The present study is aimed at describing the characteristics of investigative news organizations in the post-New Order Indonesia, which is marked by political openness that can accelerate the growth of investigative activities in the new democratic Indonesia. This research has found managerial diversities among investigative news organizations. These news organizations have different human and financial resources. Some of them are even worried that they may face legal problems. The existence of investigative news organizations in Indonesia is actually an alternative media in filling the empty space caused by the phenomenon of fake news in the era of Post-Truth.

1. Introduction

Investigative journalism, unlike other types of journalism, reveals the truth that is intentionally kept secret and swept under the rug (Aucoin, 2005). An investigative coverage activity requires certain procedures and highly journalistic capacities because it always deals with sensitive issues; for example, corrupt institutions, political lies, big companies’ scandals, and public figures’ scandals. Various sensitive issues can be difficult to address when using the regular reporting method. Undercover activity, in investigative reporting, is one of the capacities of journalism which at some point is carried out within the boundaries of journalistic ethics (Darko, 2020; Yuezhi, 2002). For this reason, investigative journalism is considered as the highest level of journalism. As a case in point, investigative journalists in Norway have to do undercover activities to uncover terrorist networks through social media interactions (Larsen, 2016). Terrorist networks are tracked through their communication on social media, such as Facebook. This opens the veil of a very closed, and deliberately hidden, terrorist network to outsiders who want to know their lives and activities. Through investigative reporting, how they interact, how their daily life looks like, can be revealed. It goes to show that investigative journalists are different with regular journalists. According to Burgh (2002), an investigative journalist is analogous with a social activist, not an outsider coming into a certain environment with personal and professional mission or ambition.

Investigative news products should be highly accountable and impartial and are expected to repair damage done by certain parties to the society. A news organization can receive public praise due to successful investigative journalism (Tong, 2013), and winning the heart of many people is one of the best prizes journalists could ever wish. As such, it can only boost their moral confidence (Lanosga and Houston, 2017; Glasser and Ettema, 1989).

An investigative news can lead to positive social and political changes (Coronel, 2013). It can be a counterbalance and a control to political powers and hence play a central role in the promotion of a democratic society (Abdenour and Riffe, 2019; Ekstrom et al., 2006). Journalism promotes democracy by becoming an information buzzer, encouraging public conversation, and contributing to changes in public policy making processes (Konieczna and Powers, 2017). At this point, it is quite often that news media are positioned as the opposition to the government (Lanosga, 2014; Forbes, 2005; Rawnsley, 2012). As a result, in many countries, the government with their huge power may frequently interrupt the investigative coverage activities. In African countries, for example, investigative journalists often compromise on journalistic ethics when they have to do undercover activities to search for facts and crime evidence. The weekly Citizen and Sunday Nation newspapers in Kenya, for example, encourage the possibility of journalism activities biased against the standards and ethics of investigative journalism, in order to increase the commercial level of newspapers.
2. Theoretical context

The present study focuses on seven news organizations including two print magazines, two TV channels, one news agency, one local newspaper, and one online news website in Indonesia. Indonesia has undergone a political transition from Suharto’s New Order, during which the state appears as a uniquely comprehensive but complex democratic country, to the Reform era, which is marked by information openness and transparency. During the New Order, access to information was heavily controlled by the authorities. Freedom of press is a mere demarcation line between a democracy and dictatorship. In this respect, suggests that the journalistic work of Kompas and Tempo, among others in Indonesia, has been cited as deserving recognition. Both of these magazines faced pressure by authorities over their coverage of stories during the Suharto era and over subsequent political events. Indonesia presents a special difficulty to news professionals because of the lack of a mature and reliable court system. Media called to answer for their news coverage cannot depend on a fair hearing from the judicial system, and this has often reinforced a tendency for self-censorship (Sterling, 2009).

During the Reform era, marked by the fall of Suharto, things change. The government no longer regulates permits for publishing newspapers, magazines and other publications. Various radio and television broadcast stations start mushrooming. Media outlets are no longer afraid that their publishing or broadcast licenses to revoke by the government for reporting bad news about the government and the military. According to Romano and Seinor (in Romano and Bromley 2012), during Suharto’s regime, journalists are demanded to be political actors and agents of development. The role of the media were divided into public-oriented news journalism, popular service journalism, official watchdog journalism, objective precision journalism and opinion-oriented news journalism (Hanitzsch, 2005). Therefore, investigative journalism is a new thing in Indonesian pers. Despite its critical role in promoting information transparency, the development of investigative journalism in the reformed Indonesia has not received attention it deserves.

Investigation is a term that covers a variety of journalism activities, “from simple news-based enquiries to undercover operations that piece together a jigsaw puzzle of events, resulting in a final exposé or scoop” (Forbes, 2005). Investigative journalism framework focuses on investigations carried out by the media against various violations, cases, issues, which are carried out and hidden by certain parties. The media carry out investigative activities based on the demands and expectations of the public, where the media are asked to carry out the mission of the public interest, and as an organ that carries the role and mission of journalism. The notion of investigative reporting arose from the role of journalism as a public servant that has responsibility for the public authority given to it by society. Therefore, in investigative reporting, the media focuses their coverage on various incidents of violations that harm the public which are deliberately “kept secret, withheld”.

In practice, investigative journalism is an activity to reveal issues related to general public services and serious issues such as nepotism, corruption, smuggling or corporate crime. It goes after something intentionally kept secret although not everything kept secret is worth going after (Burgh, 2008). Investigative journalism works to reveal various bad activities involving individuals, institutions, and the various potential harm they cause. The greater the harm it causes, and the more secrets it hides, the more important investigative reporting is carried out by the media.

In terms of social practice, investigative journalism deals with the establishment of internal competence and external confidence. This is where investigative activities gained a place in the field of journalism. Investigative journalism per se comes in different sizes and forms. Theoretically, if explored further, investigative journalism generally resides in the study of communication, culture, and media studies. In practice, investigative journalism falls into the discussion of press studies, within the framework of a liberal democratic system. Now, in

(2021). In Guinea-Bissau, a small country in West Africa, the behavior of paying coverage (bribes and incentives) is considered to have damaged the professional integrity of journalism. The news coverage of the news organizations became filled with propaganda. Investigative reporting is an activity that is rarely carried out (Sampaio-Dias, 2019). In Malaysia, investigative activities are restricted by cultural instruments. Culture of dissent, freedom of the press, and other journalistic work, has its own cultural framework, which is different from Western culture. The practice of investigative journalism in Malaysia is framed by culture and religious teachings, as well as the factors of media control, media culture, and journalistic passions that develop in social cultural settings (Ismail et al., 2014). Malaysian government, directly and indirectly, establish networks with media (Fong and Kit, 2017). In China, news organizations must take certain strategies in their investigative management and reporting. In reporting activities, for example, the strategy of increasing the influence of the news, which reaches the attention of the central government, has opened the channels of news sources (local officials) that previously did not want to be interviewed. Beijing News, for example, defines a news management strategy that differentiates newspaper reporting from online. More investigative reporting is reported in newspapers (Li and Sparks, 2018). Control over news media is also done even by a democratic government. Access to information about policy making is rather restricted (Lanogsa and Martin, 2017; Li and Sparks, 2018).

News organizations can be one of the measures of freedom of press in a country. This issue has not received attention it deserves. In Indonesia, freedom of press has only existed after the New Order ended. State ministries, such as the Ministry of Information, which became an instrument of state propaganda policy were dissolved, replaced by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo), which was no longer the power machine of state propaganda. This new ministry is in charge of postal and information technology resources and instruments, informatics applications, and public information and communication (www.kominfo.go.id). An independent press organization, such as the Press Council, is no longer an instrument of state policy, but has returned to being an independent institution in protecting the life of the press in Indonesia (https://dewanpers.or.id/). Several new press institutions, such as the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), were established. KPI is an independent institution that functions as a regulator of broadcasting operations in Indonesia (https://www.kpi.go.id/). Various broadcasting news organizations, such as television and radio, are the scope of their duties. In this new atmosphere, investigative press coverage activities in Indonesia began to move independently, reporting various violations, cases, issues, scandals, which occurred in the community. However, the movement of the movement has not been smooth, its growth performance is still hampered by many factors. According to a member of the Indonesian Press Council (Hendry Ch Bangun, in an interview), one of the obstacles to the development of investigative journalism in Indonesia is that not many journalists have the ability to cover investigations. If there is, it is possible that the coverage is not in accordance with the requirements of investigative journalism. In the observations of the Commissioner for the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (Yulandre Darwin, in an interview), he views that the implementation of investigative journalism in Indonesia is influenced, among others, by the political system of openness and press freedom. In practice, investigative coverage in Indonesia has not been evenly distributed and has not yet become an important part of media editorial policy.

Due to the lack of study in the area of news organizations, this study aims to examine investigative journalism in Indonesian news organizations. This study poses the following research questions which are how investigative news organizations in Indonesia position their journalists, how their organizational managements are organized, how they cover their investigative news, and how the quality of their investigative news is.
discussing political economy, investigative journalism has been influenced by media issues (Burgh, 2008).

Investigative news, according to Burgh (2008), has a different agenda from regular news. Investigative news has high moral pressure, because the incidence of violations is not a standard measure of negligence. Investigative news does not contain events that are informed by authorities such as ministries, police, fire departments, public relations officers. Investigative news is news from various information, data, facts, documents, interviews, which journalists seek in an investigative way because they are deliberately hidden by certain parties. Investigative reporting has a broad impact or casualty dimension, such as regarding system violations in administrative administration, bureaucratic management, hospitals, state companies, and so on (Burgh, 2008). Investigative news, according to Lowrey and Gade (2011) is not only output oriented but emphasizes various inputs in the routine of work. Investigative news is not only made in newsrooms, in an administrative culture, whose activities are only to recycle information, or data, from various digital technology sources and the internet, in order to pursue news commodification (Lowrey and Gade, 2011).

Journalism performance depends on the political, social, and cultural order, as well as the advancement of economy, technology, and law in society. These various arrangements often must be taken into account when working on the news. News activities, therefore, not only involve the search for facts and sources of news, but also, include matters other than journalism. For example, when covering the issue of ethnic conflicts, editors must really calculate the power of certain ethnic and religious groups, which intertwine with political, social, cultural power and so on. “Stories on religion/ethnicity do provide the fuel for prolonged conflicts and even violence in societies that are historically divided by tribal and cultural rivalries” (Fong and Ishak, 2015). Ethnic and religious issues often make it difficult for media to sustain in a multicultural society. Let’s take Political Journalism in Chile as another example. Journalism has a multiplatform when faced with an interconnected economic political system. It is not enough for political coverage to simply report “situations of tension, crisis or the emergence of political scandals that challenge institutionalism” (Elortegui Gómez and Mellado Ruiz, 2019).

The strength of such political and economic relations reduces the role of journalism watchdog. Initially, journalism was considered to have watchdog strength. The theoretical discourse approach of institutionalism and civil sphere places journalistic institutions as one of the pillars of democracy (File 2018). But, in practice, it’s starting to recede. Political and economic forces often reduce the oversight function of the press. This can be seen from how strong the US President, Donald Trump, has rejected the presence of the media to supervise power. Trump, for example, pointed out that “The New York Times reporting is false. They are a true ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE! ”, Because the Times wrote about the president’s efforts to block media coverage that wanted to investigate Trump’s alleged campaign ties with the Russian government (Carlson et al., 2020). From an economic standpoint, investigative work is expensive. Using James Hamilton’s (2016) analysis, for example, the expensive level of investigative coverage is related to the subject of reporting, the time required, and the financial readiness of news organizations. Changes in digital media platforms, consolidation of media ownership, changes in media consumption patterns, among others, have made investigative reporting done by independent alternative websites. Various filmic narratives, from various films about investigative journalism, serve as a means of reminding the public about the importance of the investigative spirit of the media (Börns and Herst, 2019).

The development of investigative journalism goes along with media business and is closely associated with how journalistic values are appreciated in professional contexts. Firstly, a more commercialized media system often encourages more soft news and less informative media content. Secondly, within news organizations, existing routines and available resources may favor mainstream and inexpensive news. Finally, more effective government press capacities could obstruct investigative reporting (Nord, 2007).

In underdeveloped countries, cultural and political factors often color investigative journalistic activities. The investigation is often restricted by financial problems, resource constraints, and limited access to information sources (Lublinski et al., 2015). Conversely, in a developed country where information transparency rate is high, it is the ideological independence of the media that influences politicians. A investigative news can be a cause of politician resigning from the office (Garr and Sørensen, 2017). In addition to the social order and technological development, various characteristics of the media system in a particular country are also influential. News organizational support is very influential in the practice of investigative journalism (Gerll et al., 2018). News organizations carry out news reporting routines (Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 60). Big news organizations have staff divisions and segregate journalism works into news reporting and news editing (Parasie, 2015).

3. Method

This study was conducted using a descriptive case study, particularly a multilevel analysis of single-case design (Yin, 2018). Data were collected through in-depth interviews with seven investigative journalists of two weekly national magazines, two national TV news channels, one news agency, one online news website, and one local newspaper. The interviews were carried out for two years, from 2010 to 2012. In addition, visits to their offices were also made to observe the editorship activities. The selection of the informants was based on the investigative news they had covered, the diversity of news media, and their experience in investigative coverage. Table 1 presents the summary of this research objects and informants.

In the present study, investigative news organizations are described through the lens of informants as investigative journalists. The investigative news organizations are described in terms of the stance of journalists, editorial management, investigative coverage, and news production. The purpose is to portray general pictures of investigative news organization in Indonesia. The analysis was performed using pattern-matching and explanation building (Yin, 2018). The first was to analyze the use of literary proposition of the investigative journalism, and the latter to describe investigative journalism activities. Data source triangulation was done by sending back the analyzed data to the informants (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The research design is illustrated in Figure 1.

4. Findings

4.1. Seven investigative news organizations in Indonesia

Post-New Order politics has encouraged news organizations to conduct investigative coverage. In doing so, every news organization has its different own way. Some of them form a special team tasked with investigative coverage, and some others do not but still produce investigative news because their journalists take the initiative to do investigative coverage. These journalists select, research, and cover the topics themselves (Touwe et al., 2014). TV investigative news also has its own features as they require more complex instruments than those of print media, depending on their organizational policy. Some TV’s broadcast special investigative programs with special task-force consisting producers, assistant producers, camera persons, reporters, and researchers, and some other do not.

There has been a tight competition among news organizations in Indonesia in the post-New Order era. They compete to gain exclusive access to do an investigative coverage for prestige. However, there is also a tendency that some news organizations that ironically commodify and commercialize information. Print and electronic media are restricted with high investigative coverage cost. In addition, an investigative coverage is also time consuming. Some of them are even worried that they may face legal problems for publishing investigative reports.
This study found that investigative news organizations have different characteristics as shown in Table 2. These characteristics can be summarized into the performance of seven investigative news as outlined in Table 3.

5. Discussion

Based on our findings summarized in Tables 2 and 3, the characteristics of investigative news organizations in Indonesia can be construed as follows:

5.1. Special journalism in investigative news organizations in Indonesia

The term journalism generally refers to media workers consisting of "reporters, writers, correspondents, columnists, newsmen (and a few newswomen), and editors" (Burgh, 2008, p. 44), but also it may further include radio and television news announcers, reporters, editors, and some online writers and editors. The typical Indonesian journalist is young, male, well-educated and earns an above-average salary. In term of education and training, journalist of the archipelago are becoming increasingly professional (Hanitzsch, 2005). After the fall of New Order regime, Indonesian journalists are generally impartial and objective.

Investigative news organizations normally position their investigative journalists as special journalists. Unlike regular journalists, these investigative journalists are expected to meet certain specialties and requirements such as in-depth knowledge and practical skills of investigative activities because they will always have to deal with certain and unpredicted challenges. Investigative journalists are required to find a way to gain access to the informants who are barely accessible. They are expected to obtain information at any cost even through the possession of using hidden cameras or the like. Investigative journalists are supposed to have investigative competence, which refers to desire to question, not to take things for granted, to gain the best understanding of certain phenomena. Investigative journalists are expected to have integrity and eagle eyes to see through the problems being investigated. That way they can find coherent data and evidences (Lanosga et al., 2017). In addition, they must also physically- and psychologically-ready because investigative coverage is usually time consuming.

Investigative journalists also have obligation to be a social critic (Burgh, 2008). Investigative journalists should also be technology-savvy. Unlike regular journalists, they have to have courage and desire to investigate data and facts (Feldstein, 2012). Investigative journalists are deemed as the guardians of democracy (Abdenour, 2016).

The proliferation of investigative news can be a counterbalance to political power, control government, and hence promote democracy because investigative news can improve knowledge and information transparency, which in turn can bring about positive social and political changes (Feldstein, 2006).

Table 1. Informants, media organizations, and portfolios.

| Media            | Scope        | Location | Informant                |
|------------------|--------------|----------|--------------------------|
| News magazine    | National     | Jakarta  | Investigative editor     |
| News magazine    | National     | Jakarta  | Executive editor         |
| TV channel       | National     | Jakarta  | Executive Producer       |
| TV channel       | National     | Jakarta  | Senior reporter          |
| News agency      | National     | Jakarta  | Reporter                 |
| Local newspaper  | Local        | Pontianak| Editor                   |
| Online news website | National | Jakarta  | Managing Editor          |

Figure 1. Research design.
| No | Media 1 | Print magazine | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |                | • holds a meeting to determine and discuss coverage topics |
|    |         |                | • forms a special team to verify the validity of initial information and monitor the investigative coverage |
|    |         |                | • provides journalists' needs to do investigative coverage |
|    |         |                | • provides spy camera if necessary |
|    |         |                | • seeks for investigative access by; for instance, lobbying insiders |
|    |         |                | • joins forces with authorities in carrying out unannounced inspections |
|    |         |                | • emphasizes professionalism |
|    |         |                | • files evidences |

| No | Media 2 | Print magazine | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |                | • emphasizes novelty and impartiality in their news |
|    |         |                | • does undercover investigation |
|    |         |                | • holds meetings three times a week where every decision is made and agreed upon |
|    |         |                | • calculates marketing aspects |
|    |         |                | • provides operational coverage supports |
|    |         |                | • prepares coordinative mechanisms for assignments and schedules for special investigative coverage |
|    |         |                | • signifies added values in their news |
|    |         |                | • does not have special team tasked with investigative coverage |
|    |         |                | • values investigative news same as other types of news |
|    |         |                | • embed investigative news publication with the publication of other types of news |
|    |         |                | • has its coverage topic determined in a meeting, and the field team is responsible for the rest |
|    |         |                | • has its publication procedures as follows: news writer drafts the news, the executive editor and script editor check it, the script is forwarded to the layout designer and printed |

| No | Media 3 | TV channel | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |            | • positions investigative news differently from the regular ones |
|    |         |            | • defines an investigative coverage as an in-depth reporting |
|    |         |            | • does undercover activities |
|    |         |            | • allocates funds for investigative coverage |
|    |         |            | • provides legal protection for their journalists |
|    |         |            | • provides insurance |
|    |         |            | • is at risk of facing legal threats from those reported |

| No | Media 4 | TV channel | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |            | • does undercover coverage |
|    |         |            | • allocates special fund for investigative coverage |
|    |         |            | • provides legal protection for their journalists |
|    |         |            | • forms special team tasked with ensuring the safety of their investigative journalists |
|    |         |            | • provides insurance for their journalists |
|    |         |            | • is at risk of threat from those reported |
|    |         |            | • values investigative news differently from other types of news |
|    |         |            | • values investigative news as an in-depth reporting |

| No | Media 5 | News agency | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |             | • trains its journalists to investigate and questions facts behind certain phenomena |
|    |         |             | • puts an emphasis on compliance with journalistic ethics |
|    |         |             | • always avoids potentials of legal troubles |
|    |         |             | • ensures the validity of their investigative news by doing triangulation |
|    |         |             | • provides full support for their field reporters: fund, training, data, access, etc. |
|    |         |             | • always makes sure that their journalists’ coverage is news worthy, informative, and free from legal risk |
|    |         |             | • avoids disclosure of informants’ privacy in their coverage |
|    |         |             | • values investigative news differently from other types of news |

| No | Media 6 | Local newspaper | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |                 | • has special schedules for investigative coverage |
|    |         |                 | • provides special space for investigative reports despite not having investigative editorials |
|    |         |                 | • does not have special team tasked for investigative coverage; the journalists do the investigative coverage all by themselves while doing regular coverage |

| No | Media 7 | Online news website | This investigative news organization: |
|----|---------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
|    |         |                     | • names an investigative coverage as an in-depth reporting whose data are gained from highly reliable informants and documents |
|    |         |                     | • emphasizes compliance with journalistic ethics |
|    |         |                     | • always ensures the quality of their investigative news production |
|    |         |                     | • prioritizes public interests |
|    |         |                     | • provides their investigative journalists with financial and operational supports |

### 5.2. Unique managerial diversity in investigative news organizations in Indonesia

The existence of investigative journalism affects the news organizations. The editorial management becomes extraordinary because of them (Grafström and Windell, 2012). For news organizations in Indonesia, the existence of investigative journalism in the newsroom, for example, carries a different pattern of activity with regular journalism. Investigative journalists can be considered as new actors in the management of news organizations. Their existence makes the editorial management unique; some emphasize competitive journalism and some other on collaborative journalism.

Investigative news organizations in Indonesia provides investigative journalists with moral supports and operational supports. They also help their journalists with assistance to get access to the informants, information verification, etc. Some news organizations form special team
In-depth news reporting by investigative news organizations in Indonesia

Table 3. Performance of seven investigative news organizations.

| Media          | Category              | Finding                                                                 |
|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Media 1        | Print magazine        | This news organization encourages professionalism in investigative coverage by forming a special force tasked with investigative journalism, holds a meeting to determine and discuss coverage topics, provides journalists’ needs, helps solve problems, seeks for investigative access, provides spy camera if necessary, prepares for interviews, verifies investigative reports, and responds to public inquiries. |
| Media 2        | Print magazine        | This investigative news organization emphasizes novelties and impartiality in their news production, is democratic, calculates marketing aspects, provides operational support services, prepares coordinative mechanisms for assignments and schedules for special investigative coverage. |
| Media 3        | TV channel            | This investigative news organization carries out investigative coverage regularly through an in-depth reporting. Its journalists are expected to thoroughly study the coverage topics directly. |
| Media 4        | TV channel            | This investigative news organization does not regularly carry out investigative coverage, but emphasizes the importance of an in-depth reporting when it does. Does undercover investigation, and provides its journalists with financial supports, legal protection, and insurance. |
| Media 5        | News agency           | This investigative news organization adopts its reporting format from state-owned news agency; always makes sure that the news they produce are informative, free from legal problems, valid in accordance with journalistic ethics; provides its journalists with moral and operational supports. |
| Media 6        | Local newspaper       | This investigative news organization has special investigative coverage schedules. Despite not having investigative editorial page, it provides special space for investigative reports in its paper. This organization also does not have investigative journalists; their ‘regular’ journalists do investigative coverage based on their own initiatives. |
| Media 7        | Online news website   | This investigative news organization carries out investigative coverage through in-depth reporting, interviews with reliable informants, and relevant documentary studies. This organization puts an emphasis on public interests and provides its journalists with financial and operational supports. |

We found that investigative news organization in Indonesia generally emphasize in-depth news reporting. Some investigative news organizations in Indonesia cover investigative news regularly or periodically, and some other do it coincidentally. In other words, some news organization only do a semi-investigative reporting (Kovačić and Erjavec, 2011). Some report investigative news in a special editorial, some other with other regular news.

The investigative coverage activities include proposing the coverage topic, determining the informants, preparing team assignments, coverage monitoring, and designing news reports. The coverage requires a direct reference to official documents, interviews with informants who experience the event firsthand and data and information source triangulations. In addition, the activities are also restricted by journalistic ethics and prioritize news production quality.

Social and political order may trigger the proliferation of investigative journalism. The development of investigative journalism in Indonesia is marked by the fall of Suharto in 1998 after he came to power in 1965 and governed Indonesia for about 33 years. The fall of his regime encouraged knowledge and information transparency, which is the most important ingredient of investigative journalism. Oppositions were no longer afraid of criticizing the ruling government, mainstream media no longer hesitated to cover stories related to government misconducts. Corruptions and other scandalous incidents began to be revealed in mass media. The freedom of press was then born in Indonesia. From this point on, media became commercialized due to high cost of investigative news production. When the media began to promote economy instead of the state as they did during Suharto's New Order, a discursive shift occurred in journalism practice. In investigative reporting in particular, this shift is noticed in the emergence of so-called semi-investigative reporting, which

5.3. In-depth news reporting by investigative news organizations in Indonesia

News writing is a part of journalistic activities. Investigative coverage requires a good writing, an in-depth, comprehensive, and data supported writing, a writing that encourages audience to read it. This is to ensure that the news reaches out a wide audience (Hicks et al., 2008). The discipline of journalism does emphasize news writing activities as an important discipline, how journalists must be accurate, simple, and clear in writing news. How, for example, a story at the beginning of a paragraph (lead) must be understood by the audience, by avoiding jargon, concepts, or complex scientific understandings (Ju and You, 2018).
is a simulant of investigative reporting, while it actually strengthens the dominant political and economic forces (Kovačić and Erjavec, 2011).

Investigative journalism was not established in a short time. This is due to the fact that during the transition from the New Order era to the Reform era, most managers of investigative still had limited understanding about the fundamental concept of investigative journalism. At that time, the practice of investigative journalism in Indonesia was not as sophisticated as that in Western countries. Investigative journalists were not as professional as they in Western countries. On the top of that, some Indonesian people were also still resistant to the emergence of investigative news. Many of them committed violence against investigative journalists.

In-depth reporting is a journalist’s effort to serve the needs of the community about information of the various events happening around them. In-depth reporting helps people understand and interpret certain phenomena (Ferguson et al., 2005). In-depth reporting requires considerable research and a long-term coverage. Facts and phenomena are not just immediately presented, but are analyzed and interpreted first. However, that does not mean the opinions of journalists are included in the report despite the fact that journalism emphasizes the presentation of facts, not opinions. In-depth reporting is carried out to ensure that the news delivered to the audience is fair and accurate. Investigative news may have considerable effects on social and political order. It is quite often that investigative news becomes a cause of government officials resigning from their office. The influence of investigative news can even be bigger than that. The infamous Watergate story; for example, not only toppled President Richard Nixon, but also brought changes to journalism in the world (Ferguson et al., 2005).

In literature, investigative journalism comes with different terms such as muckraking, adversarial journalism, advocacy reporting, public service journalism, and expose reporting. As it requires an in-depth reporting, investigative journalism is more time consuming than other types of journalism. This is because in-depth reporting requires a direct reference to hardly obtained official documents and confirmation by informants who experience the event firsthand.

5.4. The best news in investigative news organizations in Indonesia

News is an important part of journalism. And news mainstream media can provide a counterbalance to fake news and hoaxes widely spread on social media. As Neveu (2014) puts it, a tradition of investigative and narrative journalism may be a reasonable bet to struggle against the news supplied by blogs, aggregators and short-format news sources. Investigative news organizations in Indonesia require the news reporting to meet the best standards. The news should be comprehensive, informative, and impartial so that public can get added values. Furthermore, the topic should also offer novelties in a way that no one has ever covered it, not even official institutions like police department has revealed it. That is what makes investigative news sells. Marketing wise, it should be taken into account when and how investigative news is reported. For this reason, news organizations in Indonesia, in producing journalism products, put an emphasis on the importance of the reporting process; not only just producing a short and simple final product. Investigative journalists are expected to have a great curiosity because it can help them generate stories and ideas (Fedler et al., 2005). Curiosity makes them question something most people take for granted. This is the starting point of investigative news production activities.

Social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, as stated by Harcup and O’Neill (2017), can accelerate news traffic. Investigative news organizations in Indonesia, like those in other countries, emphasis on high standards of news production. In short, investigative news should be better than regular news in terms of its quality, productivity, impartiality, novelty, and social values. Investigative news can not only produce news, but also have impact on public policy making by changing the policy makers’ attitudes (Protes et al., 1987).

While it is true that investigative news must have marketing values, it does not mean that investigative news is market-oriented and positioned as an industrial product to gain profits. The news production quality is always the number one priority. For this reason, investigative news organizations in Indonesia require the news coverage to meet the best standards. These news organizations hold firm to moral standards to tell the right from the wrong. This will ensure the validity and reliability of the news they produce. The same moral standards are also what makes these organization aware of that they are responsible for maintaining public order so that they will always make sure that their news do not make too much noise that can lead to social divisions. The same moral standards will ensure that their news is always free from social, political, and economic interests.

6. Conclusion

Investigative news organizations in Indonesia are generally equipped with reliable resources. Each one of them seems to sufficiently understand what investigative journalism is if referred to investigative journalism theories. Despite differences in human resources, financial resources, and investigative journalism knowledge, news organizations in Indonesia are ready to carry out investigative coverage. Investigative coverage is considered to have added value compared to regular coverage. News organizations in Indonesia has managed to carry out investigative coverage as well as what the media in developed countries do. For instance, they do undercover work and work hard to get an access to the informants. Investigative news organizations have made investigative news as a business product. They not only prioritize the news content quality, but also calculate marketing opportunities. However, they have unique and diverse characteristics.

Declarations

Author contribution statement

S. S. Kurnia: Conceived and designed the experiments; Performed the experiment; Analyzed and interpreted the data; Wrote the paper.
E. Kuswarno: Conceived and designed the experiments; Analyzed and interpreted the data.
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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Additional information

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