

TEMPO INSTITUTE

FREE PRESS UNLIMITED

TEMPO INFO MEDIA

# LONG TRACE

THE IMPACTS OF TEMPO  
JOINT

INVESTIGATIVE

COVERAGES (2016-2020)



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**INVESTIGATIVE**

COVERAGES (2016-2020)

QARIS TAJUDIN, ET AL

**LONG TRACE:**

The Impacts of Tempo Joint Investigative Coverages (2016-2020)

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## **FOREWORD**

# **THE POWER OF THE STORY**

**I**N March 2017, Tempo Magazine published a large story exposing seven human trafficking networks operating between South Central Timor in East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia and Malaysia. Over 2,000 people, mostly women, were trafficked illegally to Malaysia and became victims of slavery. Thirty three people lost their lives. Authorities in both countries responded immediately. In Indonesia, a task force consisting of governmental agencies and police was formed to investigate and take preventive measures. In Malaysia, one perpetrator was brought to justice and several trafficked women were freed.

The story and the response to it show the power of independent media that serve the interest of the public and act as a watchdog on their behalf. This is one of the core principles of Free Press Unlimited (FPU). By investigating and exposing malpractices of powerful political and business elites and by providing a platform where issues relevant to citizens are placed on the agenda, independent media can contribute to reducing corruption, increasing (domestic) accountability and civic space. In Indonesia, Tempo Media has a long history of professional, critical and independent journalism.



## **INVESTIGATING WITH TEMPO**

At the start of 2016, FPU and Tempo Institute, the NGO arm of Tempo Media Group, shared the ambition to create a new generation of investigative reporters and promote a culture of accountability throughout Indonesia in the design of “Investigating with Tempo”. In this programme, talented journalists from local media based outside the capital were selected for a six-month fellowship to research a topic that affects the lives of citizens and local communities. The fellowship worked towards publishing an in-depth investigative story in Tempo Magazine, mentored by senior journalists of the Tempo newsroom. During this time, the fellows received a living and travel allowance, which enabled them to fully focus on the issue that they were investigating.

Making use of the expertise and knowledge of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) such as Indonesia Corruption Watch and Migrant Care is one of the great and unique strengths of this programme. In the beginning there was some skepticism about collaborations with CSOs. Journalists, after all, need to maintain their independence at all costs. However, Tempo Institute was brave enough to experiment with this new collaboration, which eventually proved to be very successful. The CSOs helped with the selection of story ideas, provided access to data on certain topics, educated fellows in their field of expertise, and lobbied and advocated for change once stories were published.

Tempo Institute thoroughly reviewed each step of the process which resulted in valuable lessons that were used to improve the project in following years. One such lesson was the need for a more elaborate plan on how to deal with safety issues within the fellowship programme. In 2018, one fellow was forced into hiding during his investigation into toxic waste at military bases. To make sure that fellows would be better prepared for the risks associated with investigative reporting, safety and legal training were included in the following year, in collaboration with CSO partner LBH Pers.

Another aspect that made this programme unique and

groundbreaking was that the impacts of the published stories were traced extensively. This knowledge was used to find out more about how these stories could induce change. To sustain the results and grow the local support base, new partnerships were formed with local media, universities, local journalists associations and CSOs. Tempo Magazine started organizing public debates after a story was published to create more civic engagement and published a book with all the stories of 2016 for the education of future journalists at universities.

At the end of 2018 the project was evaluated with CSO partners, the newsroom and the mentors. “The stories that are coming from this program have helped us a lot in building awareness about the human trafficking issue, a topic that people usually ignored”, said Wahyu Susilo, director of Migrant Care. “The story of human trafficking from East Nusa Tenggara to Malaysia has highlighted this issue more than we could do in many years”.

## **CONCLUSION**

This book gives insight into how social change through independent journalism happens in practice. Tempo Institute has managed to create and foster a culture of investigative journalism, and their work resulted in stories that contributed to policy changes and positively impacted the lives of marginalized groups. Individual stories can have a societal impact, either in the form of provoking power-holders into action or by bringing issues into the public sphere that would otherwise not be talked about.

We would like to thank all friends from Tempo Institute for their admirable drive to bring the otherwise neglected stories to the Indonesian society and to evoke change on higher levels. With Tempo’s inventive thinking, true dedication to the programme and courage to take up challenges and to learn from failures and successes, this programme has reached its full potential. Free Press Unlimited is proud of the results that were achieved through its partnership with Tempo Institute and we think this innovative approach can be an example for other countries that we work in.

Thinking, creating and working together in solidarity we can live up to the true creed of journalism that people deserve to know.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'L. Willems', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

**Leon Willems**

Director of Policy and Programmes

Free Press Unlimited, The Netherlands

# **INTRODUCTION**

In the era of the digital revolution, when we are drowning in a tsunami of information everyday, the trail of news becomes very short. News gets out quickly—not within days or weeks as in the past, but within seconds. In these conditions, news is easily forgotten. News appearing during the day will immediately replace, even bury the morning news. Our memories are shortened, and an event has no longevity.

Expecting a story to have such a profound impact—such as the change of a policy—becomes nearly impossible. Even to stay in people’s minds is very difficult, let alone to change a public policy. Therefore, Tempo and the Tempo Institute felt challenged when Free Press Unlimited - a Dutch non-profit organization that has a good reputation for fighting for press freedom - challenged us to create a program dealing with topics that have a bigger impact on audiences.

It was not easy to answer the challenge. There are two important things that must be fulfilled in order for this broad and deep impact to be realized. First, of course, is quality. The quality coverage that is expected is certainly not the news or stories obtained instantly by only handing a recording device in a noisy press conference. The story must truly reveal something that does not appear on the surface. The story that is extracted seriously with strict discipline, devoting all resources that a news institution owns.

That is why we then chose to extend our investigative reporting with issues of (massive) public concern. This is a unique journalistic product amidst the sea of uniform information. We also believe that investigative coverage has a long trace. It is capable of having bigger impacts on society.

However, investigation is not enough. An impactful coverage often cannot be done alone. The power of a coverage will be even greater if many parties are engaged. Therefore, the more people

contribute, the bigger and the farther the echo will be.

Time has changed. A journalist working on coverage alone is out of date. The era of ‘journalists as a lone wolf’, like when Bob Woodward covered Nixon Gate, has passed. Collaboration is the answer in the midst of the increasingly heavy challenges facing the media.

Amidst the roar of the changing times, the great disruption that confuses the media, the corruption method that becomes more complicated, and the oligarchy that increasingly closes ranks, the media and civil society need to act together.

For this reason, to answer the challenge of Free Press Unlimited, we also collaborated with many parties, from fellow journalists (both in Indonesia and abroad) to non-governmental organizations (CSOs) engaged in various fields, from the anti-corruption movement to the environment initiatives.

Throughout the process, we have maintained the independence of our coverage. The process of extracting materials and writing absolutely has no intervention from the program partner CSOs. Our CSO friends also respect this.

These two elements - investigation and collaboration - are two important aspects in the Tempo Joint Investigation (IBT) Program, which has been running for five years. Funded by the Free Press Unlimited, this program has succeeded in involving 1860 journalists in a series of trainings organized in 31 cities. There are 8 civil society organizations that have helped us during these five years. The roadshow has resulted in 375 proposals for investigative reporting. About 62 journalists from various regions then participated in investigative reporting training for one to two weeks in Jakarta. From this training, 41 investigative reports with a very long trace produced as we expected.

Of course, a number of adjustments are needed to make this collaborative program implementable. It is understandable that not all journalists are ready to carry out investigations. In the middle of the race to get news quickly, investigative coverage almost has

no place in many media. This is because investigations are “lavish” coverage. It costs a lot of money (can be tens of millions rupiah) and takes up work time (in two weeks, four journalists only produced one article). Let’s compare it to celebrity gossip coverage, which costs almost nothing. You don’t even need to leave the office. It also saves time, as 14 news articles can be produced per day. When published, it is the gossip news that is more viral, and of course will bring more money, because advertisements are calculated from the clicked news.

The choice not to carry out investigations or lengthy coverage is understandable. But, of course there are consequences. The consequences for the mass media and the world of the press, as well as the consequences for journalists. The loss or the scarcity of in-depth, especially investigative coverage, has made the quality of the news degrades. Most of the news only touches the surface of an event or affair. The written news was merely the tip of the iceberg, which was visible to everyone. The aftermath is that all news looks the same. The content of one media is no different than the others.

This makes the press function of ‘uncovering what is hidden’ not working. When the value of news decreases, people’s interest in spending money to buy journalistic products also vanishes.

On the other hand, the reluctance to produce in-depth and investigative stories makes journalists’ abilities diminish. Like a tiger that has been kept in captivity and fed for too long, the hunting abilities of journalists are dulled when they are no longer required to dig deeper into the news. Journalists are more accustomed to turning on their recorders at press conferences and trust the sources’ statements. The habit of doubting or being skeptical about the initial information has decreased significantly. Hence, this will degenerate their ability in thinking that something goes wrong.

A news reporting is no longer being carefully planned with intricate and detailed planning. This good habit has been replaced by accepting whatever is presented in a plain sight, everything that the sources said. As a result, the ability to gather information

through reportage and long interviews has also slackened.

Being accustomed to merely writing short articles also makes journalists today lose their proficiency to write longer with a neatly structured outline.

That is why it is necessary to have a common vision for investigative reporting. We have been doing this in a series of training, both in the roadshows that we held in a number of regions, as well as in a number of workshops in Jakarta. These training have proven to be effective in increasing the power of the journalists involved in the IBT. As expected, the coverage resulted from this program is of excellent quality and even has significant impacts. The news trail becomes much longer.

Collaboration does not happen all of a sudden. There are pilot projects and processes that need to be maintained and nurtured by many parties. The networking that IBT applies is a valuable social capital. The capital to foster quality journalistic practices, and the capital to encourage transparency and accountability at various levels.

The imprint and impact of some of the coverage are written in this book. Over the course of five years, IBT has produced dozens of investigative reports - or at least in-depth articles - that can reveal many things behind the news. Some of the articles are even able to make differences, both at the community level in the form of mutual awareness, or at the level of policy makers in the form of changes in a number of regulations. This is not only happening in Indonesia, but in a number of countries. These effects are what we compile in this book.

This is a record of the small steps that have been taken by journalists involved in the IBT program, whether journalists from Tempo or other media companies. Their months of hard work, which involved facing threats, not only have revealed many things that have been hidden, but also resulted in far-reaching effects.

It is not easy to collect the stories of journalists during their reporting and how their writing has been impactful. This is

because journalists are accustomed to writing for others, not for themselves. Their focus is on the topics we assigned, not on how they worked. Journalists are used to moving in the shadows and not appearing on stage, let alone making a statement about themselves.

It was only before the end of the five-year IBT program that we realized the importance of this record. That's why we started collecting stories of the reporting process and their impact on society. Some of the reporting stories and impacts are still clearly recorded in our memory. Some of them have started to fade away. Tracing back the stories by interviewing fellows, mentors, editors, and also CSOs involved, became important.

However, we are certainly aware that there are a few things that we missed and overlooked. But it is much better than letting the stories of these brave journalists and their great impacts fade away. For us, the impact of these writings is good news for the press world. Good journalism is still there. This impact makes us believe that the coverage like these are worth fighting for. We really hope that this book can become a small note in the history of the press in Indonesia. Hopefully it can inspire other journalists.

IBT's footprint is quite impressive. In five years, from 2016 to 2020, 48 journalists from 24 media in Indonesia have been selected as fellows. They came from Sumatra to Papua, including Metro TV, Media Papua, Harian Analisa Medan, Mongabay, Jaring News, Kupang Pos, Tabloid Jubi, Pikiran Rakyat, KBR, Harian Tribun, Makassar TV, Tribun Sumsel, Tabaos Id, iNewsTV, Jambi Link, WartaBromo.com, Kompas TV/Kompas.com, RTV/Kompas Timur, Betahita, Lombok Post, Jatimnet.com, sulutdaily.com. Tempo journalists also participated in the competition and were several times elected as fellows.

The IBT success story is a lesson for FPU. In early 2019, Tempo Institute - represented by its then director, Mardiyah Chamim - was invited to present the success of this program in the middle of the strategic meeting of the FPU in Prague, Czech Republic. We are proud about it. IBT is considered a model of collaboration between



civil society and media, which deserves to be an example for FPU partners spreading across more than 50 countries.

The five years of IBT have left important lessons. Collaboration in realizing investigative journalism is no longer a nice-to-have thing, but a must-have thing. Collaboration is a joint endeavor to keep the flame. This is in line with the slogan of Tempo, which emphasizes the impact of the news : “For the Public, for the Republic” .

## CHAPTER 1

# IT ALL BEGINS WITH A CHALLENGE

**O**NE afternoon in Palmerah, 2015. The Tempo office welcomed guests from afar: Leon Willems, Ruth Kronenburg, and Dessi Damianova, from Free Press Unlimited (FPU), the Netherlands. Leon Willems asked an intriguing question, “As a journalist, what do you do after a story is published? Do you guard the news topic until it has a real impact, or do you leave it alone because there is so much more waiting to be written? “

Mardiyah Chamim, who was the executive director of Tempo Institute at that time, was stunned by the question. Uttered by someone from Free Press Unlimited (FPU), an institution that encourages the growth of quality journalism around the world, the question was considered a challenge that should not be ignored.

Just like any challenge we face, answering it is certainly not as easy as turning our palms. Ideally, every piece of news is monitored until it results in significant impacts. Any journalists will certainly be proud when their writing contributes to changes for the better, be it in the form of regulatory changes, legal action that is appropriate for corruptors, and the most tremendous thing is if their coverage triggers changes in culture and people’s behaviors.

The problem is, the emergence of this impact involves many factors that are often beyond journalists control. Journalists do not have the privilege of following only a few news stories. Journalists are also not law enforcement officers who have the authority to probe and investigate cases. The media also cannot just follow one or two topics. Every day, there are at least 300 news articles from all over Indonesia coming to the Tempo newsroom. This is the number of news on a usual day. When an extraordinary event occurs, for example when there is a big disaster or a massive demonstration, the number of news flowing into the newsroom can reach 500 to 600 a day.

Our memory is indeed very short. A new incident could appear tomorrow, abruptly displacing the shocking news for the public today. Mardiyah remembers exactly, at the time of the earthquake in Nias Island, West Sumatra, March 28, 2005, she and her fellow journalists tried their best to get to the location of the earthquake that claimed at least 300 lives. Together with several journalist friends who were assigned by international media, she boarded the Hercules Aircraft of the Indonesian military to Nias Island.

Arriving on the island, all journalists covered the incident on the scene. Several photographers intensely made calls to the editor who gave them the assignment. “Okay, I got one perfect picture for cover and four more strong pictures for your story,” said one photographer who called an editor of an international magazine. Excitement soared. They witnessed the tragedy on a small island that was hit by two major disasters in just three months : the tsunami and the earthquake.

Then, on April 2, 2005, there was news about the death of Pope John Paul II. Immediately, the atmosphere of the pavilion, where journalists gathered, felt gloomy. “My assignment is canceled. It will not be a cover story,” the journalist said. His media wanted to focus on the news of the Pope’s death. “The earthquake news will only be published on one page.” The news value of the earthquake tragedy with hundreds of victims is considered lower compared to the death of a world figure. But hey, that’s the reality we should

face.

With such character and dynamics, it is difficult for us to imagine that journalists have to dedicate themselves to overseeing a story until it really has an impact. However, the FPU remains adamant. “Can you try and see what happens? Can Tempo Institute design a fellowship program for investigative coverage? Involve friends in NGO networks,” said Dessi Damianova. The reason is that non-governmental organizations have an agenda that intersects with the media, both fighting for the public interest. However, the media and NGOs work independently and only occasionally meet when there is news.

The idea from Dessi Damianova sounded good. Mardiyah said yes to FPU challenge, although doubts remained. Journalists work with an independent spirit--a spirit that should be maintained. When working on a coverage, there is no influence from anyone and any institution. Even though they have the same agenda for the public interest, the involvement of NGOs can be considered as a “disruptor” to media independence. So, can an investigative coverage program be designed to involve journalists and NGOs at once?

In the afternoon the guests departed from the office, leaving the Tempo team who felt challenged. The right formula must be sought to deliver an impactful reporting fellowship program.

In fact, efforts to create journalism that prioritizes impact are not a new thing. Some senior journalists call it advocacy journalism. There are several initiatives dedicated to pioneering impactful coverage, but the results have yet to be significant. Substantially, no one denies the importance of journalism in advocating for the public interest. However, how the concept is executed is another unsolved issue.

The Tempo Institute team had discussed intensively with their colleagues at Tempo. Wahyu Dhyatmika, Philipus Parera, M. Taufiqurohman and Bagja Hidayat gave a lot of input, especially regarding the real problems faced by journalists and the media

in carrying out investigative reporting. The disruption of digital technology has taken its toll. The media works at a fast pace, catching the click of the first story – even if it’s only a matter of minutes difference. Context, supporting data, accuracy, and diversity of sources are often overlooked. Depth, nevertheless, is sacrificed in every race

The rush of news has dulled the nails of most journalists. Investigative reporting, which dives deep into the problem, analyzing things like peeling off the skin of an onion layer by layer, is becoming scarce. This genre of coverage requires high stamina, longer time, and high costs. This concoction of investigative reporting is clearly ill-suited in an age of digital disruption – a shock that makes it difficult for all media outlets to finance expensive coverage.

The skill gap is also a problem. Only a few media provide intensive training for their journalists. In fact, investigative coverage requires solid journalistic skills and techniques. The journalists should be determined to explore data, follow the trail of money and documents. Therefore, the investigative coverage fellowship program that embraces journalists in various regions in Indonesia is highly anticipated. Quality journalism practices and culture need to be cultivated together.

The Tempo Joint Investigation (IBT) is designed to use a joint report system, which includes joint planning and reporting. Tempo provides a mentor. Media partners assign one journalist to participate.

Apart from that, IBT also applies a fellowship system. We understand how expensive investigative reporting can be. Apart from requiring extra budgets--such as for cross-island transportation, laboratory tests, tracking documents, this reporting also consumes time and energy. Journalists of online media, which demand speed and quantity, definitely have the obligation to produce 5-10 news articles per day. But they will be difficult to do so while doing the investigative reporting. Therefore, IBT uses a fellowship system. In addition to receiving funding for

reporting, the fellows also receive substantial living expenses from the FPU. This way, they can focus on investigative reporting works.

For fellowship participants, it is clear that they can increase their capacity and knowledge, as well as gaining experience. For CSOs, the issues they have been struggling with will have a wider resonance because they are written and broadcasted in the media. Not only Tempo, but also to the media that collaborated in this coverage.

Collaboration is not only carried out with journalists. Mardiyah also visited several NGO activists, exploring the possibility of collaborating to create impactful journalism. We assigned Felix Lamuri, the Tempo Institute staff, to establish intensive communication with the Legal Aid Institute for the Press (LBH Pers), Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), and Migrant Care. “Of course we are willing to participate. This is a collaboration that we have been waiting for a long time,” said Wahyu Susilo of Migrant Care.

*Voila.* Tempo Joint Investigation Program was launched for the first time in 2016. This program embraces journalists and NGO activists, two elements who are actively involved from the beginning to the end. Together with representatives from ICW, Migrant Care, LBH Pers - hereinafter referred to as CSOs or civil society organizations, we designed any topics that could be offered as proposals of coverage for journalists participating in the fellowship program. We agreed on three main topics, namely uncovering corruption cases both in government (for example procurement of goods) or the environment (licensing and environmental impacts), and human trafficking.

With this kind of concept, it is hoped that many parties will get the benefits. For Tempo, this collaboration means more assistance to produce investigative reports, which was previously done by Tempo on their own. This is also good for readers, because by being published in many media, more people will read the reports. The echo of the reports will be wider.

The impact of the report has become the main concern of Tempo, Tempo Institute and FPU when jointly designing the IBT program. The decision to involve other journalists and various CSOs in this project was also based on considerations of impact. Tempo, who has recently been involved in the Panama Paper project - a collaboration of nearly 400 journalists worldwide - sees great potential in this collaborative reporting model. “When we discussed how to make impactful coverage, we agreed that there was a need for legal action or a change in policy, but journalists didn’t have time to oversee an issue. Finally, an idea emerged on how to include CSOs,” said Mardiyah Chamim.

Fortunately, it was a tit for tat. FPU Director, Leon Willems, agreed with the idea. The experience of running many journalism programs in Africa, Mexico and several other countries has taught them that collaboration is important for driving change.

The IBT project officially started running in 2016. Until the end of IBT 5, this program has succeeded in publishing 41 investigative reports concerning issues of great public interest at the local, national, and regional levels. However, the effect of each report varies.

## CHAPTER 2

# THE BACKBONE OF INVESTIGATION

**J**UST like the habit in Tempo, the backbone of a journalistic reporting is a story proposal. In other words, successful coverage or report is always determined by planning. A story proposal is part of a lengthy planning to produce successful reporting. Without careful planning, reporting will not focus on the objectives, unable to get the right sources, or not even being supported by accurate data.

This method is being implemented in the Tempo Joint Investigation program. Since the emphasis is on the word “Joint”, the timeline for this investigative reporting requires solid communication with partners, as well as with potential fellows for coverage in many areas. IBT is a big goal of investigative collaboration involving journalists in the regions.

The Tempo team is aware that the Jakarta-based media, which always claims to be national media, has limited reach to regional news. Jakarta is indeed the Capital of Indonesia, but the nation’s problems come from the regions, especially after decentralization. There is a spread of power from the center to the regions, resulting in the decentralization of political and economic players. Thus, natural resources that often cause social, economic, environmental and political problems are also in the regions.



Therefore, IBT is a solution to bridge that gap, through which journalists or media in Jakarta can bring the regional issues to the attention of a wider audience by making them national issues. This will make the information more evenly distributed throughout Indonesia. All this time, problems in the regions are often considered as 'local issues' due to their limited amplification. With the collaboration of IBT, which enables the coverage by journalists in the regions to be published in national media, important issues in each region receive an equal share of coverage with other issues that are considered to have broader scope at the national level.

Since planning is the backbone of the investigative reporting, every journalist in the region must have the same perception of this type of reporting, understand the stages, know how to examine the materials and information they have, and how to do the reporting and later present it in a writing format, in accordance with Tempo's standards. This is because in addition to the word "joint" in IBT, there is "Tempo" in it, considering that Tempo is a media that will publish the results of reporters' reporting.

Combining the two is not easy. Tempo has transformed itself into an institution that has its own standards in reporting. Meanwhile, the media in the regions also have their own standards in producing their news, which tends to be technically different. The stages may be the same, but there are important technical matters that should be equalized, so that IBT managers and journalists in the regions can have the same working method. Therefore, they will be able to produce reports that meet the standards of Tempo.

The best way to transmit the same mode of work is through roadshows to the regions. In this roadshow, we build a common perception of a reporting plan.

The material in the first day of training is filled with preparation for investigations. Planning has always been the most crucial thing, from determining the theme, the angle of the report, the procedure for collecting materials and data, until the preparation of the reporting by making a framework through the TOR (Term of References).

The training of formulating TOR often involves technical matters, because reporting preparation at Tempo is carried out in stages, so that everyone can monitor the preparations. At Tempo, TOR is a kind of internal memo for team members covering the same issue. TOR is also a kind of division of the workload, so that each person does not have excessive work to do while the others merely do some light work. TOR also eases the monitoring of reporting material.

Planning for such coverage seems rigid and complicated. However, at Tempo, there is an adage that always prevails: a work made with a rigid and complex way will entertain the reader because it is presented in an easily digestible writing.

Rigidity will result in a complete understanding of the object of the coverage. Without a thorough understanding of the problem, a journalist will get lost in the jungle of data and even fall into disinformation by the sources.

A complete TOR will guide journalists into the reporting in a measured and directed manner. By making a complete TOR, journalists will also be able to easily write down the material of their reporting, so that readers can understand the problem right away, without raising further questions after reading the story. A story produced from a complete TOR will be concise, clear and complete.

Complete TOR includes sharp angle, complete background (usually based on initial information and data that account for 30 percent of the total material), complete sources, complete questions for sources, supporting photos, infographic plans, to the outline or composition of writing of the entire reportage. An investigative report is usually presented in 4 to 5 articles.

Topics of discussion in the training include sharpening angles, extracting the background, examining the initial data, and suggestions for the coverage to be more in-depth. The training also provides lessons on how to distinguish assumptions, hypotheses, and facts. Journalists are usually trapped in their own assumptions

and hypotheses as a result of hearing too many rumors. When these assumptions are examined, they often fall out due to the absence of strong causes and effects, even cannot be supported by sufficient data. On the other hand, many vague assumptions will be sharper after being discussed, thus stimulating the journalists to investigate further.

With such technical training, IBT managers hope that participants can understand the procedures for proposing ideas for investigative coverage, because they will be asked to include the refined idea or proposals into a form with a standard structure after the training

Not all story proposals met the IBT requirements. A common problem with rejected ideas is that the journalists failed to convince the mentors about their proposals in a sharp angle formula. Sharp angle reflects the magnitude or scale of coverage that is important and relevant to the public. Magnitude can be approached through the main character, who is the actor of fraud in a case, or the value of losses in the case. The value of the loss is not merely about money, but it can also be intangible loss which has a major impact on the interests of the community, such as environmental damage.

Environmental damage is part of policy corruption. An environment that is damaged by political decisions often involves state actors who misuse their authority for the sake of power and the cartel behind it. Hence, a fraud usually results in state losses even though there is no state audit agency that declares it.

Journalists often fail to construct a sharp hypothetical angle in a simple question. This prompted the training committee to eliminate it off the list of story proposals that will be granted the coverage fellowship. As for the proposals that are accepted, the committee will contact the journalists who proposed it to prepare for further training at Tempo office.

In Jakarta, the proposals that have been accepted will not necessarily continue. Mentors and Tempo journalists will do a further selection. On the sidelines of the four days topic selection,

the chosen journalists received advanced training with a variety of materials, ranging from how to get data and analyze it, how to catch up with sources, compile and write down the materials, to language training and create interesting infographics.

All of this is part of the preparation for planning an investigative report. A careful planning is the backbone of investigative reporting. The success of a reporting is often determined by the preparation before going to the field. Journalists should sharpen the initial data and information, then confirm it with relevant sources. After that, they have to present their proposals before Tempo editors, who will choose the best ones to be done and published in the media that are parts of Tempo Media Group: magazines, newspapers, and online.

Well-prepared story proposals usually make it easier to delve into the material in the field. This ease of analyzing the material makes the reporting process faster. On the contrary, journalists who provide proposals that lack initial material and data, and are hobbled in choosing a sharp angle, usually take a long time in carrying out the coverage, because the guidelines are also out of focus. There are drawbacks due to a blunt angle and disorganized problem formulation.

The various stages of coverage in this lengthy training are Tempo's efforts to spread investigative reporting knowledge to many journalists, especially those who are based in regions. IBT's success is not in the broadcast of their coverage in Tempo media, but in the spirit of investigation, which will make the coverage in the media in regions become more colorful.

# **ROADSHOW: A JOURNEY TO GATHER IDEAS**

**R**ome was not built overnight, so as with this collaboration program. In the first year of the program (2016), there were less than 30 submissions for the coverage proposal. We were curious. Why? After asking many of them, we found the answer: many local journalists do not really understand what investigative reporting is. Let alone the investigation, the standard quality of coverage itself remains varied. Therefore, there are difficulties in making a thorough reporting plan and incorporating the plan into a proposal.

Hence, in the second year (2017), Tempo Institute began inviting journalists in the regions to participate in submitting proposals. Initially, we relied on our contacts of journalists who were members of the regional chapters of the Independent Journalists Alliance (AJI). “We first tried it with our existing network,” said Felix Lamuri, coordinator of the 2017-2019 IBT program. We hoped that there would be many suggestions from AJI’s friends.

The problem was, not all cities were covered by the AJI network. Felix then contacted the chief editor of the regional media. These included the Bali Post (Bali), Pikiran Rakyat (West Java), and the Tribunnews network--the regional network of Kompas Gramedia Group which is present in many regions. Felix described the IBT program, how a collaboration can be built, and asked them to join. “The requirement is submitting a proposal, which includes a coverage plan,” said Felix.

## **NOT JUST A REUNION**

It turned out that communication with media leaders in the regions was ineffective. Emails were responded and texts were replied continuously, but there was no significant progress. Felix saw that there were many things that had not been conveyed



*As part of the 2018 roadshow, the IBT fellowship committee holds 2 days training and coaching clinic on investigative journalism in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan*

through these messages. This information should be discussed thoroughly in a face-to-face meeting. “If we had not met in person and discussed it directly, we would not have been able to materialize this program,” he said. Thus, he initiated small workshops in the regions as a means of bringing us together with our friends in each area.

Mardiyah Chamim, former Tempo Institute executive director, confirmed it. She recalled that not many proposals had come from the recruitment by way of spreading the words online. Also, if the requirements were to make a proposal, many were reluctant to participate. “To overcome this, we came to several cities to organize workshops,” she said.

Why workshop? Because we do not want the meeting to merely become a reunion and a chance to get to know each other. We want the meeting to include discussion on investigative coverage. Moreover, many of them are not accustomed to doing this type of

coverage. They need to have an introduction to the investigative reporting model and how to prepare it before they submit proposals for this fellowship program.

## **DECIDING THE DESTINATION CITIES**

After the form of the meeting was agreed upon, we had to decide which areas to visit. Selecting the regions is important, in order to make this program sell out. In that sense, the roadshow must be able to bring in as many investigative coverage proposals as possible from journalists in regions. Since one of the targets was the large number of submitted proposals, Felix chose an area based on the concentration of journalists and media. One example was to determine a city in East Java. If he had to choose between Lumajang and Malang, Felix would prefer Malang. "...because there are obviously more journalists in Malang."

The second consideration in choosing the area to visit during the roadshow is the existence of other professional associations of journalists, not just AJI. If there is a region with a journalist professional association other than AJI, we will prioritize that region, so as to create diversity. The more associations collaborate in this program, the more diverse journalists will be involved.

The third consideration relates to the issues we are pushing for in the IBT program. This program encourages investigations in cases of human trafficking, corruption, and environment. Hence, the areas that have these cases were chosen to be visited during the roadshow. Kupang in East Nusa Tenggara, for example, is a city that has been chosen twice to be on the list of roadshow destinations. "Because the issue of human trafficking in the area is very big and massive, but the coverage at the national level is still rare," said Felix.

Due to those themes, in the following year (2018), we involved non-governmental organizations in the roadshow. Non-governmental organizations are also an important backbone in the investigation because they are usually the ones who investigate cases in the regions persistently. At least, these organizations hold



*Investigative journalism training in Makassar, 2018.*

preliminary information and most likely have a clue of the initial data if journalists in the area are interested in submitting it as a proposal for investigative coverage.

Therefore, from the above three considerations, a quantitative questionnaire was made concerning which cities are the most worth visiting. In addition, it is also weighed qualitatively, in relation to the number of women who become journalists. “We opt cities with more women journalists.”

Usually, each IBT selects 10-12 cities to be the roadshow destination.

## **SELECTING THE PARTICIPANTS**

The effort to be proactive by ‘picking up the ball’ in this roadshow is a surefire move. In the cities we explored, communities of journalists gathered and discussed with NGO activists. The discussion developed, especially on which local issues were worthy to be raised as the topics of investigative coverage. Frequently, they also involved academics. In total, there were 1,860 people involved in the discussions in 20 cities we visited.



This program succeeded to attract a large number of participants, thanks to the various methods of networking we applied. The selection of participants was done in two ways. Firstly, through journalist professional associations, such as AJI, the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), and the Indonesian Television Journalists Union (IJTI).

The second way is by inviting and collaborating with local institutions. For example, AJI Bali collaborated with the Balebengong blogger community. In Surabaya, East Java, AJI invited *Harian Surya*. In Sorong, Papua, they worked together with IJTI (Association of Indonesian Television Journalists) Sorong. In Malang and Jember, East Java, local media associations were engaged in the program. In Makassar, South Sulawesi we partnered with Telkom, especially in terms of providing representative facilities and infrastructure. In West Java, Tempo Institute cooperated with *Pikiran Rakyat* daily.

There are two advantages of working with these institutions. First, of course, this makes our network even wider, meaning that there are more and more journalists feeling the impact. Second, by cooperating with these institutions, the participation of journalists in this program becomes an official assignment, thus allowing them to be relieved from daily duties in their respective office. This flexibility makes the journalists more focused on doing a number of practices and assignments in training.

At the beginning of the program, we open the registration for this investigative journalism training as wide as possible. Apart from journalists, this training is also open for bloggers and students. We sent them open invitations, meaning they can pass it on to other people.

The positive impact is that a large number of people had the opportunity to join the investigative training. Sopril Amir, the coordinator of the Monitoring and Evaluation division at the Tempo Institute, said that this roadshow was quite effective in expanding the reach. In accordance with the goal of IBT, which is to disseminate knowledge and abilities about investigations, Tempo—with its experience in investigative coverage, needs to

share its expertise.

However, this method of inviting participants other than journalists also has its drawbacks. The large number of people involved in the training made it similar to a public seminar. Ideally, this special training only involves around 30 participants, in order to make the mentoring process effective.

In addition, the class, which was originally targeted for journalists, was dominated by students and lecturers. As a result, there were many questions about basic journalistic knowledge in the discussion, not about investigative reporting, which is an advanced level in journalism. Consequently, the main objective to increase the investigative capacity of journalists--to enable them submitting many proposals for investigative coverage--was not achieved.

Therefore, in the following years, the roadshow was limited only for journalists, so that the discussion about investigation would be more focused on improving journalistic skills and works.

#### Sharpening the Ideas

Tempo Institute sent two speakers for each training location, one IBT manager and one Tempo journalist who has experience in investigative reporting. They came to each region with a list of proposals by local journalists, who submitted the proposals after seeing IBT announcements that have been previously distributed every year.

In addition to the presence of Tempo journalists with experience in investigative coverage, this training also engaged source persons from CSOs handling certain wide-spread issues in the region, such as the environment and anti-corruption. The former fellowship participants who succeeded in completing their coverage also shared their experiences in the Tempo Joint Investigation.

In 2017, when we began the roadshow, the training was only held for one day. Later, we realized that the duration of one-day training was too short. Therefore, since the following year (2018), the training was extended to two days.



*In the mentoring process, Tempo editors guide IBT fellowship candidates on how to make a good coverage plan.*

The first day of the roadshow was spent by learning investigative coverage. Participants listened to the speakers sharing their experiences in covering an issue and explaining the standards of investigative coverage that Tempo implements. Therefore, in addition to practical experience, the speaker also explained journalistic theories, as well as ethical issues in reporting.

In the last hour of the first day, the IBT supervisor would ask participants to write down their reporting proposal on the form by including the aforementioned things they learned: angle, problem formulation, initial data, case background, sources for the coverage.

After the class was dismissed, in the afternoon or evening, the editors of Tempo would select proposals for the coverage. They ranked the proposals from the best to the worst. They should know exactly what were the strengths and weaknesses of each proposal, because it would be discussed right away on the next day.

The second day of training felt more like a coaching clinic. Participants would be asked to present their proposal in front of

the class, then the mentor would discuss each item.

On every presentation, the mentors would give their comments and suggestions for improvement. This practice, in addition to the mentoring system, has been proven effective to enhance their investigative reporting skills. At least, according to Mustafa Silalahi, a Tempo editor who often participates in roadshows, their confidence improved. Participants feel confident when they go to the field, because they already have a detailed picture of what will be covered. “Training is important. At least they know how the proper method of investigation is,” said Mustafa.

Proposals for coverage were discussed specifically, because many journalists did not yet understand how to plan a good investigative coverage. All this time, most journalists usually go to the field directly and wait for the news provided by the sources. Planning for detailed coverage is a rare item. Many of them even feel difficult in determining the angle. Not to mention determining sources, digging up material, compiling a list of questions, following the flow of funds, and so on.

During the tour, we learned that there were gaps in knowledge and experience regarding investigative reporting. Mardiyah explained that the gap between journalists in Java and outside Java was quite wide. Even the gap among journalists in Java remained extensive as well. There was no adequate understanding about investigation. “Their skills are still basic. Even for ordinary news articles, their logic of writing is not necessarily ‘straight’”, said Mardiyah. This happens because many journalists are barely given knowledge about investigations

According to Mustafa Silalahi, journalists in regions had some shortcomings when it came to investigative coverage. First, the completeness of the initial data and information. “Commonly, what they have is still limited to ordinary information and news,” said Mustafa, who participated in the roadshow to Manado (North Sulawesi) and Pekanbaru (Riau).

Second, the problem of magnitude or the scope of the problem.

Their proposed investigative coverage is interesting, but the point of view is only of interest to their own region.

The aforementioned is only a matter of making a coverage plan, not to mention the ability of investigative reporting and write lengthy articles. “Understanding the problem remains a hassle. Sometimes investigative coverage is still considered as ordinary reporting,” said Mustafa. Thus, the training equips the participants with theory, and it becomes a guide for investigative coverage.

For this reason, the presence of the investigative coaching clinic program really helps journalists enhance their skills, at least it enables them to know how an investigative report is planned meticulously and carefully. This ability, of course, will make it easier for the jury in determining which proposals pass the IBT program. Once they have improved their ability, they will be able to make clear angles, ensure the documents they obtained are the right ones, and will be able to ‘investigate’ the sources measurably, and so on.

Therefore, this IBT roadshow also aims to improve the quality of Indonesian journalism, specifically by strengthening abilities in investigative journalism. According to Sopril Amir, all this time, media companies have not prepared journalists properly in terms of upgrading their skills. Consequently, journalists are not being optimally educated before entering the world of journalism. “Only a few media organize the training program for prospective reporters with a period of several months, while others only train their reporters for a week,” he said. With such minimum education, the quality of the news is questionable. These journalists are the ones targeted to participate in the roadshow.

## **HARVESTING THE PROPOSALS**

Since it commenced in the second year of the IBT, the roadshow has proven to be able to generate many ideas of collaborative reporting in the field of investigative journalism, which in turn resulted in very interesting coverage.

This collaboration method works well. In the cities we visited,



*Prospective IBT fellows attend an investigative reporting training/workshop for 10-14 days in Jakarta*

an investigative culture has started to grow. Students and young journalists have hopes of joining the coaching clinic with Tempo journalists. The ‘call for proposals’ for the IBT program has been eagerly awaited by journalists in local media throughout Indonesia.

The idea of food preservative coverage, for example, came during a roadshow in Palembang, South Sumatra, in May 2018. Prawira Maulana, a reporter from Tribun Sumsel, who was one of the participants during the discussion session, expressed this idea. “The idea is considered good because it involves public issues, so I submitted the proposal to Tempo and made it to IBT,” he said.

The involvement of CSOs in the roadshow has also been a good trigger. When the Tempo Institute held a roadshow in Surabaya, East Java, in 2017, one of the speakers was from Ecoton, a local NGO in Gresik, East Java. At the coaching clinic session, Ecoton explained the issue of toxic and hazardous waste in three military headquarters. However, there were only limited data. Only photos, videos, reportage and raw evidence. “So, I was offered by two coaching clinic mentors, Sunudyantoro and Muhamad

Taufiqurrahman, to work on this proposed issue,” said Nurhadi Abdulrahman.

Nurhadi agreed to the challenge. The coverage was finally published, and provoked many responses, even led to change: since the publication of this report, there have been concerns from military high-rank officials, declaring that military headquarters should not be an area for manufacturers to dispose of their waste.

# **WORKSHOP: SCHOOL OF INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM**

**W**e were tired after visiting several cities, but the work is not done yet, both for the organizers at Tempo and the Tempo Institute and for the fellowship candidate journalists. Journalists from various regions who submitted their proposals in the roadshow had one week to deepen the initial information and strengthen the data, with the guidance from Tempo editors. Each region usually submitted about four to five good proposals that were encouraged for submission to get IBT scholarships.

After receiving all the proposals, we had to tightly select and examine them again at the Tempo office in Jakarta. During the roadshow, there was only one editor involved. As for this selection, we involved more editorial crews. They were assigned to select dozens of submitted proposals.

At the fellowship recipient selection stage, not only the Tempo editorial team was involved. Representatives from a number of CSOs such as the Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW), Legal Institute for The Press (LBH Pers), Greenpeace, Auriga, or Migrant Care were actively involved. They also gave consideration on why a proposal needs to be approved or rejected. We continue to maintain the active involvement of the partners, so that our CSO friends will feel like they also own this program.

There are many variables that must be considered in screening a proposal, such as whether the story is realistic to be investigated, whether the issue is related to the public interest, or is it even out of date. The CSOs also provided their consideration on whether the data was available, the actors could be interviewed, and the possibility of covering them. Other variables, such as case magnitude, news value, recency, were also assessed. CSO friends who have ears in various regions know very well about the cases





*Participants of IBT 2018 investigative reporting training at Tempo office in Jakarta.*

that are attempted to be pursued.

The first stage of the selection usually involves picking the recipient candidates as many as twice the number of available fellowship seats. For example, if there are eight fellowship seats that year, we will select 16 to 20 candidates in the first stage of screening. They are the ones who will attend a more rigorous workshop. For the investigative journalists, it is like entering the ‘Crater of Candradimuka’, a place to educate themselves, in order to become individuals with strong, trained and agile personal character.

### **WHAT ARE THE LESSONS?**

Prospective participants whose proposals pass the first stage will be invited to Jakarta to attend a workshop or the school of investigation. In this workshop, regional journalists will learn about investigative reporting techniques and advanced journalistic theory, during 7 to 14 days.



*Training participants are seriously listening to the presentation of Bagja Hidayat, IBT Fellowship mentor coordinator.*

Tempo journalists will provide material related to journalistic skills, ranging from reporting, interviewing techniques, and the most challenging is data tracing. The involvement of CSOs continues, namely by delivering specific material according to their respective competencies. We also invite the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) to share perspectives on corruption issues in Indonesia.

Unlike the training during the roadshow, which only discussed the general aspect of investigative coverage with the aim to make participants able to plan a coverage, the one to two weeks of workshop in Jakarta presents more in-depth investigation material. There are at least three things targeted in this training.

First, about integrity and ethics in investigative reporting. For example, when journalists should hide their identities, or when they should honestly explain their intention of doing the coverage. To deliver the teaching material about the ethics and law of the press, Tempo Institute collaborated with the Press Council and LBH Pers.

Apart from ethics, in this cluster, we also provide theories and understanding on security and safety of investigative journalists. In 2019, reflecting on the experiences of fellowship participants who faced threats several times during and after doing the coverage, Tempo Institute has started to include materials on journalist safety. Both related to technical, technological and legal aspects.

This is important, because the safety of journalists in doing investigative reporting is at stake. They are vulnerable to threats and other safety risks. They reveal cases that have been deliberately covered up by many parties. There will be lots of people who are unhappy with the investigation they do. Apart from the safety of journalists, this session also discussed the security of data owned by journalists. How to save the data and avoid it being removed by parties who are not happy with the coverage, how to secure their lines of communication, and how to secure the sources.

For journalist protection and digital security topics, we presented a number of journalists who have experience in safety training, including Tempo senior journalist Agung Sedayu. To teach the participants about institutional security, we presented Yudi Priyanto, security officer from Greenpeace Indonesia, who has enough experience in compiling security Standard Operational Procedures for Greenpeace and its crew.

Agung Sedayu explained that in protecting journalists, careful coverage planning is necessary to anticipate any unwanted incidents. Therefore, whenever journalists encounter a threat while conducting the coverage, they already know what to do. In addition, journalists also need to maintain good coordination with editors in the office, and in some cases, they might need to be prepared for an undercover.

Yudi explained that while doing an undercover, there is a possibility that journalists will be caught, hence their data is confiscated. This is why coverage planning is crucial, including a risk assessment. “Potential risks should be known before going to the field,” said Yudi.

In the following year, we invited Jaring.id journalist, Kholikul Alim, to present material on digital security. In this training, journalists were taught to be able to secure data through encrypted data, so that they would not be bugged or hacked by other parties. The material on understanding journalist safety from a legal perspective was presented by former Tempo journalists, including LR Baskoro. In this session, the participants also welcomed a representative from the Legal Aid Institute for the Press.

Zakki Amali, a participant of IBT 2020 from Tirto.id, stated that the material regarding the safety of journalists was interesting. “Because the SOP is clear, so that whenever something happens, we have already learned the protection guidelines,” he said.

The second thing to learn is the knowledge about the issues or topics being investigated. In this second material, we engaged the CSOs. They presented materials in accordance with their field of work related to the issues being investigated, including about labor and human trafficking by Migrant Care. We collaborated with ICW to provide an understanding of the issue of corruption. “For example, what are the elements of corruption. What’s the difference with gratification,” said Felix. Meanwhile, the environmental issue was presented by partners from Auriga, Greenpeace and CERA. Some other CSOs were also involved, including Kemitraan and FITRA.

For CSOs, this training is considered as a chance to open up an opportunity to build interaction with fellow journalists in the regions. Adnan Topan Husodo from ICW assessed that Tempo was always a reference for investigative coverage. This condition is not healthy for the development of journalism in carrying out its function to control power. “Tempo is more focused on national issues. Meanwhile, in large areas, not all issues could be covered by Tempo.” Therefore, journalists in the regions should learn from Tempo to carry out investigative reporting by implementing the standard skills, as taught in the IBT training.

The last material in the training is skills needed in journalistic work. This material covers all stages of investigative reporting,

starting from the information and data gathering, analysis of data, interviews, writing, to presentation of the report. In this workshop, we complement the participants' knowledge with the techniques of reporting, interviewing and data mining. This presentation is not only in the textual form, but also in the form of visual and multimedia. We presented some editors from Tempo to share knowledge.

Felix gave an example on how the participants should do a proper investigation. The example was about the investigation of shark poaching, in which participants should understand the regulation and the issue, including which sharks are protected and which are allowed to be hunted. Participants are invited to explore data and materials, and also how to map out the actors, who were the implicated actors, and who can be interviewed as sources. "This is why we involved the Tempo editorial team."

Ridzki R Sigit, program manager of Mongabay.co.id assesses that in this IBT program, journalists can learn the writing system and how to conduct in-depth and investigative coverage on certain topics. "We can also learn about data security procedures and the



*Selection process for Tempo Joint Investigation (IBT) Fellowship program. In the end of the investigative reporting training, the candidates for the fellowship present their story proposals before the Tempo editorial team in Jakarta.*

process of getting confirmation of the data obtained.”

According to Weny Ramdiastuti, Chief Editor of Sumsel Tribun, in the IBT program, they learned a lot on how to properly design investigative coverage. All this time, her media remains vague in distinguishing between investigative and in-depth articles. In addition, with the right investigation, they can follow up the results. “We made a small discussion by presenting speakers related to the issues we are working on. We hope that the investigative coverage can make changes in the realm of policy, although it is clearly not easy,” she said.

Anton Septian, one of the mentors from the editorial staff of Tempo, said that many things were changed from their proposals when the participants arrived in Jakarta. One of the things that were changed is how they set the angle of the story plan. “Some of them have been able to create sharp angles, but some others have not. Some don’t even understand what angle is, “ said Anton.

Later, after the IBT participants were selected, the mentors helped them sharpening the angles. At this point, the mentors play significant roles, up to the point of agreeing on the budget for coverage, because the coverage plan must be in accordance with the budget. The system is created rigidly.

In Sopril Amir’s evaluation note, the program is considered good. For the editorial crew of Tempo, they have the opportunity to structure their journalistic experiences into subject matter. “All this time, they have only practiced, not structuring it into theories and learning subjects, “ he said.

## **STRESSFUL EDITORIAL MEETING**

On the last day of the school of investigative journalism, it was time to make final selection of the proposals of fellow candidates. Equipped with one to two weeks of knowledge, prospective fellows tried their best to improve their story proposals, sharpen angles, add data, and so on. Participants would be asked to collect as much data as possible in a short time during the training. Although the

proposal was not necessarily selected, the participants must have interviewed the sources to gather initial evidence.

Unlike the previous stage of the workshop, in this final selection, prospective fellows must present their proposals directly in front of the editors. They will be summoned one by one to present their works to the chief editors, executive editors and senior editors of Tempo's three media: Tempo weekly magazine, Koran Tempo daily, and Tempo.co. Just like a stressful thesis examination, the presentation in front of the editorial board often becomes a moment to disparage proposals and ideas that are considered immature.

The presentation at the editorial session often results in a combination of two or more proposed themes from the participants, thus producing a collaborative coverage.

For example, at IBT 2017, John Seo (Tempo contributor in East Nusa Tenggara/NTT) and Bambang Riyanto (journalist of Harian Analisa, Medan), both proposed investigative coverage of the human trafficking of Indonesian migrant workers to Malaysia. The migrant workers came from NTT, then were accommodated in Medan before they departed to Malaysia. The reports from John Seo and Bambang Riyanto were then combined. Moreover, Malaysia Kini also took part in this coverage. Eventually, their works were published as a collaborative coverage.

## **COLLABORATIVE COVERAGE**

After a tense presentation, the Tempo editorial team announced proposals and participants who passed the selection. Usually, the presentations that started in the afternoon had only ended with announcements in the early morning. This is because there are many things that the editors have to discuss. If they make a wrong choice, it will cause them a lot of trouble for the next few months. Therefore, the decision should be considered carefully, in order to guarantee that the reporting they choose will be carried out properly.



*Civil society organizations (CSOs) are invited to present relevant materials in the training.*

For those who qualify, they have time to carry out the reporting for three or four months. The fellows went into the field, while still being supervised by Tempo journalists and CSO network friends. Every week or two the Tempo editorial team holds a meeting to monitor the process of the respective proposals. This monitoring will provide the progress of each coverage.

The four-month journey was certainly not smooth. There were even one or two story plans that had to be canceled because they were considered not worthy of being continued. For example, the story plan on a woman migrant worker from West Nusa Tenggara, who was suspected of being mistreated, operated on without her knowledge and had her kidney taken and sold. This case is certainly interesting, but after the migrant worker underwent several tests in a number of hospitals, we realized that this case was hard to prove. It is not that we deny the possibility of mistreatment of the migrant worker, but we find it difficult to trace the evidence. Therefore, we made the decision to drop the coverage and replace it with another.



Fortunately, FPU as a donor really understands the work of journalists. This kind of failure in doing coverage, as long as it can be properly explained, will not be a problem in the future. The fellows' living costs and the coverage expenses remain.

After going through a rigorous writing and editing stage, the results of the journalists' investigations were published in Tempo (magazine, newspaper, or online). The coverage is complemented by short videos, infographics displayed on social media, and public discussions. This series of activities is used jointly by CSOs to create "noise" and excitement. In this way, journalistic coverage simultaneously becomes advocacy material for CSO friends.

For the publication in partner media where the fellows work, we recommend the fellow to coordinate with their editors. After all, we still respect and maintain the independence of each media. They have the right to refuse to publish (and this is done by some media), even though their journalists participate in this program and produce reports that are very suitable for publication.

If they co-publish, partners have the right to change the writing style to suit their respective media. But generally, all written materials and infographics are completely given to partner media.

For one or two reasons, the partner media may widen or shorten the articles, according to local conditions, but they should publish the articles at the same time, so that we will not precede each other.

## CHAPTER 3

# BROAD IMPACTS

IN May 2015, Supriyanto boarded the Taiwan-flagged Fu Tzu Chun fishing vessel from Pingtun Port to the Pacific Ocean. “*Aku pan mangkat laut maning* (I will go to the sea again),” he said to a cousin in a local language. Since he was divorced, the 44-year-old man took care of his three children all by himself. He said he wanted to earn a better income, so that he could raise his children properly. However, fate turned out to be otherwise. Five months later, Supriyanto arrived back at his home, in Tegal, Central Java, lifeless.

The lure of US\$300-400 wage per month, which is quite high for most Indonesians, encourages thousands of sailors to leave their hometowns and work in foreign ships every year. However, the lack of understanding of work procedures and safety makes most of them receiving inadequate protection. With the excuse of paying debts from the recruitment process, the agents cut their wages for months. Many sailors are forced to work up to 20 hours a day, continually, even for years, on the high seas. Not a few of them died on board like Supriyanto.

Tempo Magazine wrote Supriyanto’s story in its January 8-15, 2017 edition, as a result of the Tempo Joint Investigation (IBT) program. The Tempo team in collaboration with Taiwan’s

independent online media, The Reporter, managed to reveal the variety of criminal modes of agent and ship companies in illegally employing Indonesian sailors. The coverage also found very strong evidence that Supriyanto died after being tortured by the captain and a number of crew members.

What happened next was totally beyond expectations. In just a few days after the report was published, the Indonesian government formed a task force to review various regulations regarding the permits and protection for fishing boat crew. In Taiwan, the court reopened the previously closed case of alleged murder of Supriyanto. The Global Investigative Journalism Network considered the coverage about Supriyanto to be one of the most successful investigative collaborations in Asia, and in particular about the actions of Tempo and The Reporter in the coverage.

In general, the impact of the IBT reports can be classified into two categories. First, the coverage generates a very broad and profound reaction. Not only discussed, but also encouraging policy change. The results of the coverage that are able to provide policy changes are of course something that all journalists want. This means that their hard work in carrying out investigations and exposing irregularities pays off with the changes of inappropriate policy

However, not all coverage is as profound as the first category. Policy change is an authority beyond the reach of journalists whose job is only to report. The boundaries are clear, although we really want this change in policy to happen. Therefore, in the second category, there are coverages that have an impact, even though it is only in the form of broad discussions, both at the local, national and international levels. Being widely discussed is a success, because at least the public is aware and has the knowledge about something that has been hidden so far.

Investigations into the alleged murder case of Supriyanto, which revealed the dilapidation of the recruitment and protection system for Indonesian fishing boat crews, is one of the IBT products that has received wide attention and is able to encourage policy changes.

Another example is the coverage of the illegal dispatch of Indonesian workers from East Nusa Tenggara to Malaysia. The reports on the result of the collaboration with Malaysia Kini also creates big ripples. Immediately after the reports were published, the government and Malaysian police officers arrested a businessman who was found guilty of financing the illegal recruitment of Indonesian migrant workers and mistreated them in his company. In Indonesia, the police arrested and brought some perpetrators, whose names were mentioned, to the court.

In some cases, encouragement from public figures or popular people led to the IBT report being discussed publicly. The article by Lombok Post journalist Sirtulillaili at Tempo.co entitled “Akal-akalan Ekspor Sirip Hiu Appendiks II” (The Trickery of Appendix II Shark Fin Export) on January 26, 2020 --- the same report appeared the next day in Tempo magazine entitled “Sisip-Sisip Sirip” --- succeeded in encouraging wide discussion on social media shortly after the publication. The former minister of marine affairs, Susi Pudjiastuti, uploaded the report on her Twitter account. The post received a long and varied response from its followers. Mongabay cited the report in its article “Indonesia Shark Fin Export China Illegal”.

The broad reaction has prompted the West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Natural Resources Conservation Agency (BKSDA) to regulate the distribution permit for shark fins in the area. Entrepreneurs are also required to have a certificate to transport domestic plant and animal for each fin taken outside NTB. Apparently, shark fishing data belonging to the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry are different from the finding of Tempo. To ensure that NTB fishermen no longer catch protected sharks, the head of the NTB BKSDA stationed officers at ports, including in Tanjung Luar Fish Sales Point in East Lombok.

In Sukamiskin, Bandung, the undercover reporting of the buy and sell of prison facilities at the Sukamiskin Penitentiary was also fruitful. The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) followed up on Tempo’s report, tracing evidence in the field. Finally, the

head of the Sukamiskin Prison was caught in the act of accepting a bribe in July 2018.

Although there were a number of reports that succeeded in bringing about policy changes, most of the coverage fell to the second category. These reports initiated discussion in related groups or institutions, became the topics in special discussions and meetings, but did not bring about policy changes. The report on the lack of legal action against child rapists in North Sulawesi province published on Tempo.co and Sulutdaily.com on February 13, 2020, is an example.

For four months, a journalist from Sulutdaily.com Jeane Rondonuwu had been tracing back on cases of child rape in North Sulawesi. The rape rate of children in this province is quite high. In North Minahasa District alone, according to police data, there were 105 cases during the period of 2018 to 2019. Jeane found that the police tended to abandon the cases on the grounds that they “did not have enough budget” to investigate. In fact, there were local police officials who were active in persuading the victims’ families to withdraw their reports, to declare “peace”, and to accept compensation.

Jane’s coverage caused quite a stir. Two weeks after publication, Jeane was asked to present her findings at a coordination meeting of the North Sulawesi Province Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection Agency with the non-governmental organization Swara Perempuan. Several related institutions such as the Regional Police, the High Prosecutor’s Office, the Education Office, the Health Office sent delegates to the event. At the end of the event, the forum agreed on several further steps, including holding a focus group discussion to get input on steps to handle child rape cases, starting from North Minahasa to the provincial level. Unfortunately, there were no concrete measures about the deal and no changes in policies. “Maybe it is because of the Coronavirus pandemic that stopped them from undertaking further steps,” said Jeane.

Chairul Anam’s report entitled “Rare Cockatoos at Siti Nurbaya’s Residence” in the November 26, 2017 edition of Tempo magazine,

also sparked conversation. The coverage revealed the trade in endangered species. One of the important findings: it turned out that many government officials in Jakarta kept protected animals in their homes, including the Minister of Environment and Forestry Siti Nurbaya. In addition to the yellow-crested cockatoo, which has a population of around 5 thousand throughout the country, Siti was found keeping a green peacock and Eclectus parrot. The minister who is responsible for preserving these rare animals in their natural habitat did not feel guilty at all for doing so. “In principle, there is no problem keeping (endangered species) if you have permission,” said Siti.

The license referred to by Siti is regulated in Law No. 5/1990 concerning conservation of living natural resources and ecosystems. The law does allow the keeping of endangered species through a strict licensing process for the purpose of captivity or conservation. The problem is, many permits are given to endangered animal enthusiasts, who confine animals merely to satisfy their hobby.

Using the report from Tempo magazine as a reference, the Indonesian Protected Animal Care Coalition made a petition on Change.org. The petition was addressed to President Joko Widodo, and four officials known to have kept protected animals at their residences: Minister of the Environment Siti Nurbaya, Speaker of the Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly Zulkifly Hasan, Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives Fadli Zon, and lawmaker Bambang Soesatyo. A total of 8,620 people supported the petition entitled “State officials, set a good example, stop making protected animals as your pets!”. However, there was no news that the officials were returning the endangered species they kept in their homes to the animals’ natural habitat.

Another example is the coverage of a participant, namely (the late) Tommy Apriando. The coverage of the mining pits in East Kalimantan was widely discussed by the public. Likewise, Shinta Maharani, a fellow from Yogyakarta, reported on sand mining around Mount Merapi. The environmentally concerned

community in Yogyakarta gathered in a discussion and used this coverage as an advocacy material.

In a separate section, we will describe the impactful reports in more detail. There are at least ten reports that we consider to have quite a long trail after the coverage was published.

Apart from the impacts that emerged from the coverage, we also noted a number of positive impacts emerging from this program as a whole.

### **THE 'CONTAGIOUS' SPIRIT FOR INVESTIGATION**

Collaboration that is considered successful, according to Felix Lamuri, is the works with Bandung-based *Pikiran Rakyat* and *Tribun Sumsel*. In *Pikiran Rakyat*, the report about changes in land function in West Bandung not only resulted in a joint publication, but there is also an involvement of the *Pikiran Rakyat* team that enables transfer skill.

“Since the beginning, the chief editor has been very welcome. We managed to build good communication,” Felix said. Although only one of its journalists who became the IBT fellow, *Pikiran Rakyat* was willing to voluntarily deploy its team to support the coverage proposed by the fellow. They made plans, as well as assigning a photographer and a videographer for this coverage. That is why they were able to do the reportage in many places.

Before getting acquainted with IBT, the *Pikiran Rakyat* editorial team are already accustomed to work fast. Articles are written under tight daily deadlines, hence the reports are superficial. There was practically no effort for investigative reporting, data mining and further confirmation. Two years of partnering with IBT, starting with the election of Tri Joko Heriadi as a fellow, *Pikiran Rakyat* has begun to change. “We learned how effective investigative coverage is,” said Noe Firman. “We are trying to transmit the culture of Tempo’s investigation into our newsroom.”

In the last two years, *Pikiran Rakyat* has produced a “Special

Report” rubric which is published every Monday. This section presents an investigative report, which was worked on by journalists of Pikiran Rakyat within a week. The result is quite impressive: investigative and in-depth reports of various problems in West Java, ranging from corruption of village funds, flooding due to violations of city planning rules to the issue of violent culture in Persib Bandung football club.

According to Noe Firman, they even transmit their investigative culture to the media that are members of the Pikiran Rakyat group, among others, Pikiran Rakyat daily newspaper, PR Online, and PRFM radio. “We invite them to practice the knowledge by doing coverage together.”

With this involvement, they learn about effective techniques of investigative reporting, for example, how to design coverage, organize journalists, discuss angles, pack up the writings, and find competent sources.

At Tribun Sumsel, collaboration is also well established. This was materialized thanks to the chief editor who had the courage to be responsible for the performance report of journalists who attended IBT. If the results are bad, the journalist is considered failed. Being involved in IBT, the journalists’ productivity in their media will automatically decrease, because their time, energy and thought are focused on investigating one case. However, when Prawira Maulana, Tribun Sumsel journalist became an IBT fellow, the chief editor of the media was willing to bear it.

After being selected as a fellow, and participating in a 10-day training at the Tempo office in Palmerah, Prawira became acquainted with journalistic works and the strict discipline of confirmation.

After the training ended, Prawira returned to Palembang with a million ideas. He wanted to pass on the knowledge and methods of investigative reporting to the Tribun Sumsel team. How to structure the TOR for coverage, determine the angle of coverage, sharpen hypotheses, do research, dig initial data as a provision for



coverage, and to design the techniques of data mining. “In the past, the coverage we did was not well organized. Now, we are trying to make our coverage more systematic,” said Prawira.

Prawira admitted that it is not easy to apply the high standards as practiced by Tempo and IBT. “In the field, we are used to the coverage with less tight standards. Meanwhile, IBT standards are very strict,” he said.

However, at least the Tribun Sumsel team is trying to improve the quality of the reporting. “I was asked by the Tribune head office, what are (being taught in) the IBT curriculum?” The head office in Jakarta intends to explore the mechanism for adapting investigative journalism into the newsroom. Even though it is just an intention, this may be noted as a pleasant impact, especially if this intention eventually materializes.

Tribun Sumsel actually sees this investigative training as a necessity, because it can be a place to forge reporters in the field of investigation. Moreover, the media is currently pioneering an investigation desk in its media. In addition, the policy of the head office also requires the Tribun Sumsel to produce at least one investigative report in its one week publication.

Weny Ramdiastuti, the chief editor of *Tribun Sumsel*, explained that they learned a lot about how to make proper investigative reporting. All this time, the investigative report remains somewhat vague with in-depth articles. “Learning in IBT provides affirmations on how investigative articles should be,” she said.

Not only publishing in the media, they also began to build a habit of turning the issue into discussions presenting sources related to the issues being worked on. “We hope that the investigative coverage can bring changes in the realm of policy, although it is clearly not easy.”

## **THE INCREASING COMPETENCE OF PARTICIPANTS**

Almost all of IBT’s widely influential coverage is a collaboration, which besides being published in Tempo magazine, Koran Tempo,

Tempo.co, are also issued in the media that become partners in this program. IBT provides options for journalists who receive scholarships to also publish their investigative reports in the media where they work. So far, IBT investigative reports have been published by The Reporter (Taiwan), Malaysia Kini (Malaysia); Mongabay (Jakarta); Sriwijaya Post (Palembang); Harian Tribun (North Sumatra); Jubi (Papua); Tribun Sumsel (South Sumatra); Pikiran Rakyat (West Java), Analysis (Medan), Tabaos.id (Timor Leste); Warta Bromo (East Java); Betahita (Jakarta); Lombok Post (West Nusa Tenggara); and Sulutdaily.com (North Sulawesi).

Tribun Sumsel Daily on March 24, 2019, also published an investigative report on the leakage of formaldehyde from a poultry farming company to food entrepreneurs that use the chemical as a preservative. This illegal practice, which is dangerous to public health, was exposed by their journalist Prawira Maulana. Weny Ramdiastuty, chief editor of the media, said that after the publication, the editorial team held a discussion inviting the police, trade office and poultry company associations. “We hope that the coverage can bring changes in the realm of policy, although it is clearly not easy,” she said.

During the five IBT periods, as many as 48 journalists from 24 media in various regions were selected to participate in the program. They took part in training, got mentoring and financial support to carry out investigative coverage. Several media partners note the improvement in the quality of their journalists who participated in the IBT program as an important internal impact.

“Journalists who have taken part in the IBT program have better coverage results and standard of writing,” said Mongabay program manager, Ridzki R. Sigit. He said it will be better if the IBT program participants are also facilitated to write books about their investigation.

Specifically, the editor-in-chief of the Papua-based Jubi tabloid, Angela Flassy said IBT has helped their journalists understand how to choose a point of view in the news. “After joining the mentoring with Tempo, their writing angles get better. There is additional

knowledge, not simply trusting the sources' statements, "said Angela.

David Sobolim, a journalist of Jubi who was selected to take part in the IBT program in 2018, wrote about the adverse effects of ex-mining waste belonging to Freeport Indonesia, which was dumped into the Akjwa River, on the people in Mimika Regency, Papua. For about three months, he investigated Freeport's violations in managing ex-mining waste. He traced the Akjwa River and reported the condition of the four districts in the area, which were almost isolated due to the river's siltation. Sometimes, the mentors in Jakarta found it difficult to reach him for days, when he was in the remote area with no cellular signal. Jubi tabloid also published his report, which was published in the January 25, 2019 edition of Tempo magazine titled "Malapetaka Limbah Freeport" (Freeport Waste Havoc).

There have been limited reactions after the publication, especially from environmental and humanitarian activists. However, it doesn't not develop into broader discussion or policy change. The public was still lulled by the euphoria of the acquisition of 51 percent stake in Freeport worth US\$4 billion, or around Rp 58.4 trillion, by state-owned mining company PT Inalum a few weeks earlier. Silting of Akjwa and other rivers in the Freeport mine waste disposal route continues.

## **THE BROADENING NETWORK**

THE participation of CSOs, which keeps increasing since IBT 1, helps broadening the topics and areas of coverage. With the data and network they have, CSO becomes a source of information and a place for the participants of this program to consult. Until the IBT 5, this program has engaged eight CSOs. They are Migrant CARE, Auriga Indonesia, Greenpeace, Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), Fitra, Kemitraan, Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Pers (Legal Aid Institute for the Press) and Yayasan CERAH (CERAH Foundation). In every region, IBT involves the Alliance of Independent Journalists, campuses and local social institutions.



*Tempo Institute and a number of CSOs having a focus group discussion to evaluate the IBT program.*

In addition to helping the IBT fellows in the coverage, CSO also actively amplifies the IBT report to ensure broader awareness and more powerful impact. They conducted various programs, from organizing an open discussion, making petitions and holding campaigns.

In the case about misuse of timber legality assurance system (SVLK) for the timbers taken from Papua forests, which encourages law enforcement against the offenders, the role of CSO-- in this case Auriga Nusantara--- is very significant. They assist journalists in carrying out the reporting with data and source networks they own, sponsor discussions that involve various stakeholders after the publication and carry out the ongoing campaigns. “We continue disseminating the issue about the SVLK timber in Papua. We involve the local government and the Corruption Eradication Commission. *Alhamdulillah* (Thanks God), illegal logging has decreased,” said Director of Auriga, Timer Manurung.

Auriga pays special attention to the phenomenon of information warfare, especially on social media, which can easily obscure the position of a case. On the other hand, hoaxes make it difficult for the public to get reliable references. Under these conditions, according to Timer, the credibility of the IBT report increases the breaking power of the issues being raised. “Tempo is significant in the context of the media. It is almost certainly being read by policy makers. That is why we distribute the report and make it an advocacy material.”

Wahyu Susilo, executive director of Migrant CARE, said the IBT collaboration “opened their eyes” to new approaches in advocacy. “In the New Order era, it was good enough to have our photos published in the media. Now, it’s different. The regime is not only looking at whether there is movement or not, but whether there is a solution being offered,” he said.

Migrant CARE is involved in all IBT programs on migrant workers and human trafficking, including in the Supriyanto case and the illegal dispatch of labor from East Nusa Tenggara to Malaysia. In the investigation on the case of illegal dispatch of Indonesian migrant workers to Malaysia, Migrant CARE’s network in Malaysia also supplied information and data through Malaysia Kini. They also monitor the legal case that emerged after publication.

“Investigative coverage provides a bigger picture and confirmation from various parties. It is a significant consideration for (the government to make) policy,” said Wahyu. He explained that he made the IBT project a model for collaboration with the media in developing impactful coverage, which is not just for sensations.

The IBT program encourages stronger connections between the press and CSO. After IBT started, Tempo Institut together with Tempo and the Perhimpunan Pengembangan Media Nusantara (Nusantara Media Development Association) initiated the Indonesia Leak forum, which also involved CSOs. Auriga Nusantara and ICW also take part in the initiative.

Later, ICW and Auriga formed their own community of investigative journalists. Auriga also publishes environmental media Betahita. One of its media staff, Kennial Laia, was a participant in IBT 4. Her report entitled “Ironwood, Your History Now”, was published in the March 8, 2020 edition of Tempo magazine. This article, which was also published in Betahita, highlighting Ministerial Regulation No. 106/2018 on protected plants and animals, which removes ironwood from the list of protected trees. As a result, concessionaires can freely cut and sell the timber of ironwood trees, which becomes increasingly scarce. Kennial found that the Minister of Forestry and the Environment, Siti Nurbaya, ignored the advice of experts who wanted ironwood logging restrictions to be maintained when signing the regulation.

This report received quite wide attention even though it was published when Indonesia was busy with the new Coronavirus - several people had just been diagnosed positive and the World Health Organization determined the SARS-CoV-2 transmission to be categorized as a pandemic. A number of conservation activists made a petition on Change.org urging the minister to cancel the regulation that endangers the sustainability of the ironwood. By June 2020, the petition had been signed by more than 27,000 people and is still counting.

Meanwhile, ICW established the Investigative Journalists Club (KJI) where they trained their members in various understandings about corruption and its modes. After that, as in IBT, journalists were asked to come up with investigative projects to work on together. “But KJI is still in the incubation stage. If it is successful and we are able to find the pattern, we will replicate it to the regions,” said ICW Coordinator, Adnan Topan Husodo.

According to Adnan, ICW strives to help encourage investigative journalism to develop in regional media. “This condition (the lack of media conducting investigative reports) is not healthy for the development of journalism as a means of controlling power,” he said.

## **THE IMPACTS FOR TEMPO**

In terms of the coverage results, the IBT program succeeded in creating more variety of Tempo's reports and making it less Jakarta-centric. There is an article about selling sand on a remote island, the use of land that violates the city planning rules in Bandung, to the exploration of rivers in Papua, which have been degraded due to Freeport's waste.

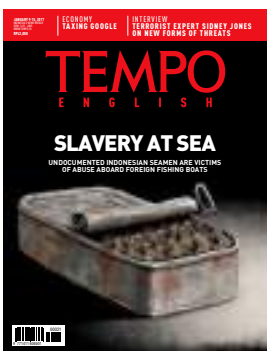
This collaboration results in a distinct impact in Tempo newsroom. Editors, including Wahyu Dhyatmika, Setri Yasra, Mustafa Silalahi, Stefanus Pramono, Agoeng Wijaya, Philipus Parera, Bagja Hidayat, were "forced" to learn to be mentors.

They all interact intensively with the fellows--the journalists in various regions who face various challenges--in the middle of their routine duties in Tempo. To be a good mentor, those editors also have to master the problems.

# 10 COVERAGES THAT BRING CHANGES

Since it began to roll in 2016 until May 2020, IBT has produced 41 investigative reports with five major themes, namely corruption, environment and natural resources, migrant workers/human trafficking, human rights, and crime. Of these reports, 10 of them succeeded in encouraging constructive reactions and even improvement of regulations.

## 1. INDONESIAN SLAVES ON TAIWAN SHIP



Problem of migrant workers and labor smuggling has often been the focus of Tempo's coverage. Some of them have received enough attention, but very rarely have succeeded in prompting legal action, let alone policy changes. Therefore, it was quite surprising when the report by Mustafa Silalahi and his team who titled "Budak Indonesia di atas Kapal Taiwan" (Indonesian Slaves on a Taiwan Ship) received broad response.

The story was published in the January 15, 2017 edition of Tempo magazine and followed by a main report in Koran Tempo daily three days in a row.

Supriyanto's story is the first report on the IBT project. Tempo collaborated with Taiwan's independent online media, The Reporter, to trace the alleged murder of Supriyadi, a sailor from Tegal, on a Taiwan fishing vessel.

Apart from uncovering various hidden facts behind Supriyanto's death, this coverage maps out many other problems in the practice of recruiting Indonesian seafarers to work on foreign fishing vessels: from fraudulent agents, falsification of documents, mistreatment



on board ships, to weak legal protection from both Indonesian and Taiwan government.

A few days after the report was published, the Indonesian government formed a task force consisting of representatives from five ministries and two non-ministerial agencies to formulate protective measures for seafarers working on foreign ships. The business licenses of the labor agencies recruiting the crew were reviewed for further verification. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs recruited lawyers in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, to assist Indonesian seafarers who had legal problems in the country. In Tegal, Central Java, Migrant CARE sued the local harbormaster for illegally issuing seaman cards.

Far away in Taiwan, a similar story published by The Reporter prompted a stronger reaction from the Taiwan government. Based on the recommendation of Control Yuan - the state ombudsman - the court reopened an investigation into Supriyanto's death. The climax was on January 20, 2017, when the Taiwan Council of Agriculture implemented new rules regarding the authorization and management of the employment of foreign workers on ships sailing in high seas. This regulation is aimed at increasing the protection of non-Taiwanese crew members.

This regulation requires employers to: pay a minimum wage of US\$450, directly to workers; provide a minimum rest period of 10 hours per day and four days per month; provide life and health insurance of not less than NTD\$1,000,000, as well as providing immediate medical services and covering the costs when the workers get an accident while on duty; bearing transportation costs from the worker's residence to the ship; and, does not prevent workers from complaining to the authority.

In June 2017, The Reporter received an Award for Excellence in the 2018 The Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA) Award for the category of investigative coverage. After the award, many discussions were held in Taipei. During one of the conferences at National Taiwan University, Philipus Parera, at that time the managing editor of Tempo's Investigation desk, together with

Sherry Lee, the executive editor of The Reporter at that time and now the chief editor - were asked to talk about the trend of collaboration in investigative reporting.

When visiting Indonesia in June 2019, Wang Mei-yu, a Control Yuan member who was one of the main sources in Supriyanto's investigation, took the time to visit Tempo office. During the one-hour meeting, she explained the positive impact of the coverage about Supriyanto for the protection of foreign workers in Taiwan.

“But there are still many other problems concerning Indonesian workers in Taiwan that need the attention of the two countries. We hope that Tempo will not stop conducting important coverage,” she said.

## 2. THE OUTING OF SUKAMISKIN PRISONERS



THE MINISTER of Law and Human Rights, Yasonna Hamonangan Laoly, was angry during a meeting with the heads of correctional divisions throughout Indonesia. “This is (very embarrassing), just like stripping us naked,” said Yasonna, as recorded in the video meeting on February 3, 2017.

Yasonna seemed to react to the information he received from Stefanus Teguh Pramono and Rusman Paraqbueq a few days earlier. These two Tempo investigative journalists met him to confirm about ‘unusual facilities’ for several prisoners of corruption cases in Sukamiskin penitentiary. The inmates could easily leave the prison, stay in hotels or apartments, and were allowed to build luxury rest huts in the prison’s inner courtyard.

Yasonna’s anger continued. As Tempo magazine published a report titled “Tamasya Napi Sukamiskin” (The Outing of Sukamiskin Prisoners) on its February 6, 2017 edition, he formed an investigative team to probe who is responsible for special

services for the inmates.

At least six officers in Sukamiskin were found to have committed violations, and they got penalized. The Ministry of Law and Human Rights then transferred the prisoners who frequently went in and out of Sukamiskin to Gunung Sindur, another prison in Bogor. The luxurious resting huts in the prison yard were then demolished.

Outside the government’s circle, this report became a wide topic of discussion. Pressure mounted for the government to improve prison management in the country. Iqbal Tawakkal, the IBT fellow investigating this case, was forced to leave his house in Bandung, to move to a safe place for some time due to threats from unknown people. “I don’t know whether it is really connected to each other or not, but after the article was published, some officials in Sukamiskin were caught red handed by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) due to accepting bribes,” said Iqbal.

### 3. RISKING LIFE ON THE FAST TRACK



AS many as 32 Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia from East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), came back in coffins throughout 2016. Of all these workers, only one possessed legal documents to work overseas. Convinced that this condition is due to the growing network of human trafficking in NTT, Johannes Seo, a correspondent of Tempo in the province, proposed the case for the IBT program. “I passed the IBT selection, then I traced two (trafficking) networks with the routes from Kupang, Jakarta, Medan, Batam to Johor in Malaysia,” said John.

The IBT jury asked John to do the coverage together with Bambang Riyanto, a journalist for Harian Analisa in Medan, who proposed a similar theme of coverage. They also conducted the coverage in collaboration with Alyaa Alhadjri, a journalist for independent online media Malaysia Kini in Kuala Lumpur.

John and Bambang's investigative project was published under the headline "Jalur Cepat Bertaruh Nyawa" (Risking Life in the Fast Track) in the March 20, 2017, edition of Tempo magazine. This coverage caused quite large ripples in two countries.

In Malaysia, some time after the news of "Following the Money on Lucrative Illegal Indo-M'sia Maid Trade" was published in Malaysia Kini, the police arrested Albert Tei, the owner of the Maxim Birdnest company in Kalang. Three of Albert's staff were also arrested. Albert is one of the financiers for the illegal smuggling of labor from Indonesia to the neighboring country.

However, they were later released after paying the fine. According to local officials, they only violated immigration and labor regulations. "Weak legal protections for migrant workers in Malaysia make it easy for perpetrators to escape from the people smuggling articles," said Alyaa.

In Indonesia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the first to react. They examined Windi Hiqma Ardiani, owner of PT Sofia Sukses Sejati in Semarang, which became Maxim's labor supplier. The police then named Windi as a suspect in supplying illegal labor to Malaysia and brought her on trial in Semarang.

Recently, the government has tightened controls on the routes that are used to illegally dispatch workers into Malaysia. The Malaysian Embassy in Indonesia has sent representatives to Tempo several times to discuss the problems of Indonesian migrant workers on the overseas land.

Returning to Kupang, the capital city of NTT, John was asked for several times to be a speaker in discussions about efforts to stop the illegal recruitment of migrant workers from NTT to overseas. Meanwhile, a number of local media, such as the Pos Kupang daily and online media NTT Terkini.id, Lintasntt, and Kompas.com are more actively writing follow-up reports regarding the smuggling of workers from NTT to Malaysia.

Almost all the perpetrators whose names were written in the IBT report were eventually arrested by the police. Apart from Windi

in Semarang, the police also arrested Diana Aman, owner of PT Pancamanah Utama, a labor supplier company in Salatiga, Central Java and Yohanes Leonardus Ringgi, an aviation security officer at El Tari Kupang Airport. Both of them were brought before the Kupang District Court.

In June 2018, Tempo and Malaysia Kini received Honorable Mention at the 2018 The Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA) Award for Editorial Excellence category for investigative coverage.

#### **4. WHO OWNS THE PITS OF DEATH?**



IN the commemoration of the death of Tommy Apriando held at the Tempo office, Jakarta, on February 10, 2020, Sexy Killers film producer Dandhy Laksono touched on the investigation of ex-mining pits in East Kalimantan by Tommy, who was the Mongabay contributor. “Tommy contributed a lot of data from the investigation for my film,” he said. Sexy Killers, which until May 2020 has been viewed more than

31 million times on YouTube, highlights the adverse effects of mining by coal companies, including those owned by big rulers and officials in Jakarta.

Before the film was created, Tommy had already written about the same issue under the IBT program. Mongabay also published a long report with the main article entitled “Kubangan Maut Siapa Punya” (Who Owns the Pits of Death?) in the May 14, 2017 edition of Tempo magazine. Tommy mapped the ownership of the companies that were responsible for the 632 mining pits in East Kalimantan. At least 27 people were left drowning in these voids during the period of 2012 to 2016. Apparently, Tommy used this data to help research the film Sexy Killer.

Several local journalists in East Kalimantan, said that after the publication of this mining case, they were contacted by unknown

people, asking who informed Tempo about the case of mining pits. Tempo magazine suddenly disappeared from circulation in East Kalimantan and its surroundings, both at the Gramedia network agent and in the stalls. Many subscribers protested because they did not receive Tempo magazine delivery that week.

This report also encourages discussions about mining pits in Jakarta and other areas, where Tommy was often asked to be the speaker.

Director of Auriga Nusantara, Timer Manurung, said that the coverage of the voids provides support for the government to push companies. However, the government has not been able to force the companies to comply with the regulations. “If the company has the opportunity to do that, they will do the same again,” he said.

Auriga supported Tommy’s coverage from the start and was involved in the post-publication campaign. The organization continued Tommy’s coverage by recounting the abandoned mine pits and linking the violations to the regulations in the new mining law.

## 5. ALEXIS THAT STILL EXISTS



THE Jakarta provincial administration has actually “closed” Alexis. The operating license for the hotel and massage parlor, which is known to be the location for disguised prostitution, has expired since August 2017 and the administration has refused to extend it. But Alexis didn’t stop. They changed their name to Hotel 4Play, moving the massage parlor to another floor that provided karaoke, and resuming the

operations quietly. This fact is described in the cover story of Tempo magazine, February 4, 2018 edition with the title “Alexis yang Terus Eksis” (Alexis that Still Exists).

“We prove there was negligence by the Jakarta administration,” said Stefanus Pramono, who was then editor of the Tempo investigation desk. This report then became a public discussion. Immediately afterwards, the Governor’s Team for the Acceleration of Development (TGUPP) visited the Tempo office in Jakarta with staff from the Jakarta Tourism Office, asking questions about the results of the investigation. They only focused on Alexis, although this investigation also exposed similar practices in four other hotels.

About two months later, the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, officially revoked the business license of Alexis a.k.a Hotel 4Play. Anies said the decision was taken after the Jakarta civil servant investigation team had completed an investigation based on a report from Tempo magazine.

## 6. ILLEGAL WOOD WASHING MACHINES



The Ministry of Environment and Forestry arrested five businessmen involved in illegal logging, shortly after the report of Tempo journalist and IBT program fellow, Avit Hidayat, was published on December 30, 2018 with the title “Mesin Cuci Kayu Ilegal” (Illegal Wood Washing Machine). Among those arrested were the boss of PT Alco Timber Group and the boss of PT Mansinam Global Mandiri. These two companies

illegally logged and exported merbau woods from Papua.

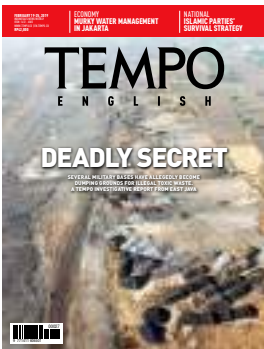
This report reveals an astonishing fact: there is a misuse of timber legality assurance system (SVLK), which was deliberately designed to restore the European market’s confidence that Indonesian timber was legally cut. No strict supervision is conducted regarding the implementation of this rule in the field. Avit found that timber from illegal logging in Papua was often exported by manipulating

the SVLK. The modes include mixing illegal and legal timber in export, while using the SVLK documents of the legal timber. Or, another mode is by using a single document for multiple exports.

Since the ministry brought the arrested offenders to court, other media such as The Jakarta Post, Mongabay and Detik.com also reported on the legal issue. “In Papua, most of them have difficulty reading our reports. But not long after it was published, they got the articles in the form of PDF files, which were distributed for free. They appreciate that,” said Avit. Auriga Nusantara, the organization that has assisted Avit since the collection of initial materials, held several discussions to encourage the follow-up of this report.

Avit has been invited several times to the Directorate General of Law Enforcement of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry to provide input on how to increase the effectiveness of the SVLK. Nevertheless, the hope for improved forest governance vanished after on February 27, 2020, the government even revoked SVLK as a condition for exporting forestry products through Regulation of the Trade Minister No. 15/2020 concerning provisions for export of forestry industrial products. The revocation of the SVLK prompted civil society, including Auriga Nusantara, to send an open letter of protest to President Joko Widodo.

## **7. HAZARDOUS WASTE IN THE MILITARY HEADQUARTERS**



ON February 10, 2019, exactly two weeks before the report “Limbah Berbahaya di Markas Tentara” (Hazardous Waste in the Military Headquarters) was published in Tempo magazine, Nurhadi Abdulrahman had to be flown to Jakarta. This Tempo correspondent in East Java received repeated threats when investigating the practice of dumping of toxic industrial



waste at eight Indonesian Military (TNI) headquarters, including the Army, Navy and Air Force in East Java. “A Surabaya journalist told me that there were some intelligence agents looking for me. I was advised to temporarily leave Surabaya, ” said Nurhadi, remembering those tense moments.

Nurhadi found that at least eight army bases in East Java had been the place to dump hazardous waste by several companies. From the laboratory test results, it is known that the waste in these locations contains fine dust from coal combustion (fly ash), coarse dust from combustion (bottom ash), carbon and a certain amount of heavy metals. All of them are classified as dangerous and poisonous materials, which is also known as B3 in Indonesian abbreviation. This disposal damaged the crops of residents that were planted on the border between their land and the area of the headquarters, and even injured several residents who happened to pass by the location. It was also discovered that businessmen paid Rp 1 million for each truck that dumped the waste.

Responding to this report, TNI Commander Air Chief Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto made a surprise inspection to two of the eight military bases being investigated. In a press release sent to a number of media after the inspection, Hadi said he intended to ensure that all assets of the military were properly managed.

Two days after the report was published, the head of the TNI Headquarters’ Information Center, Major General Sisriadi visited the Tempo office in Palmerah, Jakarta. He said he had investigated individuals who took advantage of the dumping of waste on the land owned by the TNI. Some time later, the Air Force Chief of Staff Marshal Yuyu Sutisna and the Governor of East Java Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who had just been inaugurated for a week, held a meeting with journalists. They said the toxic waste dumping activity at the military headquarters had completely stopped.

Thanks to this coverage, the Provincial Government of East Java has accelerated the construction of a B3 waste management center that previously never existed. PT Prasadha Pamunah Limbah Industri in Cileungsi, West Java - which is the only industrial

hazardous waste treatment center - recently obtained a license to operate in East Java.

## 8. THE WORRYING HYDROPOWER OF BATANG TORU



THE IBT report on the construction of the Batang Toru Hydro Power Plant was published in the March 24, 2019 edition of Tempo magazine, revealing environmental violations by PT North Sumatra Hydro Energy (NSHE). The project in a forest area of 6,598 hectares threatens the sustainability of the orangutans in South Tapanuli, North Sumatra. PT NSHE has violated regulations since the preparation of an environmental impact analysis (Amdal), which deliberately ignores the existence of orangutans and other endangered species in the forest area.

The Batang Toru power plant project divided the community in the affected area into two camps: those who agree and those who disagree. South Tapanuli residents who disagreed, in August 2018, sued the North Sumatra government that had issued the construction permits. They are represented by Walhi's North Sumatra chapter. Two weeks before this report was published, the panel of judges rejected their lawsuit.

After the publication, a PT NSHE delegation visited the Tempo office. “They explained at length about the project, including efforts to prevent the extinction of orangutans and to protect the Batang Toru forest ecosystem,” said Erwan Hermawan, a Tempo journalist who led the investigation of this case. During the meeting, it was agreed to hold an open discussion presenting all interested parties, including: PT NSHE, Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation (KSDAE) of the Ministry of Environment, and Walhi. The discussion was held on April 4, 2019 at the Tempo office. Many people attended, including a number of

South Tapanuli residents. NSHE invites environmental experts and activists to work together to protect the Tapanuli orangutan.

Articles in Tempo encouraged other media to write about the irregularities in the Batang Toru hydropower project. Tirto wrote about this case in a long article, followed by several other online media. In a statement to journalists, the Director General of KSDAE Wiratno asked PT NSHE to immediately fix the problematic Amdal by adding a clause in regards to the protection of orangutans. However, the Rp 21 trillion project continued.

On October 6, 2019, Golfrid Siregar, a Walhi activist who loudly protested PT NSHE died. Three days earlier, he was found seriously injured in Medan City. Golfrid was a member of the Walhi legal team that sued the Batang Toru hydropower plant. Police say Golfrid had an accident, but activists have different suspicions.

### 9. FOOD PRESERVATIVE FROM LIVESTOCK COMPANY



THE DAY before the report entitled “Pengawet Makanan dari Perusahaan Peternakan” (Food Preservatives from Livestock Company) was published in the March 24, 2019 edition of Tempo magazine and in Tribun Sumsel, Prawira Maulana was contacted by officers from the South Sumatra Police. They gave information that they would immediately arrest the perpetrators for recklessly using formalin as a food preservative.

Long before that, Prawira had actually written about the same thing in his newspaper, the Tribun Sumsel. However, the news just went by the board at that time. According to Prawira, he simply wrote regular hard news. The source was also verbal and disguised. “It is common that journalists in regions prefer to keep it safe,” he said. But this time, the investigative coverage that exposed the perpetrators of illegal trade of formalin in South Sumatra, as well as collaboration in its publication, succeeded in sparking a reaction

from the authorities.

PT Agrinusa Jaya Santosa (AJS), a line of business of PT Japfa Comfeed Indonesia Tbk, is one of the holders of formalin procurement licenses for livestock companies in South Sumatra. Farmers need a solution containing formaldehyde 37 to eradicate bacteria in the chicken coop. Prawira's coverage proves that PT AJS sold some of the hazardous chemical solutions to food entrepreneurs, who misused the chemicals to preserve food.

As soon as the report was published, the South Sumatra Food and Drug Administration inspected the local tofu factory and found indications of formaldehyde use. A week later, the tofu factory was closed. About a month later, the police arrested a suspect who made noodles and tofu containing formalin.

However, there has been no legal action against PT AJS, not even a warning. Local media in Palembang also reported on the use of formalin in food, but no one mentioned PT AJS. Prawira's informant who worked at Japfa Palembang, was transferred to Padang, West Sumatra. However, he refused to be transferred and chose to resign.

## 10. THE LAYERS OF GARLIC CORRUPTION



ON March 18, 2020, the Minister of Trade issued Regulation No. 27/2020 concerning horticultural import provisions, which eliminates import permit requirements for the import of garlic and onions. This regulation eliminates the quota system, so that entrepreneurs no longer need to ask for permission to import the two commodities. The new provisions were made only a month after the IBT report entitled “Lapis-Lapis Korupsi Bawang” (The Layers of Garlic Corruption), regarding collusion in granting the import permit of garlic, was published in Tempo magazine.

“This decision is exactly what we want to push through this investigation,” said Bagja Hidayat, managing editor of the Tempo Investigation Desk. Unfortunately, the quota exemption is only valid until the end of May 2020. Even though the impact is very positive, as it immediately reduced the price of garlic and onions, which had soared before Eid al-Fitr 2020.

The garlic corruption case was included in the IBT program after the KPK arrested a politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), who was suspected of being involved. This coverage reveals the transaction of garlic import permits at the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Trade. This deceptive practice has put the price of garlic under the control of a few quota-holding entrepreneurs. This IBT report was published in the February 16, 2020 edition of Tempo magazine.

Some time after the publication, KPK investigators sent an instant message to Erwan Hermawan, the Tempo journalist who led the investigation project, confirming the contents of the report. A number of importers said that the Tempo report sparked discussion among them for quite some time, since this coverage also revealed the importer’s tricks.

Agriculture Minister Syahrul Yasin Limpo also took the time to visit the Tempo office to discuss the issue of garlic imports. He admitted that there are problems in the import system for products that were the biggest contributor to the trade deficit in the horticulture sector.

In the garlic import system, the Ministry of Agriculture makes certain terms and conditions stating that to obtain a recommendation for import of horticultural products (RIPH), the authorities must prove that they have a garlic plantation with a certain total area. This term and condition is expected to bring Indonesia to be self-sufficient in garlic. However, their willingness to plant the commodity is merely on paper. Most importers do not actually grow garlic. Even so, they still get a quota. There has been no improvement at the Ministry of Agriculture after that.

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **INVESTIGATION AND THE SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS**

INVESTIGATIVE coverage is different from regular news coverage. Since it discloses something that is covered up, there are people who do not like the truth to be revealed. Therefore, the investigation process is not an easy matter. Apart from difficult access to information, threats and dangers lurk. When doing the coverage, journalists often face pressure and threats. In fact, to confirm the findings of the coverage, they often encounter difficulties because related parties do not necessarily want to be interviewed.

In fact, it is common that parties who have benefited in certain cases will try to prevent the coverage being published. If subtle methods such as bribing the journalists fail, they might use violent ways, including threatening the journalists.

In the IBT program, of course there are journalists who experience threats due to the investigation they carried out. Therefore, the risk of threats must be reduced and anticipated. In carrying out their duties, journalists need to know what potential threats they will encounter and how to anticipate them. Media companies where the journalists work also need to prepare work

safety mechanisms. Tempo Institute and FPU initiated efforts to protect journalists. One of the initiatives is the establishment of journalist safety guidelines.

## **THE CHALLENGES OF JOURNALIST SAFETY IN IBT COVERAGES**

Stefanus Teguh Edi Pramono, one of Tempo journalists, had an experience of facing threat when he was covering the IBT program on human trafficking to Malaysia, in the last week of February 2017.

At that time, Pram, his nickname, served as the mentor of John Seo and Bambang Riyanto, who submitted a proposal for investigative coverage of the trafficking of Indonesian migrant workers from NTT to Malaysia. Pram had to struggle with two fellows in the field. They shared duties. John Seo, a participant from NTT, traced the route of sending people through the Nunukan route, North Kalimantan, to Malaysia. Bambang Riyanto, a participant from Medan, traced the transit and delivery routes for Indonesian workers via Batam. Meanwhile, Pram flew directly from Jakarta to Malaysia to meet the boss who employed the illegal Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia.

This coverage was inspired by the large number of illegal labor migrants from NTT to Malaysia, who were later employed as prostitutes, not as domestic workers. The swift flow of dispatching the illegal migrant workers is allegedly due to the existence of strong syndicates and dealers who capitalize the labor recruiters.

Based on the Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis Center (PPATK) report, there is a flow of money from Malaysia to Indonesia, to pay for people suspected of being involved in human trafficking. Focusing on the flow of the money. John had only found the donor, not the big dealer. “We had not found the answer on who was the big boss financing this human trafficking.” Pram said.

One name emerged: Dato Albert Tei. He is suspected of being the big boss. So, Pram flew to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He was assisted by Alyaa Alhadjri, a Malaysian journalist. Pram contacted Albert, but his call was unanswered. A few moments later, Albert



*Digital security class in the IBT 2019 workshop.*

called back. He asked what the journalists were doing. Pram then explained the purpose of their interview.

Pram received information from a Malaysian CSO working in the field of migrant workers that Albert was known as a thug and of great stature. Other information mentioned that he enslaved Indonesian migrant workers from Semarang and Kendal (Central Java) in his factory that managed swallow nests. The salaries of workers in this company were heavily cut and they had to work hard.

That night, Albert called Alyaa. Overhearing the voice on the phone, Pramono noticed that Albert was begging Alyaa to not bring this issue to a media coverage. However, he was willing to be met at his factory. Pramono and Alyaa reported on the progress of their coverage to the WhatsApp group of the editors of Tempo and Malaysia Kini. Worried for the safety of their subordinates, the editors rejected Pram and Alyaa's plan. "Our bosses forbid us to meet Albert there," Pram said.

However, Pram was determined to meet Albert at the factory, because he thought that it was the only chance to get a confirmation. Accompanied by Alyaa, they headed to the complex, which turns



out to be a row of shophouses.

True, Albert was of great stature, as depicted. In addition, he was always accompanied by 2 or 3 bodyguards. Pram and Alyaa were taken around the complex to show that there was no problem there. Albert wanted to show that workers were happy and that their salaries were not deducted. Of course Pram did not just believe it, because in the afternoon before his arrival in the factory, he got the information that the workers had been “conditioned”.

Pram then brought to the bedroom of the migrant workers. All the workers are women. “Please ask them,” said Albert.

Pram saw that the workers were scared. He was confused about what language to use to make the workers able to answer his questions without fear. If he used Indonesian, Albert would know what they were talking about. Moreover, if he used English, Albert would understand too. Considering that the workers came from Central Java, Pram ended up using Javanese.

“*Ora usah wedi, omongo opo, dheke ora ngerti.*” (Don’t be afraid. Just tell me what happened, he wouldn’t understand). Then the workers told Pram about what they had been going through. They confirmed that there had been a cut in salary.

Knowing that Pram was scheming, Albert then took Pram and Alyaa to his office and handed them a statement containing the following: First, Alyaa cannot name the company. Second, Pramono cannot write down the names of Albert and his company.

Alyaa and Pram keep their bosses informed about the situation. Albert wanted to be interviewed if Alyaa and Pram were willing to sign the statement. Pram replied that he could not fulfill Albert’s request.

“If you don’t want to sign, I will not answer your questions. No interview,” Pram quoted Albert as saying.

“Well, it’s OK if you don’t want to be interviewed,” Pram replied.

However, Albert still forced them to sign the statement. Pram was no less adamant. The atmosphere heated up. Albert threatened to report Pram and Alyaa to the Malaysian Police (PDRM). Since

they failed to reach an agreement, Pram and Alyaa then wanted to leave, but Albert intervened, “No, you can’t leave. I’ll report it to PDRM.”

Pram had expected that Albert was actually not that harsh. He remembered overhearing Albert’s tone when begging Alyaa on the phone previously, he sounded like he was almost crying. So, Pram got angry and yelled at Albert. “I will also report Dato to PDRM for locking us up, not letting us go.”

All of a sudden, Pram received a phone call from his boss at Tempo, Wahyu ‘Komang’ Dhyatmika. Komang asked to talk to Albert. Overhearing the conversation, Pram heard Komang spoke furiously: “If there is a problem with my reporter, I’ll find you.” Albert finally let go of the two and wanted to be interviewed.

**I**n another case, prevention efforts were also carried out when Iqbal Tawakal, Tempo’s correspondent in Bandung, investigated prisoners who like to go out of the jail.

In his observation at Sukamiskin Penitentiary, Iqbal found that several inmates of corruption, who should have been imprisoned, are enjoying freedom. One of the convicted corruption convicts is the late Romi Herton. After being met and confirmed, Romi sent someone who asked Iqbal to stop reporting on the convicts’ trickery. Someone who claimed to be Romi’s envoy called him, asking this coverage be stopped. “Whatever you want to ask, he will fulfill it,” said Iqbal, quoting the person. Obviously, Iqbal refused this request.

Later, his monitoring at the Kebonwaru Penitentiary resulted in a bigger threat: murder.

One of the modes for the prisoners to leave prison is by making an excuse of going to hospital for a medical check-up. The hospital that they often visit is Santosa Hospital in Bandung. On the 5<sup>th</sup> floor of the hospital, there are apartments provided for the patient’s families. However, the prisoners often use it to take a break from the penitentiary.

One of the prisoners, who was supposed to be languishing in the Kebonwaru Penitentiary due to a judge bribery case, comes to the apartment almost every Friday. “When confirmed if he was outside prison, he attacked me with threats for not writing about it,” said Iqbal.

The prisoner threatened Iqbal if the case was written down, then he would look for Iqbal anywhere. “Don’t mess around,” said Iqbal, citing the threat.

As a journalist working in Bandung, Iqbal knows the threat is no joke. The person threatening him was known to be the official’s right hand man. “He has money. He has a lot of supporters and mass organizations,” said Iqbal. The threats continued, even targeting the Tempo office in Jakarta.

Felix Lamuri, coordinator of the IBT program (2016-2019), was forced to set an alarm to ensure Iqbal’s safety. “I told Iqbal, my cellphone is on for 24 hours, if anything happens, contact me,” he said. He took steps instinctively, because at that time there was no standard mechanism and SOP to deal with this kind of condition. “There’s no standard mechanism, I just used my intuition,” said Felix.

At that time, Iqbal’s wife had just given birth. He was supposed to bring his wife from his father-in-law’s house in West Bandung to his rented house downtown. However, he canceled the plan because of the threat. Iqbal then lived on the move so that he would not be easy to find. “I was off for a month,” said Iqbal.

**N**urhadi Abdulrahman did not expect his cell phone numbers to be in the hands of unknown people after covering the disposal of hazardous waste in a number of military headquarters in East Java. The Tempo correspondent in Surabaya initially wrote letters to the related parties for confirmation. One of the confirmation letters was sent to the Environment Agency of East Java Province. In the confirmation letter he sent at the end of 2018, he included his special telephone number for coverage

purposes. If the source person wants to explain the problem, they can call the number.

Surprisingly, someone who called back was not an official from the agency. It turned out that the caller was a “fake” journalist in Pasuruan. “He asked me to stop this coverage,” said Nurhadi.

Even when Nurhadi sent letters to eight military headquarters for confirmation, the one who called him was instead an unknown journalist, who claimed to be asked by the military officials to “help” him with the coverage. However, Nurhadi ignored this person’s statements. “He was furious, and said he would not be responsible if anything happened,” said Nurhadi.

In January 2019, about two weeks before his report was published, a journalist in Surabaya informed him that he was being sought after by an Air Force intelligence. It was not clear who that person was, whether it was really a military intelligence or just someone claiming to be one. Obviously, the information made Nurhadi alert. “I was advised to get out of Surabaya,” said Nurhadi.

Later, he was also informed by his other friend that there were two groups looking for him. First, the one who asked Nurhadi to provide complete data and information used as material for investigating this case. Second, the one who deliberately looked for him for bad intentions. Nurhadi immediately changed his phone number. He also deactivated his social media accounts.

Nurhadi, who at that time was one of the 2018 IBT fellows, immediately reported to the Tempo Institute team in Jakarta. Nurhadi asked to be facilitated to move to Yogyakarta because he had many friends there whom he could ask for help.

Ramidi, one of the managers of the IBT program, began looking for a place for Nurhadi in Yogyakarta. Nurhadi would be entrusted and escorted by former 2017 IBT fellow Tommy Apriando. This action was taken based on a suggestion by Wahyu Dhyatmika as the advisor for the IBT program.

However, when this issue was discussed further, for the sake of a more assured security, the Tempo Institute immediately helped

Nurhadi to go to Jakarta. The reason was that it is easier to monitor him in the capital city than in Yogyakarta. Felix immediately took care of accommodation for Nurhadi. A day later, Nurhadi left for Jakarta by train with his wife for safety reasons. He was staying at a hotel in Palmerah, West Jakarta, considering that the location of the hotel was close to the Tempo office. “But, since the hotel was open to the public, we felt unsafe,” said Felix. Finally, Nurhadi was moved to a more private boarding house.

Nurhadi’s wife could only stay for three days in Jakarta, because she had to get back to work as a lecturer in Surabaya. While on the run, Nurhadi moved a lot. After staying for three weeks in Jakarta, he felt that the condition in Surabaya remained unsafe.

Nurhadi actually wanted to go home, but his friend in Surabaya suggested that he should keep hiding. The friend admitted that he had just met a member of the TNI who did not like the report written by Nurhadi. The military officer was angry because his statement was quoted in the report. This man said that he had no business with Tempo, but only with Nurhadi. “I only had business with this boy,” said the officer, who was a major at the military.

Nearly two months in exile, Nurhadi then returned to Surabaya. But he did not immediately return to work, and had to wait for the situation to be completely safe.

**L**earning from the experiences regarding the safety risks of journalists, the management of the IBT Program began to improve in the following years. We started to include journalist safety education material in every training or workshop. “The goal is that IBT fellows can recognize the dangers and mitigate disasters when doing coverage, as well as having an early response to any existing threats,” said Ramidi.

Apart from this program, Tempo Institute also initiated the implementation of Guidelines on Journalist Safety and Security, as well as work safety and security in the scope of media management.

## **THE PROGRAM FOR JOURNALIST SAFETY IN IBT**

ACCORDING to data from the Indonesia Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), in 2019, there were 53 cases of violence against journalists. The data, which covers up to December 23, shows that cases of violence are still dominated by physical violence that amounted to 20 cases. There were 14 cases of destruction of tools or data resulting from coverage, 6 cases of threats of violence or terror, 5 cases of convictions or criminalization, and 4 cases of prohibition of coverage.

The potential for violence is even greater if journalists do investigative reporting. Threats can come from the accused, as well as from parties who have so far benefited from the dirty practices being exposed. Therefore, journalists conducting the reporting must be equipped with knowledge about threat mitigation and journalist safety.

Sensitive issues such as mining, human trafficking, and the issues related to those in power are dangerous to cover. For this reason, the editor and the reporter's supervisor need to ensure the journalist's position when reporting in the field. Communication must be maintained. If a journalist is in an area with difficult communication channels, then this becomes a yellow light for supervisors or mentors. In one case, Tempo journalist Avit Hidayat once "lost" communication while in the forests of Papua. At that time, he was investigating cases of misuse of the Timber Legality Assurance System (SVLK). This coverage is dangerous because it harasses big business that involves many parties.

Then, how to mitigate journalists who face threats? There is no formulation about this. All this time, there is no definite mechanism on how journalists' security is managed during their coverage. Commonly, the editors or top leadership relies on intuition to take policies when dealing with emergency situations of reporters.

Mardiyah Chamim, former Executive Director of the Tempo Institute, explained that the effect of investigative coverage to journalists cannot be ascertained. There are many factors,

including the media institutions that support it. Tempo journalists, who usually carry out investigative coverage under the name of Tempo, are relatively safe and minimize risk. However, this became a problem when the fellows from various regional media came. The people who put pressure on them are usually more ‘brave’ in threatening journalists from local media.

Location also matters. Journalists in the regions are at risk of facing stronger pressure than journalists in Jakarta. Apart from that, experience also plays a role. Those who are not used to facing pressure are usually more vulnerable because they are not prepared. “We have somewhat missed taking this into account,” said Mardiyah.

So far, potential dangers are being anticipated only after the report was published, such as the emergence of a lawsuit following the publication. Tempo will take the responsibility for the emergence of the lawsuit.

However, if a physical threat appears in the IBT collaboration program, there is no mutual agreement on how to handle it. Actually, anticipatory measures in facing a threat during the coverage has actually been prepared. However, there is no mutual agreement on this anticipation. It was only in verbal form. One mentor has an anticipation measure, and the other has his/her own version of action.

When the late Tommy Apriando covered the mining voids in East Kalimantan, Anton Septian had already arranged how to keep Tommy safe in the field. “In the field, Tommy was a bit afraid because he had to go in and out of the company looking for confirmation and reportage,” said Anton.

Several locations of the mine voids have been closed. While they were doing coverage, they met security officers from a mining company, who--according to the experiences of CSO JATAM and Walhi colleagues--they were terrorized.

In this escort mechanism, Tommy must always notify his mentor or Tempo Institute whenever he moved from one location



*A class on digital security for Tempo journalists.*

to another. Tommy was also asked to find a friend as a companion from the CSO network from East Kalimantan when doing field coverage. “This is part of reducing risk,” said Felix.

Investigative coverage indeed cannot be done alone. Nurhadi realized that one of the holes that made him vulnerable in the reporting was because he went to the field to investigate all by himself, starting from reportage, interviews, to getting confirmation. He was indeed accompanied by a colleague from Ecoton, a CSO who gave him a glimpse of the issue. But his CSO colleague was only a guide, not a journalist. This means that if there is a problem, he will be the one who becomes the target personally. If he does the coverage as a team, at least during sensitive confirmations, the risk of personal threats can be reduced.

During the interview, several scenarios need to be designed. Pram explained that interviews should not only be conducted by one journalist. There should be at least two people. During the interview, there is a potential for the source to get angry. “We



usually divide the task, who becomes the one who counters the source, and who calms down the situation, so that we can maintain the situation,” said Pram.

This risk reduction can also be done before coverage begins. Pram, before his coverage of the sex business of several nightclubs in Jakarta, lobbied Budi Waseso, who at that time served as the head of the National Narcotics Agency. Lobbying is important, because in their reporting, they will intersect with narcotics. This lobby is to anticipate that they will not be considered part of narcotics crimes.

Before going to the field, it is necessary to map the way out whenever the situation turns dangerous. When covering Sukamiskin prison in Bandung, for example, the journalist had already known where to run if the inmates chased them. In addition, when riding a vehicle, make sure to always turn on the engine. If the car is parked at a dead end, it should be in an outward position. Also, journalists should determine where to go if they have to run. “We also determine where the safe house is.”

If there is no option of running away, prepare the safety measures. During the coverage of human trafficking in Malaysia, Pramono encountered this condition. On the location, where he was doing the coverage, there was only one entrance, which was also the exit. “So before reporting, a colleague from Malaysia Kini had contacted the local police.”

The problem is, the techniques and tips above are conditional, there has yet to be a standard mechanism. Therefore, after the incident that happened to Nurhadi, this issue was discussed by the editorial staff of Tempo, Tempo Institute, and the FPU. In the discussion, FPU encouraged the creation of a journalist protection mechanism. They required a standard operational procedure (SOP) and a mechanism if journalists face danger due to their reporting duties.

Therefore, since 2019, a mechanism has been formulated to protect journalists. If a journalist is locked up, what should be

done in the first 3 hours? Within 6 hours, the circumstances, the position and the action to take should have been clear.

In accordance with the agreement, there will be an ad hoc team to protect journalists. This team must involve the chief editor, the leader of HRD (Human Resource Development), the head of the company, and the editor of the desk.

“If journalists are threatened, there should be a ‘button’ to activate this team,” said Felix. If this team is active, then there must be a daily report about the condition of the journalists and their positions. “The managing editor has to take this responsibility.”

Tempo Institute, supported by FPU, also initiated standards and mechanisms for protecting journalists in their reporting activities. This idea aims to increase the capacity of Tempo journalists, or other journalists who participate in the IBT program, how they can protect themselves while doing their job, and how the media they work for can guarantee protection and security to carry out their journalistic functions.

For this reason, Tempo Institute initiated a journalist capacity building program related to the work security entitled “Security and Protection for Journalists on Field and Work Space”. Apart from the problems that journalists encounter in covering investigations, this program aims to ensure the safety and security of journalists’ work.

The IBT program in the following year also began to include training on journalist safety and the establishment of standard protocols and procedures in journalist safety.

In the on-field safety journalist training, journalists are trained on how to anticipate dangers during coverage. Journalists are taught to understand the risks when reporting. For example, how to be alert about the dangers when doing the coverage. This danger can start with things that seem trivial.

Another training is about digital safety. This training is intended to enable journalists to secure their work devices, including laptops, cellphones and other work devices. The training equips

journalists to be able to secure their working equipment from wiretapping and burglary, including using 2FA (Two-Factor Authentication) security. This means that journalists' working equipment are fortified by two different safeguards, so that their equipment is difficult to break into.

The issues on how journalists communicate also became the topics of the training, for example about the procedures for sending secure emails, techniques for securing data after coverage, and how to prepare data backups. "Generally, journalists do not understand this problem. So, we provide training on this matter," said Ramidi.

This training was merged in the IBT program workshop starting in 2019. The material about 'on field safety journalists' has become additional topics given to participants of the 2018, 2019, and 2020 IBT fellowships. Meanwhile, training on digital safety has only been given in 2020.

Not only journalists, media management also received training on security and safety, especially on occupational safety (K3). From the management side, SOPs have also been prepared, so that the management has guidelines on how to act when journalists are threatened. Or in certain cases, when sending journalists to the battlefield, it is necessary to form a team that manages the risks. Who is involved, who is the coordinator, and who should make the decisions when there is a risk.

To manage security on the management side, through this IBT program, the Tempo Institute has initiated the formation of a Tempo human resources team who have expertise in the field of occupational safety and health or K3. For this reason, two officers from the Department of Human Resources (HR) were invited to take part in certification training on K3 at the Ministry of Manpower.

Furthermore, workers who already have a K3 certificate can train their colleagues to understand about risks and safety at work. After there are a number of personnel having this certification, they can form a work security and safety task force.

Slamet, personnel staff for the Industrial Relations of Tempo Media Group, explained that they sent two staff members to the Ministry of Manpower to take part in K3 training in March 2020. “They received K3 training for a month,” said Slamet.

Unfortunately, when the training had not finished, the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world. Employees should work from home. Hence, the results of the K3 training cannot be simulated at the Tempo Office. Originally, the sending of the two staff would be followed up with a K3 simulation and being reported to the Ministry of Manpower. However, since the pandemic occurs, practice of the K3 training from the Ministry was halted.

Slamet explained that when the implementation takes place, there will be a periodical report and audit on the occupational health and safety from the Ministry of Manpower.

Once we have reported, there will be supervision of the building and its operational standards. With this audit, it can be assessed later on how to secure the building and how the office layout is when there is a threat. Therefore, the office will be rearranged based on the security system. Once the new arrangement is completed, Tempo can obtain ISO 45001 or work safety, which is in accordance with the security standards.

In an effort to improve security, the Tempo Institute through the IBT program in 2019 has also drafted a regulation on the Guidelines for the Protection of Tempo Journalists, which has been submitted to the board of directors to be later ratified as a guideline for protecting journalists.

This guideline aims to protect and provide a sense of security to journalists in carrying out their duties. According to the contents of the guideline, every journalist has the right to protection and guarantee of work safety in carrying out his/her journalistic duties. Not only the journalists have the right to be protected, but also spouses, children and families.

Journalists can propose a request for protection if they are threatened, because the safety of journalists is primary. With this

protection, journalists have the right to get special holidays without deducting leave after carrying out special tasks (investigations). Journalists are also entitled to receive assistance or treatment from a psychiatrist or psychologist after a special assignment (investigation).

In fact, with this guide, under certain conditions whenever necessary, a special team for the safety of journalists is formed to protect them.

This guide is derived in the form of an SOP, both the SOP on facing threats against journalists, as well as the SOP on protection for journalists in coverage assignment.

### **SOP ON THREATS AGAINST JOURNALISTS**

1. In the event of an incident involving threats or disturbances to safety while carrying out their journalistic duties in the city, Tempo journalists are required to report to the office (editorial secretariat) and/or the direct supervisor (editor/managing editor).
2. The direct supervisor or the managing editor immediately takes steps/actions to save/protect the journalist.
3. Direct supervisors or managing editors or those appointed by the executive editor/editor in chief can coordinate with internal company parties (HR, General, Financial, Legal) and external parties (Government, Police, the Indonesian Military, and private) to take security and rescue measures for the journalist.
4. Internal coordination meetings are chaired by the managing editor.
5. Chief editors/executive editors can report what happened to the journalist to the Press Council or security forces for follow-up in accordance with applicable laws.



*Preparing a protocol for journalist security.*

## **SOP ON PROTECTION FOR JOURNALISTS IN COVERAGE ASSIGNMENT**

1. Every journalist, who is assigned to go outside the town, overseas or for special assignment, receives an assignment letter from the managing editor or whoever is appointed by the chief editor.
2. Each special assignment receives written approval from the chief editor/executive editor/managing editor.
3. The chief editor appoints a managing editor who controls and oversees journalists or photographers/videographers, who are assigned to do special coverage.
4. The managing editor, who is assigned in Article 3, monitors, directs, and communicates regularly with the journalist and reports to the executive editor or chief editor.
5. In the event of an incident/impactful incident related to the condition/safety of the journalists on duty, the managing editor in Article 2 immediately takes rescue measures.
6. The managing editor can coordinate with internal parties (HR, General, Finance, Legal) and external parties (Government, Police, the Indonesian Military, private) to help secure/rescue journalists as referred to in Article 4.
7. Internal coordination to protect and rescue journalists is led by the chief editor/executive editor.
8. All measures concerning the safety and rescue of journalists on special assignments are reported to the news director.
9. Published news regarding the above is carried out by the company's spokesperson, the chief editor, or those appointed by the president director/news director.

## **CHAPTER 5**

# **OTHER ACTIVITIES**

**I**N ADDITION to holding a Tempo Joint Investigation program, Tempo Institute and FPU also organized other activities related to journalism in collaboration with other institutions. With CSO, Tempo Institute initiated the formation of the Investigative Journalist Club (KJI). With the Corruption Eradication Commission, during the fasting month, Tempo Institute held discussions on investigation called “Ngaji Investigasi”. With the PPMN, Tempo Institute conducted research and media campaigns ‘Men for Women’ for gender equality in the media.

### **INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISTS CLUB**

The relationship between media and CSOs has changed since online media became popular. Journalists who are required to produce news articles quickly make them not dig deeper into an issue they cover. CSOs only serve as their sources. Wahyu Susilo, executive director of Migrant Care, said that the pattern of relations between CSOs and the media was similar to a public relations office. Journalists only report what CSOs say, but do not delve into the issue in long and intimate conversations.

CSOs and the media share common concerns. Then, Tempo Institute brought this issue in a discussion with CSO partners in IBT. They are thinking of bridging this gap. Both parties must learn together. All this time, it is difficult for CSOs and the media





*An activity of the Anti-corruption Investigative Journalists Club (KJI) at the Indonesian Corruption Watch, a part of IBT program.*

to merge in handling one case. The media only reports on issues, while the CSOs do their advocacy efforts. Each of them work in different fields.

Then, a method was tweaked to enable these different fields to fuse. It was eventually a tit for tat. Chairman of the Auriga Nusantara Foundation, Timer Manurung, supports the Tempo Institute's collaborative plan to build a journalist discussion group on a particular issue--in this case, the issue of the environment.

Auriga has a lot of data, but only a few media make use of the data, such as Tempo and Mongabay. They also agreed to create a chat forum, in order to maintain communication. This is where the formation of Investigative Journalist Club (KJI) in the environment field began.

Auriga succeeded in merging with Tempo in exchanging information related to environmental issues. According to Timer,

their relationship is no longer a working relationship between journalists and source persons, even though the two of them maintain professional boundaries. “This relationship pattern is quite helpful,” he said.

The collaboration materializes in the investigative coverage of the illegal logging mode in Papua, entitled “Mesin Cuci Kayu Ilegal” (Illegal Wood Washing Machines) published in December 30, 2018 edition of Tempo magazine.

However, this kind of relationship with other media has not yet been implemented, even though there have been various forums for cooperation. According to Timer, the formation of KJI with several media has not been effective in bridging work with the media. On environmental issues, he admitted that there had not been any work results from this KJI.

Timer explained that he once planned to take pictures of the conversion of lakeland in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi into housing, but it did not happen. “There was a collaboration, but it has not resulted in publication,” he said. In fact, the programs that effectively bridged the CSO with the media were IBT and Indonesia Leaks. Indonesia Leaks is a platform which provides a secret room for anyone or institution who have covered or classified information related to the public interest, to be followed up in investigative reporting.

On the issue of migrant workers, the collaboration has not been effective either. “I used to come up with the idea, but not many (journalists) were interested,” said Wahyu. As a restorer, Migrant Care has a preference of media and journalists who usually cover migrant worker issues. “Generally, it is only the big media, which have a special desk on human trafficking.”

However, the effective collaborative work occurs on the issue of corruption. According to Adnan Topan Husodo, IBT has succeeded in building the connectivity between ICW and journalists. This connectivity becomes the embryo for the formation of the KJI in the anti-corruption sector.

With KJI, they initiated a joint investigation project on the Pre-Employment Card. “This project has succeeded in building trust among us. We are testing the trust in this project,” said Adnan. The results of the investigation were published in all media partnering with KJI. “Therefore, there will be no dominance or exclusivity among the media,” he said.

## **NGAJI INVESTIGASI**

The fasting month is definitely a moment that cannot be missed in Indonesia. This is understandable, since muslims are the majority in this country, including among media persons. Generally, people organize events of breaking the fast together in offices or communities everywhere. In 2017, Tempo Institute sought ideas for investigative activities that could be carried out in the month of Ramadan. At that time, the idea of “Ngaji Investigasi” appeared. Ngaji usually means reading Alquran or learning Islam.

This event was originally conceptualized as dissemination on investigation in the journalism field. It is a half-day discussion about awareness on the importance of investigative coverage, considering that the media should think about the quality of good articles for the public.

Initially, this activity was planned to target three cities: Jakarta, Tangerang and Bekasi. However, since Bekasi is considered too close to Jakarta, the activities were then moved to Bandung. Meanwhile Tangerang was chosen because of the support from Multimedia Nusantara University, which is interested in conducting activities related to investigative coverage. With the university, we even had the idea to make an incubation about investigations. However, the idea was discontinued due to a lack of personnel to work on it. Therefore, the idea was only executed in Bandung and Jakarta.

In Jakarta, the KPK, ICW, and the Press Council responded to this idea. Finally, the event in Jakarta was held at the Press Council building, with an emphasis on the need to encourage investigative coverage. ICW, KPK and Tempo editorial board highlighted the importance of media involvement in uncovering corruption cases.

In Bandung, the event took place at STT Telkom building. The participants were students, especially the student press groups. This event featured sharing experiences and motivation by providing general investigative materials. In Bandung, Sandi and Mustafa Silalahi (Tempo journalists) shared their experiences in investigating an issue. The aim of this activity is to encourage journalists to be more interested in investigations and to join the IBT fellowship program.

In addition, this activity emphasizes that the public needs quality information, not only information that pursues quantity. The results of Ngaji Investigasi were disseminated to the PPMI (Indonesian Student Press Association) network.

## **MEN FOR WOMEN**

The number of women journalists and the report on women issues in the Indonesian media remains a problem. The first thing is the problem of quantity. The number of women journalists, especially those in high positions, is still insufficient. This certainly has an impact on the alignments of newsrooms for women.

In addition to very little news about women and a small number of women to be sources, journalists are often insensitive about gender and women's issues. Not only being small in number, women journalists are also vulnerable to abuse, both verbally and non-verbally.

Shinta Maharani, a Tempo contributor in Yogyakarta stated that there were always verbal threats toward women journalists. She experienced this personally when investigating a sand mine in Magelang, Central Java in 2017. "One of my sources seduced me verbally," he said at the IBT 2020 workshop.

On March 8, 2018, Tempo Institute together with PPMN, supported by the FPU, conducted research related to women's relations with the media in Indonesia. Tempo Institute is also collaborating with the Tempo Data and Analysis Center (PDAT) to examine the portraits of women in media coverage. This study

examined how much women are selected as sources in reporting.

There were 10 media being examined, including print and online media, during the period of September to October 2018. The fields included national-politics, economics, law, and features. Lifestyle and entertainment are sidelined, because in these two fields, women tend to be positioned as news objects, not sources.

The result is that the percentage of women being the news sources in the study was only 11 percent. In Jawa Pos and detik.com media, the proportion is even lower, only 4 percent.

This condition is caused by four factors. First, men are still dominant in official institutions (government, business, CSOs, academics, etc.). Second, women who are potential sources tend to be less able to articulate their opinions and are difficult for the media crew to reach. Third, journalists face tight deadlines and do not have the contacts of women sources in many fields. Lastly, journalists and editors are still less sensitive about gender equality.

According to Wahyu Susilo, executive director of Migrant Care, the existence of female journalists is important in human trafficking cases. This is because the victims are mostly women. “If the journalists who investigate the case are women, they will understand the victim. The victim is also more comfortable explaining what they experienced.”











## **APPENDIX 1:**

# **SUMMARY OF IBT PUBLISHED ARTICLES**

## **1. INDONESIAN SLAVES ON TAIWAN SHIP**

TEMPO MAGAZINE, JANUARY 15, 2017

**T**his report exposes the case of human trafficking, slavery, and the abuse of Indonesian migrant workers on board Taiwan fishing vessels. Supriyanto, a migrant worker from Tegal, Central Java, died because of being mistreated on board the Fu Tzu Chun ship. This report is one of the collaborative coverages with foreign media. Tempo worked together with The Reporter from Taiwan.

This coverage began with the death of Supriyanto on August 25, 2015. According to Mualip, a fellow migrant worker on the ship, Supriyanto died after being repeatedly abused. He recorded Supriyanto's confession. However, the Procuratorate of Pingtung City, Taiwan, closed the case because they found no evidence of persecution. According to them, Supriyanto died because of a wound infection on his knee.

However, based on the findings of the Control Yuan, the Taiwan government's supervisory body, the prosecutor was negligent

# HUMAN BONDAGE ABOARD FISHING BOATS

TEMPO AND AN INDEPENDENT PUBLICATION FROM TAIWAN, THE REPORTER INVESTIGATES CASES OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND ENSLAVEMENT ABOARD FISHING TRAWLERS. THERE ARE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF INDONESIAN CREW MEMBERS ABOARD TAIWANESE FISHING BOATS OPERATING ON INTERNATIONAL WATERS. MANY DO NOT HAVE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS. THESE SEAMEN ARE NOT LISTED AS MIGRANT WORKERS BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS OF INDONESIA AND TAIWAN, RENDERING THEM VULNERABLE TO ABUSE, MALTREATMENT AND POSSIBLY FATAL TORTURE.

THE REPORTING AND RESEARCH OF THIS INVESTIGATIVE REPORT WAS A COLLABORATION BETWEEN TEMPO, THE TEMPO INSTITUTE, AND FREE PRESS UNLIMITED.

14 | TEMPO | JANUARY 15, 2017

Supriyanto in a video clip recorded by Mualif, a fellow crew member from Indonesia, on July 21, 2016, on board the *Pu Tin Chen*.



JANUARY 15, 2017 | TEMPO | 15

because it did not include three videos of Supriyanto's confession. The translator from the prosecutor's office did not understand Javanese and omitted 10 sentences regarding the persecution by the captain, technician and other crew members.

In fact, Supriyanto was a victim of human trafficking. He entered Taiwan on a visitor visa which is only valid for 7 days. Of course, he was not registered as an official crew member. In fact, he was not even registered as a migrant worker.

In Taiwan, migrant workers with similar status as Supriyanto are usually called ABK LG (ship crew member with letter of guarantee). They are not protected by the law and have no health insurance. They usually work hard up to 20 hours a day without getting the proper food and treatment. If they get hurt at work, they can be immediately fired. In fact, they sail in international waters.

The number of LG crew members is estimated to reach tens of thousands. According to data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2017, only 8,765 Indonesian migrant workers became seamen in Taiwan. However, in that country, it is estimated that the number actually reaches 40,000 ship crew from Indonesia. As LG crew

members, their salaries are also low, only half of the official crew members' salaries. LG crew members also have no bargaining power in front of the employment agencies.

In Indonesia, Tempo found that Supriyanto's recruitment agency PT Jangkar Jaya Samudera, which operates in Central Java, cooperated with Jin Hong Company, an agency in Taiwan to cut Supriyanto's salary by US\$470 for 4 months. The owner of Jin Hong Company turned out to be Chen Jin Te, the father of the Fu Tzu Chun ship captain.

Agencies like Jin Hong generally work closely with PT Jangkar, which operates in villages. They have sponsors who lure unemployed youths to go to the sea abroad. From the recruiters, the data is given to agencies like PT Jangkar. The agency then offered it to other agencies overseas.

The ability and certification of the ship crew members who were recruited also did not match. These youths are not equipped with the skills to go to sea. The seaman's book and the certification turned out to be fake. In Indonesia, it was revealed that there is a network of counterfeiters for seaman' books and basic safety training certificates. A blank fake seaman's book costs Rp 35,000, while the certificate is sold for Rp 8,000.

On the other hand, it turns out that not all agencies in Indonesia have obtained a permit for the recruitment and placement of ship crews (SIUPPAK). Of the hundreds of agencies in Indonesia, only 72 have SIUPPAK. PT Jangkar is one of the agencies operating with no permit.

Concerning SIUPPAK, the Ministry of Transportation has different interpretations with agencies. According to the agencies, they do not need to have SIUPPAK because they recruit fishermen, not seamen (seafarers). Meanwhile, the Ministry of Manpower, referring to Law No. 39/2004 on the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers, only requires agencies to have a license for placement of Indonesian workers (SIPPTKI), such as for agents who send Indonesian migrant workers. However, there is no specific mention of fishing vessel crews.

# HELL ON HIGH WATERS

**T**ENS of thousands of Indonesian shipping crews are believed to be victims of human trafficking and enslavement on Taiwanese ships. They generally work on vessels sailing on international waters. They have no legal documents and their recruiting agents in Indonesia are not registered with the Transportation Ministry. As a result, they are not officially listed as migrant workers in Indonesia nor in Taiwan, where their ships originate from.

## CATCHING TUNA

Most Indonesian seamen work on Taiwanese long line ships. These vessels catch fish by casting 1,000-4,000 hooks at a time into the water.



### TUNA LONG LINE SHIP

**50-100 GROSS TONS**  
Weight

**15-26.5 METERS**  
Length

**±20**  
Crew



### OPERATION SCHEDULE

**5-10 HOURS**  
Time for dropping fishing lines

**5-10 HOURS**  
Time for pulling lines back in

**3-4 HOURS**  
Wait time

**12 HOURS**  
In bad weather

**50-400 METERS**  
Fishing depth

## AT SEA



Tuna boats can stay at sea for months at a time. Many Indonesian crew do not step foot on land for the duration of their contracts. Here is where Indonesian LG crews make it to fishing boats:

- Through four main ports.
- Directly onboard Taiwanese boats operating in international waters.



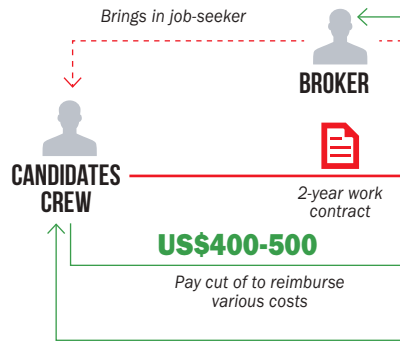
## BERTHING

These ships have four main ports of call.



## HUMAN TRAFFICKING BEHIND THE FISHING INDUSTRY

Behind the lure of the fishing industry is a human trafficking business placing crew aboard Taiwan ships.

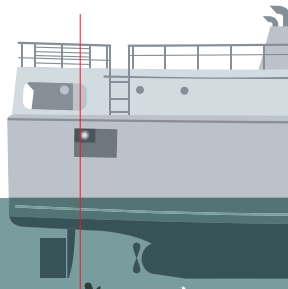


### MAIN CATCH

Tuna and skipjack tuna, but the lines also catch non-commercial fish and even sea birds.

### EXTRA WORK

Diving without oxygen tank to fix the propellers.



**SOURCES:**  
INDONESIAN TRANSPORTATION MINISTRY  
INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY  
INDONESIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN TAIPEI, TAIWAN  
LABOR MINISTRY  
TAIWAN FISHERIES MINISTRY  
**TEXT AND MATERIAL:**  
AHMAD NURHASIM, ANTON SEPTIAN  
**INFOGRAPHICS:**  
MOERAT  
**ILLUSTRATION:**  
KENDRA H. PARAMITA

**805,889**

Number of Indonesians listed as seamen\*

**8,765**

Number of Indonesian crew members officially listed in Taiwan\*\*

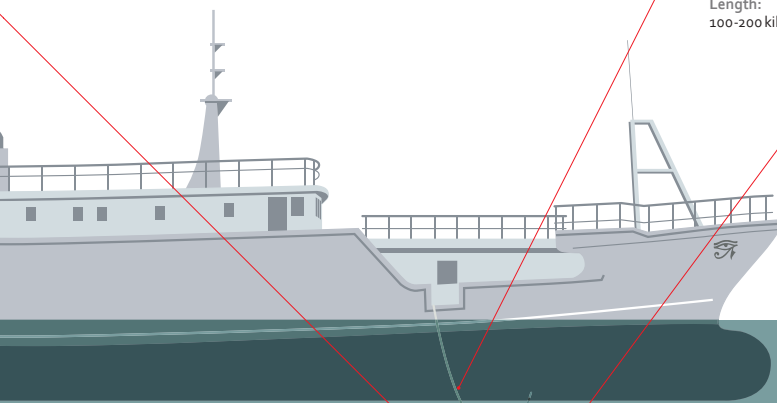
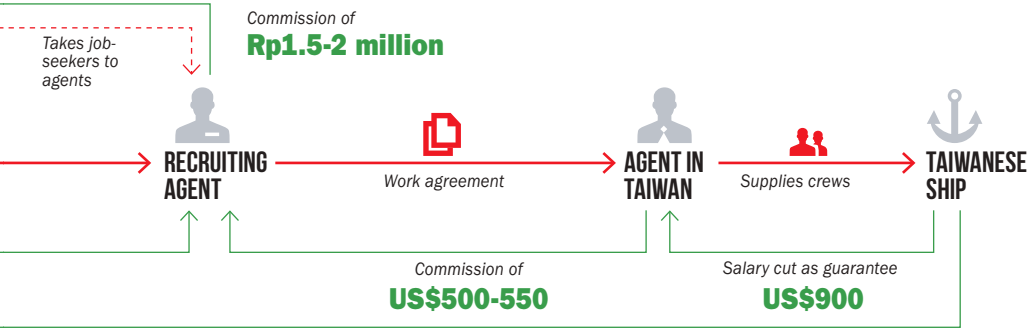
**>40,000**

Estimated number of Indonesian crew members on freely-operating Taiwanese ships

**15**

Number of cases of captains being murdered on Taiwanese ships involving Indonesian crew members

\*) 2017  
\*\*) 2014



**BAIT USED**

Squid, chub mackerels, bali sardinella, small inshore fish, and milkfish. Kept frozen.



## 2. THE SECRET OUTING OF SUKAMISKIN PRISONERS

TEMPO MAGAZINE, FEBRUARY 12, 2017

It began with a rumor and information from the public, saying that the convicts of corruption cases at the Sukamiskin Penitentiary, Bandung live in comfort and full of good facilities. Upon hearing this information, the investigation team from the Tempo Joint Investigation Program (IBT) conducted an investigative coverage to prove it. Then, the team designed a coverage about corruption convicts at the Sukamiskin Prison.

For days, the team had to observe activities of the in and out of the prisoners from the penitentiary complex that was built in the Dutch colonialism era. Until one day, the team caught Anggoro Widjojo, a convict in a corruption case in the procurement of an integrated radio communication system at the Forestry Ministry. He was detected leaving the prison. The team did not want to miss the opportunity, thus they followed the prisoner's activities. It turned out that he did not go to the hospital or for other special reasons, which is usually being the excuse for inmates to leave the prison. Instead, the team discovered that Anggoro went to the Gateway apartment in the city, accompanied by a woman. The team observed Anggoro doing the same for several times, going out of the prison and heading to the apartment, and strangely, with different women.

Other corruption convicts, including Rachmat Yasin (former Bogor Regent) and Muhammad Nazarudin (former Treasurer of the Democratic Party), were also caught on camera leaving the penitentiary to take a break from their stuffy prison. It turned out that they headed to a rented house located not far from the prison.

Former Mayor of Bekasi, Mochtar Muhammad, in October 2014, was also caught of traveling to the Ampera area in South Jakarta. His reason was “to find a compost maker”.



Former Mayor of Palembang, South Sumatra, Romi Hertan and his wife Masyito, both were imprisoned, even took their time to return to Palembang by plane. The excuse was to visit his “sick” child.

The corruptors in Indonesia, who have been sentenced in jail, can freely exit and enter the prison, as if they are not imprisoned. The Tempo investigative team has proven that this practice really occurs.

Generally, they leave the prison with various reasons and excuses to get permission from the officers, mainly to seek medical treatment, visit sick families, or conduct social work. They pretended to be sick, then came out of the prison, but did not actually undergo treatment. Instead, they went to a rented house, apartment, or dine in a restaurant.

The team’s investigation also found that their “vacation” was not free. To get the permission, inmates must spend at least between Rp 5 million and Rp 10 million to be distributed to prisoners leaders, guards, and prison officials. Former inmate of Sukamiskin, Patrice Rio Capella, confirmed this practice. He even had a three-time





CONSTRUCTED

1918

FIRST OPERATED

1924

AREA

2 HECTARES

CAPACITY

545 CELLS IN  
STORIES ON  
4 BLOCKS

(north, south, east, west)

NUMBER OF  
INMATES

493

SECURITY  
PERSONNEL

8 PER SHIFT



# A 5-STAR PENITENTIARY

**BUILT** by the Dutch as a special prison to hold rebellious nationalist intellectuals, The Class 1 Sukamiskin Correctional Facility on December 2012 was turned into a penitentiary for persons convicted of corruption. In reality, the facilities here can be said to be on a par with luxury hotels. Unofficial fees play a large role in ensuring ease and comfort.

## FACILITIES: [1]

Woodworking and mechanical workshops, gardening, polyclinic, auditorium, worship facilities (mosque, prayer hall, church), tennis court, badminton court, indoor football, basketball court, volleyball court.

## AMENITIES:

1. Reflexology massage [4]
2. Salon [4]
3. Gazebo with sofa and curtains [5]
4. Children's play area [2]
5. Café in the park offering food such as instant noodles, beverages and cigarettes [3]

## GAZEBORENTAL:

RP20 MILLION

## ROOMS [5]

Lower floor : 1.5 x 2.5 meters  
Upper floor : 2.5 x 3.2 meters

## ROOM COST:

RP30-200 MILLION

Wealthy inmates usually prefer the larger rooms on the second floor. They have to pay an additional "fee", the amount depending on the room's condition and the outcome of negotiations with the previous occupant or leader of the inmate population.

## FACILITIES:

The initial design only included a steel folding bed and a squat toilet. However, inmates renovated the rooms and added other items, such as:

- Television
- Modern toilet
- Bed and foam mattress
- Water Dispenser
- Closet
- Fan

## ROOM RENOVATION COST:

RP20-50 MILLION

## SPECIAL TREATMENT:

1. Allowed to receive guests after visiting hours
2. Allowed to have a cellular phone
3. Allowed to order food
4. Allowed "personal services" by paying other inmates to clean their room
5. Laundry
6. Allowed to hold parties and invite celebrities for special events



Go to the digital *Tempo* to watch the video of how inmates enjoy the facilities inside Sukamiskin prison.



## EASY OUTINGS

## MEDICAL EXCUSE

### DESTINATION:

- Hospitals in Bandung
- Houses and apartments around Sukamiskin

Inmate → Doctor's recommendation → Prison Monitors approval → Warden issues permission

## VISITING SICK RELATIVES

Inmate/family member → Written Request → warden/rehabilitation division head/director general issues permission

\* Permission from the warden if destination located in the same regency/city, permission from the rehabilitation division head if located in the same province, or permission from the director general of rehabilitation for locations outside the province

## SOCIAL WORK

Allowed assimilation work outside prison. Used to go home or travel.

## CAUGHT DOING PLEASURE TRIPS



**"I CANNOT COMMENT. ASK MY CORRECTIONS OFFICER."**

LUTHFI HASAN ISHAAQ

## LUTHFI HASAN ISHAAQ

(FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE PROSPERITY JUSTICE PARTY-???, DPR MEMBER)

**CASE:** Bribery related to beef import quota and money laundering

**SENTENCE:** 18 years in prison, Rp1 billion fine or six months imprisonment, annulment of political rights to hold public office

**HOUSE:** Panorama Alam Parahyangan Housing Complex, Block F, Number 6 (± 1 km)

## RACHMAT YASIN

(FORMER REGENT OF BOGOR, CHAIRMAN IN THE UNITED DEVELOPMENT PARTY-PPP)

**CASE:** Bribery related to a land swap deal

**SENTENCE:** (Bandung Corruption Court, November 2014): 5 year, 6 months in prison and a fine of Rp300 million or 3 months imprisonment

**HOUSE:** Panorama Alam Parahyangan Housing Complex, Block C, Number 2 (± 1 km)

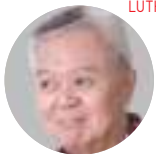
**"I CANNOT EXPLAIN WITHOUT PERMISSION FROM THE WARDEN."**

RACHMAT YASIN



**"I DON'T KNOW BECAUSE I'VE NEVER BEEN THERE."**

ELZA SYARIEF, LAWYER FOR MUHAMMAD NAZARUDDIN



## ANGGORO WIDJOJO

(FORMER DIRECTOR OF MASARO RADIOKOM)

**CASE:** Corrupt procurement of an Integrated Radio Communication System at the forestry ministry.

**SENTENCE:** (Jakarta Corruption Court, July 2014): 5 years in prison, fine of Rp250 million or 2 months imprisonment

Gateway Tower Emerald Apartments, Ahmad Yani Street (kasih keterangan: ±3.5 km)



## MASYITO

(WIFE OF ROMI HERTON, IMPRISONED AT THE CLASS IIA SUKAMISKIN WOMEN'S PRISON, + 100 METERS FROM THE MEN'S PRISON)

**CASE:** Bribing Constitutional Court Chief Justice Akil Mochtar

**SENTENCE:** (Jakarta High Court, June 2015): 5 years imprisonment and fine of Rp200 million or 2 months imprisonment

Romi and Masyito went to their home in Palembang after saying they wished to visit their sick son.

## ROMI HERTON

(FORMER MAYOR OF PALEMBANG)

**CASE:** Bribing Constitutional Court Chief Justice Akil Mochtar

**SENTENCE:** (Jakarta High Court, June 2015): 7 years imprisonment, fine of Rp200 million or 2 months imprisonment, revocation of voting rights and right to hold public office for 5 years

**HOUSE:** No. 101 Kuningan Raya Street, Antapani Tengah Sub-District (±4.5 km)



## MUHAMMAD NAZARUDDIN

(FORMER TREASURER OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY, FORMER DPR MEMBER)

**CASE:** Bribery related to the construction of athlete dormitories and money laundering

**SENTENCE:** ■ Appeal Court, January 2013: 7 years in prison, fine of Rp300 million or 6 months imprisonment (bribery case) ■ Jakarta Corruption Court, June 2016: 6 years in prison and fine of Rp1 billion or 1 year imprisonment (money laundering case)

**HOME:** Griya Caraka, Block AA1, Number 9, Cingised (kasih keterangan: ± 4 km)

**SANTOSA HOSPITAL** (8.5 km) ■ There is an apartment inside the hospital building which can be used by inmates to meet family members and colleagues



**GETAWAY RATES** Sukamiskin Prison inmates can leave whenever they like, but not without an escort. The longer they stay outside or the further they go, the higher the price.

**COST: RP5-10 MILLION**

**"I DON'T KNOW, BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN NO COMMUNICATION WITH THEM FOR A LONG TIME."**

SIRRA PRAYUNA, LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR ROMI HERTON AND MASYITO

break from the prison for this illicit outing.

The head of the Sukamiskin Prison, Dedi Handoko, acknowledged that permits for inmates indeed applied. However, he denied the misuse of the permits, let alone about the money given by the inmates so they can take their “days off”.

Not only that, the investigation team also found that these prisoners’ life behind bars was not really miserable. The prison authorities allowed the inmates to make the prison more fun by adding various facilities. They could modify their rooms by adding televisions, beds, foam mattresses, dispensers, and toilet seats. The corruptors also got the privilege of welcoming their guests anytime, as well as using cellular phones. The visitors were free to use cellphones in the prison, although this is clearly prohibited. But it was not a big deal. When getting caught violating the rules, they remained calm. They could just pay the prison officers.

Additionally, the corruption convicts had personal servants and they could order food from outside the prison, and even organize a party. Surprisingly, the head of prison, Dedi Handoko, allowed the inmates to party hard, dancing together with ‘dangdut music’. Dangdut singer Kristina was once invited to the prison to celebrate the birthday of Rahmat Yasin.

In this prison, money could be exchanged for convenience. With money, prisoners could choose a room, renovated it, and filled it with their favorite facilities. The best room was sized 2.5 x 3.2 meters, and it cost Rp 200 million. The economical version room measures 1.5 x 2.5 meters, with a price of Rp 38 million. There were also other services such as room cleaning and laundry, as well as salon, reflexology place, and a cafe. The prisoners even built and own huts in the garden. There were a total of 37 huts there.

Of course, the miscellaneous facilities and freedom were not free. Rio admitted that when he was in prison, he could spend Rp 10 million per month.

Minister of Law and Human Rights, Yasona Laoly, seemed to be powerless by this extraordinary cheating practice. He

complained about feeling upset and perplexed with the behaviors of his subordinates. Even though the officers who were involved in collusion with prisoners had been punished and replaced, similar practices continue to happen.

### **3. HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN MALAYSIA**

TEMPO MAGAZINE, MARCH 26, 2017

**T**his coverage reveals a human trafficking syndicate from Indonesia to Malaysia. This report is one of the collaborative works with foreign media. Tempo worked together with Malaysia Kini from Malaysia.

It began with the many deaths of migrant workers from East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Tempo then traced the trafficking route. Tempo also investigated the source of the money flow that financed the network of illegal migrant worker recruiters. From Malaysia, the funds flowed to Medan, North Sumatra, then to NTT.

In NTT, the recipient was Yohanes Leonardus Ringgi, a security officer at EL Tari Airport, Kupang. From the results of the search, it was found that Yohanes played a role in securing illegal migrant workers from EL Tari. During the period of January 2015 to August 2016, he received Rp 2,057 billion from Seri Safkani, director of a private placement company for Indonesian migrant workers, PT Cut Sari Asih. Yohanes admitted that he had sent around 400 workers.

In 2016 to 2017, there were 97.7 thousand migrant workers from NTT. In 2016, 33 of them died. Many young people in NTT are interested in becoming migrant workers in Malaysia. They are lured by the promise of a salary of Rp 3 million, which is higher than the minimum wage of Rp 1.25 million in their hometown. However, it is not the adults who became the migrant workers. Most of them are children.

In fact, Malaysia has set a minimum age requirement for migrant workers, which is 21 years old. The tactic is falsifying the victims' identity. Each fake ID card is valued Rp 100,000, and it will be valid to make a passport. How come? It turned out that there was a syndicate in the immigration office that helped secure these fake



ID cards to be able to pass the application for a passport. With this passport, the workers can enter Malaysia.

These illegal migrant workers entered Malaysia through two routes. From Sumatra Island, they passed through the Batam-Johor Bahru route. There are around 100 illegal ports scattered around Tanjung Sepat, Banting, Selangor, Kuala Gula, Bagan Serai, Perak, the Strait of Malacca, and Johor Bahru. On the Batam route, commonly they applied a method called “gayus passport”, in which one passport is used to smuggle up to 10 migrant workers, involving local immigration officers.

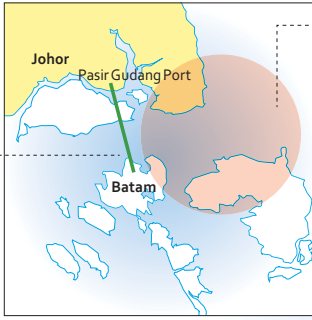
From the island of Borneo (Kalimantan), they infiltrated through the Sebatik-Tawau route. On this route, there are around 50 entry points to Sabah and Sarawak. The number of illegal migrant workers at the end of 2016 was estimated to reach 2.4 million people.

The investigation of this people smuggling led to Albert Tei, the owner of eight agencies that supply Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. Albert also owns a swallow’s nest processing factory.

# T

## 1. Batam Center Port

- » Prospective Indonesian migrant workers on tourist visas.
- » Ferry trip: one to two hours.



## 2. 'Alternative' Ports:

- » Mata Ikan Bay, Berakit Island, Tanjung Bemban, Tanjung Uma, Tanjung Riau, Sekupang Ujung, Patam Lestari Berakit, Melayu Beach.
- » Travel documents usually incomplete.
- » Trip on wooden longboats: one to three hours.

# IN PURSUIT OF THE RINGGIT

OF THE APPROXIMATELY 2.5 MILLION INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN MALAYSIA, HALF ENTERED THE COUNTRY ILLEGALLY. THESE ILLEGAL WORKERS TRAVEL USING 'ALTERNATIVE' ROUTES FROM AS MANY AS 157 POINTS. TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE BY ORGANIZED SYNDICATES.

- I. Kupang-Batam-Johor Bahru
- II. Kupang-Nunukan-Tawau
- Malaysia
- Indonesia

» Around 100 'alternative' ports are found at Tanjung Sepat, Banting, Selangor, Kuala Gula, Bagan Serai, Perak, the Malacca Strait and Johor Bahru.

» NG Bersatu (a TKI recruitment agency).  
Dinasti Sentral, No. 2-5, Kuchai Maju 18 Street, Kuala Lumpur.

» After a stay of one to two days, TKIs are sent to their private employers or companies.

**564,191**  
INDONESIAN WORKERS  
IN CONSTRUCTION AND  
HOMES

**47,538**  
INDONESIAN WORKERS  
IN CONSTRUCTION AND  
HOMES

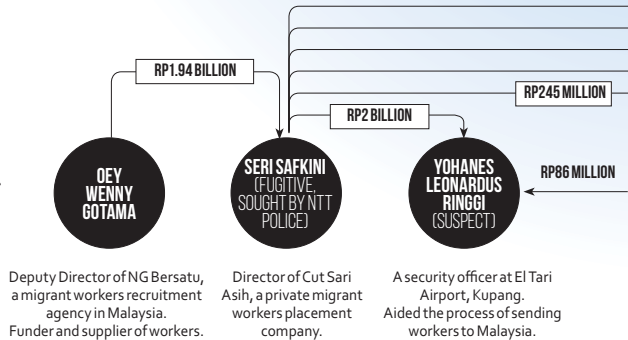
Medan  
Kualanamu Airport  
(transit).

- » Stay 7-30 days at a shelter.
- » Cleaning fee: Rp25,000 per person during stay in shelter.
- » Bathroom fee: Rp4,000 per person.



## SPREADING IN ALL DIRECTIONS

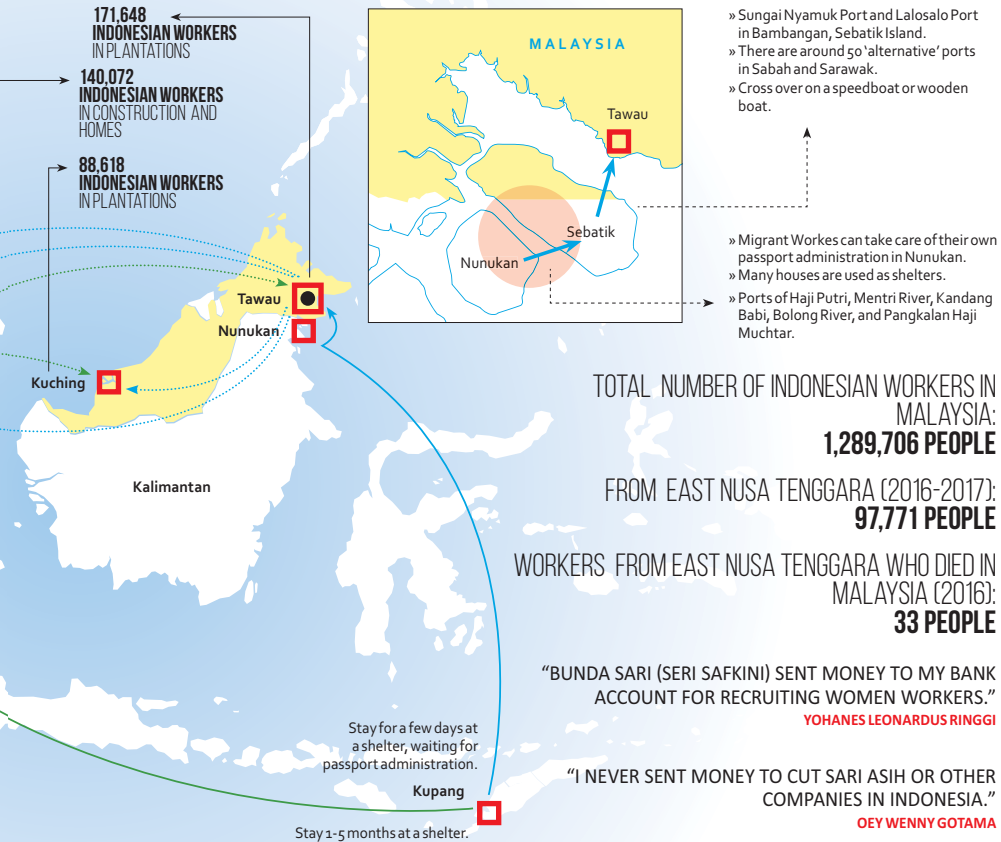
HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN EAST NUSA TENGGARA (NTT) INVOLVES LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY. DOCUMENTS ON THE FLOW OF FUNDS AMONG PERPETRATORS OBTAINED BY THE NTT POLICE SHOW TRANSFERS AMOUNTING TO BILLIONS OF RUPIAH FROM JANUARY 2015 TO END OF 2016.



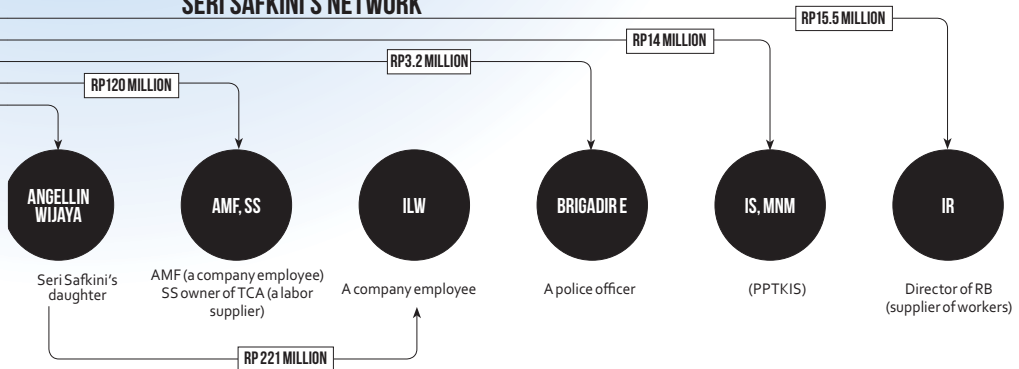
Deputy Director of NG Bersatu, a migrant workers recruitment agency in Malaysia. Funder and supplier of workers.

Director of Cut.Sari Asih, a private migrant workers placement company.

A security officer at El Tari Airport, Kupang. Aided the process of sending workers to Malaysia.



### SERI SAFKINI'S NETWORK



MARCH 26, 2017 | TEMPO | 43



Sundari, one of the workers at the bird's nest processing company, admitted that she was only given two meals on weekdays.

The meals are often insufficient. Sometimes it is just rice and crackers. In fact, they have to work up to 16 hours per day to achieve the target. If they miss the target, their wages will be cut. If they are sick, their wages will also be slashed, because it is the workers that should cover the medical costs. After being cut for many reasons, some workers only receive a wage of less than 200 ringgit or around Rp 600 thousand, a far cry from the promised Rp 3 million.

Initially, Albert denied this problem.

He also denied recruiting illegal migrant workers from Indonesia. When Tempo met him in the Klang area, Selangor, he forced the journalist to sign a statement declaring that the journalist would not write down the name and the company in the publication. He did not allow Tempo and Malaysia Kini journalists from leaving his room, even threatening to report to the police.

Later, two days after Tempo's coverage was published, Albert raised the workers' wages and improved their rights. The wage was increased to 1000 ringgit. The workers are also entitled to get overtime pay, annual leave, sick leave, and medical expenses. They argued that the restoration of these rights was not related to reports of labor rights violations, but has been prepared long beforehand.

## 4. WHO OWNS THE PITS OF DEATH?

TEMPO MAGAZINE, MAY 14, 2017

This coverage delves into the issue of ex-mining pits (voids) that were left open and abandoned for years by mining companies, until the voids became like a 'lake'.

This lake often takes the toll of children who live around the area. Between 2011-2016, there were 17 voids that killed 27 people, mostly children and teenagers.

Data from the East Kalimantan Mining Service in 2016, there were 1,430 mining permit holders, who controlled 5.134 million hectares of mining land. The mine area is equivalent to 40.3 percent of the province's area. However, since coal prices have continued to fall due to sluggish demand from China and India, in 2015 there were 125 mining companies in the province that went bankrupt. Their bankruptcy leaves the voids.

As of December 2016, 81 companies had left 314 voids. However, the Mining Agency found a larger number of 632 voids, based on the results of aerial photography with the Landsat satellite. In fact, the actual number of the voids across the land are much bigger.

It was later revealed that the number of voids reported by many mining companies was different from the number in the field. For example, PT Kaltim Prima Coal actually left 71 voids. However, they claimed to only have 29 voids. PT Sinar Kumala Naga, reported that it only left 3 voids, but it was suspected to have 15 voids on the land.

The team's investigation found that many voids that were not recorded by the Mining Agency. For example, in Jonggon Jaya village, Kutai Kartanegara, in the void coordinate Number 29, the agency recorded that there was only one void. In fact, there were also two voids located 200 meter from there, which were left unnoticed. These two voids were not enclosed with fences



and were not identified by number as it should have been. Worse, the voids were situated only 200 meters from residential areas. According to the Minister of Environment Regulation, the distance should be at least 500 meters.

The mining company argued, residents around the mining area refused to close the voids, because they would use the voids as water sources and fish ponds. However, laboratory test results show that the water in the voids is acidic and contains heavy metals such as manganese, zinc and iron above the quality standard so that it cannot be consumed. The effect was some local residents had diarrhea.

It is suspected that the mining companies have not been touched by the law because of strong people behind them. PT Sinar Kumala Naga, for example, is owned by the family of former Kutai Kartanegara Regent, Rita Widyasari. Golkar Party politician, Azis Syamsuddin is also its commissioner.

At PT Energi Cahaya Industritama, whose voids killed victims, there are two retired two-star police generals, Aryanto Sutadi and Alpiner Sinaga. The name of Luhut Binsar Panjaitan (Coordinating

Minister for Maritime Affairs) was also dragged down by the involvement of the subsidiaries of PT Toba Sejahtera, which abandoned voids. PT Toba's subsidiaries, recorded leaving 15 voids.

In accordance with the Mineral and Coal Law and in Government Regulation No. 78/2010 concerning reclamation and post-mining, mining companies are required to provide reclamation and post-mining plans, before starting operations. They must restore the living and social environment to its initial conditions, no later than 30 days after the mining operation ends.

However, the mining company argued that they had paid the reclamation guarantee fund. They chose to leave the guarantee fund in government accounts, and felt free from the obligatory environment restoration.

Also, it turns out that not all of these companies have given the reclamation guarantee funds and post-mining funds. Of the 856 business license holders, only 338 have deposited reclamation guaranty funds and only 96 have paid post-mining funds.

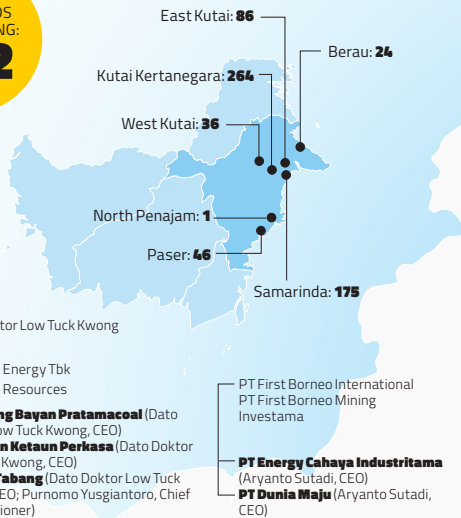
An audit by the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) in 2016 found that out of 452 permits issued by Kutai Kartanegara Regency, 263 of them had not yet been completed with a reclamation plan. In fact, the reclamation plan that has been approved is the basis for determining the value of the reclamation guarantee by the company.

# T

## THE BLACK CIRCLE

ACCORDING TO THE **EAST KALIMANTAN** OFFICE OF MINING AND ENERGY, DOZENS OF COAL MINING COMPANIES OPERATING IN THE REGION HAVE LEFT BEHIND A TOTAL OF 632 PITS, ALSO KNOWN AS VOIDS, THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE, TWICE THE FIGURE OF 314 REPORTED BY THE COMPANIES. TEMPO'S INVESTIGATION DISCOVERED THAT SEVERAL OF THESE COMPANIES ARE LINKED, EITHER THROUGH COMMON OWNERSHIP OR SHARED MANAGEMENT.

NUMBER OF FINAL VOIDS FROM MINING:  
**632**



- Bhira Investments Limited
  - Mountain Netherlands Investments BV
  - PT Bumi Resources TBK
  - PT Sitrade Coal
- PT Kaltim Prima Coal**

- Dato Doktor Low Tuck Kwong
- PT Bayan Energy Tbk
- PT Bayan Resources
- PT Gunung Bayan Pratamacoal** (Dato Doktor Low Tuck Kwong, CEO)
- PT Firman Ketaun Perkasa** (Dato Doktor Low Tuck Kwong, CEO)
- PT Bara Tabang** (Dato Doktor Low Tuck Kwong, CEO; Purnomo Yugiandoro, Chief Commissioner)
- PT First Borneo International
- PT First Borneo Mining Investama
- PT Energy Cahaya Industritama** (Aryanto Sutadi, CEO)
- PT Dunia Maju** (Aryanto Sutadi, CEO)

### PT Multi Harapan Utama

- PT Pakarti Putra Sang Fajar
- PT Riznor Rezwara (Reza Pribadi, Direktur)
- PT Bhaskara Alam
- Private Resources Pty Ltd

### PT Indo Tambangraya Megah

- PT Kitadin**
- PT Indominco Mandiri**
- PT Trubaido
- Banpu Public Company Ltd

TEXT: ANTON SEPTIAN INFO GRAPHIC: DJUNAEDI

minimum distance of 500 meters between a mine and a residential area. The lake where Mulyadi drowned was only around 300 meters from the nearest homes.

Based on the most recent version of its articles of association, Multi Harapan Utama is owned by Pakarti Putra Sang Fajar and Private Resources Pty Ltd. Pakarti's shares are not owned by individuals, but by two other companies, Bhaskara Alam and Riznor Rezwara.

These companies are all linked to one

name: Reza Pribadi. Reza is listed as a commissioner at both Multi Harapan and Pakarti. At Riznor, however, he is named as co-owner of all shares, along with Rizal Risjad. Reza is also the company's director. He holds a similar position at Private Resources, a company with an office in Perth, Australia. Reza is the son of businessman Henry Pribadi, owner of the Napan Group.

Tempo attempted to obtain verification on all information from Multi Harapan Utama's CEO, Boedi Santoso. We went to his of-

fice on Jalan T. B. Simatupang in South Jakarta a total of three times in December and January, but failed to meet him. At the office, a woman named Heni who claimed to be Boedi's assistant, said her boss was not in.

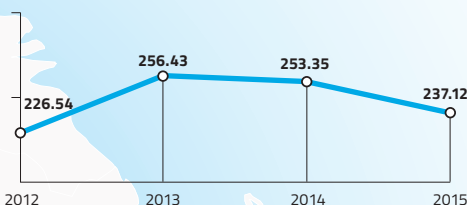
Our two letters sent directly to his office requesting an interview as well as a similar email sent to the address displayed on the company's website also drew no response.

Energy Cahaya Industritama and Insani Bara Perkasa are other companies whose

MINING PERMIT HOLDERS:

<b>Exploration</b> IUP: 813 PKP2B: 7	<b>Production Operations</b> IUP: 587 PKP2B: 23
IUP = MINING CONCESSION PERMIT, PKP2B = CONTRACT OF WORK	
Total concession area : 5,134,272.51 hectares Total Area of East Kalimantan : 12,737,692 hectares Coal reserves : 12.45 billion tons	<b>Potential : 42.54 billion tons</b>

COAL PRODUCTION (million tons):



- PT Harita Jayaraya
- PoliceForceFamily Foundation
- Pan-United Investment Pte Ltd
- PT Harita Mahaka Mining
- Lanna Resources Public Co Ltd
- PT Lanna Harita Indonesia**
- PT Singlurus Pratama**

- PT Separi Energy
- PT MNC Energi
- PT Jembayan Muarabara
- PT Arzara Baraindo Energitama**
- PT Kemilau Rindang Abadi**
- PT Nuansa Cipta Coal Investment**

SOURCES: EAST KALIMANTAN MINING AND ENERGY AGENCY, DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL LAW AT THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- PT Sinar Kumala Naga** (Silvi Agustina, Direktur; Dayang Kartini, Commissioner; Azis Syamsuddin, Commissioner)
- PT Lembu Swana Perkasa**
- PT Beringin Jaya**
- PT Alam Jaya Bara** (Silvi Agustina, Director)
- Dayang Kartini
- Silvi Agustina

Rita Widayarsi Dayang Kartini (mother), Silvi Agustina (sister)

- PT Mahakam Sumber Jaya** (Lawrence Barki, Commissioner; Basrief Arief, Commissioner)
- PT Santan Batubara** (Lawrence Barki, CEO)
- PT Tanito Harum** (Lawrence Barki, CEO)
- PT Harum Energy
- PT Karunia Bara Perkasa (Lawrence Barki, CEO)

- PT Bukit Baiduri Energi** (Husni Ali, CEO; Mathius Salempang, Commissioner)
- PT Khotai Makmur Insan Abadi (Husni Ali, Commissioner)

## DEADLY PITS

OVER the past five years, between 2011 to 2016, **17 mining pits or voids in East Kalimantan claimed the lives of 27 people, mostly children and teenagers. Almost all died drowning.** According to National Human Rights Commission, the pits belong to these companies:

- » PT Kidatin
- » PT Muliana Jaya
- » PT Multi Harapan Utama
- » PT Bukit Baiduri Energi
- » PT Insani Bara Perkasa
- » PT Hymco Coal
- » PT Panca Prima Mining
- » PT Energi Cahaya Industritama
- » PT Graha Benua Etam
- » PT Cahaya Energi Mandiri
- » PT Lanna Harita Indonesia
- » PT Transisi Energi Satunama
- » PT Insani Bara Perkasa
- » PT Bumi Energi Kaltim
- » CV Atap Tri Utama
- » CV Panca Bara Sejahtera
- » KSU Wijaya Utama

## **5. ALEXIS THAT STILL EXISTS**

TEMPO MAGAZINE, FEBRUARY 4, 2018

**T**empo investigated five entertainment venues in Jakarta. The search was carried out following the move by the Jakarta Provincial Administration to revoke the permit of the Alexis Hotel and its massage parlor because they were accused of being the location of hidden prostitution. It turns out that similar practices were also found in other entertainment venues, including Malio, Classic, Emporium, and Illigals.

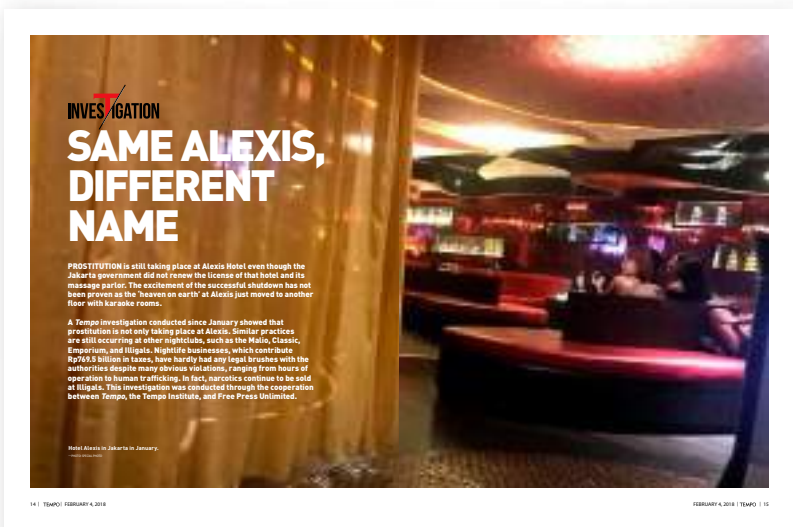
The Jakarta government prohibits the practice of prostitution through Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2015 on tourism. This regulation obliges entrepreneurs to prevent all forms of acts that violate decency and activities that violate the law in the area where they are doing business. If they violate, they will be sanctioned in the form of written warning, temporary suspension, and revocation of license.

However, based on Tempo's investigation, these illegal practices remained open. The practices varied, from sexual services, drug trafficking such as ecstasy and crystal methamphetamine, to human trafficking, especially in those five locations.

In Alexis, Tempo discovered prostitution on the pretext of being a karaoke guide. In Illigals, ecstasy and crystal methamphetamine were sold by their staff. Even sexual services at a rate of Rp 2.4 million were available for 24 hours. They even provided women with foreigners' appearance. Alexis' manager denied this. Meanwhile, Illigals manager was reluctant to comment on these findings.

In Malio and Classic Hotels, women were openly offered by their pimps. In Hotel Emporium, nude female dancers were performed for public visitors. The dancers could be hired for sexual services at a rate of Rp 2 million per hour.

The female escorts admitted that initially they did not want



to become prostitutes. At first, they were offered to be karaoke guides. However, they were then trapped in a difficult situation. Their bosses ensnared them with loans with multiple interest rates, forcing them to pay tens of millions of rupiah in debt for their needs or to send money to their parents in the village.

Without knowing the interest rates, they kept paying for the debt that would multiply to tens of millions. As a result, they were forced to work as prostitutes to repay the debt. If the amount of the debt is large, it will make them receive no commission at all from their works during a year, and merely rely on tips from visitors.

Managers of the entertainment places had some tricks to prevent their workers from running away. The workers were being locked up in a shop house that they called a mess hall. They were not free to leave the place. Whenever they wanted to leave, they should always be escorted. If they were caught attempting to escape, their boss would increase the amount of their debts.

Members of the National Commission on Violence Against Women judged that these workers had become victims of human trafficking. This mode occurred in almost all places of prostitution.



# STILL MANY 'PARADISES' IN THE CAPITAL

JAKARTA Governor Anies Baswedan quickly made good on one of his campaign promises. The license for Alexis Hotel and its massage parlor in Ancol, North Jakarta, was not renewed due to indications of being home to prostitution. However, this closure was short-lived. In a matter of days, the Alexis Hotel's discotheque and karaoke room resumed operations by changing its name to 4Play. Tempo discovered that many one-stop entertainment sites in Jakarta, such as 4Play, offer the service of prostitutes. Drug deals are also taking place at some of these locations. The high-level profiles of the owners, along with the large tax contributions they provide, are said to make those places seemingly untouchable.

## NIGHTLIFE



### 617 HOTELS

There are 24 hotels suspected of providing one-stop entertainment (hotel, karaoke, discotheque, and spa) at the middle-class and executive levels.



### 1,427 DISCOTHEQUES

In random checks, the National Narcotics Agency (BNN) found that drugs were readily available at 36 discotheques in 2017.

## REVENUE SOURCES

2015

Hotel taxes

**RP1.27 TRILLION**

Entertainment taxes

**RP608.8 BILLION**

Total Jakarta Regional Revenue

**RP29.07 TRILLION**

2016

Hotel taxes

**RP1.49 TRILLION**

Entertainment taxes

**RP769.5 BILLION**

Total Jakarta Regional Revenue

**RP31.6 TRILLION**

## MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS

Regional Regulation No. 6/2015 regarding tourism:

- Article 14 (k): Each business owner is obligated to prevent all forms of immoral and illegal activities in their places of business.
- Article 14 (t): Each tourism business owner is obligated to monitor and make a report if any transactions and/or use/ consumption of narcotics take place in their places of business.
- Article 99: Each nightclub business owner and/or company management proven to have allowed the distribution, sale, or use of narcotics and/or addictive substances to take place at the nightclub will have its Tourism Business Registration revoked.

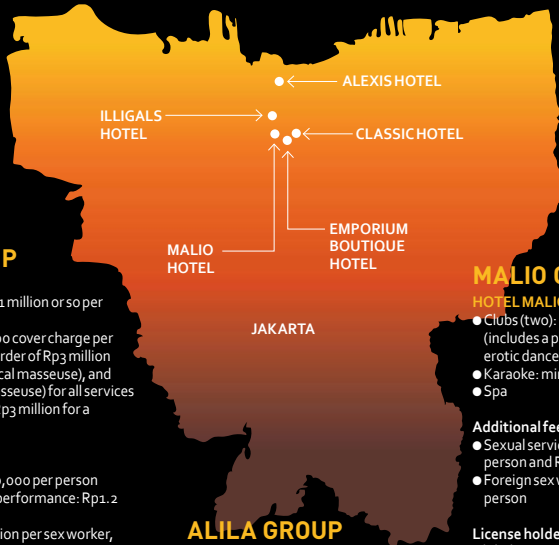
Regional Regulation No. 8/2007 regarding public order:

- Article 43: Every person and (legal) body is forbidden to provide and/or use buildings or houses as places for immoral activities.



## LICENSING

One-stop entertainment businesses take advantage of hotel licenses to get around regulations on hours of operation for discotheques, clubs, and spas. They can remain open during the Ramadan fasting month because it is considered to be hotel facilities.



## LEADING NIGHTCLUBS

### ALEXIS GROUP

#### ALEXIS HOTEL

- Hotel: room rates of Rp1 million or so per night
- Discotheque: Rp100,000 cover charge per person, minimum table order of Rp3 million
- Spa: Rp1.375 million (local masseuse), and Rp2.2 million (foreign masseuse) for all services
- Karaoke: minimum of Rp3 million for a standard room

#### Additional fees:

- Singing partner: Rp600,000 per person
- Exclusive erotic dance performance: Rp1.2 million per dancer
- Prostitution: Rp3.6 million per sex worker, plus costs of hotel room

#### License holder:

##### Grand Ancol Hotel

Stockholders (Notarized Act, 2008):

- Gold Square Enterprises Limited
  - Sension Overseas Limited
- Commissioner: Sudarto  
Director: Djoko Sardjono

### Rp2.4-3 billion per month

#### EMPORIUM BOUTIQUE HOTEL

- Tease Club: Rp100,000 cover charge, including one soda/beer, house music and erotic dance performance
- Karaoke: minimum Rp2 million per room
- Spa: Rp1-1.2 million, includes all services

#### Additional fee:

Sexual services: Rp2 million per sex worker plus room costs

License holder: Kandaga Asri Graha

Company officials (Notarized Act, 2008):

CEO: Sjaftari Santoso  
President Commissioner: Hartati Santoso  
Commissioner: Budiman Santoso

“Now my life is about social activity, seeking a passport to heaven.”

—Alex Tirta Juwana Darmadji

### ALILA GROUP

#### ILLIGALS HOTEL

Discotheque: cover charge of Rp100,000, including soft drink  
Karaoke: minimum payment of Rp3 million  
Spa: Rp1-3 million

#### Additional fees:

- Singing partner: Rp600,000
- Sexual services: Rp2.4 million, room included
- Ecstasy: Rp500,000 per pill
- Methamphetamine: Rp2 million per gram (estimated)

#### License holder:

Sumber Sejahtera Sempurna Owners (2009 act):  
- Iwan Tjahyadikarta: 50%  
- Mohamad Jusuf Hamka, 50%

#### Directors and Commissioners:

- CEO: Lucy  
- Director: Donny Tjahyadikarta  
- President Commissioner: Iwan Tjahyadikarta  
- Commissioner: Mohamad Jusuf Hamka

“I already sold to a third party in 2010 because I didn’t agree with the prostitution going on there.”

—M. Jusuf Hamka

### MALIO GROUP

#### HOTEL MALIO

- Clubs (two): Rp150,000 cover charge (includes a pack of cigarettes, soft drink, and erotic dance performance)
- Karaoke: minimum payment of Rp2-3 million
- Spa

#### Additional fees:

- Sexual services: Rp900,000-1.1 million per person and Rp1.3-1.8 million for two people
- Foreign sex worker: Rp2-2.4 million per person

#### License holder:

Global Arta Berjaya  
Total stock ownership (Notarized Act, 2006):  
- Dharmawan Rahardja Widjaja: 32.5%  
- Rudy Susanto : 25%  
- Haston Limardo : 25%  
- Sarifuddin Widjaja : 7.5%  
- Kumalawati Widjaja : 5%  
- Jaya Raharja : 2.5%  
- Hadi Irianto : 2.5%

#### CLASSICHOTEL

- Bunker Club: cover charge of Rp85,000
- Terminal 2: club, provides 30-40 sex workers, cover charge of Rp85,000
- Terminal 5: club, provides 30-40 sex workers, cover charge of Rp65,000

#### Additional fees:

- 1 sex worker Rp365,000, 2 sex workers Rp500,000, for two hours including room

#### License holder:

Buana Mitra Usaha  
Company Officials (Notarized Act, 2008):

#### Stock holder

Shares  
CEO:  
Rudy Susanto 154,800  
President Commissioner:  
Eddy Winata 245,250  
Commissioners:  
Arief Prijatna 312,750  
Haston Limardo 232,350  
Arie Sasmita 145,200  
Foronkid Gunawan 273,150  
Kurnia Setiawan 68,250  
Sesaria Valeriana 68,250

Former chairman of the Association for Night Entertainment, Anhar Nasution, believed prostitution services existed in all nightclubs.

Apart from prostitution, drugs were also distributed in those places. The National Narcotics Agency (BNN), in May 2017, found a thousand ecstasy pills and hundreds of packets of crystal methamphetamine ready for distribution in Illegals. However, the Jakarta Administration only punished the club with a warning.

In Jakarta, there were 1,427 nightspots. According to the head of the National Narcotics Agency, Commissioner General Budi Waseso, from a random survey in five cities of Jakarta, 36 entertainment venues were positive for drug trafficking. Meanwhile, of the 617 hotels, 24 of them provided entertainment services and massage parlors.

The rise of illicit drug distribution is due to weak supervision by the local government. This weakness of oversight is inversely proportional to the amount of the entertainment venues' tax contributions. Of the total regional revenue in 2016 amounting to Rp 31.6 trillion, hotels contributed a large amount of Rp 1.49 trillion. Meanwhile, the entertainment business paid Rp 769.5 billion in taxes.

## 6. ILLEGAL WOOD “WASHING MACHINE”

TEMPO MAGAZINE, DECEMBER 30, 2018

This investigation reveals how the timber legality assurance system (SVLK) is actually a new mode for “washing” illegal timber and avoiding taxes. The first SVLK was implemented in 2009, to prevent illegal logging of 24 million hectares of forest. With SVLK, the global market will reopen the supply of wood from Indonesia. However, this sophisticated system can actually be tricked because there are gaps in the process, from the upstream to the downstream stages.

In Papua and West Papua, the team found that the yellow barcodes attached to hundreds of merbau woods in the concession area of PT Teluk Bintuni, a timber company, turned out to be falsified.

The company counterfeited the merbau type into other cheaper wood. For example, in the Forest Product Administration Information System (SIPUHH), merbau is recorded as fragile wood, which is cheap, in an attempt to evade high costs paid to the state. In fact, merbau is quite expensive.

The company delivered logs or processed logs to East Java or China. From East Java, some were already in the form of semi-finished processed wood or finished products to Asia, China, Japan, the Middle East, and Europe.

The Auriga Foundation found that state losses due to logging in Papua and West Papua reached Rp. 6.1 trillion. This figure came from a comparison of the loss of wood in land No. 205-207, with the wood reported to SIPUHH.

A KPK audit also found that 10 out of 39 timber companies in Papua were suspected of carrying out illegal logging. The mode was by using repeated barcodes, or by using barcodes that do not match the wood, or by manipulating the amount of wood,



or the timber is cut from outside the concession area. Using legal documents, they smuggled or covered up the illegal woods.

For example, PT Mansinam Global Mandiri in Abepura. Under the SVLK platform, this company should have received raw material for its wood industry from PT Hanurata Unit Jayapura in Kerom. However, the merbau logs in the company were supplied from the *ulayat* (customary) forest in Kampung Angkasa in South Sarmi District, even though this practice is clearly prohibited.

Daniel Garden, owner of PT Mansinam, confirmed this nonsensical supply. This method of mixing wood from community forests has been a common practice for timber companies.

According to KPK, the logging has been massive due to weak law enforcement by the Ministry of Forestry. For example, the evidence of confiscated wood was instead lost. KPK suspects that investigators from the Agency or the Ministry of Forestry have conspired with the loggers. Even one of the businessmen admitted to paying up to Rp 300 million per month for the police, the Forestry Agency and Forestry Ministry investigators, so that illegal

logging was carried out openly.

This has been exacerbated by the verification agency, which is supposed to conduct an audit, was instead suspected to have been turning a blind eye to the illegal logs. No wonder, because the verification agency is paid by the illegal logger companies.

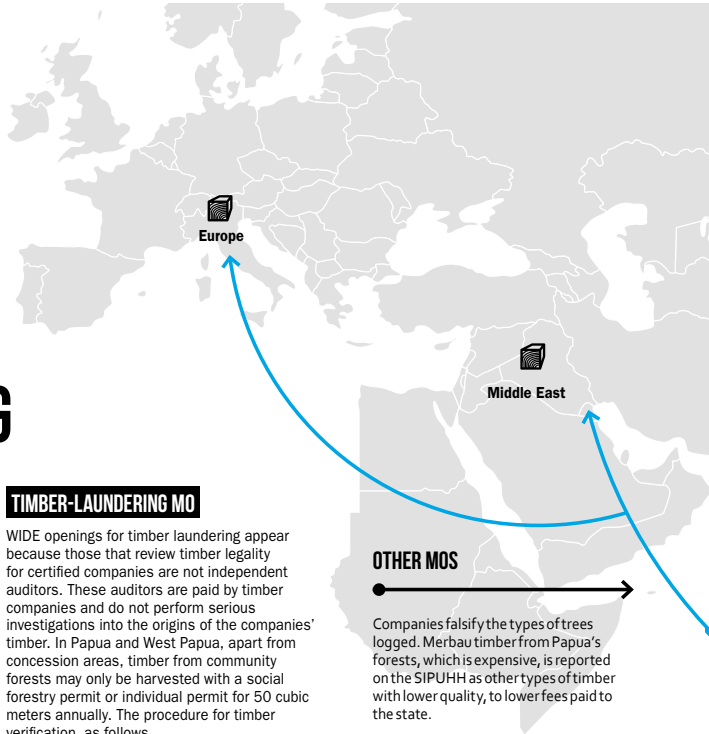
According to the National Accreditation Committee (KAN), the bad side of the SVLK is because the verification agency has a direct contact with the timber companies, thus providing a chance for collusion. KAN finally revoked dozens of the verification agency's permits.

The Ministry of Forestry considers that as a system, SVLK is ideal. However, no matter how sophisticated the system is, it can be cheated by fraudulent companies.

# T

# RP450-TRILLION TIMBER LAUNDERING

**THE Timber Legality Verification System (SLVK) was applied in 2009 to put an end to the illegal logging of 24 million hectares over the previous two decades. As a result, the global market opened its door wider to Indonesian timber products. The Forest Law Enforcement, Government and Trade's license timber exports from Indonesia has reached US\$32.15 million or around Rp450 trillion in the last three years. But companies have been exploiting loopholes in the system to launder illegal timber.**



## TIMBER-LAUNDERING MO

WIDE openings for timber laundering appear because those that review timber legality for certified companies are not independent auditors. These auditors are paid by timber companies and do not perform serious investigations into the origins of the companies' timber. In Papua and West Papua, apart from concession areas, timber from community forests may only be harvested with a social forestry permit or individual permit for 50 cubic meters annually. The procedure for timber verification, as follows.

## OTHER MOS

Companies falsify the types of trees logged. Merbau timber from Papua's forests, which is expensive, is reported on the SIPUHH as other types of timber with lower quality, to lower fees paid to the state.

## STATE LOSSES

# RP6.1 TRILLION

USING satellite imagery, the Auriga Foundation compared the loss of forest cover in Papua and West Papua in 2015-2017 to the amount of timber reported on the Forest Products Administration Information System (SIPUHH). The forest cover lost during this period came to three times the amount of timber reported through the forestry ministry's system. By calculating the value of Papua and West Papua's timber trade, Auriga estimates state losses due to fees unpaid by companies to the state over the same period to come to Rp6.1 trillion.

SOURCE: ENVIRONMENT AND FORESTRY MINISTRY, AURIGA FOUNDATION, PROCESSED BY TEMPO

## EAST JAVA

Timber from Papua is sent to a number of primary as well as secondary/tertiary industry companies through companies with a TPT (depository) permit.

Numerous timber shipments from West Papua in 2016-2017 have an "unreceived" status but are recorded by transportation companies as sent.

Unlike in the primary industry, schemes for reporting timber, both received and shipped, at TPTs are unclear. Many companies report timber supplies from TPTs, not from companies in Papua.

## WEST PAPUA

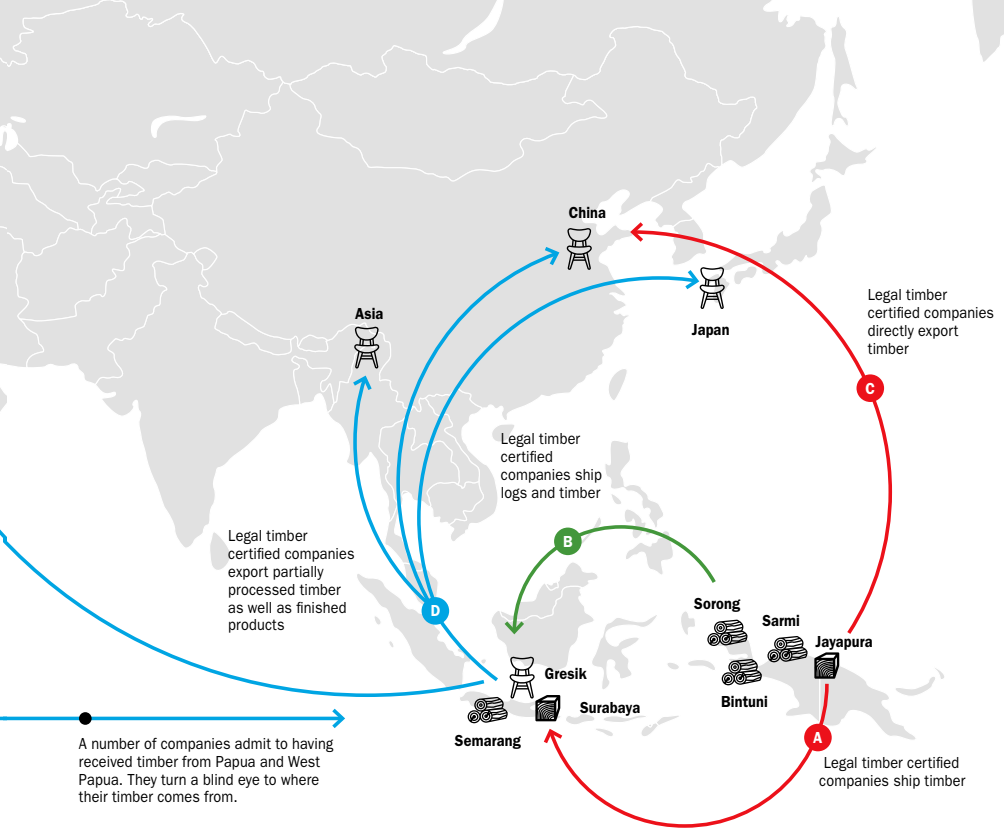
Companies with land conversion permits (IPK) work on concession areas with industrial forest plantation permits.

Companies belonging to the IPK holding group also has primary and secondary industry companies, which report that their raw materials come from timber supplied by companies with IPK.

## PAPUA PROVINCE

A company reports its plan for collecting raw materials as well as raw materials received from companies with permits to utilize natural forest products (previously forest management permit) to the environment and forestry ministry's online platform for the use of primary industrial timber raw materials.

The company pays a supplier to log trees from community forests or from outside its concession area.



- Companies (IPK group) collect timber from communities, which cannot be sold to companies for commercial purposes.
- Logs and timber from communities are reported on the system as if they are obtained legally from companies with IPK.
- Accredited timber verification institutions (LVLK) inspect the origins of timber annually.
- Once it approved by the LVLK, illegal timber taken from communities become legal.
- Trees are logged, sawed and heaped on roadsides, and transported to processing facilities using authentic but spurious documents.
- The company reports their timber yield to the Administration System for Timber Products (SIPUHH).
- An accredited timber verification institution (LVLK) performs an annual review of the origins of the company's timber.
- Once approved by the LVLK, illegal timber harvested from community forests or from outside concession areas is certified as legal.



# 7. THROW THE WASTE IN THE MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

TEMPO MAGAZINE, FEBRUARY 24, 2019

This investigation uncovers the practice of dumping toxic and hazardous waste (B3) in eight military headquarters in East Java. Of the eight headquarters, only two have a permit from the Environmental Office of East Java Province.

The two headquarters were Bhumi Marinir Karangpilang in Surabaya and the Indonesian Air Force Raci in Pasuruan. One headquarters, the East Regional Fleet Command Headquarters (Koarmada II) in Surabaya had applied for a permit, but was rejected by the Ministry of Environment.

The five command posts that were used to dispose of waste without permits were the National Air Defense Education and Training Center in Surabaya; Weapons and Optics Central Warehouse II in Sidoarjo; Marines 2 in Sidoarjo; Radar Unit 222 Ploso in Jombang; 8<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion in Pasuruan.

The hazardous waste was produced by the cooking oil factory PT Wilmar Nabati Indonesia in Gresik. The waste was transported by PT Lewind and CV Berkat Rahmat Jaya. The two companies also collaborated with 5 other companies to transport waste, namely, PT Surya Wijaya Megah, PT Jaya Sakti Lingkungan Hidup, PT Bumi Anugerah Abadi, PT Putra Restu Ibu Abadi, and PT Tenang Jaya Sejahtera.

The problem is that this waste was being disposed of without proper treatment. Supposedly, according to the Government Regulation No. 101/2014 on management of toxic and hazardous substances, before the disposal, the waste must be treated properly. However, in practice, the waste was immediately transported and stockpiled.

Twelve waste samples were taken from 4 locations and analyzed



by the Surabaya Center for Environmental Health and Disease Control Engineering. The results showed that the discarded waste included fly ash (fine dust from coal combustion), bottom ash (coarse dust from combustion which is darker in color), carbon, and some heavy metals.

This clearly evidenced that the waste being disposed of was toxic and hazardous. Worse, there was no clear boundary between the waste disposal zone with residential areas, thus the waste had affected residents around the headquarters, causing dead plants. At least eight people suffered burns because they fell in the waste area.

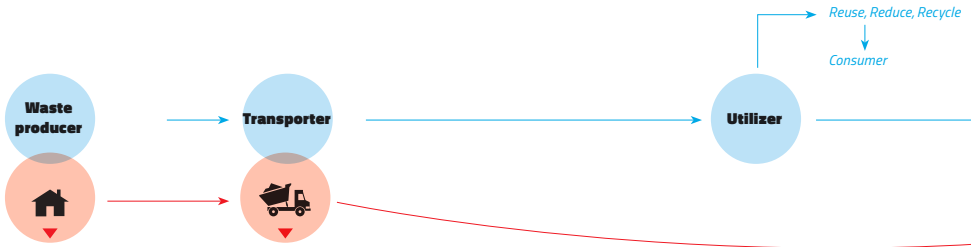
Dewi Puspita, a 53-year-old woman, became a victim as she was mired into the ashes as deep as her waist. It turned out that behind the pile of waste, there was coal leftover resulting from the burning of the thermal power station. The pile burned Dewi's legs up to waist, making her paralyzed.

First Marshal Novyan Samyoga, head of the Indonesian Air Force Information Service, claimed that the waste was not dangerous. He said the chemical content of the waste disposed of was below the



# FOUL PLAY, TOXIC WASTE

**Hazardous** and toxic waste (B3) containment in East Java has violated regulations. In Indonesia, B3 containment is only allowed in Cileungsi, Bogor, East Java. In other regions, B3 waste must first be processed before it is covered on the surface with non-toxic and non-hazardous waste. Because of this regulation, licenses given to military bases only allow for temporarily containing waste before it is processed by a waste processing company. The hide-and-seek surrounding waste containment has encouraged under-the-table transactions to the tune of billions of rupiah annually.



**Waste producer:**  
**Wilmar Nabati Indonesia, Gresik**  
 Types of waste: fly ash, bottom ash, spent bleaching earth  
 Volumes: 5.51 tons of fly ash and bottom ash per day; 2.04 of spent bleaching earth

\*) Data reported to the East Java environment office (June, 2018)  
 \*) Information from a waste broker: 260 tons of B3 waste per day

**Transporter and utilizer:**  
 Lewind and Berkat Rahmat Jaya  
 Fleet: 20 trucks

**Partner transport companies:**  
 Surya Wijaya Megah  
 Fleet: 34 trucks

Putra Restu Ibu Abadi (Mojokerto)  
 Tenang Jaya Sejahtera (Karawang)  
 License status: B3 transporter, utilizer and processor  
 Fleet: 82 trucks and 113 trucks

Jaya Sakti Lingkungan Hidup  
 Fleet: 7 trucks

Bumi Anugerah Abadi  
 Fleet: 11 dump trucks

according to Government Regulation No. 101/2014

signifies B3 waste landfilling practices in East Java

**Cost**  
 - Spent bleaching earth: Rp400 per kilogram  
 - Other types: Rp350-700 per kilogram

**Waste produced by PT Wilmar Nabati Indonesia:**  
 260 tons per day = Rp104 million per day  
 Days of shipment per year: 261 days  
 Cost per year: Rp27 billion

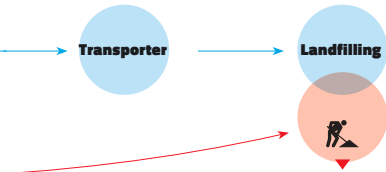
## Full of Heavy Metals

We tested 12 samples of B3 waste discarded at four points at the Raci AURI Base at the Surabaya Environmental Engineering and Disease Control Center.

Parameters	Unit	Quality Standards	Quality Standards		
			I	II	III
1 Plumbum (Pb)	mg/l	5.0	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405
2 Cadmium (Cd)	mg/l	1.0	<0.0198	0.0238	<0.0198
3 Hexavalent chromium (Cr 6+)	mg/l	5.0	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196
4 Copper (Cu)	mg/l	10.0	<0.0376	0.0645	0.4090
5 Cobalt (Co)	mg/l	-	<0.0200	0.0249	0.0380
6 Nickel (Ni)	mg/l	-	<0.0378	<0.0378	<0.0378
7 Zink (Zn)	mg/l	50.0	0.8267	0.9877	<0.0075
8 Ferro (Fe)	mg/l	-	<0.0037	160.32	0.4878
9 Mangan (Mn)	mg/l	-	1.0195	3.257	<0.091



Eight military bases in East Java are suspected of landfilling with and keeping hazardous and toxic waste (B3) produced in the province. Although several bases have stopped the practice, others are still containing harmful waste.



**Owner of landfill site:**

Raci AURI Base, Pasuruan  
 License : Provincial B3 waste collection  
 Location permit : 140.07 square meters  
 License time period : October 30, 2017-  
 October 29, 2022  
 Landfill area : 15 hectares

**Submitted to army bases by the waste transport company:**

- 10-ton capacity = Rp500,000 per truck
- 18-ton capacity = Rp750,000 per truck
- 25-ton capacity = Rp1 million per truck
- Amount deposited annually: Rp15.7 billion (10 percent)**

B3 waste collection license for Raci AURI Base.



**Bhumi Marinir Karangpilang, Surabaya**

License number: P2T/2/17.03/01/VII/2017  
 Location permit: Three buildings, 800 square meters each  
 License period: July 11, 2016-July 10, 2021  
 Site: Four points, spread across the yard of the military base or outside the buildings  
 Waste collection period: 2012-2016

**National Air Force Education and Training Center, Surabaya**

License number: None  
 Site: Inside the base  
 Time: 2016-2017

**Eastern Region Naval Command (Koarmada II), Surabaya**

License: Rejected by the environment and forestry ministry  
 Site: Next to a field owned by Koarmada II  
 Waste collection period: 2015

**Armory and Optics II, Sidoarjo**

License number: None  
 Site: 12-13 hectares  
 Waste collection period: December 2014-2015

**Marine Corps 2, Sidoarjo**

License number: None  
 Site: Inside the base  
 Volume: 18,000 units of B3 waste  
 Waste collection period: 2013-2015

**Ploso Radar 222 Unit, Jombang**

License number: None  
 Site: Inside the base  
 Waste collection period: May-August 2018

**Raci Air Force Base, Pasuruan**

License number: P2T/9/17.03/01/X/17  
 Location permit: 140.07 square meters  
 License period: October 30, 2017-October 29, 2022  
 Site: 15 hectares  
 Waste collection period: 2017-present

**Cavalry Battalion 8, Pasuruan**

License number: None  
 Site: Inside the base  
 Waste collection period: 2016-2017



Samples								
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405	<0.0405
0.0388	<0.0198	<0.0198	<0.0198	0.0350	<0.0198	<0.0198	<0.0198	<0.0198
<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196	<0.0196
<0.0376	0.5803	<0.0376	<0.0378	0.4131	<0.0378	0.2154	<0.0378	0.3057
0.0523	0.4558	0.2190	0.1738	0.0976	<0.0200	<0.0200	<0.0200	<0.0200
2.3700	0.6140	0.2438	0.0457	<0.0378	<0.0378	<0.0378	0.5597	<0.0378
<0.0075	7.3440	1.0666	1.1274	1.7260	1.4795	3.2200	0.5125	0.2122
<2.2847	1072.25	633.0	365.69	126.460	20.1950	5.9075	8.7835	13.6909
0.2992	45.522	17.3551	11.8365	7.6645	0.3588	3.9669	9.1505	0.0791

hazard limit. He even claimed that the waste disposal was already permitted, and that the waste was disposed of on the land owned by the Indonesian Air Force. Instead, he blamed residents for entering the waste area.

Head of the Environment Agency for East Java, Diah Susilowati, explained that initially the military did not have a permit for the disposal of waste that was used to fill roads and airplane runways. Then, they were reprimanded and given permission. Only two dumpsites have permits: Bhumi Marinir Karangpilang in Surabaya and the Indonesian Air Force Raci in Pasuruan.

But after that, the Environment Agency did not supervise the waste disposal activities, saying it was incapable to do so because of the limited number of personnel.

However, the easy issuance of the permit was also suspicious. CV Berkah Rahmat Jaya, the company that transports the waste, asked PT Geo-Enviro to issue a permit. Geo-Enviro turned out to be the company owned by Diah's child. However, Diah denied collusion in the matter of this permit issuance and claimed to be professional.

## 8. THE WORRYING BATANG TORU HYDROPOWER

TEMPO MAGAZINE, MARCH 24, 2019

This investigation criticizes the lack of environmental impact analysis (Amdal) in Batang Toru hydropower project in South Tapanuli, North Sumatra. The project with a capacity of 510 Megawatts threatens the existence of Tapanuli orangutan (*Pongo tapanuliensis*) and 15 species of unique Indonesian animals whose habitats are in Batang Toru.

This type of orangutan had only been discovered in 1997. After 20 years of research, scientists in the journal *Current Biology* concluded that the Batang Toru orangutan was a new type of orangutan in Indonesia. The number is rare, only 800 individuals. They live in the Batang Toru protected forest.

In the forest, a hydropower project took place. The project area covered three subdistricts, namely in Marancar for turbine houses, in Sipirok for the dams, as well as the extra high-voltage overhead lines and access in Batang Toru. These three subdistricts are included in the Batang Toru ecosystem, covering an area of 163 thousand hectares.

This hydropower plant is part of the 35,000 megawatt electricity mega project launched by President Joko Widodo. This Rp 21 trillion project is funded by the Bank of China. In addition, this hydropower plant is also part of the Road and Belt Initiative, the Chinese government's plan to connect with countries in the south along with Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, to India and Pakistan. Unfortunately, this massive development has displaced the Tapanuli orangutan.

Before the construction of the hydropower plant commenced, in 2015, the Sumatran Orangutan Conservation Program (SOCP) survey found that the density of orangutans in the project area was 0.7 orangutans per square kilometers. After the project started,



the density dropped to 0.41 orangutans per square kilometers. This showed that the location of the project is the area where the orangutans search for food. These primates were thought to have fled into the protected forest, because they were under pressure.

At the end of 2017, the Ministry of Environment researched the impact of hydropower development on the lives of orangutans around the Batang Toru River, which is the location for turbines and dams. The results discovered that orangutans build higher nests above 15 meters, even up to 30 meters. It far exceeds the height of the nests for unaffected orangutans that nest at the height of 8-17 meters. It is suspected that this behavior change is to avoid being affected by the land clearing for the project. In addition, their numbers have also dwindled to an estimated 495 to 577 orangutans. If left unchecked, then in the span of 20-30 years they could become extinct, given that these mammals are slow to reproduce.

Burhanuddin, Program Manager of Yayasan Ekosistem Lestari (Sustainable Ecosystem Foundation or YEL), assessed that the PLTA construction threaten the existence of the Tapanuli orangutan

because it divides the blocks in Batang Toru protected forest and separates the lives of orangutans. Meanwhile, the forest area around the blocks is surrounded by oil palm, rubber and mining plantations.

Anton Sugiono, President Commissioner of PT North Sumatra Hydro Energy (NSHE), the company that builds the hydropower, said that when the Amdal was prepared in 2011-2014, orangutans were mentioned and the document stated that it would not be a problem. However, the project was built with the 2016 Amdal, which did not mention the orangutan issue.

In fact, the 2016 Amdal was suspected of being flawed. The Amdal was issued without the approval of one of the academicians, Onrizal, a lecturer at the University of North Sumatra. His signature was faked. He only participated in compiling the 2014 Amdal, which listed the impact of hydropower plants on biodiversity in Batang Toru.

On the other hand, the IBT team's investigation also found that NSHE secured this big project through direct appointment. The Pasaribu brothers were suspected to play a major role in this project. Syahrul Martua Pasaribu, Regent of South Tapanuli, was the person who issued the location permit to NSHE on July 5, 2011. Meanwhile, his older brother, Panusunan Pasaribu, was the commissioner of NHSE between 2012 and 2016. Their younger brother, Gus Irawan Pasaribu, is a politician from the Gerindra Party who became chairman of the Energy Commission in the House of Representatives.

The Ministry of Environment asked NSHE to revise the Amdal and its impacts on animals, including orangutans. Walhi had sued for this dubious Amdal to the State Administrative Court in Medan, but they lost. Later, the Bank of China, which financed this project, said they would think again. They would consider environmentally friendly funding as part of their social responsibility.



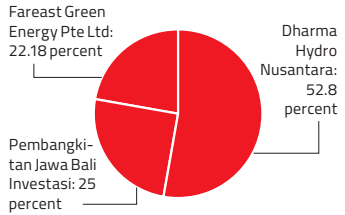
# T

## THE POWER PLANT INTRUSION

THE discovery of the Tapanuli orangutan (*Pongo Tapanuliensis*) in the Batang Toru Forest was both a joyous and troubling moment. According to the 2017 *Current Biology* journal, the endangered species is particularly vulnerable to extinction due to its small population of fewer than 800 individuals, amid the imprints of infrastructure development. Floods and the development of a 510-megawatt hydro power plant (PLTA) in the vicinity of the protected forest since 2015 are said to be the primary contributor to the orangutans' vulnerability.



### NORTH SUMATERA HYDRO ENERGY (NSHE)



### TAPANULI ORANGUTAN

#### Binomial nomenclature:

*Pongo tapanuliensis*

#### Rarity:

The third orangutan species found in Indonesia's forests

#### Discovered:

1997

#### Named:

2017

#### Population:

800 (early estimate), 495-577 (estimate in 2017)

#### Childbearing age:

15 years

#### Childbearing period:

8-9 years

#### Habitat:

850 meters above sea level

**Eastern Block:**  
120-150 individuals

**Western Block:**  
360-400 individuals

**Sibual-bual conservation area:**  
15-27 individuals



## BATANG TORU PLTA

### Location permit:

6,598.35 hectares

### Utilized land area:

669 hectares

### Utilized river area:

24 hectares

**capacity:**  
4 x 127.5 = 510 megawatts

### Technology:

Dam and river flow combined

### Dam area:

10.9 hectares

### Development began in:

2015

### Scheduled for operations in:

2022

### Investment value:

Rp21 trillion

### Emissions reduced:

Equivalent to 1.6-2.2 million metric tons of CO2 (4 percent)

### Fossil fuel use reduced:

US\$400 million annually

### Employees:

1,800 individuals

### Electricity valued at:

About US\$0.18 per kWh

### Volumetric flow rate:

106 cubic meters annually

### Turbines:

4

### Water needs for one turbine:

51 cubic meters annually

## BATANG TORU PROTECTED FOREST

### Total area:

± 163,000 hectares

### Location:

South Tapanuli Regency (29.7 percent), Central Tapanuli (9.3 percent), and North Tapanuli (61 percent)

### Protected forest:

151,373 hectares (47.10 percent)

### Mining area:

130,300 hectares (40.43 percent)

### Wildlife sanctuary:

18,979 hectares (5.89 percent)

### Concession:

17,000 hectares (5.27 percent)

### Smallholder plantations/estates:

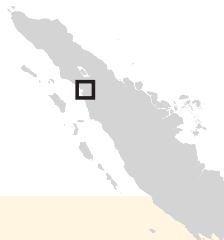
2,948 hectares (0.92 percent)

### Private-owned plantations:

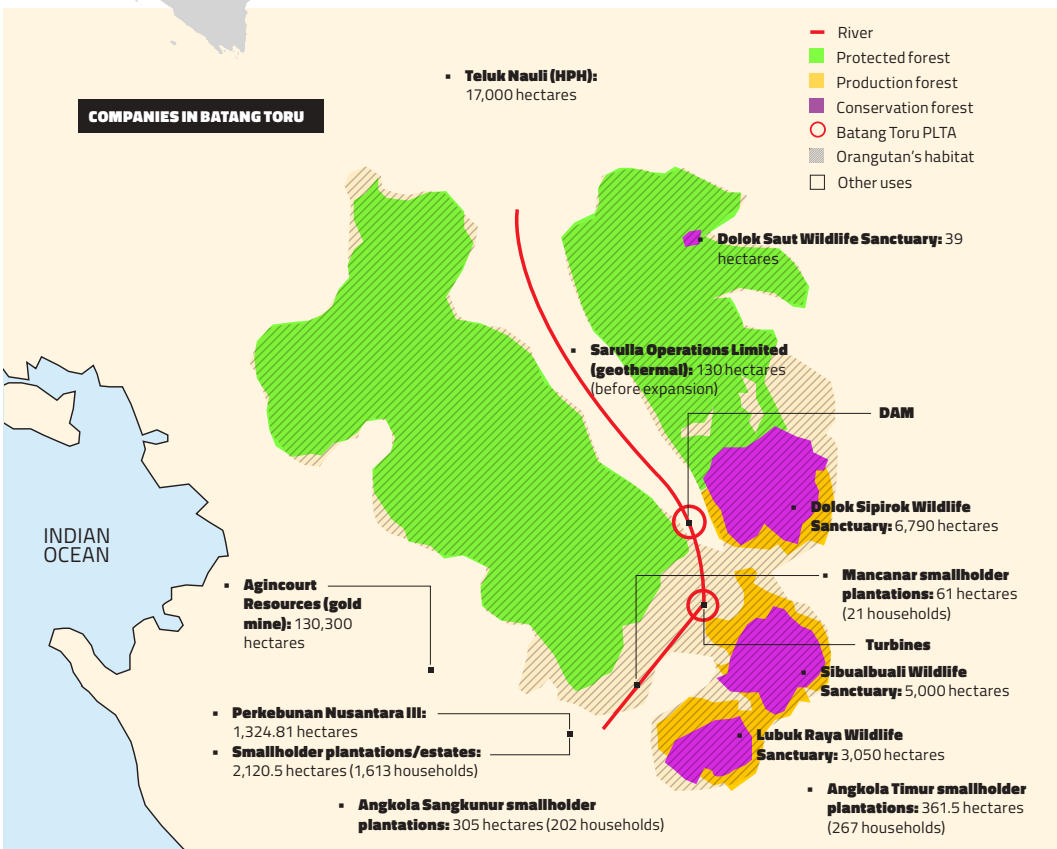
1,325 hectares (0.41 percent)

### Geothermal area:

130 hectares (0.04 percent)



## COMPANIES IN BATANG TORU



# 9. FOOD PRESERVATIVE FROM LIVESTOCK COMPANY

TEMPO MAGAZINE, MARCH 24, 2019

This investigation emerges from the fact that formaldehyde is widely used in food products around us. A number of food products circulating around Palembang, South Sumatra, allegedly contained formalin as a preservative.

Further investigation found that there was a leak from the official distribution of formaldehyde. This chemical was originally intended for repellent drugs in animal husbandry cages, but it was misused to be food preservative. The leak was thought to have occurred from the official distributor, even though the purchase of formaldehyde should be limited and must be registered. However, although this case has been investigated many times, it has never reached the root of the problem.

The Palembang Food and Drug Monitoring Agency (BBPOM), in 2015, found that out of 327 food samples in a number of markets, 88 samples contained hazardous substances. Of these samples, 90 percent contained formalin. The types of food exposed to formaldehyde are tofu, pempek (fish cake), broilers and fish. This contradicts the Regulation of the Trade Minister No. 75/M-Dag/10/2014 on the second amendment to the Regulation of the Trade Minister No. 44/MDAG/9/2009 on the procurement, distribution and control of hazardous materials. The regulation stipulates that all producers, importers, distributors, retailers and end users must have a license.

Nevertheless, there are always ways to avoid the rules. This formaldehyde leakage mode starts with an agent offering to users or vice versa. Then the agent will make an order to the company. If the agent does not have a license, the company staff will place a fictitious order, using the name of the registered retailer.

The company staff will issue an order letter and the company

# FOOD PRESERVATIVES FROM CHICKEN COOPS

Food preservatives have been tested recently in South Sumatra. A number of findings indicate that many food preservative operations can also contribute to tracking its origins to a farming company, Agrivina Jaya Santosa, a member of the industry.

**A** food preservative is a chemical additive that is used to extend the shelf life of a food product. In Indonesia, the most commonly used preservative is sodium benzoate, which is used to preserve pickles, jams, and other food products. The use of preservatives is essential to ensure the safety and quality of food products, especially in a tropical climate like Indonesia.

The use of preservatives is also essential for the food industry to meet the growing demand for long shelf-life products. In Indonesia, the food preservative market is growing rapidly, with a value of around 1.5 trillion Rupiah in 2017. This growth is driven by the increasing demand for processed food products, which are easier to store and transport.

The use of preservatives is also essential for the food industry to meet the growing demand for long shelf-life products. In Indonesia, the food preservative market is growing rapidly, with a value of around 1.5 trillion Rupiah in 2017. This growth is driven by the increasing demand for processed food products, which are easier to store and transport.

"We've received reports that the formalin was brought from this company," he said at the end of December 2016.

**R**ISKES on reports from Andi and Anso's warning, Tragep traced the origins of the formalin used in food preservatives. An employee of AP Palembang revealed that the formalin was brought from a company in South Sumatra. The company name, which the company makes, was hidden after contact.

AP Palembang is a manufacturer of formalin, a preservative used in food products. The company's main product is formalin, which is used to preserve various types of food products. The company's production capacity is around 100,000 liters per month.

The company's main product is formalin, which is used to preserve various types of food products. The company's production capacity is around 100,000 liters per month.



AgriVina Jaya Santosa Farming branch office.

to being used as preservatives for tofu and noodles, formalin is often used by smaller traders to preserve their wares.

On the other hand, Tragep asked to go on to see the place to produce or store, which is provided by RISKES officials. He entered 2215, the registered address of AP Palembang. A week later, he met Tragep at the home of the plant manager, Tragep, to make the preservation of formalin.

"We don't see him," Tragep said. He said he would check the place to see if it was used as a warehouse or storage for formalin. He also said he would check the place to see if it was used as a warehouse or storage for formalin.

AgriVina Jaya Santosa Farming branch office.

A week later an animal dera, a pickup truck with a makeshift brown plastic roof of the factory is filled with bottles of tofu. He followed the truck to the factory. He saw a large white container with a red roof, which was used to store formalin. The container was labeled with the name of the company.

Tragep said that the formalin was used to preserve various types of food products. He also said that the formalin was used to preserve various types of food products.

Tragep said that the formalin was used to preserve various types of food products. He also said that the formalin was used to preserve various types of food products.

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The report is made possible in a collaboration of Bina, Tempo Institute, and the Food Force Institute.

PHOTO: TEMPO

will deliver the formaldehyde to the customer. The formalin then flows to the tofu factory, wet noodles, ground fish, chicken, and wet fish.

One of the cases happened to Ardi Sumbogo. As a veterinarian and the head of a livestock company branch, he is an official buyer of formaldehyde, one of which is from PT Agrivina Jaya Santosa (AJS), the subsidiary of PT Japfa Comfeed Indonesia Tbk.

Ardi's name was recorded to have bought formalin twice from AJS. On July 11, 2017, he bought 200 liters at a price of Rp 2.4 million. The price per liter is Rp 12,120, which was below the general selling price of Rp 14,090 due to the large purchase. Ardi himself was surprised that his name was recorded as buying formaldehyde in large quantities. A year later, his name reappeared as a buyer. This time he was stated to have bought two jerry cans of formalin totaling 40 liters, but in fact he did not order such a big amount of the chemical.

A source from the inner circle of AJS explained that misuse of name was a mode to sell formalin. Purchases are usually paid by cash. Head of AJS Palembang Branch Agus Supriyadi confirmed

PHOTO: TEMPO/PT. PRAKASA KARYA

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that names were taken, but this happened because there were breeders who could not buy directly, so they used Ardi's name. Even if they write their names, buyers can get away with it by signing a statement that they will not abuse formaldehyde.

From the investigation by the Tempo and Tribun Sumsel team, it turns out that it is easy to find formaldehyde on the market. The investigation team managed to buy 20 liters of formaldehyde at a price of Rp 25,000 per liter. The seller claimed to have an account at PT AJS that enabled him to order freely.

The investigation team on September 4, 2018 discovered that a car numbered B-9306-B belonging to AJS was used to deliver several jerry cans filled with white liquid to the tofu factory on Noerdin Panji Street, Palembang. However, the company denied that its car was used to send formaldehyde to tofu factories. A day later, however, the car was pulled to Jakarta, on the pretext of being rejuvenated.

# 10. THE LAYERS OF GARLIC CORRUPTION

TEMPO MAGAZINE, FEBRUARY 16, 2020

This investigation uncovers the skyrocketing price of garlic at the beginning of each year. Initially, the suspicion was that there was a sluggish process in licensing and the perpetrator's trick mode of replacing companies that were already blacklisted. The prevailing import mechanism is that the new entrepreneurs can import if they have received an import approval letter (SPI) from the Ministry of Trade, with reference to a recommendation from the Ministry of Agriculture, or the Horticultural Product Import Recommendation (RIPH).

In addition, entrepreneurs are also required to plant garlic domestically at 5 percent of their proposed RIPH quota. This obligation is stipulated in the Minister of Agriculture Regulation No 38/2017 concerning RPIH, when Amran Sulaiman served as minister for the 2014-2019 period. This policy aims to reduce dependence on imports in foodstuffs. Importers who fail to meet this quota are blacklisted.

However, this policy provides a leeway for new corruption and complicated permits. Importers admitted to being asked to levy on each kilogram of garlic they imported.

The problem is, even though importers fail to meet the 5 percent planting quota and have been blacklisted, they can still import again. The mode is to replace companies that have been crossed out with new companies. Another problem is that the Ministry of Agriculture did not check the person behind the new company.

Importers also admitted that they were forced to pay illegal fees. According to the importer, they were obliged to pay levies at the Ministry of Agriculture. One of the importers said he was charged Rp 300 per kilogram of the onions he would import. He agreed and his recommendations were published immediately. Levies



also appeared at the Ministry of Trade. Even though they have received RIPH, they may not be able to import because they do not have the SIP.

Based on the statement of the director of imports of the Ministry of Trade, Ani Mulyati, to the investigators of the anti-corruption commission (KPK), the import quota and the approval for import was completely decided by Minister of Trade, Enggartiasto Lukito. However, there is no clear standard why one RIPH was given SPI, while others were not.

In 2017, the Ministry of Agriculture gave recommendations for garlic imports of 1,000,193 tons. However, Enggar only granted 449,860 tons. In 2018, there were recommendations for 946,022 tons, and Enggar only opened imports for 600,634 tons.

One of the importers who has benefited from Enggar's flexibility is PT Sapta Agro Mandiri. Even though it had only started to apply for imports in 2018, this company already received an import quota of 15,000 tons. However, this company is also at fault. Granted with the quota of 15,000 tons, it should have been obliged to plant garlic on an area of 127.5 hectares. In fact, the company only planted on

8 hectares of land. In the following year, this company even got an additional quota, bringing the total amount to 25,000 tons.

Another company is Lumbung Mineral Internasional. The company recorded a surplus of 17 tons in fulfilling its obligation to produce 500 tons. The company claimed to produce 108 kilogram. However, facts in the field were different. Robikan, a farmer in Banaran Village, Temanggung, Central Java, who grew the garlic for Lumbung Mineral, showed that the plantation only produced 50 kilograms.

Both PT Sapta and PT Lumbung have official connections. Most of Sapta's shares are owned by Dudy Purwagandhi, a member of the special staff of the Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, when the ministerial post was occupied by the former Deputy Chief of the Indonesian Police, Commissioner General Syafruddin.

PT Lumbung is the company where most of its shares belong to Bahlil Lahadalia, head of the Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM). Apart from the two companies, there were three other companies that were also "free" to apply for imports: PT Prima Nusa Lentera Agung, PT Lintas Buana Unggul, and PT Buana Tunas Segara Subur.

These three companies were blacklisted in the 2019 RIPH application because they did not fulfill the 5 percent planting obligation. The shares of these three companies are owned by Ifan Effendi.

These three companies were discovered when KPK raided the Ministry of Agriculture in August 2018 regarding the bribery case for imported garlic. The documents of these three companies were marked with the writing 'Belong to Enggar'. Interaction between Ifan and Enggar started in May 2017. At that time, Enggar, Amran, and Comr. Gen. Syafruddin raided Ifan's garlic warehouse in Marunda, North Jakarta.

After that, Ifan approached Enggar. Until finally, the three companies, together with Lumbung and Sapta, had the discretion.



CHINA

# A LUCRATIVE BUSINESS

EACH year, 75-85 importers request garlic import quotas totaling 700,000 tons. China is the subtropical plant's primary producer. Importers are competing for quotas due to the great profits. With a purchase price of Rp7,200 in China, they can sell the garlic at Rp26,600 in Indonesia, even over Rp40,000 outside Java, and goes up ahead of end of fasting month *Idul Fitri* when the demand is high. With a total of around 500,000 tons of garlic imported annually, importers reap a profit of Rp8.4 trillion from selling the commodity at the cheapest price.

SOURCES: AGRICULTURE MINISTRY DIRECTORATE-GENERAL OF HORTICULTURE, CORRUPTION ERADICATION COMMISSION, MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS, THE PEOPLE'S COALITION FOR FOOD SOVEREIGNTY, BOGOR INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE (IPB) AGRICULTURAL CENTER, INTERVIEWS

INDONESIA



**"I'm not a businessman anymore, don't ask me about that."**

Investment Coordinating Board Chairman **Bahliil Lahadalia**. His company, Lumbung Mineral Internasional, was granted a garlic import quota for 10,000,000 kilograms in 2018 after planting on 83 hectares in Central Java and East Java. Meanwhile, the 2019 Horticultural Products Import Recommendation (RIPH) was for 18,000,000 kilograms.

## FIVE-PERCENT PLANTING REQUIREMENT

The volume of garlic imported is calculated based on the area planted by the importer before requesting an import recommendation. **The Formula: import volume=(planted area x 6 tons per hectare)/5 percent. The figure of 6 tons is the productivity of land per hectare, as regulated by the agriculture ministry.**

2017

- » Area: 8,335 hectares
- » Realized: 3,128 hectares
- » **38 importers failed to meet their planting requirement**

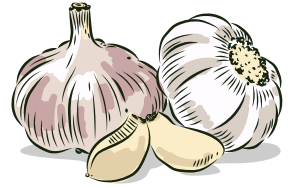
2018

- » Area: 7,875 hectares
- » Realized: 3,724 hectares
- » Production target: 47,301 tons
- » Realized: 24,207 tons
- » **39 importers failed to meet their planting requirement**

## STATE BUDGET ALLOCATION FOR THE CULTIVATION PROGRAM

**BUDGET: RP268.6 BILLION (2020)**

**Self-sufficiency target: 2021**



## CHINA

2017

PRICE: **US\$1.08 PER KILOGRAM** (RP14,600 AT AN EXCHANGE RATE OF RP13,500 TO THE US DOLLAR)

AMOUNT SHIPPED: 533,829 TONS (CHINESE CUSTOMS)

2018

PRICE: **US\$0.51 PER KILOGRAM** (RP7,200 AT AN EXCHANGE RATE OF RP14,200 TO THE US DOLLAR)

AMOUNT SHIPPED: 572,939 TONS (CHINESE CUSTOMS)

## INDONESIA

2017

- » NUMBER OF IMPORTERS: 81 COMPANIES
- » DEMAND: 427,432,000 KILOGRAMS
- » PRICE: RP35,000 PER KILOGRAM
- » **IMPORTERS' MARGIN: RP8.6 TRILLION**
- » QUOTA: 1,000,193,000 KILOGRAMS
- » IMPORTS GRANTED: 449,860,000 KILOGRAM

### REALIZED:

290,000,000 KILOGRAMS (TRADE MINISTRY RECORD)  
1,031,160,000 KILOGRAMS (CUSTOMS RECORD)

2018

- » NUMBER OF IMPORTERS: 85 COMPANIES
- » DEMAND: 461,089,000 KILOGRAMS
- » PRICE: RP26,000 PER KILOGRAM
- » **IMPORTERS' MARGIN: RP8.4 TRILLION**
- » QUOTA: 946,022,000 KILOGRAMS
- » IMPORTS GRANTED: 600,634,000 KILOGRAMS

### REALIZED:

571,576,000 KILOGRAMS (TRADE MINISTRY RECORD)  
1,031,711,000 KILOGRAMS (CUSTOMS RECORD)

## IMPORT FLOW

According to the Agriculture Ministry Regulation No. 38/2017 on the Horticultural Products Import Recommendation (RIPH), those requesting permits to import garlic must first plant garlic in the amount of 5 percent of the volume requested. Indonesia's annual demand for garlic is around 500,000 tons. After receiving a RIPH, an importer must request an Import Approval Letter (SPI) from the trade ministry. After that, an importer will be granted the permit to import a certain volume of garlic from China.



Importer cooperates with farmers to plant garlic with a profit sharing scheme. The importer should provide 500 kilograms garlic seeds and agricultural equipment worth Rp15 million per hectare.



Importer requests for import quota



The agriculture ministry verifies garlic plantation



RIPH is issued



Importer requests for the SPI from the trade ministry



The trade ministry verifies the requirements



SPI is issued



Garlic is purchased from China according to the import quota



# APPENDIX 2:

# ROADSHOW

## IBT 2017

DATE	CITY	LOCAL PARTNERS
June 10	Makassar (South Sulawesi)	Kabar Makassar
June 10	Kupang (East Nusa Tenggara)	Pos Kupang
June 10	Pontianak (West Kalimantan)	Tribun Pontianak
June 11	Yogyakarta	Mongabay
June 12	Solo (Central Java)	Solo Pos
June 15	Bandung (Jawa Barat)	Pikiran Rakyat
June 17	Riau (Pekanbaru)	Riau Online
June 19	Malang (East Java)	AJI Malang
June 19	Surabaya (East Java)	Surya
June 21	Jember (East Java)	AJI Jember
July 8-9	Jayapura (Papua)	Jubi.com
July 12	Jakarta	Press Council

## IBT 2018

DATE	CITY	LOCAL PARTNERS	CSO
April 23-24	Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan)	Tribun Timur	CERA
April 23-24	Semarang (Central Java)	Tribun Jateng	LeSfi

<b>DATE</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>LOCAL PARTNERS</b>	<b>CSO</b>
April 24-25	Balikpapan (East Kalimantan)	Tribun	CERA
April 26-27	Bandung (West Java)	Pikiran Rakyat	
May 2-3	Palembang (South Sumatera)	Tribun Sumsel	CERA
May 4-5	Medan (North Sumatera)	Analisa	ICW
May 9-10	Makassar (South Sulawesi)	AJI Makassar	CERA
May 21-22	Kupang (East Nusa Tenggara)	Kupang Pos	Migrant Care
May 24-25	Jayapura (Papua)	Jubi	Auriga
May 24-25	Denpasar (Bali)	Bale Bengong	CERA

## **IBT 2019**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>LOCAL PARTNERS</b>
April 13-14	Malang (East Java)	AJI Malang
April 20-21	Bandar Lampung (Lampung)	AJI Lampung
April 27-28	Solo (Central Java)	AJI Solo
April 27-28	Mataram (West Nusa Tenggara)	AJI Mataram
April 29-30	Tangerang (Banten)	WHTR Working Group
May 3-4	Batam (Riau)	AJI Batam
May 4-5	Ambon (Maluku)	AJI Ambon
May 6-7	Sorong (West Papua)	UTI Papua Barat
May 13	Manado (North Sulawesi)	AJI Manado
May 13-14	Tarakan (North Kalimantan)	Radar Tarakan

## CITIES VISITED IN IBT ROADSHOW:





## APPENDIX 3:

# IBT FELLOWSHIP PARTICIPANTS

### 2016

NAME	CITY	MEDIA	MENTOR	COVERAGE
Frorentinus Thetool	Manokwari	Metro TV	Mustafa Silalahi	Potential Corruption on Papua Road Project
Hans Arnol Kapisa	Biak	Media Papua	Mustafa Silalahi	Potential Corruption on Papua Road Project
Aseanty Widianingsih P.	West Kalimantan	Koran Tempo	Agoeng Wijaya	Overlapping Mining and Forestry Areas.
David Priyasidharta	Lumajang	Koran Tempo	Yandhrie Arvian	The Use of Illegal Sands by Cement Company for Toll Road Construction
Iqbal Tawakal	Bandung	Koran Tempo	Rusman Paraqbueq	The Outing of Prisoners
Bambang Riyanto	Medan	Analisa Medan	Stefanus Pramono	Human Trafficking Route of Kupang-Medan-Malaysia
Johanes Seo	Kupang	Koresp. Tempo	Stefanus Pramono	Human Trafficking Route of Kupang-Medan-Malaysia



NAME	CITY	MEDIA	MENTOR	COVERAGE
Tommy Apriando	Yogyakarta	Mongabay	Anton Septian	Post-Mining Reclamation Fund
Mustafa Silalahi & Tim	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Indonesian Slaves on Taiwan Ship

## 2017

NAME	CITY	MEDIA	MENTOR	COVERAGE
Abdus Somad	Jakarta	Jaring.id	Sunudyantoro	Control on Karst Land by Yogyakarta Royal Family
Shinta Maharani	Yogyakarta	Koresp. Tempo	Agung Sedayu	Illegal Sand Mining on the Lava Flow of Opak and Serayu River
Budhi Nurgianto	Maluku	Koresp. Tempo	Anton Septian	Threats of Mining on Small Islands
Palce Amalo	Kupang, NTT	Pos Kupang	Anton Aprianto	Violation on the Procurement of Medical Equipment in East Nusa Tenggara
Benny Mawel	Irianjaya, Papua	JUBI	Mustafa Silalahi	Mismanagement of Health Service in Papua
Catur Ratna	Bandung	Pikiran Rakyat	Agoeng Wijaya	Urban Planning Change in Bandung Forest Area
Linda Trianita	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Manipulation of Land Ownership by PT Wilmar
Erwan Hermawan dan Tim	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Night Spots Location, Trafficking of Women and Drugs
Khairul Anam	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Wildlife Trade by State Officials
Rusman Paraqbueq	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Domination of Mining Concession in Protected Forests by Parliament Members

## 2018

<b>NAME</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>MEDIA</b>	<b>MENTOR</b>	<b>COVERAGE</b>
Friska Octaviani Kalia	Jember	KBR	Indri Maulida	Who Masterminds the Human Trafficking to Gabon, Afrika
Avit Hidayat	Jakarta	Tempo	Linda Trianita	How SVLK Becomes the Guise of Illegal Logging
Arjuna Bakara	Medan	Harian Tribun	Mahardika Satria H.	Who are the Main Polluters of Lake Toba in the Last 10 Years
Asmawati Putri	Makassar	Makassar TV	Hussein Abri Dongoran	Does CPI Reclamation Really Use Stolen Sands?
Nurhadi	Surabaya	Koresp. Tempo	Francisco Rosarians EG	The Disposal of Toxic and Hazardous Materials
David Sobolim	Papua	Jubi	Syailendra Persada	How the Tailing of Freeport Isolated 4 Districts?
Prawira Maulana	Palembang	Tribun Sumsel	Khairul Anam	Formalin Distribution in Sumsel
Frederikus Edi Royanto	Ambon	Tabaos	Raymundus Rikang	Syndicate of Harley Davidson Smugglers from Timor Leste
Diananta Putra Sumedi	Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan	Banjar .Id	Rusman Paraqbueq	The Loss of Mining Guarantee Fund in South Kalimantan
Made Argawa	Bali	InewsTV	Gadi Makitan	Who is the Local Political Elite to Smoothen the Celukan Bawang II Steam Power Plant?
Erwan Hermawan	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Batang Toru Hydropower in South Tapanuli Threatens the Forest
Tomy Apriando	Yogyakarta	Mongabay	Putri Adityowati	Why Unlicensed Steam Power Plants in Palu Can Operate?

NAME	CITY	MEDIA	MENTOR	COVERAGE
Muawwin	Jambi	Jambi Link	Devy Ernis	How's Petro China's Spurious Practice in Jambi?
Hussein Abri Dongoran	Jakarta	Tempo	Redaksi	Fraudulent Use of Forest Area Permits involving Haji Isam

## 2019

NAME	CITY	MEDIA	MENTOR	COVERAGE
Belserant Chris	Ambon	Tabaos.id	Mustafa Silalahi	Revealing the Mysterious Death of Maluku Indigenous Community Chief Yohanes Balubun
Mohamad Asad	Pasuruan	Warta-Bromo.com	Agung Sedayu	Contamination of Medical Waste in East Java
Fitri Rahmawati	Mataram	KompasTV/ Kompas.com	Sunudyantoro	Alleged Kidney Sale of Migrant Worker from Lombok, Rabitah
Erwan Hermawan	Jakarta	Majalah Tempo	Redaksi	Garlic Import Tricks
Muhammad Jaya Barent	Ambon	RTV	Rusman Paraqbeq	Secret Deal Behind the Granting of Oil Palm Plantation Permit by Maluku Regent to PT Nusa Ina Group
Kenial Caroline	Jakarta	Betahita	Syailendra Persada	Stowaway in The Issuance of Regulation on Animal and Plants Protection
Sirtupillaili	Mataram	Lombok Post	Anton Septian	Massive Shark Hunting in Lombok

Hari Istiawan	Malang	Jatimnet.com	Anton Aprianto	Plastic Waste Import in Surabaya
Linda	Jakarta	Tempo	Anton Aprianto	Plastic Waste Import in Surabaya
Jeane Rondonuwu	Manado	Sulutdaily.com	Khairul Anam	Child Rape Case in North Maluku

## 2020

NAME	CITY	MEDIA	MENTOR	COVERAGE
Johanes Seo/ (Raymundus Rikang)	Kupang	Koresp. Tempo	Mustafa Silalahi	Poaching and Illegal Trading of Komodo in East Nusa Tenggara
Zaki Amali	Solo	Tirto.id	Agung Sedayu	Bengawan Solo River Pollution by Industries
Yogi Saputra	Batam	Koresp. Tempo	Wayan A. Purnomo	Taiwan-Batam Drug Smuggling Route
Riky Ferdianto	Jakarta	Majalah Tempo	Redaksi	The Take Over RRI's Land for U111
Dini Pramita	Jakarta	Majalah Tempo	Redaksi	Healthcare and Social Security Agency (BPJS Kesehatan) Funding Chaos

## TEMPO JOINT INVESTIGATION



## SUPPORT AND COLLABORATION FOR IBT





# LONG TRACE

THE IMPACTS OF TEMPO  
JOINT

**T**  
INVESTIGATIVE

COVERAGES (2016-2020)

This is a record of the small steps that have been taken by journalists involved in the IBT program, whether journalists from Tempo or other media companies. Their months of hard work, which involved facing threats, not only have revealed many things that have been hidden, but also resulted in far-reaching effects.

It is not easy to collect the stories of journalists during their reporting and how their writing has been impactful. This is because journalists are accustomed to writing for others, not for themselves. Their focus is on the topics we assigned, not on how they worked. Journalists are used to moving in the shadows and not appearing on stage, let alone making a statement about themselves.

It was only before the end of the five-year IBT program that we realized the importance of this record.

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