

Trends and Issues in Collaborative Investigative Journalism in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to understand the practice of collaborative investigative journalism, a common approach among journalists and press organizations in Indonesia and globally in recent years. The significance of studying this method stems from its departure from the competitive ethos, widely acknowledged as the primary ethos in the media industry. On a global scale, journalists have employed this method to expose instances of tax evasion and money laundering by affluent individuals in various countries, exemplified by the Panama Papers (2016), Pandora Papers (2017), and Paradise Papers (2021). Within the Indonesian context, journalists and press entities have actively embraced this collaborative investigative journalism approach, particularly in the examination of crime cases, such as incidents of sexual violence on campuses, as illustrated by the #namabaikkampus campaign. This article systematically scrutinizes the landscape of collaborative investigative journalism practices, elucidating the challenges encountered internationally in adopting this method. Additionally, it highlights the scarcity of academic research addressing this phenomenon, which could potentially act as a catalyst for its replication on a smaller scale. The exploration of these dimensions aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the intricacies of collaborative investigative journalism, fostering discourse and consideration for its application in various contexts.

Keywords: collaborative journalism, investigative journalism, cross-border journalism

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's press freedom index shows interesting dynamics over the last five years. According to research by the *Dewan Pers* (Press Council), the press freedom index obtained in 2018 was 69.00 and rose to 77.88 in 2022. Meanwhile, Reporters Without Borders, a non-profit organization based in France that annually measures the country's press freedom index in the rest of the world, mentioned the opposite. There was a decline in the press freedom index in Indonesia, which in 2018 reached 60.32, dropping to 49.27 in 2022.

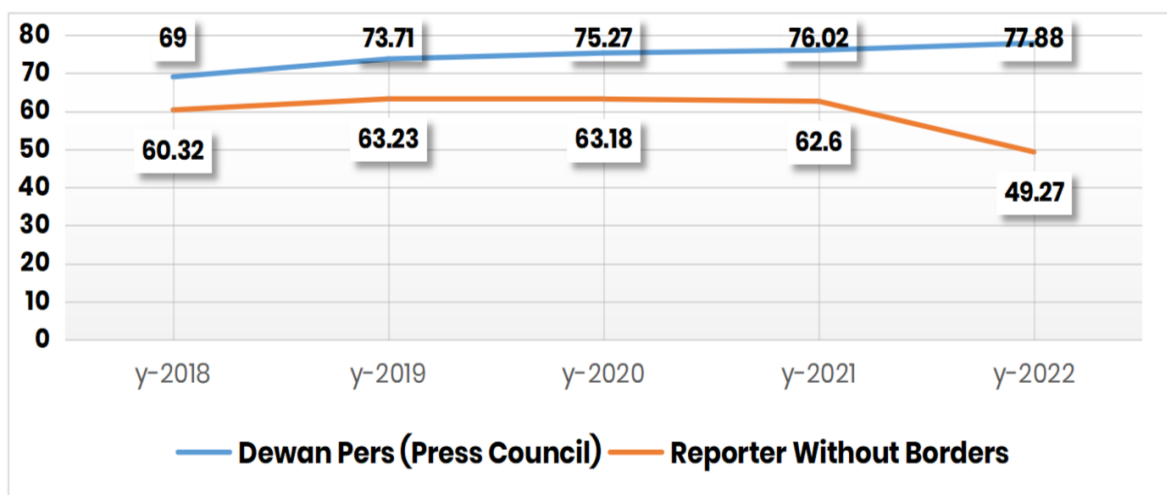


Figure 1. Indeks Kebebasan Pers (Press Freedom Index) Indonesia between 2018 and 2022

Source: Dewan Pers (Press Council) and Reporters Without Borders (rsf.org).

However different the results of these measurements, their reports indicate three important things to understand about the Indonesian press situation. First, the Indonesian press is not under a dictatorial government that forces all journalistic activities to be in the interests of the government. This situation was experienced by Indonesia during the New Order government under the leadership of President Soeharto. This situation ended in 1998 at the same time as the end of the New Order regime, especially after the passing of a revolutionary regulation called Law Number 40 of 1999 concerning the Press.

Second, the Indonesian press is also not in a free situation, as every democratic country aspires to be. Indonesia's press freedom index in recent years, according to Reporter Without Borders, is even below the two neighboring countries, Malaysia and Thailand, which adhere to a constitutional monarchy form of government. This indicates that there are still large forces challenging media independence in Indonesia.

Third, these two institutions pay attention to several important issues of the Indonesian press, including violence against journalists and the decline in the business performance of media companies,

one of the biggest reasons for which has been the COVID-19 pandemic. Violence against journalists, recorded by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), takes several forms, including physical violence, threats of violence and terror, and digital attacks. Meanwhile, the decline in the performance of the media business of media companies has resulted in the number of media workers being fired and/or being paid below the eligibility standard.

However, on the other hand, a method that is believed to be "collaborative journalism" has received a positive trend over the past few years. Stonbely (2017) defines collaborative journalism as a (formal or informal) cooperative arrangement between two or more news and information organizations that aims to supplement each organization's resources and maximize the impact of the content produced. Meanwhile, Alfter (2016) defines collaborative journalism as an editorial collaboration between press organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), universities, research organizations, programmers, and other actors who work collectively to produce stories. This collaboration occurs at various levels, starting from the local level within a country to a level between countries, i.e., cross-border.

This collaborative method redefines what it means to compete in the media industry. Carson and Farhall (2018) argue there is an old way and a new, i.e., collaborative, way of producing investigative journalism. The old way is indicated by the highly competitive ways in which journalists produce information. This 'competitive' nature of journalism traditionally exists in almost all countries, including Indonesia, where media organizations compete to be the most exclusive, most trustworthy, most accurate, and most importantly, to be the fastest in sharing information to the public. In Indonesia, this competitiveness is indicated by the taglines of several national mainstream mass media organizations, such as *Terdepan Mengabarkan* (Leading in Reporting), *Aktual, Tajam, Terpercaya* (Actual, Sharp, Trusted), and *Pertama dan Tetap yang Terbaik* (First and Always the Best).

This method is proven capable of producing high-quality journalistic reports, which is hard to imagine being able to be done by a single newsroom. In fact, several journalistic reports using this method have received various national and international awards. For instance, a report on the topic "Investigation of Wamena" conducted by Jubi, Tirto, and The Jakarta Post won the "Best Investigation Reporting" award at the 2020 Indonesia Print Media Award (IPMA). This award was initiated by the Press Companies Union (Serikat Perusahaan Pers/SPS), an organization for press company publishers in Indonesia that has been established since 1946. This organization regularly holds scientific conferences and gives awards for outstanding journalistic products in Indonesia. Another example is the journalistic report with the topic "#namebaikcampus" which exposed sexual crimes in universities (conducted collaboratively by VICE Indonesia, The Jakarta Post, Tirto, and BBC Indonesia) and won the Public Service Journalism category in the Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA) Awards 2020. Established in 1982 in Hong Kong, SOPA is a non-profit organization committed to advocating for press freedom,

fostering journalistic excellence, and advocating for best practices among publishers in the Asia-Pacific region. Currently, SOPA stands as a prominent advocate for the media and publishing industry in Asia. Its ongoing efforts are dedicated to maintaining high standards and preserving media freedoms, all while championing and endorsing professional journalism and publishing. The SOPA Awards for Editorial Excellence, held annually, serve as a regional standard for quality and professional journalism.

These recognitions for collaborative journalism reports indicate a positive appreciation from the public for the performance of journalists and press organizations. The press then deserves to be called one of the pillars of democracy with its important function as a "watchdog" that the people can trust and rely on. The researcher believes that collaborative journalism is an important method to be researched academically and developed so that it can be replicated by journalists and other press organizations to improve the quality of their journalism.

Based on research literature, the topic of collaborative journalism has not been widely discussed by media researchers in Indonesia. Until this article was drafted, there were only two research reports on the topic of collaborative journalism, one of which had not even been published or had not yet been published. Abrar (2021) referred to the role of collaborative journalism reported by Jubi and Tirto in cases of crimes by the state in West Papua. However, this research focuses on news content, not on journalists' collaborative practices. Meanwhile, another study was conducted by Sarjoko (2019) regarding how Tirto, Vice Indonesia, and The Jakarta Post practiced collaborative journalism on the topic "*Nama Baik Kampus*," but this research was unpublished. Hence, the researcher believes that this issue is important to be explored and discussed in an academic context so that subsequent research emerges that investigates in-depth the importance of this method, especially regarding how this method is practiced by journalists and press organizations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, the researchers will elaborate on investigative journalism as an advanced method of reporting journalism. This concept is explained by not only looking at how investigative journalism is practiced in Indonesia but also how the political and security situation in other countries has an impact on the meaning of investigative journalism.

According to Hunter & Hanson (2011), investigative journalism "involves exposing to the public matters that are concealed – either deliberately by someone in a position of power, or accidentally, behind a chaotic mass of facts and circumstances that obscure understanding. It requires using both secret and open sources and documents" (8). Therefore, they say that investigative journalism is not "reporting as usual" (8). Conventional news reporting generally works based on information provided by other parties

(police, government, companies, etc.), which indicates that work is reactive or passive. On the other hand, investigative reporting works based on information that the journalists themselves have explored or on the initiative of the journalists themselves. If conventional news reporting aims to provide an objective description of a phenomenon, investigative reporting works based on this objective material to achieve the subjective goal of reforming the world.

Al Jazeera Media Institute (2020) published the document "Investigative Journalism Handbook," which can be accessed openly by the public. The document initially explained that hundreds of books and research results have succeeded in defining investigative journalism differently. However, researchers agree on some of the same elements. First, investigative journalism must reveal new facts about an issue or problem. Investigations, therefore, must be original and provide a new chapter for the audience. Second, investigative journalism must aim to serve the interests of readers, which are not always aligned with national or government interests. This departs from the reality that problems can actually come from the government itself. Third, what the audience gets must come from in-depth work methods and through systematic research, and adhere to professional and ethical standards. Fourth, the journalists themselves must be responsible for disclosing information and investigating it. Investigative journalists are also researchers, fact-checkers, and analysts. Furthermore, investigative journalism is then defined as the activity of disclosing facts about specific new issues, after going through in-depth and systematic investigations carried out by the journalists themselves, with the aim of serving the public interest.

Based on the literature review, it can be concluded that investigative journalism is practiced by journalists in almost all countries in the world, regardless of the political ideology used by the government of that country. Some countries provide safe places to practice investigative journalism, while in others, investigative journalists are exposed to very high risks. For instance, in the United States, investigative journalism has a safe place to develop. In France, investigative journalism is even regarded as "a symptom of broader social transformations and of the shifting balance of power between the legal, political and media fields" (Marchetti 2009, 385). These are different from other countries or continents. In most African countries, investigative journalism activities are extremely risky for the safety of journalists (Gyuracz 2016).

It is important to cross-check some of these research results through a report from Reporters Without Borders in 2022 because they show slightly different results. In fact, the three countries with the highest levels of press freedom are in Scandinavia, which are, respectively, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. The United States is ranked 42nd and France is ranked 26th out of a total of 180 countries. Meanwhile, the three countries with the lowest ranking are North Korea, Eritrea, and Iran. Of these three countries, only Eritrea is in the African Continent region, while the other two are in the Asian Continent.

At the Southeast Asian regional level, the level of press freedom is an important concern for journalists and media researchers. In the last five years (2019-2023), it has generally been recorded that the ranking of Southeast Asian countries has experienced a positive increase, but the majority are still ranked at the bottom. Table 1 shows a comparison of the rankings of Southeast Asian countries over that period.

It was reiterated that this ranking was compiled from a total of 180 countries. The low average ranking obtained by countries in the Southeast Asia region in press freedom over the last five years indicates that there are important problems in journalistic practice there, one of which is related to the level of security which will impact the independence of journalists. This is an important reason why journalism studies in Southeast Asia need to continue to be carried out to encourage improvements in the situation of journalism and press freedom.

Country	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Philippines	134	136	138	147	132
Singapore	151	158	160	139	129
Thailand	136	140	137	115	106
Indonesia	124	119	113	117	108
Malaysia	123	101	119	113	73
Brunei Darussalam	152	152	154	144	142
Lao PDR	171	172	172	161	160
Myanmar	138	139	140	176	173
Vietnam	176	175	175	174	178
Cambodia	143	144	144	142	147
Timor-Leste	84	78	71	17	10

Table 1. Comparison of Press Freedom Rankings in Southeast Asia Countries during the 2019-2023 Period. Source: Reporters Without Borders (rsf.org).

In the Central and Eastern Europe region, the problem of investigative journalism lies in the less-developed advertising market and less audience interest (Stetka & Ornebring 2013). This is very possible because the quality of journalism does not satisfy the public. In Slovenia, Zdovc & Kovačič (2007) explain the phenomenon of pseudo-investigative reporting that is carried out without independent investigation into the leak or the interests of the leaker: “[...] Journalists may receive a

document, an anonymous letter, or references to rumors; and rather than use such information as a starting point for further investigation, they publish it immediately" (524).

Meanwhile in Latin America, investigative journalism deals with difficult access to information. They build a story based on excerpts from official off-the-record sources, or what is called "denuncismo" (Saldaña & Mourão 2018). This condition is not reported to occur in Malaysia, despite the news organizations there, "more than a lapdog rather than a watchdog of the government. Their priority is always supporting government policy" (Ismail, Ahmad, & Mustaffa, 2014, 169). They reportedly rarely exposed the wrongdoing of their leaders because there were several things taboo about exposing Malaysian media.

What about the situation in Indonesia? As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the ranking of press freedom in Indonesia is below that of Malaysia. The challenges facing journalists and press organizations in Indonesia to uphold press freedom are still full of challenges and need strong support. According to Reporters Without Borders (2022), these challenges come both from pressure from the military, especially for various incidents in Papua and West Papua Provinces, the legal framework, especially the Electronic Information and Transaction Law, which is used to imprison journalists, and from Islamic radical groups.

Although each country has different conditions, the general symptoms show that there are several conditions that are similar in different countries. First, the popularity of investigative journalism is increasing. Sullivan (2013) mentions that the number of investigative stories is growing rapidly, and journalists from all over the world are showing increased enthusiasm for this most difficult form of reporting. Another symptom that is hard to ignore is that "there is an increase in every country's corporate and business focused award-winning investigative journalism" (Carson & Farhall 2018).

Secondly, investigative journalism deals directly with political and economic power in enhancing the quality of democracy. Sullivan (2013) explains that investigative reporting is an essential component in building a healthy civil society. Furthermore, "it strengthens the watchdog function of media to create public awareness and draw attention to injustices" (Gyuracz 2016). Investigative journalism also encourages government transparency in making decisions.

Thirdly, in emerging democratic countries, investigative journalism is a dangerous method for journalists. Saldaña & Mourão (2018) reported that in the last five years, there were two countries in Latin America that could be considered the deadliest places for journalists in the world. Gyuracz (2016) also mentions investigative journalists living in danger in Africa. With these conditions, it can be understood that investigative journalists make collaborative movements in reporting.

BENEFITS AND MODELS OF COLLABORATIVE JOURNALISM

The phenomenon of collaborative journalism is summarized well by Chacón & Saldaña (2020), “they [journalists] do not only use what is shared, but they themselves share what they have produced.” But more formally, collaborative journalism is defined as a cooperative arrangement between two or more news organizations (Stonbely 2017). The aim is to mutually enrich information sources and maximize the impact of the content produced.

Jenkins & Graves (2019) identified four benefits journalists could receive when collaborating: 1.) maximizing resources; 2.) uniting participants with diverse expertise; 3.) stronger content; and 4.) enhanced reach and potential impact. Meanwhile, in countries with high levels of violence against the press, journalists seek collaboration to strengthen their positions against their attackers, be they cartels or authoritarian governments (Chacón & Saldaña 2020).

Sarah Stonbely, a researcher from the Center for Cooperative Media, has developed six models of collaborative journalism. These models were developed based on the two most important elements in collaborative journalism: duration of time and degree of integration among partner organizations. The Figure below shows the models she developed.

	One Time Finite	Ongoing Open-Ended
Partners create content separately and share it.	Temporary and Separate	Ongoing and Separate
Partners work together to create content.	Temporary and Co-creating	Ongoing and Co-creating
Partners share content/ data/ resources at the organizational level.	Temporary and Integrated	Ongoing and Integrated

Table 2. Models of Collaborative Journalism. Source: Stonbely 2017.

These models will help researchers understand how collaborative investigative journalism is practiced by Indonesian media organizations and journalists. This understanding does not stop at just one model, because there is still a possibility that this collaboration model will change. As Stonbely mentioned, there have been many trials and errors that have finally brought media organizations to these collaboration models.

However, journalists who practice collaborative methods face several challenges of varying types and levels. Jenkins & Graves (2019) show that there are four challenges: 1.) building them and a shared culture; 2.) overcoming a focus on competition; 3.) developing consistent structures for oversight and communication; and 4.) economic sustainability. In addition, Stonbely (2017) stressed that achieving successful collaboration requires a common agreement in the editorial line early on in the project, a

dedicated project manager, trust and good intentions among partners, and the attitude to learn new practices.

To ensure that these collaboration goals are achieved, several agencies have developed guidelines for journalists who will, are currently, or have collaborative practices. The Facet Project, for example, has produced a guide titled *Collaborative Journalism Workbook* (Bryant 2020). This guide is important to be studied by journalists from emerging democratic countries, including Indonesia, because collaborative journalism has been practiced for some time.

Working collaboratively and digitally brings obvious benefits, especially when working on complex and global-scale issues such as the Panama Papers (Carson & Farhall 2018). As background information, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) published three confidential reports on tax crimes involving the richest people and world leaders, which are the *Panama Papers* (2016), *Paradise Papers* (2017), and *Pandora Papers* (2021). The data size for each of these documents is 2.6 TB, 1.4 TB, and 2.94 TB, with a total of nearly 35 million documents. Journalists collaborate with computer science experts to process the data using high-tech computers and use algorithms to find the names listed in the leaked documents.

There is a limited amount of academic research on how to use digital tools in collaborative journalism in Indonesia. Until this research plan was prepared, there were only two research publications in the country that discussed collaborative journalism practices. Abrar (2021) mentioned the role of collaborative journalism reported by Jubi and Tirta in cases of crimes by the state in West Papua. However, this research focuses on news content, not on journalists' collaborative practices. Meanwhile, another study was conducted by Sarjoko (2019) regarding how Tirta, Vice Indonesia, and The Jakarta Post practiced collaborative journalism on the topic "Nama Baik Kampus," but this research was unpublished.

Nevertheless, the use of digital tools in Indonesia has been widely used by journalists who practice data-driven journalism methods. Various types of training on the use of digital tools to search, process, and visualize data have been organized by organizations that specifically intend to develop data-driven journalism methods in Indonesia, such as the Indonesian Data Journalism Network (IDJ Network) and Journocoders Indonesia.

In relation to the use of digital tools, there are two approaches mentioned by Borges-Rey (2017), which are "newshound," or the traditional journalistic ways of handling and engaging with data; and the

second one, “techie,” which designates an emergent journalistic approach to data based on more computational logics and mindsets. In this research, journalists move between these two spectrums.

Many journalists have used digital tools in data-driven journalism in Indonesia, but as before, academic research studying how these methods are carried out is still limited. Discussing the topic of using digital tools in this research plan is very relevant and necessary considering the availability of data, which is the first step in the practice of collaborative journalism.

COLLABORATIVE INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM IN INDONESIA

The practice of collaborative investigative journalism has actually already taken place in Indonesia. Some journalists from Tempo, for example, worked with The Panama Papers to uncover Indonesian involvement in global corruption cases. In 2017-2018 Tempo journalists also collaborated with Malaysian journalists to uncover cases of human trafficking in Malaysia. Like a hero story, the Malaysian police arrested a suspect, and the Indonesian government repatriated hundreds of Indonesian workers who were held captive and enslaved (Tempo Institute 2018).

An important sign to be noticed is the appreciation for journalistic work done using the collaborative method. Indonesia Print Media Awards (IPMA) 2020 gives an award for the Best of Investigation Reporting for “Wamena Investigation: What the government is not telling us.” The report was a collaboration among journalists of the Jakarta Post, Jakarta-based Tirto, and Jayapura-based Jubi (Cahya 2020).

In addition, a collaborative journalistic project titled #namabaikkampus, which exposed cases of sexual harassment in several universities in Indonesia, also became the winner in the 2020 Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA) Awards in the Public Service Journalism category. This report is the result of collaborative work between VICE Indonesia, Jakarta Post, Tirto, and BBC Indonesia (SOPA 2020). For context, SOPA was established in 1982 to recognize and celebrate the highest standards of journalistic quality and integrity in Asia.

Table 2 illustrates some important information about the opportunities and benefits of collaboration that has been carried out by journalists, press organizations, and even non-journalists. Several trends that can be identified are, first, collaboration is very possible to be conducted by actors across countries with relatively long distances to reveal a case of violation of law on an international scale. For example, the Panama-Pandora-Paradise Papers, which were worked on by ICIJ around the world and Tempo,

which worked specifically for Indonesia. Another project is Tempo (Indonesia) in collaboration with Malaysia Kini (Malaysia), which exposed cases of human trafficking under the guise of migrant workers.

These findings indicate that this collaborative method has the opportunity to uncover global crime cases that allegedly involve political and business figures in various countries. In general, it is widely known that this transnational crime has a very tight net and is difficult to penetrate. Journalists from one country will face a bigger challenge when they have to find information and verify it in another country. For example, it is generally difficult for Indonesian journalists to obtain confirmation from key informants in Europe due to access and network limitations. Thus, journalists from various countries need to have a strong and solid network to be able to dismantle these transnational crime cases.

Another thing that also needs to be considered is that journalists use various features of digital tools that allow them to work collaboratively in different locations. The digital tools they use are not only useful for overcoming space and time challenges but are also useful for assisting journalists in every stage of reporting. The reportage stages in question are from consolidating the vision and mission of each journalist involved, collecting and processing data, to the stage of publishing the journalistic reports they are working on. By utilizing these digital tools, journalists are able to coordinate intensely with each other, search for and process extremely huge amounts of data, and publish it simultaneously.

Second, collaboration also allows journalism actors in Indonesia to work nationally to uncover cases that occur in one or several places at once. There are at least two projects that are very relevant.

No.	Year	Topic	Actor
1	2016	Pizza Hut's use of expired ingredients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ BBC Indonesia
2	2016	Panama Papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ)
3	2016	Human slavery at sea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ The Reporter (Taiwan)
4	2017	Pandora Papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ)
5	2017	Human trafficking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ Malaysia Kini (Malaysia)
6	2018	Meat import corruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ IndonesiaLeaks
7	2019	Riots in Wamena	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tirto (Indonesia) ■ Jubi (Indonesia) ■ The Jakarta Post (Indonesia)

8	2019	Sexual violence on campus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tirto (Indonesia) ■ The Jakarta Post (Indonesia) ■ VICE Indonesia ■ BBC Indonesia
9	2021	Paradise Papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ)
10	2021	Land dispute between civilians and Yogyakarta Palace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Jaring (Indonesia) ■ Suara (Indonesia) ■ Tirto (Indonesia) ■ Project Multatuli (Indonesia) ■ Kompas.com (Indonesia)
11	2021	Procurement of Covid-19 test kits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Indonesian Corruption Watch/ICW (Indonesia-based NGO) ■ Alinea (Indonesia) ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ Suara (Indonesia) ■ Jaring (Indonesia)
12	2021	Image-based abuse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The Korea Times ■ Tempo (Indonesia) ■ Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ) ■ ABS-CBN (Philippines)
13	2022	The transgender and political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Jaring (Indonesia) ■ Tempo (Indonesia)
14	2022	Trade in protected animals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Garda Animalia (Indonesia-based NGO) ■ Auriga Nusantara (Indonesia-based NGO) ■ Jaring (Indonesia)

Table 3. List of Collaborative Investigative Journalism Projects in Indonesia (2016-2022)

Source: various Indonesia press organization websites.

The first project is an investigation into the riots in Wamena, Papua Province, which was carried out collaboratively by Jubi (local media in Papua), with Tirto and the Jakarta Post (national media based in Jakarta). This investigation began with the difference in the number of victims of the riots officially announced by the Indonesian government and the number of victims identified directly by Jubi. This project is generally carried out in Wamena, which is more than 3,500 kilometres from Jakarta. The second project is an investigation into sexual violence on campus, which was carried out collaboratively by Tirto, The Jakarta Post, VICE Indonesia and BBC Indonesia. This project started with the many

allegations of sexual violence that occurred on campus, which were not handled seriously and transparently by internal campus parties for the sake of the reputation of the campus itself. This project reveals the stories of 174 survivors spread across 29 cities and 79 universities throughout Indonesia.

Unlike the previous explanation, which was at the international level, this section focuses on the national level. Journalism has a very important function of increasing public awareness of a phenomenon. An event will have such important news value when it becomes a phenomenon, and the issue is not isolated to a particular area. For example, the issue of sexual violence that occurred on campus was initially only revealed at one university. After the news went viral, especially through social media, it turned out that this had also become a phenomenon on other campuses in various cities. It is journalism reports that bring an internal campus problem into an urgent public issue that needs to be addressed immediately.

This finding also answers the criticism that reporting in various mainstream media tends to be "Jakarta biased" because large press organizations are generally located in Jakarta and its surroundings. The city of Wamena, for example, which is more than 3,500 km from Jakarta or with a flight of approximately 10 hours, is of course an area that is very difficult for journalists from the Jakarta media to reach. The collaboration between The Jakarta Post and Jakarta-based Tirto, together with Papua-based Jubi, is the right strategy to increase the impact of reporting on the actual situation that is happening there. Apart from distance, political and security issues are also important factors why this collaboration needs to continue in Papua.

Third, collaboration is also possible for journalists and press organizations with non-journalists in producing journalistic reports that are comprehensive and supported by strong data evidence. In Table 2 above, there are two investigative coverage projects that show the involvement of these non-journalist actors. The first project is an investigation into allegations of corruption in the procurement of COVID-19 test kits involving the civil society organization Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW). This organization, which was founded in 1998, routinely oversees governance and public policy, and strengthens public participation in preventing corruption cases. In this case, there are indications of a waste of tens of billions of rupiah in state funds. The second project is an investigation into the illegal trade in protected animals. The case revealed the involvement of several Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) soldiers in bringing in and smuggling parrots as one of the protected animals in Indonesia. This investigative coverage involves Garda Animalia and Auriga Nusantara, two NGOs that focus on working on environmental sustainability issues.

This indicates the rise of the civil society movement, which is very important and urgent in the practice of a country's democracy. In the context of this problem, the state needs non-government actors to contribute, one of which is by supervising all policies taken by the government on an issue.

Collaboration between journalists and press organizations with various NGOs shows that civil society has an important contribution to not only fulfill citizens' need for information but also to ensure government institutions carry out their responsibilities properly. Journalists and press organizations master reliable investigative reporting methods and techniques, while NGOs, with their advocacy activities, master data sources and important studies on certain issues. Hence, the collaboration between the two forces of civil society is also a sign that needs to be considered in the trend of collaborative journalism.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, there are several noteworthy explanations that underscore the trends and issues in collaborative investigative journalism in Indonesia. Firstly, the collaborative method in investigative journalism continues to be utilized by journalists, with its prevalence seemingly increasing year by year. Based on a literature review, this upward trend can be attributed to the diverse benefits accrued by journalists, press organizations, and the public. Journalists and press organizations benefit from enhanced journalist safety and a reduced financial burden on media companies. In collaborative projects, there is typically a cost-sharing arrangement, alleviating the financial burden from being solely borne by one media entity. Simultaneously, the public also gains advantages by receiving high-quality journalistic products. Such quality products are crucial for the public, particularly amidst a phenomenon of declining trust in the media and news produced under journalistic standards. Secondly, the emergence and use of collaborative methods in investigative journalism can be seen as a contribution by the press to democracy. Given the current crisis of accuracy in the media due to industry demands for fast and shallow reporting, investigative journalism remains necessary to restore the press's function as a vital pillar of democracy. With this method, the press not only compromises with market preferences but also strengthens its role in social oversight and control, which should not be neglected. Thirdly, the literature review in this article highlights the ongoing need for in-depth academic studies to identify best practices in various collaborative journalism projects. This includes understanding how actors in collaborative journalism use digital technology to search, process, and produce facts. Further research is essential to formulate simple guidelines that can be practiced or replicated by other journalists across different levels and diverse social, political, and cultural situations in Indonesia.

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