Politico*, based in Mexico. Plumaje is essentially a page on their website reserved for editorial content from civil society organizations. At the cost of only the time of the people involved, they provide infinite space to advocacy organizations to argue their points and bring attention to their work. Tania Montalvo, executive editor of *Animal Politico*, explained that they created Plumaje to strengthen the relationships between themselves and civil society organizations in Mexico, and wanted to provide a space for addressing issues that were not being covered elsewhere (personal communication, 13 May 2021).⁵

In what follows, we first define the various concepts involved in this research. Next, drawing on our empirical data, we look at the characteristics of cross-field collaborations, including their size, structure, and management. Impact and ethical considerations are covered next, followed by commonalities among successful projects and tension points. In the appendices, we discuss the methodology associated with our data-gathering, which occurred via a field scan, survey, and interviews.

⁵ Interview with authors.

Defining civil society/journalism collaboration

Over the course of 52 interviews with journalists and civil-society actors, we were often asked how we defined “civil society,” “collaboration,” and even “journalism,” all of which have become fluid in ways they were not in prior decades. It is true that both journalism and civil society are crossing, collaborating, and in some cases combining in novel ways to create the narratives of the 21st century, as the rise of cross-field collaboration attests. Tony Borden, executive director of the Institute for War & Peace Reporting (classified here as an NGO), identified this for his own organization:

We have a journalistic heart...and we really started out highlighting civic voices before sort of moving more definitively towards supporting journalists as such. But we're a nonprofit, so we're an NGO ourselves. But we have that dilemma right in our heart (personal communication, 23 April 2021).⁶

We defined “journalism organization” to include not only newsrooms, but also journalism-umbrella and journalism-support organizations. A journalism-umbrella organization is one that is constituted by a network of newsrooms, and often includes freelancers; one example is Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN), which today has “a staff based in 24 countries, [working] in a dozen languages to link together the world’s most enterprising journalists, giving them the tools, technology, and training to go after abuses of power and lack of accountability” (GIJN, 2022).

A journalism-support organization is defined here as one that often includes former journalists, and does work like training and engagement. An example of a journalism-support organization from our sample is UK-based Pop-Up Newsroom, whose mission statement reads, in part: “We work with newsrooms, independent journalists, civil society organizations, universities and technologists to design, refine and test collaborative approaches to some of journalism’s most pressing challenges. ... We help news organizations scale their impact, bring new skills to their journalists, create new paths for reader engagement, and, ultimately, build new audiences for their work” (Pop-Up Newsroom, 2022). The most important similarity that defines these organizations and puts them all in the “journalism” category is their end-goal: all three have journalism as their reason for being and their ultimate product.

⁶ Interview with authors.

Civil society organizations (CSOs), as defined here, operate outside of government, are usually non-profit, often have a theory of change, and direct their work toward enacting a desired change in the public arena. Here it includes non-governmental organizations (NGOs), NGO umbrella networks, universities, think tanks, funders (who participate in collaborations by more than just giving money), and arts, data visualization, and civic-tech organizations.

These various entities are tied together not only by virtue of the fact that they are all now participating, to varying degrees, in cross-field collaboration, but also by previous academic research looking at, for example, the various sources who show up in news stories (e.g. Benson, 2013; Ferree et al., 2002).⁷

We discuss throughout the differences between Western journalism and traditions from elsewhere, and broader differences between the Global North and the Global South. While recognizing that these terms are fraught and have at times been used derogatorily, we draw here on more recent usages that have sought a shorthand for parts of the world that share economic and demographic characteristics for the purposes of comparative analysis (Mahler, 2017).

In discussions of differences in journalistic culture, we draw on the comparative work of Hallin and Macini (2004; 2011; 2017) and studies of journalism cultures around the world (e.g. Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019). When discussing Western journalism, we admit that we are simplifying greatly and using it generally to describe a professionalized journalism field that strives for political neutrality and has as one of its main tenets a belief in the goal of (if not the actual attainability of) objectivity.

Accordingly, collaboration with organizations that have even a whiff of political leaning has traditionally been frowned upon. These traits characterize, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004), the Liberal or Anglo-American model, prominent in North America, as well as, to a lesser extent, the Democratic Corporatist model prominent in Northern and Central Europe.

⁷ There is a long debate over how to define an NGO (e.g. Vikil, 1997); here we use Powers' definition, in which NGO "refers to groups that are nominally independent of government, voluntary in nature, and interested in the pursuit of a common good (e.g., human rights, gender equality, environmental protection)." An example of an NGO umbrella network is the Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition, made up of 12 good-governance NGOs operating across sectors.

By comparison, studies of journalistic traditions in many parts of Africa as well as Central and South America have found thus:

Journalists in non-Western, less democratic, and socioeconomically less developed countries tended to perceive political and economic influences as stronger than did their counterparts in other regions of the globe. Journalists in many of these countries also tended to be comparatively more supportive of a collaborative approach to journalism, and those in developing countries marked by internal conflict leaned toward favoring an interventionist approach (actively contributing to social reform) (Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019, p. 288).

We define cross-field collaboration as a partnership involving at least one journalism organization and at least one civil society organization (usually an advocacy organization but not always) in which they work together to produce content in the service of an explicit ideal or outcome. To qualify for entrance in our study, partnerships had to be codified in some way and had to go beyond a funding arrangement (i.e. there are many instances in which a nonprofit organization will fund a journalism outlet's uptake of a new technology or a fellowship for a reporter; these may have been parts of certain arrangements but alone were not counted here). As we'll show below, there are myriad different combinations these partnerships can take, but at this moment small collaborations are most common.

Finally, nearly all of the projects we studied are investigative in nature (exceptions include, for example, most collaborations around climate). With the acknowledgement that investigative - or watchdog - journalism is a deeply researched topic unto itself, we use here Waisbord's (2000) definition: "What characterizes investigative journalism is that reporters dig out information about power abuses. It is the kind of journalism that...disseminates what someone does not want to be known. Its function is to make visible what is hidden" (p. xix).

For details about the methods used in this study, see Appendix A.

The structure, geography, and management of cross-field collaborations

What do cross-field collaborations look like in practice? What is the balance between journalism and civil society organizations? How many organizations are typically involved? What is the geographic spread, and what are the characteristics of a typical project? These are among the questions we set out to answer.

Balance of organizations

Of the 1,010 organizations we identified as having been involved in a cross-field collaboration, the majority (76%) were journalism outlets or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (see Table 1, below). Universities or think tanks and journalism-support organizations follow. Organizations in the “other” category, which made up 4% of participating entities, include several embassies, especially in Africa, as well as libraries, data visualization shops, and a pharmaceutical society.

Table 1: Breakdown by organization type

	Frequency	Percent
Journalism outlet	556	55.0
NGO	209	20.7
University or think tank	97	9.6
Journalism-support organization	40	4.0
Other	40	4.0
Civic tech organization	20	2.0
Journalism umbrella network	19	1.9
NGO umbrella network	06	1.6
Arts organization	7	.7
Funder	6	.6
Total	1010	100.0

We then combined journalism outlets, journalism-support organizations, and journalism umbrella networks into a category called simply “Journalism organization,” and all other types of organizations into the category “Civil Society Organization (CSO),” to see the balance of journalism to CSOs in cross-field collaboration. As shown in Table 2, 615 (61%) were journalism organizations, and 395 (39%) represent civil society organizations. Of course, this balance varies depending on the project, as we’ll show below.

Table 2: Number of journalism and civil-society organizations (CSOs)

	Frequency	Percent
Journalism organization	615	60.9
Civil Society Organization (CSO)	395	39.1
Total	1010	100.0

Geographic spread: Exporters, subjects, and self-directed collaborators

In terms of where the entities in our sample are based, the U.S. has a far greater number than any other country, with 235 (23% of the total); however, as we'll discuss, the U.S. was also the most common *exporter* of collaboration, in addition to hosting cross-field collaboration projects at home. Mexico had the second highest number of entities participating in cross-field collaborations, with 114 (11% of the total), but Mexico was different from the U.S. in the sense that nearly all of the Mexican organizations were taking part in collaborations in and about that country. Germany, the U.K., Brazil, Bulgaria, and France also host a large number of participating entities, followed by Indonesia, Nigeria, Ghana, Netherlands, and Argentina, all with 20 or more organizations participating in cross-field collaboration (see Appendix B for the full list of countries and frequencies).

In the projects we studied, 57% of the entities participating in cross-field collaboration were located in Europe and North America (Table 3), followed by 12% of the total in Central America, and 11% in Africa. The large number of entities for North America is due to the large number of entities in the U.S.; likewise with Mexico in Central America. Africa is represented primarily by Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, and Kenya.

Table 3: Frequency of entities by continent⁸

	Frequency	Percent
Europe	322	31.9
North America	250	24.8
Central America	122	12.1
Africa	110	10.8
South America	101	10.0
Asia	84	8.3
Asia/Europe	12	1.2
Oceania	9	.9
Total	1010	100.0

⁸ Here we separate Central from North and South America because of the prominence of Mexico in our sample.

Table 4: Countries with 10 or more entities participating in cross-border collaboration

	Frequency	Percent
USA	235	23.3
Mexico	114	11.3
Germany	46	4.6
UK	43	4.3
Brazil	32	3.2
Bulgaria	32	3.2
France	29	2.9
Indonesia	27	2.7
Nigeria	25	2.5
Ghana	24	2.4
Netherlands	23	2.3
Argentina	21	2.1
South Africa	15	1.5
Canada	14	1.4
Spain	13	1.3
Denmark	12	1.2
Venezuela	12	1.2
Kenya	11	1.1
Belgium	10	1.0
Colombia	10	1.0
Italy	10	1.0

Further, by looking at how countries participate in cross-border collaboration, we can see that certain countries are more frequently *exporters* (when an entity participating in a project is based in a country other than the one(s) under investigation), while some countries are primarily or only the *subjects* of cross-field collaboration (when there is no in-country-entity participation). A cluster of countries are most likely to have entities that undertake projects within their own countries - what we're calling *self-directed* collaboration.

The top 10 exporters of cross-field collaboration were (number of projects in parentheses):

- USA (39)
- UK (25)
- France (10)

- Germany (9)
- Belgium (6)
- Netherlands (5)
- Kenya (4)
- Finland (4)
- Canada (4)
- Bosnia and Herzegovina (4)

Thirteen countries in our sample of 125 were only ever the subjects of cross-field collaboration (i.e. we found no projects in which an entity from any of these countries participated):

- Azerbaijan (3)
- Democratic Republic of Congo (2)
- Egypt (2)
- Afghanistan (1)
- Algeria (1)
- Gambia (1)
- Libya (1)
- Mali (1)
- Palestine (1)
- Saudi Arabia (1)
- Sudan (1)
- Turkmenistan (1)
- Yemen (1)

Finally, these countries were the most likely to practice self-directed collaboration (see Appendix D for the top 30):

- USA (28)
- Mexico (23)
- Germany (18)
- Nigeria (16)
- UK (13)
- South Africa (12)
- Italy (11)
- France (10)
- Netherlands (10)
- Spain (10)

Before discussing the significance of exporters, subjects, and self-directed collaborators, it is helpful to digress for a moment to discuss the most common topics of cross-field collaboration. Table 5 shows the frequency of topics in the projects we cataloged. Projects about corruption, transparency, and democracy or governance (usually the lack thereof) were the most frequent, making up a quarter of our sample. Projects dealing with climate, the environment, and the like, as well as investigations into human rights abuses, were also common (for similar findings, see Schiffrin, 2017). In other words, one does not want to be the subject of a cross-field collaborative project. It almost always (if not always) means that there is malfeasance, neglect, or some other unsavory activity occurring to which the individuals and organizations participating have decided to direct precious time and resources to bring to light.

Table 5: Frequency of cross-field collaboration topics

	Frequency	Percent
Democracy/Transparency/Governance/Corruption	38	24.5
Environment/Climate/Biodiversity/Water and sanitation	25	16.1
Human/Women's/LGBTQ rights	23	14.8
Media/Journalism/Freedom of Info/Disinfo	18	11.6
Health, including reproductive health	11	7.1
Privacy/Data/Surveillance	9	6.0
Culture	4	2.6
Housing	4	2.6
Migration and immigration	4	2.6
Open to all/multiple topics	4	2.6
Violence/War	4	2.6
Justice	3	1.9
Trade/economy/work/inequality/poverty/food insecurity	3	1.9
Covid	2	1.3
Consumer protection	1	.6
Education	1	.6
Energy	1	.6
Total	155	100.0

Tables 6 and 7 below show where each group – exporters, subjects, and self-directed collaborators – falls in terms of corruption perception and gross national income (in U.S. dollars).⁹

As one might expect, Subjects, or those countries most likely to be the subject of a cross-border collaboration but not have any in-country entities participating, find 92% of their members in the severe or high corruption perception categories. Exporters – those countries with entities that participate in cross-field collaborations that do not involve their own country – conversely have 80% of its members in the low corruption perception category.

Self-directed collaborators – countries on which a collaboration focuses but that its own entities are involved in – are somewhere in the middle, with half of its members in the low-corruption-perception category, 20% in moderate, and 30% in high. We don't know the direction of causality, since countries with corruption but also with investigative entities focused on them clearly have some level of governmental malfeasance but also a watchdog apparatus to keep it in check.

That the United States is both the top exporter and the top self-directed collaborator speaks to the size of the journalism and the civil society fields there as well as to the fact that it too has many of the issues on which cross-collaboration typically focuses.

Table 6: Subjects, exporters, and self-directed collaborators x Corruption Perception

	Corruption Perception Index	Corruption Perception Index	Corruption Perception Index	Corruption Perception Index
	SEVERE	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW
Subject countries	50%	42%	8%	N/A
Exporter countries	N/A	20%	N/A	80%
Self-directed collaborators	N/A	30%	20%	50%

⁹ Data sources for country analysis were from the following sources; for Global North and Global South designations: World Population Review, "Global South Countries 2021;" for GNI per capita: "GNI per capita, Atlas method (current US\$)," The World Bank; for GNI groupings: "New World Bank country classifications by income level: 2020-2021," World Bank blogs; for corruption rankings, "Corruptions Perception Index," Transparency International.

Table 7: Subjects, exporters, and self-directed collaborators x GNI per capita

	GNI per capita grouped	GNI per capita grouped	GNI per capita grouped	GNI per capita grouped
	> \$12,535	\$4,046 - 12,535	\$1,306 - 4,045	< \$1,036
Subject countries ¹⁰	8%	23%	15%	46%
Exporter countries	80%	10%	10%	N/A
Self-directed collaborators	70%	20%	10%	N/A

Correlation of the same groupings with gross national income (GNI) shows a similar pattern, where subjects are most likely to fall into the lowest GNI bracket, and exporters and self-directed collaborators are most likely to be in the highest.

From this it appears that self-directed collaborations should be encouraged as a visible example of the opposite of the kind of behavior they are seeking to combat.

¹⁰ GNI data for one country – Palestine – were not available, therefore this row totals 92% rather than 100%.

Project characteristics: Size and structure

In this section we answer questions such as, how many organizations were typically involved in a project, and what was the mix of journalism and civil society? How many collaborations has the typical entity taken part in? And how are projects usually structured?

Smaller projects (2 or 3 entities) were by far the most common (44% of the total), followed by projects with 4-8 organizations involved (25%). The largest number of partners was 113 (The FinCEN Files, organized by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists), followed by The Paradise Papers, also organized by ICIJ, with 99, but projects of that size were rare. So while projects involving many partners are not unheard of, it appears that smaller projects involving two, three, or four organizations seem to be the most manageable, at least for now. (see Table 8).

Table 8: Number of organizations involved x Frequency of projects

	No. of projects	Percent
2 orgs involved	38	24.5
Between 9 and 30 orgs involved	30	19.4
3 orgs involved	30	19.4
4 orgs involved	13	8.4
5 orgs involved	12	7.7
7 orgs involved	11	7.1
6 orgs involved	10	6.5
8 orgs involved	6	3.9
More than 30 orgs involved	5	3.1
Total	155	100.0

Collaborations with two partners, involving one journalism and one civil society organization, were most prominent, making up 25% of our sample. Table 9 shows that two journalism organizations and one CSO occurred nearly identically as often as two CSOs and one journalism organization (15 and 16 projects, respectively). The same was true for combinations of 3 and 1 (4 and 5 projects, respectively). With higher numbers of partners, the tendency is for more civil society organizations to be involved than journalism outlets, but only slightly. We were surprised by this finding given the greater number of journalism outlets in our sample; however, that number is “biased” by the two largest collaborations, mentioned above, which had 109 and 96 journalism outlets, respectively. By contrast, the largest number of CSOs involved in any collaboration was 26, and 25 projects had 4-6 CSOs while only 18 had that many journalism organizations.

Table 9: Number of CSO and journalism organizations involved in collaborations

Number of journalism orgs involved	Number of civil society orgs involved						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	38	16	5	4	2	1	66
2	15	5	3	2	3	0	28
3	4	4	1	2	2	0	13
4	1	2	0	2	1	1	7
5	3	1	0	0	0	0	4
6	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
Total	65	29	9	10	8	2	123

Table 10 shows the number of projects each entity in our sample participated in. While understanding that ours is a snapshot in time, and not longitudinal, nevertheless fully 77% of the entities we looked at had only one collaboration. We think this indicates fertile ground going forward; nearly 800 entities have shown a willingness to participate in a cross-field collaboration but have done so only once, suggesting that there are opportunities for such partnering in the future.

Table 10: Entity project count

Number of projects	Number of entities	Percent
1 project	778	77.0
2 projects	130	12.9
3 projects	52	5.1
4 projects	24	2.4
5 projects	7	.7
6 projects	7	.7
7 projects	2	.2
8 projects	5	.5
9 projects	1	.1
10 projects	1	.1
12 projects	1	.1
13 projects	1	.1
15 projects	1	.1
Total	1010	100.0

Every project we log here, by default, has some sort of web presence. But which entity controls (or is tasked with) publicizing the project online? Table 11 shows that journalism outlets were most likely, followed by NGOs.

However, 22% of projects had their own webpage, with no indication of ownership by any organization. We see these projects as representing an open acknowledgement of investigative journalism’s participation in cross-field collaboration as a political act within the bounds of professional journalistic standards (Olesen, 2008).

Table 11: Type of entity that hosts the project's website or home page

	Frequency	Percent
Journalism outlet	41	26.5
N/A (project has its own website)	34	21.9
NGO	22	14.2
Journalism-support organization	22	14.2
Journalism umbrella organization	15	9.7
University or think tank	11	7.1
Civic tech organization	5	3.2
NGO umbrella organization	3	1.9
Funder	1	.6
Other (library)	1	.6
Total	155	100.0

For example, it is typical for such a website to prominently list participants in the project, usually using each organization’s logo (see Images 2 and 3, below).

Image 2: GhanaFact website


The image shows a screenshot of the GhanaFact website. At the top left is the GhanaFact logo, which includes a stylized map of Ghana and the text "GhanaFact" and "Ghana's independent Fact-checking platform". To the right of the logo are two links: "Who We Are" and "Contact Us". Below the logo is a dark navigation bar with the following menu items: "Home", "Governance", "Politics", "Economy", "Health", "Environment", "Other Checks", and "Deepfakes". A search icon is located on the far right of this bar. Below the navigation bar is a large dark grey section with the word "Partners" in white. Underneath this are three white boxes, each representing a partner. The first box features the logo for the "GHANA FACT-CHECKING NETWORK" and a paragraph of text describing it as the largest fact-checking collaboration in Ghana's history. The second box features the logo for "INFO FINDER" and a paragraph describing it as a collection of facts and sources on key topics. The third box features a green logo for "Fighting the Infodemic: The #CoronaVirusFacts Alliance" and a paragraph describing it as an alliance of fact-checkers worldwide.

GhanaFact
Ghana's independent Fact-checking platform

Who We Are ▾ Contact Us


Home Governance Politics ▾ Economy Health ▾ Environment Other Checks Deepfakes

Partners




**GHANA
FACT-CHECKING
NETWORK**
#GhanaFactCheckingNetwork

This is the largest fact-checking collaboration in the history of Ghana bringing together more than 100 fact-checking journalists from 35 news outlets spread across the country. This is meant to build a nationwide bulwark against misinformation/fake news. Journalists in this network have been trained in how to use digital tools to tackle mis/disinformation. The network helps in identifying suspicious information on social/traditional media, produce fact-checks and cross publish them to increase reach.



**INFO
FINDER** | Making it easier
to find reliable data

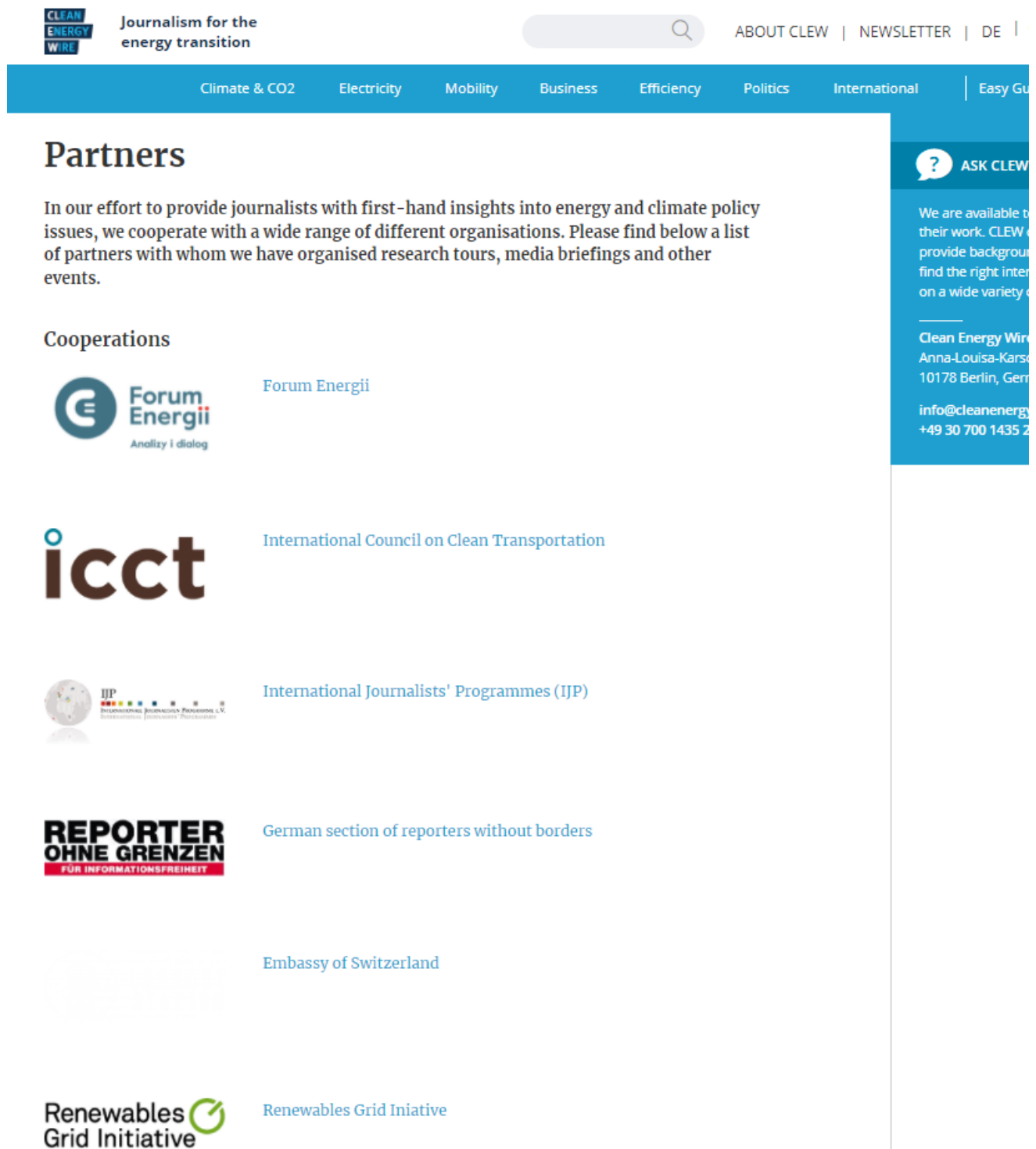
Info Finder is a carefully selected collection of facts and sources on key topics. This is a project of Africa Check, the pioneering fact-checking organization in Africa collaborating with GhanaFact in Ghana, Dubawa in Nigeria and ZimFact in Zimbabwe. The project was one of only seven global winners of the Fact-Checking Innovation Initiative – a new programme of the International Fact-Checking Network at the Poynter Institute and the Facebook Journalism Project.



Fighting the Infodemic:
The #CoronaVirusFacts Alliance

Led by the International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN) at the Poynter Institute, the #CoronaVirusFacts / #DatosCoronaVirus Alliance unites more than 100 fact-checkers around the world in publishing, sharing and translating facts surrounding the new coronavirus. The Alliance was launched in January when the spread of the virus was restricted to China but already causing rampant misinformation globally. The World Health Organization now classifies this issue as an infodemic – and the Alliance is on the front lines in the fight against it.

Image 3: Clean Energy Wire (CLEW) website



By prominently associating themselves with civil society organizations, these journalism outfits are pushing the professional boundaries in the direction of more open acknowledgement of the value of cross-field collaboration.

Project characteristics: Management, funding, and differences in perception

Project management

We know from research on collaborative journalism that having a person dedicated to managing a project is critically important to a project's success (e.g. Alfter, 2019). In our survey, 70% of respondents (N=96) said a designated person had played the role of managing the day-to-day activities of a collaboration in which they had participated. However, it was not uncommon for all organizations involved to have a voice in project-level decisions. As Table 12 shows, the largest percentage of respondents said as much, while slightly fewer said that the lead organization had made most of the project-level decisions.

Table 12: Management arrangements (survey)

	Frequency	Percent
All orgs had a voice in project-level decisions	65	48.0
Lead org made most of the project-level decisions	44	32.0
Don't know	3	2.0
No answer	25	18.0
Total	137	100.0

Fergus Bell, CEO and co-founder of fathm and Pop-Up Newsroom, talked about his organization's approach to collaboration management, highlighting the role of the core partners:

So we've typically found that a small core group allows us to create a much bigger, more sustainable collaboration, because the decision-making is collaborative. And then having a number of different layers of collaborators where their inputs or their takeaways are fairly clear as they're invited in, but often giving them the chance to kind of move up or down a level of commitment based on what they want (personal communication, 7 October 2021).¹¹

The importance of having clear leadership was echoed by others as well. Though most collaborations do want and indeed need input from the various participants, when there are so many moving pieces to a project, having identified decision-makers is crucial. In her research on the topic, Alfter (2018) suggests three arrangements that are common to collaboratives: a core team that is responsible

¹¹ Interview with authors.

for most of the decisions but that works with the rest of the group to gather input, a network with subgroups that make decisions at a more micro level; and a flat hierarchy where all members participate equally with a “one member, one vote” arrangement. We observed each of these arrangements and it appears that the choice of arrangement depends very much on the philosophy of the project initiator, though this would be a fruitful area for future study.

Project funding

Because our focus in this project was on the breadth, structure, and impact of cross-field collaborations, funding was not a central focus. Indeed, the involvement of funders in journalism and the wider field of media development is a robust subfield on its own. However, the topic did come up in our interviews, and we chose to include a question about funding on our survey, so we have some preliminary data that indicate that funding sources and funding arrangements for cross-field collaborations vary widely.

Philanthropy was the most prominent source of funding among our survey respondents (46%), while 21% said that their most recent or impactful project was self-funded (Table 13, below).

Table 13: Sources of funding for your most recent or impactful project (survey)

	Frequency	Percent
Grant, foundation, intermediary, or cultural institution	81	46.0
Self-funded	38	21.0
Govt or intergovernmental funding (UN, World Bank, etc.)	28	16.0
Corporate funding	9	5.0
Other	21	12.0
Total	177*	100.0

**Respondents were allowed to choose more than one source, thus the total is higher than the 137 number of respondents.*

Differences in the perception of cross-field collaboration globally

It became apparent during the course of our research that in places where there was a strong tradition of Western (“objective”) journalism, there was a greater tendency on the part of journalists to voice concerns about partnering with advocacy or other civil-society organizations than there was, for example, in African countries or in Mexico. This is not to say that journalists who voiced concern were less likely to enter these partnerships, as shown below. Our findings regarding differences between the Global North and the Global South support findings in

the academic literature, such as differences in the relationship between journalism and the state or civil society in southern and northern Europe, or again between Europe and countries in the Global South (e.g. Benson, Blach-Orsten, Powers, Willig, and Vera Zambrano, 2012; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, and de Beer, 2019).

Fifty-eight percent of the entities in our study were based in the Global North, while 42% were based in the Global South (Table 14). To underline the fact that journalists' hesitations about cross-field collaboration do not stop them from participating, Table 15 shows that the percentage of participating journalism organizations in the Global North is 58, to the Global South's 42%. And we confirmed that this difference is not because the North has more journalism umbrella organizations; Table 16 shows that a large majority of participating journalism entities in both the Global North and the Global South are individual journalism outlets.

Table 14: Frequency of entities by Global North and Global South

	Frequency	Percent
Global North	582	57.6
Global South	428	42.4
Total	1010	100.0

Table 15: Frequency of journalism organizations by Global North and Global South

	Frequency	Percent
Journalism organizations in the Global North	358	58.2
Journalism organizations in the Global South	257	41.8
Total	615	100.0

Table 15: Frequency of journalism organizations by Global North and Global South

		Global North	Global South	Total
Journalism outlet	Count	316	240	556
	%	88.3%	93.4%	90.4%
Journalism umbrella network	Count	13	6	19
	%	3.6%	2.3%	3.7%
Journalism-support organization	Count	29	11	40
	%	8.1%	4.3%	6.5%
Total	Count	358	257	615
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Though all of the people we spoke with had been involved in such partnerships, observations about cross-border collaboration in or from the Global North generally emphasized the neutrality that journalism must retain when collaborating with CSOs, while our interviewees in the Global South generally rejected that distinction. One interviewee (a journalist and academic) mapped out the differences across Europe:

In Europe, journalists would be very different from country to country on how close they want to work with civil society groups without compromising their independence. ... And they go from my part of Europe, the northwest of Europe, which keeps more of a distance than the South or Central Europe, where even journalism style would be often more opinionated. The Anglo-Saxon tradition, which is also the Nordic, which I'm educated in, is sort of the detached-observer tradition.

Then in some countries, yes, the collaboration is very close and even explicit and no problems. And in other countries it's very clear cut. It's like, you are an advocacy group, you have an interesting report, you share the data. I am the journalist, I check cross-check the data, and then I start doing my journalism. And so how close we get and how we frame it is different. (Alfter, personal communication, 9 June 2021).¹²

Another stated almost the same thing:

But then when we were reaching out and making agreements with the media partners, most media – like it changes around Europe – but most media were very clear and very strict that they wanted nothing to do as partnerships with civil society organizations, that those were clearly sources. And, yeah, for example, more to the north of Europe you went, the more clearly strict they tend to be about that. The more to the south in Europe you went, the less strict, the more open to talking of different partnerships they tended to be. This is not a scientific division, this is just... where you can find the early-on Anglo-Saxon journalistic tradition, yeah, the separation is very clear. In other traditions in countries like, for example. . .like some people in my own home country of Spain, things look different (Calatayud, personal communication, 7 June 2021).¹³

¹² Interview with authors.

¹³ Interview with authors.

And again in the context of the U.S.:

There are certainly still populations, and certainly American society, that view any elements of [cross-field] collaborative work as detrimental to the neutrality of the journalism (Michel, personal communication, 1 October 2021).¹⁴

This type of cooperation is harder for journalists from the West, and from the U.S. It's changing, but like 5, 6, 7 years ago, this would be a no-go for many of the Western journalists, because they were taught in school that journalists act alone (Radu, personal communication, 21 December 2021).¹⁵

In terms of differences between the Global North and the Global South, the academic literature on journalism cultures around the world finds similarly: “In many parts of the Arab and Islamic world and in sub-Saharan Africa,” Hanitzch and his co-authors (2019) write, “journalism is taking a much more active and participatory role in political discourse than in most Western nations. ... In Latin America, some of the most influential online journalists specifically reject neutrality and objectivity while at the same time embracing traditional norms of independence and fact-based truth telling” (p. 27). One of our interviewees in Mexico said very much the same:

I find it really difficult to endorse this idea of journalistic neutrality. ... I'm not sure what it's like in other countries, but in Mexico it's a very close relationship between NGOs, like think-tank researchers, and the media. ... The media should understand the NGO's information, put it in context, and then the reader balances it out, not denying it a priori (Montalvo, personal communication, 13 May 2021).¹⁶

Another difference that is outside the scope of this paper but would be fascinating for future research has to do with social and cultural differences in society at large, as one interviewee stated:

And the good thing is the demography of Africa, you know, some countries specifically where the average age is like twenty, twenty one. And so that means that you interact with managers who are editors who are 30, 32, 35, and they're really open to innovation, unlike situations in Europe where you have editors who are like 65, 67. They don't care about data. And it's so dynamic in Africa, you can really feel it in the air (Ottaviani, personal communication, 13 May 2021).¹⁷

¹⁴ Interview with authors.

¹⁵ Interview with authors.

¹⁶ Interview with authors.

¹⁷ Interview with authors.

An example of greater openness to collaboration in Africa is the Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition, a CSO umbrella group. In 2021 they organized a project to train journalists from several media houses on a government proposal regarding royalties from mineral extraction. The write-up about the training stated explicitly that one of the goals was to encourage journalists to advocate against the agreement:

Some selected journalists have attended a forum to enhance their understanding of the issues on the Agyapa Royalties Agreement to ensure a more informed citizens engagement on the deal for wider reach and impact.

The day's media sensitisation forum, held in Tamale for journalists drawn from the Northern, North East and Savannah Regions, was also to equip them with information on issues related to the Agyapa Agreement and seek their support to use their various platforms to advocate for the suspension of the Agreement (Ghana Business News, 13 March 2021).

We did find exceptions to the general trends just described for the Global North and South; they are journalism organizations based in the Global North that collaborate openly and explicitly with civil society organizations. One is the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, based in England, and the others are in Denmark, where cross-field collaborations involving the largest media houses have been happening for years.¹⁸ Ole Hjortdal, head of current affairs and debate at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, told us that they have been partnering with civil society organizations for more than 10 years, most notably on annual campaigns around specific themes, such as getting out into nature, or technology in schools. He said they consciously stay away from anything that might be too controversial (personal communication, 21 October 2021).¹⁹

Jesper Nymark, executive director and editor of DanWatch, an investigative journalism outfit in Denmark, talked about their approach, including their insistence on working with local organizations in countries that are the focus of investigative projects:

We, as a journalistic organization, have a very collaborative approach. And that is due to the fact that we believe the kind of journalism that we do, which is investigative, is increasingly becoming more collaborative. And that's not

¹⁸ Jesper Nymark of Danwatch explicitly compared his organization to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, as well as to ProPublica in the U.S., and Correctiv in Germany.

¹⁹ Interview with authors.

only between media to media, it's also media and civil society organizations like Amnesty [International] and also local civil society organizations in countries that we're working in.

For example in Mozambique, we are working with a little NGO that actually looked into issues in regards to extraction. We also work with academics – universities and research centers – and we are working with tech developers. And of course, we're working with lawyers, because we often encounter companies that have some kind of complaint, and that gets into legal issues.²⁰

Of all of the people we spoke with, it was the journalists whose organizations collaborate most openly with CSOs who were among the most emphatic about the line that cannot be crossed between journalism and advocacy; this is discussed in greater detail below. First, we look at the impact these collaborations can have.

²⁰ Interview with authors.

Impact

Though there have been many advances in efforts to systematize the cataloging of journalistic impact, capturing the full scope of effects from investigative – especially collaborative investigative – journalism remains a stubborn problem (Green-Barber & Stonbely, 2020; Schiffrin & Zuckerman, 2015). This is due to at least three things:

1. The impact is diffuse.
2. The impact data are often qualitative, and therefore difficult to capture programmatically.
3. The organizations involved often have different impact measures and different levels of priority in terms of tracking impact.

In addition, most of the important impacts from investigative projects take many months if not years to materialize (e.g. Graves & Shabbir, 2019; Tofel, 2013). Nonetheless, whether impact is tracked and cataloged or not, making change is one of the primary drivers of cross-field collaboration, and there is myriad evidence that changes do result from investigative journalism (e.g. Hamilton, 2016; Nogara, 2009) and cross-field collaboration (see below).

We gathered evidence of impact from the projects in our study via several means: through interview questions, direct sharing of data by organizations, and online, either from the organizations involved in a project or an external source. Despite these various methods, we would still not consider our data exhaustive, as it has been shown that the tracking, cataloging, and publicizing of impact is determined to a large extent by the resources of the organization(s) involved in a project and their level of priority for tracking impact, rather than the extent of real-world impact.

We recognize the utility of finding a common language for describing impact and of replicating proven methods when testing theory. Protesse et al. (1992) provided a framework for analyzing impact that has been widely used to do so, identifying three levels of impact: individual (sanctions against persons *or entities*, firings, demotions [*italics mine*]), deliberative (formal discussions of policy problems, hearings, and commissions), and substantive (regulatory, legislative, and/or administrative changes) (definitions from Graves & Shabbir, 2019).

While studies applying this framework have been insightful, here we choose a different framework that distinguishes between impacts on individuals and

entities (as well as on broader macro conditions), and put less emphasis on deliberative outcomes, following Tofel (2015), who stated, “There’s a big temptation to say that a Congressional press release is change, a news conference is change, or a hearing is change. It isn’t. It can lead to change, although frankly, most of the time it doesn’t. Change is when something actually changes. Sometimes it takes a very, very long time.” We’ve adapted our definition of impact from Learning for Action’s (2013) framework, which identifies “change that happens to individuals, groups, organizations, systems, and social or physical conditions” (p. 1), but modifying it to address cross-field collaborations specifically.

Our matrix identifies impacts by *realm*:

- Individuals (but NOT politicians)
- Organizations involved in the collaboration
- Organizations external to the collaboration (but NOT political institutions)
- Political conditions (including individual politicians and political institutions)
- Social or cultural conditions
- Economic conditions
- Physical conditions

In addition, we look at the *valence* of the impact, meaning whether it was *accordant* or *discordant* with the goals of the project. If an impact is accordant with a project, it is aligned with the type of change (either explicit or implicit) that the project has set out to achieve. If an impact is discordant, it runs counter to the type of change that a project seeks, or it is a negative impact on a person or entity that was involved in the project itself.

Nearly all studies that discuss media impact point out that attributing impact to media coverage is difficult because of the many variables potentially involved. However it appears that impact is most easily attributable to media coverage under two conditions: when the story is investigative, meaning it uncovers information that someone was trying to keep hidden (Waisbord, 2000), and when a project is the first source to highlight an event or issue. In an example of muddled impact, a government may propose a shady policy that is very obviously corrupt. Good-government groups, citizen groups, and media outlets alike will decry the policy. If it is withdrawn, it is very difficult to attribute impact to any one factor. Likewise, a cross-field collaboration involving more than 30 journalism organizations and a CSO release dozens of stories to coincide with some sort of annual event in which many elements of society participate, like suicide prevention

month. The impacts on individuals and society are likely but unknowable, difficult to trace, and even harder to attribute to the media campaign.

In an example of attributable impact, on the other hand, a project breaks an investigative story about forced migrant labor in a specific industry. The issue had not been on the public's agenda and the details were so damning that they caused outrage and immediate action (example taken from Schiffrin & Zuckerman, 2015). In this case it is much clearer that impact is the result of the project.

Examples in each of our impact categories are as follows (see also matrix below):

- **Impact on individuals (but not politicians), accordant:** Almost 800 letters were mailed to members of parliament from individuals responding to a call by Transparency International to pressure members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to investigate the corruption uncovered by the Azerbaijani Laundromat investigation (Transparency International, 2017).
- **Impact on individuals (but not politicians), discordant:** A reporter working on the West Africa Leaks project was jailed for violating a law against posting "false information," though an audio recording confirmed that the quote he had posted (by a political figure) was accurate (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, 2020).
- **Impact on organizations involved in the collaboration, accordant:** The social media accounts of the reporters and organizations involved in the Mexican fact-checking project Verificado registered "more than 50,000 followers on Twitter and Facebook in the first days of the project – all organic with no paid advertising. By the end of Verificado, those numbers had grown to over 200,000 on each platform, with 10,000 followers of our WhatsApp channel" (Trewinnard, 2018).
- **Impact on organizations involved in the collaboration, discordant:** A project is unable to continue because of laws that were passed as a result of its work, as in this example: "The pro-transparency organizations Access Info Europe and the Fundación Ciudadana Civio have decided to indefinitely close Your Right to Know , a flagship project of civil society that they jointly managed to promote institutional transparency in Spain. The restriction by the [government] of the right to request information, requiring citizens to identify themselves through complex systems – such as the digital certificate or the electronic DNI and in dozens of portals with different technical characteristics – has motivated this decision" (El Confidencial, 2015).

- **Impact on organizations external to the collaboration (but not political institutions), accordant:** “On 5 July, police launched a series of raids in Italy, Spain, and Germany, arresting over thirty people and seizing cocaine and marijuana. They confiscated at least €5 million in business assets, among them two posh restaurants and a car import-export service, in Barcelona; a luxury jewelry shop, and a football agency in London; a car dealership in Portugal, and two more dealerships in southern Germany” (The Black Sea, 2017).
- **Impact on organizations external to the collaboration (but not political institutions), discordant:** “We’ve had some anecdotal reports after the Paradise Papers that offshore industry professionals are re-thinking how to avoid a major leak. Sometimes that vigilance is in the form of more IT security” (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, 2018).
- **Impact on political conditions (including individual politicians and political institutions), accordant:** The Philadelphia Department of Prisons adds interpreters after [Resolve Philly’s] story on how prisons do not provide adequate resources for deaf persons detained in their system (Parker, 2019).
- **Impact on political conditions (including individual politicians and political institutions), discordant:** A project about Vietnamese migrants in Europe uncovers human rights abuses and trafficking but the findings are contradicted by the government: “In a letter to the House of Representatives, the State Secretary pretends that Vietnamese minors use protected asylum centers as hostels. Anyone who reads the underlying report sees a failing approach to human smuggling and human trafficking” (Einashe, 2019).
- **Impact on social/cultural conditions, accordant:** A collaboration produced an investigative documentary series about deforestation and climate change, which it “The documentary had an impact that went beyond our expectations. The local community started caring about the problem and had a better understanding of its causes and associated risks. With this picture, pressure on the government to find solutions was stronger and more clearly focused.” (The Lookout Station, n.d.).

- **Impact on social/cultural conditions, discordant:** We did not find any examples for this category but one can imagine a project that exposed practices by people in power who then punished a vulnerable population in retaliation, or shifted behavior to a different social or cultural realm which was then harmed.
- **Impact on economic conditions, accordant:** The Paradise Papers collaboration led to the repayment of funds that had been stolen: “In some cases, like Lithuania, the Paradise Papers led to the recovery of unpaid taxes and penalties, increasing government revenue” (Fitzgibbon, Alecci, Chavkin, & Boland-Rudder, 2018).
- **Impact on economic conditions, discordant:** A project (OpenSCHUFA, in Germany) showed that the algorithm that determines peoples’ credit scores is unfair. They exposed this by crowdsourcing more than 4,000 credit reports from people who saw OpenSCHUFA’s call for data (in Germany, the credit agency SCHUFA is legally obligated to provide people their credit reports free of charge). As a result, SCHUFA changed the format of these free credit reports to contain considerably less data than they had before.
- **Impact on physical conditions, accordant:** “The initiative was part hackathon, part workshop aimed ‘to help participants break from traditional conventions of journalism and communications to develop radical new ways to share the narrative of the [European refugee] crisis.’ The team who conceptualized Ultimum Refugium describes the project as a ‘living museum’ that will be filled with experiential storytelling installations related to the refugee crisis. The temporary, modular construction is designed to travel from city-to-city and occupy urban public spaces in regions impacted by the crisis” (Toporoff, 2016).
- **Impact on physical conditions, discordant:** We did not find any examples of this type of impact, but one can imagine damage done to the physical environment, intentionally or unintentionally, as the result of a project.

Impact matrix: (Realm of impact x Valence of impact, examples)

	Accordant	Discordant
Impact on individuals (but NOT politicians)	Citizens participating in a letter-writing campaign; a journalist winning an award	The jailing, intimidation, or murder of a journalist (or their family) who worked on a project; a new training program for lawyers who work in tax havens to reduce liability as the result of a project; vulnerable individuals harmed in retaliation for a project
Impact on organizations involved in the collaboration	An organization receiving an award, experiencing an increase in trust from its community, or gaining a greater following on social media as the result of a project	A project forced to end due to a law that it brought about; a journalism organization being sued because of a project
Impact on organizations external to the collaboration (but NOT political institutions)	Raids, seizures, audits and investigations into businesses conducting illegal smuggling or other operations; external journalism organizations benefiting from training provided by a project; byproduct learning by other organizations from collaborative practices in the field; hiring and other practices re-evaluated after exposure of unfair practices*	Organizations involved in malfeasance take steps to protect themselves after projects uncover wrongdoing at similar organizations
Impact on political conditions (including individual politicians and political institutions)	Firings, investigations, and other consequences for corrupt politicians; new policies or laws; services added where they had been lacking*	Backlash against people or populations as the result of an investigation; inaction
Social or cultural conditions	Greater awareness of a problem or about the way something works; community engagement	A vulnerable population is punished in retaliation for the malfeasance exposed by a project
Economic conditions	Money is recovered and/or repaid; systems affecting individuals' economic conditions are improved	Different loopholes created as the result of a project; less transparency as the result of a project
Physical conditions	Pop-up structure that draws attention to an issue; positive developments in terms of climate change; improvements to infrastructure, worker safety, or the like as the result of a project	Damage to the physical environment done intentionally or unintentionally as the result of a project

**Most common (or most commonly recorded) categories of impact*

We found far more impacts accordant with a project's goals than we did discordant impacts; if an organization is going to spend time and resources documenting impact, they are more likely to highlight those that were positive and intended than those that were negative and unintended. Further, some types of impact are very difficult to track for various reasons. Impacts on social or cultural conditions or in the economic and physical realms – either accordant or discordant – take a very long time to manifest and could be the result of myriad factors in addition to the work of a cross-field collaboration. Projects about climate change, for example, fit this category. There is excellent journalism and advocacy coming out of the cross-field collaborations we analyzed, but it would be nearly impossible to attribute any change in the physical reality of climate change to any specific project (an exception might be a change in climate policy attributable to a project which then had measurable impact on the physical climate).

If certain accordant impacts are difficult to find and/or track, discordant impacts are even more so. The first reason for this, mentioned above, is that organizations are less likely to look for or log impacts that were negative unintended consequences of their projects, especially if they affect social, economic, or physical conditions (and especially if they rely on grant funding and want to receive similar funding in the future). Second, many discordant impacts are retaliatory in nature, perpetrated by the actor(s) or institution(s) targeted by the project in question; it is unlikely that any retaliation will be openly in response to such a project.

Finally, why does impact fall flat? Why in some cases of cross-field collaboration are there not changes accordant with the goals of the project? While we did not find numerous examples of lack of impact, we propose three reasons why a project would fail to effect the desired change:

1. The individuals and organizations investigated are too powerful.
2. There is not sufficient follow-up.
3. The impact is too far removed (e.g. climate change).

Circumstances under which impact is not achieved would certainly be an area for further research.

Ethical considerations (neutrality vs. advocacy)

Closely related to impact is the tension, common in cross-field collaboration, between impartial, “objective” journalism and the desire for impact. Stated another way, while certainly not a new problem, cross-field collaboration brings to the fore the difficulty for journalists “to reconcile two competing values: the detachment they feel is necessary to adhere to the objectivity norm, and the ideal that their journalism should move the public to keep its leaders accountable” (Coddington & Lewis, 6 Jan. 2021).

Leaving aside the inherent problems with objectivity on its own (e.g. Daston & Galison, 2007; Steinmetz, 2005) and in journalism (e.g. Epstein, 1973; Hallin, 1997), the point remains: as an impartial recorder of events and accounts, journalism is invaluable; people must have facts if they are to make rational decisions and be informed participants in democracy (where it exists, and perhaps especially where it does not). So for journalism to become intertwined with advocacy organizations or organizations with an agenda is inherently problematic (one thinks of earlier arguments against journalists being embedded with military troops or on a campaign bus).

Journalists schooled in the Western tradition of objective journalism were much more likely, in our interviews, to talk about the need for journalists to remain impartial, hew to the facts, and just get the story out. However, they participate in cross-field collaboration at an equal rate as their colleagues in the Global South. How do they navigate this tension? We found two ways that this is addressed:

1. Through specific practices and narratives about their work, journalists who want to appear impartial have found ways to participate in cross-field collaboration that do not violate their journalistic ideals.
2. Journalists who insist on their impartiality but also participate in cross-field collaboration sense that norms and practices are changing and are actively pushing the boundaries of accepted practice, so their narratives about this tension reflect a more reflexive position.

In what follows we explore each by looking at statements from journalists and civil-society actors that express each of these positions.

1. Through specific practices and narratives about their work, journalists who want to appear impartial have still found ways to participate in cross-field collaboration that do not violate their journalistic ideals.

A journalist from Denmark felt strongly about keeping a demarcation between journalists and their civil society partners, but found ways to think about cross-field collaboration and practices that allowed for many successful projects:

I mean, I think you have to be very careful mixing it up, right? Because then the credibility that you have as an independent investigative media is going to disappear. And that is going to be the foundation in order to do these collaborations. It's similar to the way you work with local journalists, seeing them as more than just fixers. I believe, if there is some kind of stronger, what'd you say, understanding and trust, then you can use them for a lot more than just kind of being a source. And we have done this many times, we've done research together with NGO's where we're just trying to figure out what's up and down. But we would never use the NGO that we've been doing the research with as a key source, that would be wrong from our point of view (Nymark, personal communication, 11 November 2021).²²

Keeping very clear distinctions in their minds about the roles both journalists and civil society partners play helps some journalists:

The thing is advocacy is not our job, right? Our job is to explain stuff. Explain things, unveil secrets. And when I try to write, I'm always, and I always tell the people I work with, don't tell people what they should think about your story. Explain your story, and let them think, let the facts talk by themselves (Baquero Iglesias, personal communication, 4 October, 2021).

A U.S.-based cross-field collaboration called Climate Central brings together climate researchers, scientists, and journalists. On their website they lay out clear protocols for their cross-field collaborations:

How it works: A partner outlet contributes local reporting, including field reporting, photography and some editing for a story. We contribute data and charts plus a science reporter and an editor. For a text story, we help craft a feature in a way that puts climate change in appropriate and accurate context.

²² Interview with authors.

Compromise: Our partners know their style and local communities, issues, leaders and characters better than we do. We defer to our partners on most final editorial decisions, but insist upon scientific accuracy and context. If we can't reach agreement on the science in a story, we agree in advance that we will halt the project (Climate Central, n.d.).

Investigative journalism has an inherent advocacy element, and yet, because of its methods and end-goals, is more journalism than activism. One of the tenets of watchdog, or investigative, journalism is that it “transcends the mundane world of politics in the sense that the revelation of such situations can be said to be in the general interest of the population” (Olesen, 2008, p. 248). Many organizations in our study state as much in their mission statements, as in this one in Mexico: “Fifth Element Lab is an independent, non-profit organization that seeks to encourage and carry out investigative reports that empower citizens, strengthen accountability, and help build a more just and transparent society” (Quintoelab.org/nosotros, 2021).

Though investigative journalism may look to some like advocacy, those trained in it have specific methods and practices that set it apart. Paul Radu, investigative journalist and co-founder of OCCRP, explained the differences:

In my mind right now, the difference between activism and investigative reporting is that activism is driven by a type of mission. And investigative reporting, its sole mission is to inform the public and serve the public. Now, one could say, well, activists are doing the same, and they are. But in my mind investigative reporting is serving a more diverse public in a polarized world with people on all sides of an issue and the independence of investigative reporting needs to be preserved. And these lines need to be respected. Because if you behave in a manner that's autonomous, that's independent, you will be able to speak to a lot more [of the public] than an activist (personal communication, 12 December 2021).²³

Radu gave an example from the project Azerbaijani Laundromat, on which they worked with Transparency International (TI), as part of the Global Anti-Corruption Consortium (GACC). Radu and his team had received the data that was the foundation of the investigation, but at no point in the project did they ever share the raw data with TI. The reason has to do with the differences between journalism and activism:

²³ Interview with authors.

When I got this data set, I realized that this might be a good GACC project, in the sense that we already saw that this was a systemic problem. And TI could do a lot more on the front of advocacy, and activism, then we could by just posting out the articles. So we met in Berlin, and we sat for hours at this table, and we discussed the project, but we did not share data in those initial meetings, prepublication. We told them, overall, what's in the data, but one of the things you want to do when you're an investigative reporter is to protect your source. This is one of the pillars of investigative reporting, you never disclose your source. We did share the data online and with TI once the project was published and the data was added to our aleph management system.

With activists, I think the goal justifies the means sometimes. And that's not a bad thing at all, I'm not saying that. While with investigative reporting, and this is one big, big difference, you will never reveal your source, right? Because you want more people to come to you and give you information to be able to do your work. The moment you blow up the source, you're dead as an investigative reporter (personal communication, 12 December 2021).²⁴

Camille Eiss, chief of global partnerships and policy at OCCRP, touched on another key reason that journalists need to remain neutral:

But certainly a key priority is ensuring that editorial independence is maintained, that journalists are telling stories that are chiefly in the public interest, not determined by an advocacy campaign. There's also a super high priority in terms of the security of our partners and our partners around the world that is closely tied to that credibility (Eiss, 2021).

Concern about safety – for journalists but especially for civil-society actors who might work in the community long after the journalists leave – is another very important reason why those involved in the collaboration might want to insist on a separation of the two fields.

2. Journalists who insist on their impartiality but also participate in cross-field collaboration sense that norms and practices are changing and are actively pushing the boundaries of accepted practice, so their narratives about this tension reflect a more reflexive position.

Impact Editor Miriam Wells is a journalist in the UK who holds the rare title of impact editor. She has thought long and hard about the tension between

²⁴ Interview with authors.

neutrality and advocacy, and written on it publicly (Wells, 2020). She is someone who is actively pushing the boundaries of acceptable journalism practice, while also giving voice to the concerns of those schooled in objectivity.

Always as journalists, we start with a question and we follow the evidence to find, I mean, maybe not the answer, but the situation, what's there, what's in front of us and what needs to be told. Whereas with a campaign or an NGO, it generally starts the other way around (personal communication, 22 June 2021; see also Tofel, 2013).²⁵

However as we've discussed throughout, when investigative journalism is challenging corruption and other criminal behavior, it's difficult to argue that journalism is completely normatively neutral (Koch, 2018; Olesen, 2008 p. 248). Wells discussed the tension:

I think it's disingenuous to say [journalists] don't have an agenda at all. Like, obviously, we have an agenda of justice. We have an agenda of truth. But we don't have a political agenda. We don't have a corporate agenda. Again, that's up for debate. You could say that believing in human rights is a political agenda. Right? And I'd say it's a lot more gray than a lot of journalists would probably like to think (personal communication, 22 June 2021).²⁶

Then there are participants in cross-field collaboration who do not feel any tension or see any problem with journalism and civil society working together. One example comes from a project titled, "The Consortium to Promote Human Rights, Civic Freedoms and Media Development (CHARM)," based in Sub-Saharan Africa and funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. One of CHARM's reports (2021, p. 3) states their belief in cross-field collaboration thus:

Journalists alone cannot save journalism, and civil society activists and human rights defenders alone cannot defend civil space. This is why multi-stakeholder coalitions, as well as regional and international networks, constitute an essential pathway to identify and deliver solutions to the complex challenges confronting both media systems and civil society. Coalitions can provide opportunities for media and civil society to work in a more strategic and coordinated manner on relevant issues, and to build the political will needed to sustain progress.

In what follows we look at the benefits of cross-field collaboration, then at factors common to successful cross-field collaborations, and common points of tension.

²⁵ Interview with authors.

²⁶ Interview with authors.

Benefits of cross-field collaboration

So far, we have discussed what cross-field collaborations look like and differing perceptions about their practice. Below we talk about why organizations, according to the people we spoke with, generally get involved with them in the first place; in other words, what are the benefits of cross-field collaboration?

Benefit 1: Information producers can no longer rely on their content being seen via the usual channels; collaboration helps content take on more incarnations (i.e. text, video, graphics, etc.) to have broader reach.

At this point it is well known that collaboration – either cross-field or journalistic – increases reach (e.g. Ng, 2021). In addition, if a journalism organization collaborates with a civic-tech, arts, or data visualization organization that shows their text in a different format, it can potentially attract a larger audience. Several of our interviewees – on both the journalism and CSO sides – talked about using the tools of the other to find a broader audience. Bronwen Robertson, co-founder of the CSO Data4Change, is worth quoting at length:

We set up Data4Change because we realized that there were a lot of civil-society-slash-human-rights organizations that were producing really, really important work and then locking it away in 50-page PDF reports that were being submitted to donors or kind of niche audiences. And within those were really key insights that weren't getting to places that it mattered, in particular for things like behavioral or institutional change. So we wanted to find ways that we could work with creatives, hand-in-hand with the human rights organizations, to unlock those insights, and communicate them in a way that would make people stand up and take notice (personal communication, 18 November 2021).²⁷

Their impetus for founding Data4Change encapsulates what we heard from many journalists as well: the work of CSOs is so important, and yet is generally directed at, and written for, very small, specific audiences. This was true also for *Animal Politico*, a journalism organization based in Mexico:

In Mexico it was common that the only way [civil-society organizations] had to publicize what they were doing was calling for a press conference, journalists attending that press conference, and publishing something as a text. And most of the time that coverage was like very, very small notes lost in the paper

²⁷ Interview with authors.

*because it was like, yes, well, citizens saying something. So when Animal Politico opened this space (Plumaje), it was the first piece of media in which civil society can actually publish what they are working on in their own words, not as an opinion piece, not because a reporter wrote about it, but by their own words. So this practice permits us to have a good relationship with NGOs. And it's part of the way that we work in order to work better together (Montalvo, personal communication, 13 May 2021).*²⁸

Perhaps because increased reach is such an obvious benefit, most people did not spend a lot of time discussing it in detail, but other statements were very similar: “[the other partners] also just have the means to spread the word on topics that are important to us” (Jach, personal communication, 28 April 2021); “if [a story] is going to make a splash and reach the audiences that it should, we have seen increasingly that you have to have collaborative approaches, especially internationally” (Michel, personal communication, October 1, 2021); and “another reason [we partner] is to get reach, to get more visibility” (Kayser-Bril, personal communication, July 20, 2021) were among the things we heard.²⁹

Again, increasing reach is closely related to being able to tell a story in several different ways. A final example comes from The Lookout Station, a CSO and a project of The European Forest Institute. “We need to take out all the barriers and find the processes that encourage science and journalism to work together,” a banner quote on their website states. Based in Finland, they’ve done at least six projects partnering with journalists and other organizations to use data visualization – virtual reality (VR) primarily – to tell the stories of climate change. The director and producer of a story about disappearing oases in Morocco, Viktorija Mickute, said this:

With partners' help, our VR films are distributed widely around the world and gather millions of views. We think it is important to make VR pieces as accessible as possible to everyone, no matter if they have VR headsets or only a smartphone. This way the story reaches as many eyes and ears as possible. It is also very important how impactful the views are. We showed Forced to Flee, our VR film about Rohingya refugees, to a few members of the UN Security Council. After the screening, Amnesty International presented them with a list of recommendations on how to respond to the Rohingya refugee crisis (Mickute, n.d.)

²⁸ Interview with authors.

²⁹ Interview with authors.

The Lookout Station partnerships also point to the advantage of bringing in people with specialized skills, another impetus for cross-field collaboration.

Benefit 2: The resource constraints faced by newsrooms, along with the increasingly complicated nature of investigative stories, necessitate specialized skills and supplemental humanpower.

Another reason we heard over and over about why organizations choose to join cross-field collaborations is that the other parties bring specialized skills, humanpower, and/or resources that their organization alone did not have. In other words, without the partnership, the story either would not be possible or would be of a lesser quality. This is related to, but distinct from, the benefit of increased reach. Journalist Casey Michel listed the benefits he saw of cross-field collaboration in terms of both reach and resources:

I can't speak highly enough about the opportunities presented by collaboration, because the civil society elements, certainly they have the expertise on their own end and they have the resources on their own end. And as we've seen, increasingly they have their own graphics teams, they have their own digital teams, they have their own capacity for producing original research that is not horrific to look at, from a visual perspective, you know, they have the element that we have traditionally associated with freshly digital journalism, that is to say, high quality production that amplifies their work that much further, that reaches new audiences that much further. And those are additional readers that you would love to reach and have them coming back for more and more. So you kind of go through the list of all these advantages that come through, that come via working with or collaborating with the civil society elements (personal communication, 1 October 2021).³⁰

Bureau for Investigative Journalism Impact Editor Miriam Wells talked about a project they were working on about deforestation in Brazil. The CSO, Greenpeace, brought resources to the table that Bureau would not have been able to summon had it been doing the story on its own, including drones to fly over deforested areas, and expensive databases that allowed them to put the story in context (Wells, personal communication, 22 June 2021). On another story, about price hikes on medical oxygen in Africa, Wells talked about valuable knowledge that journalists were about to provide to CSOs in turn:

³⁰ Interview with authors.

Journalists provided information on the market stuff, like what was being charged in different countries by the companies for cylinders of oxygen and the price markups, the kind of information that CSOs can't get; they found it very hard to get that information. And it was a great example of, you know, in all these issues, there are kinds of things that journalists can do that NGO's can't do necessarily, and vice versa (personal communication, 22 June 2021).³¹

Similarly, specialists at civil society organizations can help journalists make sense of increasingly technical issues:

I mean, I can be a political journalist and analyze the legislative process and lobbying and the whole thing. And I know my FOIAs, but that doesn't necessarily mean that I can understand the underlying technical issues that are under discussion, so I need someone who does that. And the same with the administration... the documents are stored not in the shape of an old-fashioned PDF. They are stored in the shape of databases or relational databases. I can't do that on my own (Alfter, personal communication, 9 June 2021).³²

Pankaj Mishra, co-founder of the Indian investigative journalism outlet Factor Daily, spoke about stories they've done that would not have been possible without partnering with civil society organizations:

We are journalists. A lot of time we don't have the domain expertise that we need to make sense of a topic. And how we are tackling that is, for example, in this case, we partnered with a grassroots organization, an NGO called Toxic Links. Now Toxic Links works in the area of waste management. They have feet on the ground, eyes and ears on the ground. So we spent months together with them trying to understand the issue [of digital waste], getting access to people who know more about this (personal communication, 4 June 2021).³³

We heard literally dozens more examples like these about the benefit of supplemental resources and expertise in cross-field collaboration. One final quote to highlight; it is not just the expertise of CSOs that is sought out by journalists. Civil society actors have long recognized the storytelling skills and expertise that journalists can bring to their work:

³¹ Interview with authors.

³² Interview with authors.

³³ Interview with authors.

We [journalists] have been working with civil society and with universities to see whether their analyses could be better communicated to people with journalism, with stories, with different testimonies, graphics, specializations, video, et cetera. So we are doing these, I think, for maybe three or four years now; working, for example, with El Colegio de Mexico (Montalvo, personal communication, 13 May 2021).³⁴

Benefit 3: There is an increased desire for impact from investigative journalism, which cross-field collaboration makes more likely.

As has been discussed throughout, the cross-field collaborations studied here were born not only out of necessity but also out of a desire to have impact – both on the part of CSOs and journalists. Though not all journalists are comfortable with it, or will admit to it, their investigative work almost always has a normative dimension. Likewise, civil society actors recognize the importance of journalism that provides trustworthy, credible reporting. One of our interviewees from an NGO captured this delicate balance:

What is the right balance of advocates and activists acknowledging that journalists play a crucial role through their investigations and reporting, while also being clear-eyed about the fact that reporting on its own is not good enough to affect social change and generate impact?

Though there is no doubt that journalists ought to be supported, across the board, it is useful to ask questions about how we might strengthen the ecosystem in which journalists operate, in order to connect the dots between reporting and the action required to affect change in the world. Obviously though, this does raise questions from a code of ethics point of view about the right level of proximity between reporting and the underlying values a journalist holds when selecting a story to report on (Tonn, personal communication, 13 April 2021).³⁵

In our survey, 76 respondents (55%) said their organizations tracked impact from cross-field collaborations in multiple ways, including online metrics, logging policy changes, qualitative feedback such as press mentions, as well as anecdotal and personal feedback. Most respondents (N=100, 73%) said that tracking impact was important to their organization. However, as we know from other studies of collaborative journalism (e.g. Graves and Shabbir, 2019), impact tracking is still more of an art than a science. Even for organizations that have to track impact

³⁴ Interview with authors.

³⁵ Interview with authors.

closely for grants or other funding, it is very difficult to know the full extent of a project's effects, especially when both the subjects and the organizations are spread across countries or even continents.

Moreover, it seems clear that some of the collaborations we've logged here have significance beyond the content they've produced or even the policy change they've affected; they "reach beyond policy change to advocate and instigate changes in the institutional and principled bases of international interactions" (Keck & Sikkink, 1999, p. 89). One example is a project by Data4Change in which they worked with Syrian refugees on the issue of child and early marriage. One of their early learnings based on data gathered by the NGO on the ground was that the girls who were meant to be married had aspirations for their futures that were completely unknown to their parents, especially their fathers, who made the final decision on such matters. Data4Change partnered with journalists to run a short story competition for the girls, wherein their primary caretaker (i.e. their fathers) had to sign off on the story before it was submitted. By sharing the stories with their fathers, the girls were able to open up conversations about their futures that may have been unlikely otherwise (Robertson, personal communication, 18 November 2021).³⁶

On the other hand – and perhaps more commonly – impact stems from a journalistic investigation followed by an advocacy campaign, during which all parties work together toward a common goal. The Institute for War and Peace Reporting followed this model in Nigeria, where "The investigative report highlighted the effects of prolonged incarceration in three major prisons across the country...and attracted human rights advocates to call on the government to take action" (IWPR, 18 July 2019). Shortly thereafter, eight people were released. Similarly, Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) worked with Transparency International (TI) on the release of their project The Azerbaijani Laundromat, where OCCRP gave its findings to TI just before they went public, which allowed TI to be "at the doors of of the Council of Europe pushing for action, for official action," OCCRP Chief of Global Partnerships and Policy Camille Eiss recalled. "We saw immediate impact in terms of official resignations and an official investigation that was launched" (Eiss, 2021).

³⁶ Interview with authors.

Factors common to successful cross-field collaborations

What does a successful cross-field collaboration look like and what contributes to success? We identified a few traits that were common to some of the most successful partnerships. In some cases, interviewees told us directly what they thought contributed to success; in others, we looked at the literature or synthesized the findings of our other data sources.

The importance of follow-up

Success for a cross-field collaboration often means tangible impact: a changed policy, the end to a certain practice, and/or justice enforced. Several people we spoke with said that to have impact of any kind depends on continued follow-up after a project is made public. This could mean a journalism outlet continuing to publish about an issue, or an advocacy organization keeping an issue alive in the grassroots or the halls of power. As the European nonprofit Civitates (9 Dec. 2021) stated, “to put pressure on a certain issue, it can be very effective when an NGO or CSO takes a certain case to court. We then communicate about that case if the government refuses to make it public. At the same time, we highlight court proceedings against NGOs and activists.”

A study by Christopher Hird (2018), formerly of the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, looked at four projects that had noteworthy impact, and identified sustained follow-up as one of the most important elements (see also Alfter, 2021). Especially in the digital era, when issues come and go from the public’s radar quickly, sustained attention to an issue by journalists and/or civil society is required.

An example of a project that had a very active follow-up campaign is the Azerbaijani Laundromat series, from the Global Anti-Corruption Consortium (a partnership between OCCRP and TI). Transparency International (05 Sept. 2017) was explicit about the ways in which it would keep pressure on the various powerholders who were implicated in the findings. Among them:

- Conduct a letter-writing campaign
- Present evidence to a special investigative group and ask for a full investigation
- Send a dossier outlining the findings to countries that are implicated
- Call publicly on specific countries to investigate malpractice
- Advocate for greater transparency measures in countries that are lacking

Trust and respect between partners

Trust between project participants is vital. We found in many cases of successful collaborations that the partnerships were built on trust, or that trust was quickly established between new collaborators. For journalists, trust is essential because they need to know that the information they are getting from their civil society partners is sound and true. One interviewee from a CSO discussed this explicitly:

I think the most important challenge for us is to create trust between [Code for Africa] and the media, because the media want to keep their editorial independence. They don't want external parties to shape the way they tell stories. Or at least they don't want other people to shape their agendas. So we always try to focus on the methodology rather than the content. That way, we will strengthen the trust relationship with the partners (Ottaviani, personal communication, 13 May 2021).³⁷

On the contrary, one interviewee discussed a failed collaboration where they had become very interested in pursuing an investigative story based on information from a civil society partner only to find, after investing valuable time and resources, that the initial information had been fabricated; they never worked with that organization again (anonymous).³⁸

Trust is particularly important in cross-field collaboration for a few reasons. First, the collaboration is often among organizations that might not usually work together, in part because they perceive each other to have, if not contradictory, different agendas. Second, the nature of the material these collaborations are reporting on is often highly sensitive, to the point that participants' lives may be on the line. Clearly there needs to be a mutual trust that everyone will act responsibly and respectfully toward one another in these cases. Finally, trust facilitates longer-term relationships that can last over many projects, which allows collaborators to save time and resources in the long term by not having to always find new partners or establish working foundations (Alfter, 2018; Schiffrin, 2017).

Intentionality in choosing partners and structuring the relationships

The most successful collaborations are intentional and systematic in choosing partners, beyond existing relationships or happenstance. One of our interviewees talked about his organization's approach to collaboration management, highlighting the intentionality with which they build out a team:

³⁷ Interview with authors.

³⁸ Interview with authors.

[We] identify stakeholders that can get along together, but also are not competing with each other directly, and we typically try to have an odd number. So three minimum collaborators, because then we get diversity of opinion, diversity of experience. And we can't have, kind of, split decisions when it comes to establishing the project. And then once we've identified that core group, we will do a kind of heightened level of planning and identify the other types of stakeholders that would come in. And again, ensuring that there is diversity of experience and format (Bell, personal communication, 7 October 2021).³⁹

In her research on the practice of collaborative journalism, Alfter (2018) finds similarly, highlighting, in addition to diversity, trust, experience, and the importance of where someone is based geographically. At AJ+, Al Jazeera's social media/digital storytelling arm, shared values are important when choosing partners:

The first thing for us is to be associated with organizations that we feel share the same values. AJ+ is very linked to Al Jazeera's values, which is giving voice to the voiceless, and specifically for AJ+, we are a digital channel that upholds social justice. So we receive a lot of requests, honestly, from NGOs, you know, or from civil society to collaborate with us. ... Because if we don't share values, then we don't find a common ground for collaborating, right (Larrea, personal communication, 4 October 2021)?⁴⁰

Bronwen Robertson, co-founder of Data4Change, gave us a counter-example in terms of shared values but one that highlighted the importance of the structure of the work.

We talk about it in terms of carefully curating moments of conflict. So if you have a bunch of people who all think the same, and who all have the same background, and they work on a project together, they'll all reinforce what they believe and they'll just go down the track that one of them would have gone if they worked on it alone. But when you throw into the mix people who have, maybe, different political leanings, different sexuality or gender orientation, different religion, different faiths, from different countries, different educational backgrounds, different skill sets, different workflows – it's very chaotic.

³⁹ Interview with authors.

⁴⁰ Interview with authors.

So we tend to have a lot of really strong frameworks for co-creation, right? You're bringing in a lot of unknown elements. And if you don't have a structure and a kind of path forward, in terms of like, these are the steps that we take to move through, that would be very conflicted. And if you don't have that, then you just kind of pat each other on the back and introduce something that's probably okay, but it's not amazing (personal communication, 18 November 2021).

Common points of tension

Too much involvement by the funder

A handful of interviewees spoke to us about instances where a funder of a collaboration had become involved in the work to the extent that it made the project less successful. They spoke about, when possible, being selective about taking money from certain funders who were known to be overly involved, though they acknowledged that being able to pick and choose from whom to take money is a luxury that few organizations can afford.

Failure to secure ongoing funding/become self-sustainable

Of course, if having to work with an overly involved funder is the difference between a project dying on the vine and continuing, most will choose to work with the funder. Many projects never even get to make that choice, having failed to secure ongoing funding after the first round. This was the case for a few projects we looked at, all of which were at or toward the end of their initial grant and were uncertain whether they'd be able to continue because they had not yet secured further funding. It's an unfortunate reality in a field where so many organizations are doing quality and important work and relying on a finite pool of philanthropic resources. Ideally, a project would have someone dedicated to development, multiple donors ready to infuse aid, and/or a multi-year operating contract.

Differences in work cultures between journalism organizations and CSOs

We observed the same differences in organizational culture across several of the collaborations we studied, especially between the tight structure and fast pace of journalistic work, the relatively loose structure and more fluid pace of civic tech orgs, and the much longer timeline for university partners, on the other end of the spectrum. One of our interviewees highlighted this difference when explaining how their project manager had mediated the differences in work cultures between the journalists and the civic-tech partners:

I think it's very beneficial to have a person who knows exactly about the journalist's needs and can be sensitive of their time and their involvement, and channel the information. ... Because I think the way that civic-tech works, there's lots of talking, lots of discussions going on and they often take a lot of time because of the lack of hierarchies. So I think looking at how little time journalists actually have for their pieces, it's good to have this one person

who's the filter and takes everything from our discussions and transfers it to yeah, the journalistic understanding of an issue (Jach, personal communication, 28 April 2021).⁴¹

The differences in cultures extend to the concerns each side brings when entering a cross-field collaboration:

While the journalism profession remains concerned with maintaining editorial integrity, operational NGOs in any prospective media partnership are concerned about matters ranging from personnel security to preserving humanitarian access. Long after any collaboration produces a story, NGOs must continue to work on the ground. If there is a perception that a group is helping one side of the conflict or the other, the lives of staffers, especially nationals, can be endangered, along with their beneficiaries. Likewise, the wrong message in a story can have dire consequences for the good-will NGOs work to build — and rely on — in a community and among the local authorities (Abbot, 2009).

This tension can be mitigated by having a dedicated collaboration manager to mediate between organizations, as discussed above, as well as by having clear roles and expectations from the outset.

⁴¹ Interview with authors.

Suggestions for further research

The cross-field collaboration we've analyzed here is yet another indicator of the acceptance of partnership as one of the cornerstones of journalism as it is practiced now; ignoring borders and incorporating an ever-wider diversity of voices, often on a shoestring budget, are others. Cross-field collaboration also represents a re-orienting of the way scholars have learned to think about the relationship between journalism and civil society organizations, away from a dichotomous, antagonistic relationship and toward a more holistic, ecosystemic orientation that sees modern democracies as "movement societies" (Olesen, 2008) in which CSOs and journalism organizations can be symbiotic.

We observed through our research many layers of ties between the people we interviewed, their organizations, and many second- and third-level associations that together form loose ideological webs of actors connected across borders, often continents, all pressing in the same direction on a given topic. If the arc of the moral universe bends toward justice, as the saying goes, it is at least in part due to the incremental and sometimes almost imperceptible long-term work of these networks.

In any study like this, there are several threads and interesting questions that are beyond the scope but worthy of follow-up. Topics that merit future research include:

- A similar project focused solely on Asia and the Middle East: Using a research team that speaks the main dialects of Asian and Middle Eastern countries likely to have organizations that participate in cross-field collaboration, expand the study to those parts of the world, deepening our understanding of this type of collaboration and testing the hypotheses presented here.
- Look more closely at the collaborations that the 778 entities that have partnered only once; what worked, what didn't, and do they plan to collaborate going forward?
- Find and analyze more projects that were unsuccessful; why not, and what lessons can be learned? Or, do a comparative study of comparable successful and unsuccessful cross-field collaborations, looking specifically at the structure of those partnerships in terms of management, funding, workflow, etc.
- What does due diligence when recruiting partners look like? Is there a formula for which types of organizations will work best together?

- Look more closely at the correlation between funding, as well as where cross-field collaborations are focused and which organizations are involved.
- Look at the frequency of participation in cross-field collaboration in terms of the type of journalism outlet (i.e. for-profit, non-profit, etc.). Does business model correlate with a tendency or willingness to participate in cross-field collaboration?
- Look more closely at the circumstances under which impact is not achieved. Why not? What kinds of projects are most likely to achieve accordant, intended impacts?

APPENDIX A

Method

Field scan

Our first step was a global field scan to identify existing, recently completed, and nascent cross-field collaborations. Sameer Padania led this effort; he began by searching funder databases and other sources, using the snowball method (Voicu & Babonea, 1997); in total he logged nearly 100 projects. The 155 projects we ultimately identified are only a percentage of the total number of currently active or recently completed. cross-field collaborations.

We organized our findings according to Projects, Entities, and People.⁴² Projects (N=155), held the collaborations, and includes items and variables associated with each, such as a website, the people and entities associated with the project, the countries involved, its topic, and duration. The Entities object (N=1,010) held all organizations (journalism and civil society) associated with a project, as well as the organization's website, the country in which it is based, any people associated with the organization that are relevant to the project(s), and the entity type (e.g. journalism organization, NGO, etc.). Finally, the People object (N=1,477) included any people associated with an identified collaboration, as well as their title and country of residence, when available. The main purpose for gathering the names of people affiliated with our identified Projects was for the survey and interviews.

This research project would not have been possible without the internet. However even with high levels of transparency and well-designed websites, many of the collaborations (often, understandably) did not disclose the people and/or organizations involved. Among the most difficult information to find were the names and contact information of people who led particular projects. People, if mentioned at all, often did not put their emails on the internet, therefore we relied heavily on LinkedIn and Twitter to make contact and ask for participation in our survey or an interview.

⁴² For this we used Airtable, a relational database platform. Each sheet (e.g. Projects, Entities) is referred to as an "object."

Interviews and survey

All of our interviews were conducted, out of necessity, in English; no doubt this biased the sample away from people in parts of Asia and the Middle East, as discussed above (and we were humbled by the fact that so many native speakers of other languages accommodated us in this way).

In addition to identifying interviewees through the field scan, we also used non-probabilistic snowball sampling, where we were referred to people by the person we were interviewing, often by way of an email introduction (Voicu & Babonea, 1997).⁴³ Snowball sampling has its own limits, specifically in that the ultimate sample is not random but purposive; however, the strength, especially in this case, is greater insight into the depth and extent of certain networks.

Questions asked during the interviews were standardized so as to allow comparison among responses, but also deviated when it made sense to do so based on a response or particular circumstances. The data from the interviews is woven throughout the analysis below.

In addition to the field scan and interviews, we invited 809 people we had identified as having participated in a cross-field collaboration to participate in a survey. The survey, like the interviews, was designed to gather data that was not available online and therefore not captured by the field scan, as well as discover additional projects. We used the survey platform Qualtrics, which allowed us to translate the survey into 23 languages, to capture as many responses as possible. We received 137 responses, which at 17% is low, but is just below the acceptable response rate for journalists (generally understood to be between 20% and 30% (Carpenter, Nah, & Chung, 2015). To entice the greatest amount of participation, none of the questions were mandatory; therefore some of the numbers presented below do not total 137.

⁴³ "Also known as the referral method or network sampling, 'snowball' sampling is normally used wherever there is little knowledge of the target population, whose boundaries or number are hard to define. ... The most frequent examples of using this method are met in the surveys intended to identify sensitive information or in research carried out on hidden populations." (Voicu & Babonea, 1997).

APPENDIX B

Full list of countries with a count of organizations that participate in cross-field collaboration:

	Frequency	Percent
USA	235	23.3
Mexico	114	11.3
Germany	46	4.6
UK	43	4.3
Brazil	32	3.2
Bulgaria	32	3.2
France	29	2.9
Indonesia	27	2.7
Nigeria	25	2.5
Ghana	24	2.4
Netherlands	23	2.3
Argentina	21	2.1
South Africa	15	1.5
Canada	14	1.4
Spain	13	1.3
Denmark	12	1.2
Venezuela	12	1.2
Kenya	11	1.1
Belgium	10	1.0
Colombia	10	1.0
Italy	10	1.0
Sweden	9	.9
Australia	8	.8
Poland	8	.8
Russia	8	.8
Chile	7	.7
India	7	.7
Peru	7	.7
Switzerland	7	.7
Austria	6	.6
Belarus	6	.6
Cuba	6	.6
Slovenia	6	.6
Uganda	6	.6
Ukraine	6	.6
Finland	5	.5
Qatar	5	.5
Greece	4	.4
Hungary	4	.4
Kazakhstan	4	.4
Kyrgyzstan	4	.4

	Frequency	Percent
Nepal	4	.4
Norway	4	.4
Philippines	4	.4
Senegal	4	.4
Tajikistan	4	.4
Armenia	3	.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3	.3
Burkina Faso	3	.3
Costa Rica	3	.3
Czech Republic	3	.3
Estonia	3	.3
Georgia	3	.3
Ireland	3	.3
Japan	3	.3
Moldova	3	.3
North Macedonia	3	.3
Romania	3	.3
Uzbekistan	3	.3
Benin	2	.2
Botswana	2	.2
Cyprus	2	.2
Ecuador	2	.2
El Salvador	2	.2
Fiji Islands	2	.2
Guatemala	2	.2
Ivory Coast	2	.2
Luxembourg	2	.2
Malawi	2	.2
Montenegro	2	.2
Portugal	2	.2
Tunisia	2	.2
Turkey	2	.2
Algeria	1	.1
Bolivia	1	.1
Cameroon	1	.1
Croatia	1	.1
Dominican Republic	1	.1
Ethiopia	1	.1
Geneva	1	.1
Guinea	1	.1
Hong Kong	1	.1
Iceland	1	.1
Iran	1	.1
Israel	1	.1
Jordan	1	.1
Kosovo	1	.1
Latvia	1	.1
Lebanon	1	.1
Lithuania	1	.1
Madagascar	1	.1

	Frequency	Percent
Malaysia	1	.1
Mali	1	.1
Malta	1	.1
Mongolia	1	.1
Morocco	1	.1
Myanmar	1	.1
Namibia	1	.1
New Zealand	1	.1
Pakistan	1	.1
Panama	1	.1
Paraguay	1	.1
Puerto Rico	1	.1
Republic of Congo	1	.1
Serbia	1	.1
Slovakia	1	.1
South Korea	1	.1
Sri Lanka	1	.1
Syria	1	.1
Taiwan	1	.1
Tanzania	1	.1
Thailand	1	.1
Uruguay	1	.1
Zambia	1	.1
Zimbabwe	1	.1
Total	1010	100.0

APPENDIX C

Top 30 countries with highest frequency of self-directed collaborations:

	Frequency
USA	28
Mexico	23
Germany	18
Nigeria	16
UK	13
South Africa	12
Italy	11
France	10
Netherlands	10
Spain	10
Argentina	9
Denmark	9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8
Columbia	8
Czech Republic	8
Ghana	8
Australia	7
Belgium	7
Brazil	7
Finland	7
Poland	7
Russia	7
Bulgaria	6
Hungary	6
India	6
Kenya	6
Slovenia	6
Switzerland	6
Venezuela	6
Armenia	5

APPENDIX D

Further reading on impact

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APPENDIX E

List of interviewees (alphabetically by last name)

Interviewees from Civil Society Organizations:

- Eugenia Andreyuk - World Organization Against Torture (OMCT)
- Bonnie Bley - Judith Neilson Institute (JNI)
- Tony Borden - Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR)
- Susannah Elliott - Australian Science Media Centre
- Beauty Emefa Narteh - Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC)
- Claudia Jach - OKF/Code for Germany/Water Commons
- Natalia Jardon - World Justice Project (Mexico)
- Nicolas Kayser-Bril - AlgorithmWatch
- Kathy Magrobi - Quote This Woman+
- Ioana Manolescu - Inria
- Monica Meltis; Georgina Jimenez - Data Civica
- Guadalupe Mendoza - Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad (IMCO)
- Lydia Namubiru - openDemocracy
- Jacopo Ottaviani - Code for Africa
- Alastair Otter - Media Hack
- Paolo Papotti - EURECOM
- Bronwen Robertson - Data4Change
- Tony Rocco - Photography Without Borders
- Leslie Solis - World Justice Project (Mexico)
- Johannes Tonn; Veronica Dickson La Rotta - Global Integrity
- Rina Tsubaki - Lookout Station
- John Upton - Climate Central
- Ketevan Vashakidze; Nino Khurtsidze - Europe Foundation
- Claire Wardle - First Draft News

Interviewees from Journalism Organizations:

- Motunrayo Alaka - Wole Soyinka Centre for Investigative Journalism
- Brigitte Alfter - Arena for Journalism
- Antonio Baquero Iglesias - Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP)
- Fergus Bell - Pop-Up Newsroom/Dig Deeper Media
- Stefan Candea - European Investigative Collaborations (EIC)
- Jenee Chizick Agüero - Motivos Magazine

- Saska Cvetkovska - IRL Macedonia
- Camille Eiss; Lauren Jackman - Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP)
- Kingsley Ezeani - Information Nigeria
- Ole Hjortdal - Danish Broadcasting Corporation
- Stéphane Horel - Le Monde
- Yukari Kane - Prison Journalism Project
- Jeff Kelly Lowenstein - Center for Collaborative Investigative Journalism (CCIJ)
- Diana Larrea Maccise - Al Jazeera/AJ+
- Marcus Low - Spotlight/Section27
- Megan Lucero - Bureau Local/The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (TBIJ)
- Amal Mekki - Innsane Stories
- Casey Michel - Foreign Policy (Freelance)
- Jose Miguel Calatayud - Arena for Journalism
- Pankaj Mishra - Factor Daily
- Tania Montalvo - Animal Politico
- John (Johnny) Myers - Center for Collaborative Investigative Journalism (CCIJ)
- Jesper Nymark - Danwatch
- Jelena Prtoric - Arena for Journalism
- Paul Radu - Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP)
- Jonathan Sasche - CORRECTIV.Lokal
- Zeynep Sentek - The Black Sea/European Investigative Collaborations (EIC)
- Miriam Wells - Bureau Local/The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (TBIJ)

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