

Fact Searching in Investigative Reporting in Indonesia: A Case Study of Tempo and Gatra Magazines

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ABSTRACT

Investigative journalism is a new development in the Indonesian press and the study is at infancy. However, news magazines have investigated quite a number of scandals and problems in Indonesia during the Reformation era, post-New Order authoritarian regimes. This research examines fact searching activities at two main news magazines in Indonesia namely *Tempo* and *Gatra* in the process of producing investigative stories. This study deploys case study and an in-depth interview in its exploration of identifying specific processes involved in the process of producing investigative stories in these two news organizations. The interview was conducted with six informants including journalists at *Tempo* and *Gatra* news magazine, book authors and journalism analysts. The results of the study indicate that news magazines in Indonesia reveal various issues and cases, which are deliberately hidden to the community. The findings also demonstrate that the facts searching process encompasses several styles that effectively complement each other in news narration, especially with the particular concept, attitude, direction and effort to report its best to the society. This suggests that investigative stories in Indonesia news magazines emphasize the originality of news with in-depth coverage based on independent position, free from the influence of other societal entities, government's pressure, as well as from other interests.

Keywords: *Investigative journalism, reformation era, news magazine, Tempo, Gatra.*

INTRODUCTION

Investigative activities, in the life of the mass media, also play a role in improving society's economic life. Media investigative activities that unmask corruption and mismanagement of government bureaucracy are the instruments of monitoring the government's path towards working effectively and efficiently (Pate, 2013). Investigative practices in multiple countries, and media, have been studied multifariously (Carson & Farhall, 2018; Coronel, 2013; Gerli, Mazzoni, & Mincigrucci, 2018; Norsiah, Mohd Sobhi, & Nazialita Geynna Maharan, 2015; Kovačič & Erjavec, 2011; Kunia & Othman, 2019; Lanosga, Willnat, Weaver, & Houston, 2017; Stetka & Örnebring, 2013), and explaining each and every element influencing investigative reporting's production including in the post-truth era and the relationship with policymakers (Lanosga & Houston, 2017) in promoting democratic society (Abdenour & Riffe, 2019) including in Indonesia.

Indonesia is a country within the region of Asia that had just taken off from the near two-decades-long authoritarian political system (Sterling, 2009). Its reporters set themselves as media workers disseminating news neutrally and objectively (Hanitzsch, 2005). This is the remnants of demeanor from the age of New Order authoritarian regime (that sets authorization system for media establishment, and media workers need to acquire a license from the government-established media organization) where media are required to deliver the intelligence of “accountable freedom” (Romano & Bromley, 2005). Therefore, investigative media activity is a new play for the Indonesian press circle. How does the progression look when it is associated with the Indonesian Reformation system? This matter is a topic of discussion that has not been much explored and discussed. How is the reporting of investigative media that demands the independence of the press in their reporting? How is the process of fact searching for investigative media that demands greater efforts than the regular reporting?

This study discusses investigative reporting (fact searching) by news magazines in Indonesia. In Indonesia, during the age of Reformation, news magazine is the media that controlled investigative reporting. As such, its investigative performance indicates investigative development in Indonesia. Due to that matter, this study focuses on the phenomenon of the investigative news magazine in Indonesia during reporting activity (searching and reporting) of news facts. Therefore, this study asks the question of how news magazines in Indonesia conduct their investigative fact searching and reporting in two major news magazines, *Tempo* and *Gatra*.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Investigative reporting is different from regular reporting (Burgh, 2008; Frost, 2003). The disparity lies in the methods of discovery (Fedler et al., 2005). Investigative journalism activity is the journalism activity with investigative thinking, differs from general journalism and specific journalism (Ferguson, Patten, & Wilson, 2005; Turow, 2009). From the investigative realm, a reporting has a longer time dimension, with more complex reporting space (Aucoin, 2005). It covers investigative issues such as breach, scandal, issue or atrocity (Franklin et al., 2005; Glasser & Ettema, 1989), revealing the American Pentagon Papers and the Watergate Scandal (Forbes, 2005), scandal reporting in the Nigerian Press and frequently associate the issues of poor remuneration, bad working conditions and corruption (Yusha’u, 2009).

The search for news facts is the activity in the journalism world to create news stories. However, discovering the facts in investigative news is a different story compared with the regular news’ facts (Waisbord, 2013). In investigative journalism, the search for facts is different. Fact-finding in investigative reporting is one of the ways to prove a crime for which journalists are investigating. Therefore, investigative facts are not delved based on normal reportage standards. Various important events are investigated to the core of the issue, within a certain framework of hypothesis. Investigative reportage results, therefore, typically report violations of certain parties that were not previously known or deliberately concealed. With such evidence, investigative news has a higher blast power than regular news (Bainbridge, Goc, & Tynan 2015; Forbes, 2005). Likewise, reporting investigative news facts conform to certain specifications. The journalism discovery operation must regard an event with sharpness, intelligent and balance: putting on the perspective of what to discover, found and report.

The most conspicuous difference in investigative is the discovery of news facts. The facts and sources of investigative news are from high level dimension of social-political (Aucoin, 2005; Yuezhi, 2002). Many news sources and information are hideous, undergo through the particularly high social-political endeavor. The same goes for facts – various facts on the breach, for instance, are very difficult to find for they are intentionally covered (Allan, 2010). The undercover operation was frequently practiced as a tool to bring the breach events to light, as reported by BBC's *The Secret Policeman*, concerning the racism practice in a police training college (McNair, 2006)

News facts and sources are the product from the communication practice of the journalist, deemed (Ericson, 1998). The fact, for journalists, is different from opinion, is not a comment, and does not contain personal values preferential. Investigative fact is the fact that is associated with the hidden event, data, evidence related to the breach, scandal, issue or atrocity, as reported by the Washington Post journalist in the Watergate Scandal (McNair, 2017). Investigative fact is frequently associated with the existence of news sources, which are the person, place or organization, that become the idea and information in developing news story (Franklin et al., 2005), often become the triggers for investigative stories featuring in media (Lanosga & Martin, 2017), because of the relation with the event, data, evidence, needed to find and discovered as well as prepared to reveal the breach, atrocity, issue or scandal, known or done (Forbes, 2005).

These diverse facts and investigative sources can be reported in the form of news stories published in a magazine. The magazine is not only a product reflected from the social reality but also serves as the catalyst for social reality from the sociocultural moment of the society (Abrahamson, 2007; Holmes, 2007). For instance, the Time Magazine in America became the cultural artifact reflecting the revolving issues the society need to understand (Meisner et al., 2013; Sutter, 2012) and engage with the reader community (Jenkins, 2016) within its operation as a business entity (Dyson, 2007). In the end, the format and content of the magazine are jointly determined by its managing journalists. This involves verification activities (Sivek & Bloyd-Peshkin, 2018) to ensure readers are educated (Johinke, 2015) through various platforms (Ellonen, Tarkiainen, & Kuivalainen, 2010). It is rather obvious that from its inception to the present, news magazine has a long intellectual milestone. The impact of its reporting on society is significant. News magazines are valued for their academic relevance, compared to scholarly journals, in addressing public issues over time (Olorunsola, 2000).

News magazine is the earliest media working as a platform for investigative journalism products. America's news magazines became the model for developing news magazine (Knowles & Vossen, 2018). Indonesia has a rather unique investigative activity. Fitting to the New Order regime, Indonesia has a broad and extensive space of political openness. The investigative activity has become an unobstructed activity by the state. However, the open space apparently was not fully utilized by various media. The issues of media's financial, human resources of the journalist, professional level of journalist and competency of media's editorial management are among the factors restricting the investigative activity in the Indonesian press circle (Kunia & Othman, 2019).

In Indonesia, *Tempo* news magazine is the first weekly news magazine ever published in the state (Sterling, 2009), and also the first to combine investigative rubric as one of the news reports. After the succession of the New Order regime under the leadership of Soeharto,

Indonesia in the 'reform' era (Romano & Bromley, 2005) (Schlager & Weisblatt, 2006), investigative activity has much been carried out by the media.

Tempo Weekly News Magazine

Tempo was first published on 6 March 1971, with its publisher Yayasan Jaya Raya, Jakarta, and the editorial lineups consisted of Goenawan Mohamad as chief editor, Bur Rasuanto as a lead representative and Usamah as executive editor (Company Profile of PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk., 2012). *Tempo* faced the first ban on 12 April 1982 after the then information minister, Ali Moertopo, enacted to hold the publishing permission letter for *Tempo* due to a breach of press code for ethics on freedom and accountability. The fall of the New Order reemerged *Tempo* publication on 4 October 1998. In its publication, on 6 October 1998, *Tempo* featured a rubric entitled "Investigasi".

Gatra Weekly News Magazine

Gatra was established with its founder, entrepreneur Bob Hasan with former journalists of *Tempo*, which was then banned by the government, published for the first time on 19 November 1994, in conjunction with the APEC conference in Jakarta. The editorial and publishing team who started *Gatra* operation was Hery Komar, Mahtum Mastum, Lukman Setiawan, Harijoko Trisnadi and Budiono Kartohadiprodjo. Based on the reviews of its topic of focus, contents of *Gatra* magazine comprise of several subdivisions, among others: 1) Main reports, containing the main issues in the fields of economics, social, politics, and law, deliberately discussed. 2) Special reports, in-depth reports discussing the actual and trending issue among the society, such as corruption, commodities price inflation and others. 3) The main news, such as economies, law and national news rubric. 4) Other news such as arts, health, sports. 5) Book reviews and 6) Columns (Company Profile of Gatra, 2009). *Gatra* also caters to digital news services. The address is www.gatranews.com equivalent to its printed version.

Both of these weekly news magazines are the national media published in the center of Indonesia, and significantly prominence of having particular performance among the Indonesian press circle. Both of these weekly news magazines, as the objects of research, will explain the phenomenon of investigative reporting of the news magazine in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This qualitative research design employs a Case Study approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Jensen & Jankowski, 2002; Gerring, 2007). This research design employs a single case-multi level analysis Descriptive Case Study (Yin, 2003). The unit of analysis are facts conducted by *Gatra* Magazine (in the "*Ironi Pekan Harmoni Antar Iman*" [The Irony of Inter-Faith Harmony Week]), and *Tempo* Weekly News Magazine (2010) (in the "*Pondok Bambu Rasa Istana*" [Pondok Bambu with Feel of Palace]). The focus of this research is to provide a description and analyze the reportings of investigative facts. The full articles may be accessed at <http://arsip.gatra.com/2011-02-11/majalah/artikel.php?id=145495> (*Gatra* Magazine) and <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/132481/pondok-bambu-rasa-istana> (*Tempo* Weekly News Magazine).

This research began by finding the reporting of both magazines as early analyzing measure in fact searching and its reporting. News text is required to gain clarification on how a news magazine finds their facts of the investigation, and why that style of fact reporting was used. To provide the width and depth of analysis, this research also conducted data searching

by employing in-depth interview techniques to six individuals comprising *Gatra* journalists, *Tempo* journalists, authors for investigation journalism's book and journalism analyzers. In-depth interviews were carried out several times within 2010-2011 for each informant, interviews addressed to comprehend the conducted investigative reporting activity – any investigative facts finding activity conducted in the reporting of news of “*Pondok Bambu Rasa Istana*” (*Tempo*) and “*Ironi Pekan Harmoni Antar Iman*” (*Gatra*). The interviews were as much as possible attempted to gain firsthand experience among the journalists, from informants' investigative activity on fact searching and reporting, which represents the style and features of their respective news magazines.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Editorial Investigation in Tempo Weekly News Magazine

Every news in *Tempo* is decided in the editorial meeting, according to Budi Setyarso (Interview, February 21, 2012). The news “*Pondok Bambu Rasa Istana*” was also discussed and decided by the editorials. *Tempo* Magazine's editorials have their own specific verification team in reporting the report progress.

The information validation work on Ayin's news report took almost two weeks by passing the camera to prison's personnel as the initial step of investigation: “That was (for) proving whether there is special treatment for Ayin,” claimed Budi. The hidden camera planted through insiders to clarify the information of Ayin's cell was true. The reporting process took around one and a half months.

The reporting gathered proves, revealing something that was hidden. The very facts received in the task of investigative journalism are the ones gathered from observation, findings, journalist's opinion, not from the explanation of others. Without the news report, the Anti Mafia Legal Task Force would not conduct the sudden inspection on Pondok Labu prison: revealing the hidden case of Ayin. The facts that are utilized in the overall news reporting are as follows:

Table 1: Fact Searching and Reporting of *Tempo* News Magazine

No.	Fact	Fact Searching	Fact Reporting
1.	Facts regarding “Artalyta Suryani's daily routines” in Pondok Bambu prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observation of target/source • Field reportage • Investigation • Venue of event • Guided source from “insider/anonym” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proving (support) premise of investigation • Exhibit Tempo's conduct of investigation • Responsibilities on readers • News target • Contrasting facts
2.	Facts regarding “office locations of Artalyta's businesses”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Document of proceedings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case background • Explanation
3.	Facts regarding “Ayin serving five-year sentence”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Document of proceedings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of object deviation • Facilities abuse • Location of event
4.	Facts regarding “Ayin's new office”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field reportage • “Insider's” information • Direct observation 	

5.	Facts regarding “a blond-haired boy who is the son of a former prisoner adopted by Ayin”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Result of interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed description of object
6.	Facts regarding the office at the detention center, the place where “Ayin managed his business from the prison and received visits from his business colleagues”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various sources of information (businessman/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of object deviation • Location details
7.	Facts regarding Ayin’s guests “coming back and forth until late night”, “not recorded in the guest list” and “looking sharp”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct observation at the location • Indirect observation (with binocular) • Reportage during the interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of object deviation
8.	Facts regarding “a group of woman gathered outside Ayin’s office. They were stringing beads”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observation at the location • Indirect observation (with binocular) • Reportage during the interview • Informant (anonymous sources) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reportage details
9.	Facts regarding “Ayin stating the office was not specifically for him”, “the instant school was actually a job training building” and “the environment, my God, is far different from behind the binocular”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • Book (George Aditjondro) • Public issues • Data compilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Object’s background • Object’s situational differences
10.	Facts regarding Ayin’s name “caused public shakeup in the early 2008”, “his associations with political figures” and “the book highlighting him with President’s family ...”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • Reconstruction of Inspection File (BAP) • Corruption Eradication Commission of Indonesia (KPK) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Object’s background • Object of investigation’s context • Answers for object deviation
11.	Facts regarding the event of 2 March 2008, “Ayin heard of frantic activity”, “Agus Heriyanto, his aide telling him” and “Ayin called his son”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • BAP • KPK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case
12.	Facts regarding “Urip was not an ordinary guest”, “took token of gratitude with 66 pieces of tied hundred dollar notes, in Ades branded bottled mineral water”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • BAP • KPK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case
13.	Facts regarding “Ayin represented Sjamsul”, “intensively handling cases”, “closely related to itjih, Sjamsul’s wife”. As well as facts on “KPK’s officer spied on him since late 2007. His phone was tapped, all communications were recorded”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • BAP • KPK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case
14.	Facts regarding “on 9 January, Ayin had phone call with Urip”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • BAP • KPK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case

15.	Facts regarding “on 27 February, Urip called Ayin in return” and said, “later, it will sound like this, Boss...”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • BAP • KPK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case
16.	Facts regarding Ayin’s activities during the arrest process by KPK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact from the proceedings • BAP • KPK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case
17.	Facts regarding Ayin’s arrest process in the beginning of “being in detention cell”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research • Direct interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Background of the case
18.	Facts regarding “in Pondok Bambu, according to a worker, Ayin requested transfer to Edelweis block”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) • Crucial information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation
19.	Facts regarding Ayin’s numerous requests for cell transfer during imprisonment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) • Interview • Confirmation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation
20.	Facts regarding “specific cell” for Ayin to “sleep”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation
21.	Facts regarding “outside break time, he spent the rest of day at the office on third floor”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) • Direct observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Field findings
22.	Facts regarding “various needs” from Ayin’s guests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (anonymous source) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Field findings
23.	Facts regarding “huge capital” issued by Ayin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation (Background of the breach)
24.	Facts regarding “cash” drawn by Ayin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation (Background of the breach) • Investigation findings
25.	Facts regarding Ayin secretly went out from prison on June 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Investigation findings
26.	Facts regarding “October 2010, Ayin had also went out from the cell”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Investigation findings
27.	Facts regarding “objection by the Head of Pondok Bambu Prison”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview • Confirmation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarification • Right of Answering • Objection
28.	Facts regarding “from the prison cell, Ayin was good at building lobby”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Investigation findings
29.	Facts regarding “the presence of Ayin’s personal driver, maid and babysitter” at the prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) • Interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Field findings • Confirmation
30.	Facts regarding “Ayin’s adept in winning over” office of state’s elites, during in the prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Investigation findings

31.	Facts regarding “the dance team trained in Pondok Bambu” and sent for show	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informant (insider/anonym) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Investigation findings
32.	Facts regarding “the Human Rights Minister equated as ‘king’, during visiting prison”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information from actual media news 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Explanation
33.	Facts regarding “celebration and speech by the Human Rights Minister, in the dancing event”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct reportage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context of the case • Explanation

Fact Searching by Tempo Magazine

In-depth reporting, according to Budi, is the reporting with various facts and existing sources. The search for facts is not resulting from the journalist himself, but from the findings of other parties, for instance, judiciary, KPK, police or other departments. The overall news reporting, in in-depth reporting, are made from existential materials, or provided by the related parties, without ever searching hard, unhidden.

The searching practice entails a wide array of facts found in the reporting. Its analysis correlated with the answer “how” fact is obtained one after another. The result of research found 65 activities of searching (5 categories):

- a) *Searching by Informant.* Informant becomes the means, that tremendously facilitate in discovering hard facts on Ayin’s special treatments.
- b) *Searching by Observation.* Tempo’s investigation team assigned cameras to the prisoner’s personnel, to record Ayin’s presence.
- c) *Searching by Reportage.* All information and answers from journalists, in this news, emphasized Observation activity.
- d) *Searching by Research.* Research facilitates in widening the fact dimension, or tracking frame for Tempo’s investigative journalism, in expanding the “special” figure of Ayin.
- e) *Searching by Interview.* Interview, with as much as six activities, have specific segmentation in fact searching for Tempo’s investigative journalism.

Fact Reporting by Tempo Magazine

Tempo editorial’s *Investigasi* rubric, according to Budi, is meant to reveal the “breach” surrounding the society – which in the context of this news is the special conduct and action of businessman Ayin at the prison, which was a mystery and never been remarked by the media before.

The manner of reporting is by tracing a wide array of facts found in the news. Its analysis correlates with the answer to the question “why” the news facts are reported per se. From 33 facts discovered, and 33 information gathered from the journalists during the interview, 60 perspectives of fact reporting by Tempo are found in the analysis. Subsequently, from those 60 perspectives of reporting, 24 categories of perspectives turned out in the extensive analysis. Out of those 24 perspectives of information from the journalists, when analyzed deeper, able to be categorized into 6 perspectives. From these 6 categories of perspective, when analyzed, even more, shrunk into 2 styles of investigative fact reporting presentation, which are:

a) *Style of reporting by Explanation*

Explanation becomes the reasoning tool for journalists to validate Ayin's breach, from the perplexities of right or wrong in Ayin's special conducts along in the prison. Investigative facts from *Tempo's* journalists became the tool of Explanation.

b) *Style of reporting based on Investigation Findings*

The news is strong due to the findings of investigative facts, which managed to reveal the facts intentionally hidden by various parties, and never been scoped factually. From this side, *Tempo's* journalists have intense investigative strength in reporting their factual news.

Investigative Editorial in Gatra Weekly News Magazine

The investigative journalism form, in *Gatra* magazine's investigative editorials, according to Asrori S. Karni (Interview, September 18, 2011), has a certain specialization. The cases depicted by the reporter, by means of investigative, is a new case and has the potential to go deeper, as well as having the undercover aspect, intense searching of source and fact within its undercover. The wisdom in *Gatra's* editorial, according to Asrori S. Karni, is having the specialization, which is, emphasizing the balance.

The reporting mechanism of *Gatra's* investigative editorial began by deciding a certain theme of a report in the editorial meeting. The meeting subsequently discussed the outline of the assignment, which clarifies the direction of the report, background summary of the report, the angle of expansion, resource person to be in touch. The outline is forwarded to the head of the news center, and then to all reporters. Reporters moved out to the field, for interview reportage, and photos.

The reporting for the news "Harmonisasi Antar Agama", according to Asrori S. Karni, was done by directly sending a reporter to the region. The reporter was sent directly from Jakarta so the editorials will be able to get hold of the coverage. Editorial continuously monitored the progress of report from a field reporter, discussing the development on the field, edging the angle, also giving the depth in the report's direction and so on. The editorial also provides solutions to the existing problems on the field. When the applied facts in "Ironi Pekan Harmoni Antar Iman" are sorted one by one, they can be portrayed as follow:

Table 2: Fact Searching and Reporting of *Gatra* News Magazine

No.	Fact	Fact Searching	Fact Reporting
1.	Facts regarding "organizing Pekan Harmoni Antar Iman" and outrage in Cikeusik	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (website) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contrast and Irony of event: Behaviors of the elite vs grassroots • Critics: On elit's ceremonial
2.	Facts regarding "Pekan Harmoni Antar Iman is a proposal by King Abdullah II and supported by the United Nation"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (website) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth information
3.	Facts regarding "time of event"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reporting invitation • Field reportage • Research (internet) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation (Comparison of time of event) • Contrast
4.	Facts regarding "event's organizer and participant"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field reportage • Research (internet) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Magnitude (event)

5.	Facts regarding “violence on the name of religion happening in Indonesia coincided with the Inter-Faith Harmony Week event”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (news on Radio, TV, Website) • Field reportage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contrast • Irony • Critics
6.	Facts regarding “location of outrage event” and “mass media’s damaging action that killed three Ahmadiyah followers”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (news on Radio, TV, Website) • Field reportage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Magnitude • Currency of event
7.	Facts regarding the outrage event’s video can be seen on Youtube	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information (a number of relations) • Field verification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effect of case dimension • News magnitude • News message
8.	Facts regarding “emergency meeting immediately held by the government”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field monitoring (government’s office) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response from policy makers
9.	Facts regarding “resulted from the meeting, police was asked to take action and the Ahmadiyahs abide by 12 points of agreement and letter of joint decree by three ministers”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field monitoring (government’s office) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response from policy makers
10.	Facts regarding “President’s regrets and the issued instructions”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field monitoring (Presidential Palace) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response from the President
11.	Facts regarding “the occurrence of another outrage in Temanggung Jawa Tengah, two days after the Ahmadiyah event”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (media reporting) • In-depth reporting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serious issue: chain of events
12.	Facts regarding “different motives in Ahmadiyah’s case (Pandeglang) with Temanggung”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information expansion (to several sources) • Reportage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: variation of religious conflicts
13.	Facts regarding “the substantial issue for religious nuanced violence is not something new”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (literature and other sources) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: insufficient handling of religious nuanced cases • Critics: policy makers
14.	Facts regarding “numerous previous events related to religious nuanced outrage, especially the Ahmadiyah case”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (literature and other sources) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: size of case proposition • Critics: policy makers
15.	Facts regarding “several institutions that have given out signs on religious conflicts”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (literature, report archive of various institutions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: strengthen the premise of government’s ignorance
16.	Facts regarding “Ahmadiyah has been the victim since 2010” and “recommendation from the institution has been passed to the government”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research (literature, report archive of various institutions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: strengthen the premise of government’s ignorance
17.	Facts regarding “important notes on Temanggung case and legal process”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis” from Research and Reportage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: Legal action is not the only solution
18.	Facts regarding “minor incidents took place during the event”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact of the proceedings • Observation on the proceedings • Resource person tracking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: ignorance by the government • Assumption: planning

19.	Facts regarding the deferred conference and large size of crowd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact of the proceedings • Observation on the proceedings • Resource person tracking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology of story
20.	Facts regarding “large size of the crowd in the courthouse”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact of the proceedings • Observation on the proceedings • Resource person tracking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology of story
21.	Facts regarding “Prosecutor’s claims on the defendant, Anthonius”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview (Prosecutor) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference fact (legally appropriate) • Reaction of the crowd (provocative)
22.	Facts regarding “crowd’s reaction on Prosecutor’s claim”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reaction of the crowd (dissatisfaction) • Crowd’s outrage exploit
23.	Facts regarding “the book distributed by Anthonius”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data of proceedings (Prosecutor’s demands) • Source tracking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early chronology • Outrage trigger
24.	Facts regarding “initial incident”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data of proceedings • Source tracking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology (reinforcement)
25.	Facts regarding Anthonius’ background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data of proceedings (claims by Prosecutor) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field fact • Incident trigger (external party)
26.	Facts regarding Anthonius’ initial case	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data of proceedings • Information (other sources) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field fact • Chronology (crowd’s reaction)
27.	Facts regarding “Anthonius’ regrets”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data of proceedings (note of defense) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message: other dimensions of story
28.	Facts regarding verdict reading on Anthonius	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview (Judge) • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology: ending story of proceedings
29.	Facts regarding “disappointment by proceedings’ visitor on the verdict”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action trigger (disappointment)
30.	Facts regarding clash between crowd with the police outside the proceedings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology of event
31.	Facts regarding “large number of people damaging and burning several churches at almost the same time as the verdict issued in court”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outrage escalate • Continuance of chronology
32.	Facts regarding peacekeeping measures by the police aided by TNI (national military)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview with the bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anticipation from the bodies
33.	Facts regarding the violent crowd’s origins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology of outrage perpetrators
34.	Facts regarding audience reaction during the first and second proceeding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chronology of the outrage

35.	Facts regarding audience's anger on Anthonius during the proceedings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eyewitness interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timeline of the case/chronology of the outrage
36.	Facts regarding attitude of activists in Wahid Institute on the transpired outrage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reportage • Interview with resource persons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government (key element)

Fact Searching by Gatra News Magazine

This study case utilizes the news “Ironi Pekan Harmoni antar Iman” as a platform to trace the searching activity of investigative facts by *Gatra's* investigative journalism. The contextualization for investigative facts searching as conducted by investigative journalism for this study case is directly obtained from Asrori S. Karni.

The searching practice is traced by various facts found in the reporting. The analysis correlates with answering the question “how” facts are found one after another. This research found 55 activities of searching. Those multiple activities, when analyzed, share the similarities. They can be categorized into three groups:

a) The Practice of Fact Searching by Using Reportage

The reportage activities in reporting news have specific dimensions – because the reporting for this inter-faith conflict is not meant for regular reporting, but for the Main News of *Gatra's* Weekly News Magazine which contained thorough reporting and topic discussion. These activities consist of Field reportage, Proceedings' facts, Field monitoring, Reporting invitation. The Reportage activities from the context of the news' fact searching also involve reportage on the proceedings' Fact and Observation.

b) Searching by Research

Research activity became a fact searching activity done the most, with multiple forms and types. Research became the openings for other forms of activities, which consist of these research activities: News, Analysis, Data of the proceeding, Information expansion, etc.

c) Searching Based on Interviews

The interview activities consist of the interview with eyewitnesses, Judge, Prosecutor, agencies and resource persons. Several parts of factual reporting of this news employed interviews as a tool to gather facts.

Fact searching for this news is deemed by Asrori (Interview, September 18, 2011) as an investigative activity because the media then were not thoroughly discussing much on the inter-faith conflicts in Indonesia, the same goes to the causes for various happening issues. While in fact, the magnitude of the violence has been so phenomenal. Numerous outrages, due to the conflicts, broke out in peace regions, tremendously filled with burning incidents. These issues raised many questions among society members. *Gatra* news magazine viewed that these events should be taken to the public; the root of the issue must be investigated and delivered to the mass. Based on that thought, *Gatra* news magazine conducts the investigative reporting, searching various investigative facts and report the news.

Fact Reporting by Gatra News Magazine

The style of reporting is traced from various facts in the news. The analysis is related to the answers on “why” each fact was reported. The analysis found 52 styles of reporting used in presenting investigative facts. However, upon extensive analysis, all of them can be categorized into three major styles of reporting, which are:

a) *Chronological style of reporting*

The chronological perspective indicates its news reporting that describes each fact based on sequence or chain of events.

b) *Explanation style of reporting*

The explanation perspective provides an extensive contribution to reporting’s chronology dimension, by means, to facilitate the description for key points that must be acknowledged in terms of inter-religion relation influenced by conflicts.

c) *Critical perspective style of reporting*

Critics framework portrays the effort by journalism to ask for resolutions from various parties (the society and State) on the importance of inter-religion conflicts.

Gatra conducts these multiple styles of reporting in order to disclose the root cause of inter-religion conflicts that were going on a lot. With the arranged reports, *Gatra* news magazine targeting its impact on policy makers so they would be able to identify various factors in the inter-religion conflicts, and able to issue multiple treatments to resolve the matter thoroughly and fundamentally. Its reported facts display the chronology of issue, followed by the explanation and critics towards the handling manner by the government.

Discussion

This study examines the search for investigative facts for two news magazines in Indonesia, *Tempo* and *Gatra*. Based on the findings in both magazines, the practice of investigative fact searching consists of 1) Informant, 2) based on Observation, 3) Reportage, 4) Research, and 5) Interview. Despite seen as the fact searching conducted in regular reporting, these five investigative activities have different dimensions and require harder effort, demand expertise and a higher level of difficulties to be carried out.

The difference of method from regular reporting, for instance, can be seen in observation activity. Investigative reporting requires thorough observation and not just a plain view of the surrounding object as regular reporting does. From the observation by utilizing a camera device and binocular, multiple facts found on site are clarified repeatedly. Besides that, from this fact searching, investigative news that has never been unveiled by the media is then produced. The fact searching activity conducted by *Tempo* magazine by various kinds of methods can produce numerous evidence with valid, objective and hard truth contents. *Tempo* magazine initiated its fact searching with minimum source, there were only hints but still able to gain sufficient and strong facts.

The same goes for *Gatra* magazine. It can be seen from the information by *Gatra’s* reporter, who explained the conduct of the fact searching process by *Gatra* News Magazine. For this particular investigative news, they sent reporters to several places to investigate

various events. *Gatra* reporters were not only requested to report multiple events, as the Observation activity in regular reportage. The *Gatra* magazine's editorial demands for other capabilities than noting the facts. Based on the discovered facts, especially in the locations of religious conflicts of which the main content of the news, the reporters on duty are required to have the ability to find facts, as well reconstructing them into news narrative, containing facts that triggered the conflicts.

For that, *Gatra* news magazine featured varied resource persons, in the sense of news sources capable of giving information, creating a comprehensive impact on the entire news report. Assorted facts were searched by tracing a huge array of resource persons from public offices, such as police, prosecutors, judges and so on. Not only that, but they also searched for key witnesses from society, who directly observed various events of religious conflicts. Despite facing difficulties in finding the facts via those resource persons, the diverse information from them did not immediately be trusted, made as news. Diverse information from the news sources was expanded to deepen the story and act as material for finding new facts. Investigative news magazines in Indonesia, therefore, conducting fact searching not only from the dimensions of Who, What, When, and Where, but with How and Why.

The role of informant, in investigative fact search, is very decisive. And certainly, other efforts in finding the facts once receiving the information, such as validating information with various parties, including news figures who became the main story of the investigation, for instance, the ability to penetrate the prison to conduct the investigation. As such, the readiness of individuals who wanted to be the informant on Ayin's luxury lifestyle in prison does not come in handy. What more, once again, to inform it to the media.

One of the practices in investigative fact searching for Indonesian news magazines is by reportage and research. *Gatra* magazine, for instance, in reporting facts on "violence in the name of religion that took place in Indonesia coincide with the Inter-Faith Harmony Week event", explaining the facts were found through the conducted research on various kind of media, such as radio, television and website, which was subsequently followed with direct reportage. Those researches were conducted to obtain an in-depth news report. The research activity was intended to clarify various disclosed flashback cases.

In the same manner as interview activity, the practice for fact searching does not merely a question and answer for certain topics as conducted in regular news reporting. Interviews were done to a number of news sources that do not necessarily prepare to be interviewed. Not every interviewee wanted their personal details to be disclosed. Many informants needed to be searched, approached, lobbied and persuaded for their willingness for interview. Multiple approaches were also done to their close persons. Many informants firmly refused for an interview since the beginning; and even when they were ready, it was because of the persistence and patience by the investigative journalists to make efforts continuously. Tempo news magazine conducted a multifaceted interview, to obtain new facts and clarify or confirm a variety of facts found. To an extent, Tempo magazine waited for half a month to gain Ayin's readiness for an interview in order to confirm various facts discovered by Tempo. The interview with Ayin, as the figure of news, became a prerequisite for Tempo magazine, which prioritizes quality and professionalism in news making. Besides that, interviews were also done to certain parties that were expected to object to the findings. It is here that we see the concept, attitude, direction, and effort of *Gatra* in reporting who wants their readers to receive an integrated report and understand the context of the event reported.

They also did not report the same events, that occurred in every city, separately. The differentials in the investigative style of reporting also involve the duty of selecting facts in various news bodies, the lead section for instance that must pick up the reader's attraction until the ending section that concludes the news. On another side, the reporting style for investigative news must be able to serve targets that have been planned as such. In *Gatra* news magazine's reporting, for instance, they aim to present news containing messages related to harmonization. The dynamics of elite society are not only trying to make harmonization imagery but also been felt by the grassroots. The making of inter-religion harmony is not sufficed by the ceremonial proceedings amongst the elites, where they are followed by leaders of the mass organization and state's supreme institutions. Therefore, multiple parties are urged to think of wisdom and mechanism that can effectively produce prevention, preservation, and resolution of conflicts within the society.

When thoroughly observed, both these Indonesian news magazines employ the styles of fact reporting consisting of:

- Investigation's findings style of reporting.
- Explanation style of reporting,
- Chronological style of reporting
- Critical perspective style of reporting

Those four styles of reporting reflect the extent of news magazine's perspectives on discussing a variety of facts from their investigation into the news narrative. Reporting based on Investigation's Findings is an effort to display the issue of the "breach" happening in the society by laying on the findings of the media itself. In a certain context, this means to show the message conveying effort towards the audience containing the originality value from the media, independent from any social forces. In other words, their investigative reporting wished to be evaluated as credible, professional, within journalistic measures as they are supposed to.

It can also be observed from the review on the explanation style of reporting. The style of reporting adopts explain the issue exposed and then the issue is reconstructed by the media. Explanation, therefore, accentuate that issue need not be quickly concluded, or taken the resolution measure, before reading the investigation by media. The explanation effort is an effort to bring knowledge, discourse, thought and other to the audience revolving the issue in society. Explanation, on the other hand, also means a position from the media that wish to stand different from other entities, in the attempt to influence public discourse or public related issues.

Besides that, this study also found the application of chronology and critics in the reporting style of Indonesia's investigative magazines. The explanation style of reporting, under certain circumstances, is extended and added with chronological and critical style. The explanation style became an aided tool to describe the significance of the facts found. For chronology, explanation style among others provides the meaning of causality, or clue, for the assumption or hypothesis made by news magazines on the occurred breach. For a critic, the explanation was employed as a tool to portray the justification, thought or concept of news magazines on the offenses or weaknesses by the government or society entities involved in the disclosed investigative events.

Those three styles of reporting were employed by *Gatra* news magazine in its news. *Gatra* news magazine hopes that its investigative reporting would be able to break the complexity of religious conflicts issues wither internally or inter-religion, that have been recurring all this while. The issue became the focus of attention especially to the groups that concern the protection of the minorities. The readers felt that they were given a contribution to jointly support the marginalized group, critics upon the state's effective administration.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the fact searching process of investigative reporting in two Indonesian news magazines namely *Tempo* and *Gatra*. The findings demonstrate that the process encompasses Informant, Observation, Reportage, Research and Interview that implicates pretty complex activity and reflects long hours of reporting, including extensive searching places. Fact searching for an Indonesian news magazine is not merely revolving around What, Who, Where, and When, but emphasizing more on the findings with How and Why. For that reason, an investigative news magazine in Indonesia elevates the perspective of societal problems broader, deeper and critical, within the corridor of journalism interest.

The findings also suggest that the reporting for both Indonesian news magazines in this study employ the style of reporting that is based on findings of the investigation, explanation style, chronological and critic's perspective. The reporting of Indonesian news magazines stressed the attitude, concept, and aim, which can also contribute to the problems in the society. For that reason, their style of reporting is crafted so the readers will be able to lay on a firm discussion, with a new and distinct style of reporting as compared with other media. Besides that, the style of investigative reporting for Indonesian news magazines are arranged in such a way to deliver predetermined messages, in developing the society's lives. Thus, investigative reporting in news magazines is pivoted with the intention to angle the scope of issues that are elevated broader and wider, as well as being more critical. In this light, an investigative news magazine in Indonesia emphasized the originality of problem topics, with strong independent position underlying, and capable to steer clear from interest other than journalism, to gain trust from the audience.

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