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**POLITICAL NEWS  
CONSTRUCTION IN POST-  
AUTHORITARIAN INDONESIA  
CITIZEN JOURNALISM IN  
ONLINE NEWS MEDIA DURING  
THE 2017 ELECTION**

INDRA PRAWIRA

PhD

2019

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements of the University of  
Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the  
Faculty of Arts, Design & Social  
Sciences

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## **Abstract**

This study was conducted in the response to the lack of empirical study of citizen journalism (CJ) within an online journalistic field in a newly democratic country. This study adopts Bourdieu's (1998, 2005) field theory, the social theory of journalism of McQuail (2013) and McCombs' (2014) agenda-setting theory to understand the "struggle" of the legacy media in defending its position within society as the mediator of political communication. It utilises parallel convergent mixed-methods with qualitative data is collected based on an ethnographical study of three major Indonesian online news media outlets. It analysed 33 media staffs interview results about news production during the 2017 Indonesian election. Meanwhile, the quantitative data was generated from published political news content during January- March 2017.

The analysis of data shows that CJ put pressure on the journalistic fields so that journalists made efforts to maintain their status quo. Journalists are adapting their journalistic norms and traditions so as to defend their position in dominating political communication and influencing public opinion. This study argues that the online news media are engaged three areas of struggle; that is struggles to find a business model, to be equally recognised as offering quality journalism, and to compete with non-professional journalists. This study provides an original contribution to research on journalism in explaining the development of CJ in the Indonesian context both theoretically and empirically.

Keywords; journalistic field, citizen journalism, field theory, political communication, Indonesian journalism

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## **Declaration**

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 30 October 2016.

**I declare that the word count of this thesis is 79,038 words**

Name: Indra Prawira

Signature:

Date:

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Chapter Overview**

This chapter summarises the content of this thesis. It highlights the background of the research, the research questions, and the method used to answer the research questions. An overview of the chapters in this thesis are highlighted at the end of this introductory chapter.

#### **1.2 Background**

This study is exploratory research into the relationship between professional journalists and non-professional journalists in the construction of news in the Indonesian online news media. It investigates the dynamics of their involvement in citizen journalism (CJ), which is currently developing in Indonesia (Margianto and Saefullah 2012, Murti, 2013, Abdillah 2014, Mietzner, 2014, Rahmawati 2014, Weiss 2014, Lim 2017). Researchers have argued that the development of non-professional journalism has reduced the monopoly of traditional news media in the dissemination of information to the public (Gillmor 2006, Coleman and Ross 2010). They observe that the development of the Internet has been a significant factor leading to the rise of the CJ phenomenon, which has increased the democratic media spaces. The Internet can accommodate involvement of citizens in the construction of news (Allan 2006, Gillmor 2006, Quinn and Lambie 2008, Lindner and Larson 2017) and can influence political discourse to

support the involvement of the public in politics (Kaufhold, Valenzuela et al. 2010, Wayansari 2011). Therefore, in the new democratic country of Indonesia, non-professional journalism could contribute to the growth of democracy, which, according to Winters (2013), has been in deficit.

Journalism research not only focuses on how journalism influences a society (practical), but also examines how journalism should affect the community. The last focus is known as journalism research in the context of normative tradition. The normative theory of journalism has been inspired by journalists such as Siebert et al. (1956) through 'Four Theories of the Press', and Hallin and Mancini (2004) with comparative media systems (CMS). Both are focused on examining the press, which is formed by the social and political structures within which it operates. Hallin and Mancini stated that belief and assumptions of society are reflected by the press system, for example, free, equal, and social responsibility reflecting liberal Western society. This normative theory recognises that a nation's culture can cause differences in press systems because different nations have different principles and priorities. Normative theory is considered to be in a position of uncertainty due to the development of media and new media format (Nerone 1995 cited in Christian et al. 2009 p. Viii). According to Christian et al. (2009), there is a shift in political-ideological media to deregulation and entrepreneurial growth from social responsibility. However, normative theories are essential as a guide for professional media. Christian et al. (2009) added that normative theory occupies a central position in communication studies that highlights technology development with issues such as law, policy, and

governance. There are three levels of analysis in normative theory; firstly, normative theory is assessing values of professional which the public should acknowledge. Secondly, it analyses the contribution of media to democracy. Lastly, it examines the journalistic task of media (Christian et al. 2009). According to Althaus (2012), a normative assessment provides a rationale for empirical research or gives a contextual foundation to empirical analysis. Althaus (2012) notes that the normative evaluation offers clarification on the practical relevance of research to the concerns of political philosophy.

Normative assessment in journalism refers to analysing the value of journalism based on empirical research to a normative or ideal state of journalism. This assessment is important because journalism plays a central role in the formation and dissemination of public opinion (McQuail 2013). However, each national society has a distinctive norm and structural system that tends to operate under different principles (McQuail 2013). In Indonesia, normative journalism is embedded in Article 3 of the 1999 Press Law. It states that the function of the press is as a medium of information, education, entertainment, and social control. This role of the press in Indonesia corresponds to most public service broadcasters such as the BBC (Christian et al. 2009). However, the Press Law also pragmatically states that the national press can function as an economic institution. The economic function of the press company means that press institutions can be used as a tool for profit. Journalism scholars have criticized that this function leads to the conglomeration of Indonesian media (Lim 2002, Armando 2012, Tapsell 2015).

However, the development of the Internet challenges the monopoly of public communication, which was dominated by mainstream media, because the Internet allows the public to produce and disseminate news, known as citizen journalism (Allan 2006, Gillmor 2006, McQuail 2013). The development of citizen journalism signals that there is a change to the monopoly of both professional journalists and media owners in determining the media agenda. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu considers that the production and dissemination of news is an activity that is part of the competition between agents in the journalistic field (Bourdieu 1998). According to Bourdieu (1998), every agent will make an effort to overcome other agents by using the resources they have. Competition between agents in the journalistic field is competition for the dominant position in influencing public opinion (Bourdieu 1998, McQuail 2013). Competition between agents occurs between professional journalists as agents who occupy journalistic fields with new agents, namely citizen journalists.

This study views CJ as a form of collaboration between non-professional journalists and professional journalists in the construction of news in mainstream media outlets. Optimism about the type of journalism which is conducted by ordinary citizens is increasing, as empirical evidence shows that non-professional journalists are capable of replacing traditional journalists in shaping public opinion in a democratic environment (Allan 2006, Gillmor 2006), including in the context of an authoritarian state (Wall and Zahed 2015). Similarly, Chaffee and Metzger (2001) argued that mainstream media are now less influential in constructing public opinion, and especially in determining the public agenda,

through the news. However, other researchers believe that the role of mainstream media is still central in political communication (Blumler 2015, Tapsell 2015). Research into political communication has found that there is a similarity between the media agenda and the public agenda. It is concluded that the news media actively set a political agenda which closely corresponds with the public agenda, in a process known as agenda-setting (McComb and Shaw 1972, Shaw 2007, McComb 2014, Tapsell 2015). Research on agenda-setting is commonly conducted during election campaigns, and Aelst and De Swert (2009) pointed out that journalists are more active during elections than at other times. By the same token, this study investigates the activities of journalists and their relationship with citizen journalists, particularly during election periods, such as presidential elections.

Many researchers have identified various collaborative structures in CJ (see; Chang and Yun 2008, Domingo 2008, Paulussen and Ugille, 2008, Thurman 2008, Palmer 2013, Jordaan 2013, Kammer, 2013, Ornebring, 2013, Netzer et al. 2014, Allan and Peters 2015, Schwalbe et al. 2015, Wall and Zahed 2015, Bossio and Bebawi, 2016, Lindner and Larson 2017) and other researchers have further found that journalists are often threatened by the CJ phenomena and make efforts to maintain the status quo or to continue 'business as usual' (Weimann et al. 2014, Phillips 2015). To do this, professional journalists conduct activities to compete with citizen journalists by adopting CJ. Journalists integrate their work with that of citizen journalists in the news to maintain their autonomy in that relationship (Carlson 2015). Meanwhile, other researchers argue that CJ has been co-opted by

the culture and conventions of the mainstream media (Kperogi 2011, Örnebring 2013, Wall 2015). Based on the hierarchical relationships in the editorial structure in the adoption of CJ, it has been identified that professional journalists determine the nature of the link in order to differentiate themselves from citizen journalists (Carlson 2015, Coddington 2015, Singer 2015).

Journalistic practice depends on such factors as the type of media system concerned (Siebert et al. 1956, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Yin, 2008, McQuail 2013), the influence of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 2005), and the social processes that occur during the transition to democracy (McQuail 2013, Voltmer 2014). Therefore, it can be assumed that these factors will determine the dynamics of the relationship between non-professional journalists and professional journalists. As McQuail (2013) argued, the conditions of journalism are highly dependent on the environment in which it is practiced, and it is necessary to conduct empirical studies of CJ in different countries. Journalism research in newly democratic countries, surprisingly, has received little attention by scholars of journalism (Voltmer 2013), let alone research into the CJ phenomenon. Therefore, it is anticipated that this study, which focus on the adoption of CJ would fill these gaps of journalism research in new democratic country

This study focuses on the current development of online news media journalism practice in Indonesia related to the development of CJ. The selection of Indonesia as a research locus was based on the following considerations; firstly, Indonesia is the largest democracy in the world after the US and India. In the democratic state

order, the press is known as the fourth pillar of democracy; therefore, the state guarantees press freedom and freedom of expression (McQuail 2013). Secondly, Indonesia is amongst several new democratic countries, which are experiencing a transition of the political system and media system. Previously, Indonesia experienced an authoritarian media system during the presidency of President Soeharto, which limited political discourse in society, including in the media (Lim 2002, Sen and Hill 2007). However, since 1998, Indonesia has entered a period of reform that guarantees press freedom and freedom of expression. During political development as a new democracy, Indonesia was also not immune to the development of global trends such as the Internet and social media. Both of these developments have provided a way for the public to express their opinions freely on social media such as Facebook and Twitter (Detik, 2015a). Public expression in social media might be a good sign of the development of democracy in Indonesia. The involvement of the public in political discourse is also shown by the development of citizen journalism, which not only flourished in social media but also caught the attention of the mainstream media. Luqman and Hasfi (2010) stated that CJ has developed across various platforms in the Indonesian mainstream media, especially in online media. The social and political conditions in Indonesia provide a research locus that can represent the development of citizen journalism in the context of political discourse. Research on the development of CJ related to political communication has been carried out in the context of democratic countries such as CJ research in the US and UK. However, CJ research in the context of political communication in new democracies has to date

received little attention from journalism scholars. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the development of knowledge regarding the expansion of CJ related to political communication in a newly democratic country.

This thesis follows the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory in exploring CJ as a result of interactions between agents in the journalistic field. However, this thesis also utilises Dennis McQuail's (2013) social theory of journalism as a normative theory that can complement field theory to examine the current development of CJ.

This study focuses on the current development of online news media practice in Indonesia in connection with the development of CJ. In this newly democratic country, traditional media such as television and radio have integrated CJ into their products. Some national television stations such as TVOne, SCTV, and Net TV, and Elshinta's radio station have special programs to accommodate CJ. However, CJ's most prominent activities occur in the world of online news media, such as Wikiku.com, kompas.com, and detik.com (Luqman and Hasfi, 2010). Nevertheless, it is believed that the role of mainstream media is influenced by the development of CJ, which is affecting journalistic practice in the news media (Lindner and Larson, 2017). Therefore, this study aims to investigate how CJ contributes to change in journalistic practice in mainstream media, especially in the production of political news during elections.

Lim (2012) noted that there has been a massive development of the news media in Indonesia since the Reforms era which began in 1998. This era allowed the press

a period of freedom to give journalists a way to determine their voice and mission (Pintak and Setiyono, 2010). However, the news media were losing their political independence and journalists were actively setting their own media agenda in such a way as to favour only a few opinions (Lim 2012, Sudibyo and Patria 2013, Armando 2014), leading to self-censorship (Tapsell 2012). These types of national news media, according to Mietzner (2014) and Tapsell (2015) are holding the primary reference in the election, even though social media have started to become an alternative medium for political communication in Indonesia (Abdillah 2014, Mietzner, 2014, Rahmawati 2014, Weiss 2014, Lim 2017). According to Mietzner (2014), the role of the mainstream media in constructing public opinion in Indonesia was demonstrated when the media emphasised Joko Widodo's successes as Mayor of Solo, West Java, to support his bid for victory in the 2014 Presidential election.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The activities of Indonesian citizens in using the Internet to express themselves has led to Indonesia having one of the most significant national presences on Facebook and Twitter (Lim 2013). Researchers have found that users of social media in Indonesia have on several occasions overcome the influence of the major news organisations in conveying information to the public such as in breaking news (Alejandro, 2010), generating public movements (Yangyue, 2014), and in influencing public opinion in elections (Abdillah 2014). The development of social media supported by the development of the Internet has bolstered optimism

about the growth of democracy in Indonesia (Wayansari, 2012, Widodo, 2012). Wayansari (2012) mentions that the development of the Internet has expanded the public sphere, while Widodo (2012) specifically suggests that CJ is supported by the development of the Internet and could become an effective medium for participatory democracy. Even so, other researchers are pessimistic concerning the growth of the Internet in Indonesia which, according to them, has led to a democratic deficit (Lim 2002, Tapsell 2012, Winters 2013, Lim 2017). Lim (2017) stated that the development of the Internet has led to it becoming a medium which supports polarisation in Indonesian society, particularly during elections. According to Lim (2017), the development of the Internet has merely given citizens the freedom to hate.

Researchers have investigated how journalists in Western countries have reacted to the development of citizen journalism (Boczkowski 2004, Domingo 2008, Paullusen and Ugille, 2008, Kammer, 2013, Örnebring 2013, Nah et al. 2017). These studies illustrate the fact that mainstream media has commonly integrated CJ in news production so that new journalistic practices result. However, there is a gap in the literature in understanding the responses of journalists to CJ in Indonesia, particularly concerning important democratic events such as in elections.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

Based on the background of the study and the statement of the problem, two central research questions have been identified, which are:

1. What are the factors influencing the adoption of CJ in political news production in a new democratic country?

2. To what extent has the adoption of CJ influenced the media agenda in a new democratic country?

These two research questions are in line with the research objectives to be achieved, which are;

- To explore the factors that influenced the adoption of CJ in news production of online news organisations in a new democratic country.

- To investigate the influence of CJ on the media agenda of online news media in a new democratic country

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

This study uses the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's field theory and the theory of the social responsibility of journalism to explore journalism practice related to CJ in online news media in Indonesia. Field theory views the news media as social institutions which are governed by their own rules (Benson, 1999), while journalists are seen as social agents who are consciously or unconsciously competing for a position (Bourdieu, 2005, Benson and Neveu, 2005). Bourdieu (2005) stated that the competition between agents in a field aims to defend or change its structure. He defined the field as,

“a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, this

position-taking being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field”

(Bourdieu, 2005, p. 30).

Media scholars have interpreted Bourdieu's work in exploring journalism through the use of field theory as a comprehensive way to understand the practice of journalism (Benson 2006, Hesmondalgh 2006, Schultz 2007, Willig 2012).

However, in addition to the development of the media, Benson and Neveu (2005) argued that field theory is a "work in progress" that needs to be further tested and modified. In the same vein, Willig (2012) proposed that field theory should be coupled with other types of theory in order to develop a better analytical strategy.

The theory of the social responsibility of journalism can complement and ameliorate the shortcomings of field theory in exploring journalism practice.

The theory of the social responsibility of journalism is a normative theory which, according to McQuail (2013), is a tool for analysing journalistic practice based on the obligations of journalists to society. McQuail (2013) stated that the social theory of journalism involves a mixture of description and normative prescriptions that see journalism as conforming to specific 'ideal types' of purpose and practice in terms of its potential obligation to the broader society. Both theories are considered to complement each other in understanding journalistic practice.

However, as this study aims to interrogate the agenda of media setting, another theoretical framework is needed to understand the media agenda; namely, McComb's (2014). agenda-setting theory. Similar to field theory and the social theory of journalism, agenda-setting theory connects news media and society,

however, it focuses on the media agenda and its relationship to the public agendas.

### **1.6 Methodology and Research Worldview**

Based on the theoretical framework that has been constructed, this thesis assumes that a mixed-methods approach is most suitable compared to the use of a single method. The mixed-method approach combines qualitative and quantitative methods to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the research problem. Researchers have found that the use of mixed-methods aims to obtain more detailed and reliable findings (Jordaan 2013, Weerakkody 2015).

According to Creswell (2014), the mixed methods approach involves a pragmatic worldview because this type of worldview is not committed to one system of philosophy and reality. It also does not focus on one research method and utilises research procedures based on the needs and objectives of the research. Therefore, pragmatism also provides opportunities for the use of multiple methods, different worldviews, different assumptions, and various techniques of data collection and analysis (Creswell 2014). The pragmatism worldview is suitable for exploring the complexity of journalistic practice based on the relationship between professional and non-professional journalists in the production of political news.

In operationalising the theoretical framework, this research considers that mixed-methods is the most appropriate approach to accommodate data collection and analysis. This method allows the researcher to collect both quantitative and qualitative data at the same time and then compares the results of data analysis (Creswell 2014, Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The quantitative data concerned is

obtained from document tracking and published news content, while qualitative data is derived from the application of an ethnographical approach to the analysis of three online news media organisations in Indonesia.

### **1.7 Motivation for the Study**

Indonesian journalism has experienced rapid progress both in practice and in terms of research after it was freed from State intervention since the Reform era in 1998. Since then, the news media have occupied a prominent position in society's political discourse by monopolising the circulation of information in the community. They became the primary agents in political communication in every democratic election in the country. However, the concentration of media ownership and partisan media signals that the function of the press in Indonesia is in decline. At the same time, there is hope for better journalism through the rise of CJ, which is considered to be an incentive for a more democratic journalism environment. Even so, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, research that examines CJ in Indonesian journalism is rare. Some research in national journals shows that news media such as radio, television and online news are actively adopting CJ, however questions remain concerning whether CJ has brought changes to journalistic practice or if it is co-opted into traditional journalism practice. It is important to investigate the factors that influence the relationship between professional and non-professional journalists and how their relationships are structured.

## **1.8 Contribution to Knowledge**

This research aims to explore the relationship between non-professional journalists and professional journalists in citizen journalism (CJ) to build an analysis of journalistic practice in new democratic country. Indonesia represent as one of the biggest newly democratic country, which experience political turbulence in the 1998 Reform Era. Research on journalism in general in Indonesia is rare (Lim and Nugroho 2011), let alone contemporary journalism research in connection with CJ. Even so, there are several studies of Indonesia journalism and media ownership that can be useful as references in building the design of this study (Armando, 2014, Sudibyo and Patria 2013, Yuki 2012, Slater et al. 2013, Tapsell 2015, Winters 2013, Fukuoka 2013), as well as research into media culture and politics (Sen and Hill, 2007, Tapsell 2012, Fukuoka 2013, Aspinal 2014) and news media and social media relations (Nyarwi 2013, Lim 2013, 2017, Abdillah 2014, Ibrahim et al. 2015). Recent research has highlighted the development of journalism concerning non-professional journalists on social media. For example, Lim (2017) argued that the development of Facebook and Twitter had caused polarisation in society and Abdillah's (2014) research focused on investigating social media as a medium for political marketing at election time. These studies indicate that non-professional journalists are taking a role in society that was previously monopolised by journalists. The present research examines the perspective of journalists concerning the growing CJ phenomenon. The study, therefore, has the potential to provide three contributions to knowledge, which are as follows:

- A new empirical study on citizen journalism in the newly democratic country
- An exploration of the journalist position within the society of a new democratic country
- An investigation of the role of citizen journalism in influencing the news media agenda

### **1.9 Thesis Overview**

This thesis contains eleven chapters which are organised according to the following structure. Chapter two explores the development of global journalism due to the growth of citizen journalism, which is supported by the development of the Internet. This chapter seeks to understand CJ and to establish a typology based on previous research. Chapter two also highlights the dynamics of the relationship between professional journalists and citizen journalists and efforts to build boundaries between the two.

Chapter three provides a theoretical framework to understand journalistic practice in relation to CJ. It elaborates on field theory and the social theory of journalism to build a conceptual understanding of news media as social institutions. It argues that field theory is germane in answering this study's research questions and objectives. However, it also criticises field theory for lacking focus on society as an external factor when investigating the journalistic practice. As a normative theory, the social responsibility of journalism theory provides a deeper understanding of how journalism operates within society.

Chapters four and five explore the role of journalism in political communication. The tripartite relationship between society, the media, and political actors are changing according to the development of communication in the digital era. Chapter four argues that news media as social institutions could also perform as political actors in society. The subsequent chapter narrows down the discussion to the question of the news media and political communication in an Indonesian context. This chapter highlights a brief history of the development of news media in the authoritarian era and compares it to current media development. It focuses on the development of economics, and social and political factors in relation to journalism. It argues that the development of journalism has moved backward in the post-authoritarian era with the enactment of laws, rules, and regulations that limit the freedom of the press and freedom of public expression.

Chapter six presents the research design of this study. It highlights the worldview of pragmatism and how it differs from other paradigms. It argues that this study takes advantage of the benefits of pragmatism, supported by the combination of different research approaches. It explains how the mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods can minimise the disadvantages of the use of a single method.

Chapter seven presents the qualitative findings gathered from an ethnographical study of three national online news media organisations. The main data collected from semi-structured interviews with media staff are displayed via a word cloud analysis to show the most frequently used words and phrases. This chapter analyses the results thematically and investigates the interaction of themes in the

journalistic field. It also provides quotations from interviewees to support the arguments made which arise from the analysis of the data.

Chapter eight presents the quantitative data findings obtained from scrutinising documents and content analysis research. By following the convergent parallel mixed-methods approach, quantitative data is gathered along with qualitative data. The quantitative data to be analysed is demographic data and published news content from online news media during the 2017 election. The news content was mined daily before, during, and after the election. Data is displayed through tables and diagrams to facilitate the analysis.

Chapter nine compares and contrasts the two data sets derived from qualitative and quantitative research. In this way, the findings can be compared to confirm or corroborate each other in answering the research question of this study. The two approaches correlate with each other even though each method has limitations in interrogating the relevant variables. The tenth chapter analyses the implications of the findings in the context of previous studies of journalistic practice in Indonesia. This thesis then concludes with the summary of the conditions of Indonesian journalism related to the development of CJ in chapter eleven.

## **1.10 Conclusion**

This chapter gives an introduction to this research study. It highlights the research question asked and summarises the method of research chosen to provide answers to the research questions. The next chapter is a literature review which forms the basis of the theoretical framework in this research.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Journalism, the Internet and Citizen Journalism**

#### **2.1 Chapter Overview**

Public participation in the construction of news in the mass media has been recognised since the beginning of journalism itself. However, to date, researchers have expressed different views in identifying and interpreting the phenomenon. This chapter explores several citizen journalism (CJ) studies in order to establish conceptualisations of the subject to be used in this study. As Bryman (2012) stated, forming a concept in social research involves the construction of blocks of theory and characterising points around it. Therefore, this chapter firstly explores CJ in the context of journalism, especially online journalism. Bryman (2012) also suggested that conceptualisation should start with a broad sense of the subject, which can be revised and narrowed down during the research. As mentioned in chapter one, the objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between non-professional and professional journalists in CJ. Therefore, this chapter examines the development of the relationship between the two and the factors that influence this relationship. Researchers use different terms in identifying public participation in the construction of news, such as ‘grassroots journalism’ (Gillmor 2006), ‘participatory journalism’ (Bowman and Willis 2003, Domingo et al. 2008), and ‘user-generated content’ (Hermida and Thurman 2008). However, this study uses the term ‘citizen journalism’ because it has become more widely

known in the last decade (Mutsvairo, Columbus et al. 2014) and is considered more "powerful" than other terms (Cottle, 2014 cited in Wall, 2015 p. 798).

## **2.2 The Internet and Journalism**

The development of the Internet and digital technology since the 1990s has led to considerable changes in media communication. These developments interact with social interests, government policies, and business strategies to form a new culture called the culture of real virtuality (Rheingold 1994, Castell 1996). These developments have occurred rapidly since the mid-2000s, leading to the second generation of Internet use, called Web 2.0 (O'Reilly 2005). O'Reilly described Web 2.0 as a progression of the Web that initially provided read-only information to a dynamic platform by opening up chances for anyone to play a role in producing content, so that collaboration and Web communities are supported. The further interaction facilitated by the Internet gave birth to a successive generation, namely Web 3.0, which is also called the semantic web and the predicted future generation of Web 4.0 which is referred to as the symbiotic Internet (Letts 2017). The development of technology and the Internet has supported gradual changes in journalism, which have been contested and consolidated by the emergence of a new genre of communication media that is online journalism (Allan 2006). Compared to its predecessors, online journalism offers the immediacy of television and radio and the space of print media, and the interactive feature can be seen as its main strength (Quinn and Lamble 2008). The Internet provides access to non-journalists, or so-called citizen journalists, in news construction

(Allan 2006, Quinn and Lamble 2008, Lindner and Larson 2017), leading the news to become more like conversation and less like a lecture (Gillmor 2006). The interaction between audiences and journalists also involves changes in the relationship between communicators and recipients, between the professional and non-professional journalists (Loosen 2015).

Journalists individually respond to the presence of citizen journalism (CJ) in different ways, affected by differences in online news media strategies in adopting CJ (Paulussen and Ugille 2008). Domingo et al. (2008) conducted one of the most extensive studies of media practice in adopting CJ. They investigated CJ practice in sixteen leading online news organisations from eight different countries. According to their research, CJ has been widely recognised in the process of news making, although journalists are still dominant in journalistic activities such as making judgments about news, gathering information, writing, and editing. Professional journalists perform an important role as moderators in the adoption of CJ in online news media (Hermida and Thurman, 2008).

Domingo et al. (2008) suggested that such findings should not be generalised as the adoption of CJ depends on context, and among other important factors is influenced by social, professional and market contexts. Nevertheless, Domingo et al.'s (2008) study is useful in understanding the development of CJ and the process of its adoption in the media. The stages of the development of online journalism and the possibility of user contributions in online news production discerned by Domingo et al. (2008) involve access/observation, selection/filtering, processing, distribution, and interpretation.

When Domingo et al. (2008) conducted their research on user contributions in online newsrooms, they pointed out that many online news organisations use access and observation sources which are not open to users. Of the sixteen media organisations studied, only ten invited users to contribute to news production. They promoted CJ to encourage users to participate actively. However, this “openness” was limited to a few forms of contribution such as submitting photographs, video, and audio. The media organisations acknowledge that the need for contributions from users is increasingly important, particularly for special events such as breaking news. In this type of event, the media largely depend on the contribution from users in the field, such as in the 2004 Southeast Asian tsunami, the London bombing, and US hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Allan 2006). Allan (2006) noted that CJ often rises in times of crisis across the world. Domingo et al. (2008) found that the selection and filtering stage is a sterile environment regarding user contributions, and journalists monopolise this stage. At this point, the journalist determines which news will be published, or referred to, at the agenda-setting stage (Shaw 2007). According to Domingo et al., (2008) the role of the journalist as a “gatekeeper” in this important phase is still dominated by professional journalists. However, other research shows that, in online news media, the journalist ‘releases’ the role of content selection to users due to pragmatic considerations (Thurman 2008, Palmer 2013). According to Palmer (2013), in its ‘I-report’ program, CNN demands that users self-filter their stories before submitting them on the website. CNN requires users to verify their information by themselves, otherwise, CNN will reject the submission. Even so,

neither Thurman (2008) nor Palmer (2013) considered the media act of "releasing" the role of the news selection phase to the user to be due to economic reasons of labour efficiency rather than democratic goals in wishing to include the user in an agenda-setting role.

In general, online news media are open to contributions from users, who are given access to the production of travel sections or other entertainment news rather than hard news sections. Domingo et al. (2008) pointed out that some online news media have begun to be open to user contribution in hard news, but they do not identify that contribution as occurring in the processing and news-editing stages. Meanwhile, some researchers have argued that CJ can potentially degrade or compromise the quality of journalism (Keen 2007, Ornebring 2013, Allan and Peter 2015). Therefore, in processing and editing news, journalists modify the products of citizen journalists through editing, which aims to adjust it to meet the standards of professional journalism (Ornebring 2013).

Domingo et al. (2008) suggested that the news distribution stage is very restricted in terms of user contributions. According to them, based on socio-historical developments, professional journalists retain full control over the distribution phase. However, further research has provided evidence that the media do engage with the audience to allow them to participate in news distribution. Thrilling et al. (2016) identified that the interactivity characteristics of online news media are used to encourage users to share news items. By analysing the newsworthiness of news items which are more 'shareable', they developed the concept of 'shareworthiness'. Trilling et al. (2017) referred to 'shareworthiness' as a

structural factor affecting the sharing of news, which can be described as an activity that lies between news creation and reception. They concluded that 'shareworthiness' is influenced by geographical distance, cultural distance, negativity and positivity, human interest, and exclusiveness.

The interpretation stage is considered to be the stage most accessible to users compared to any other stage of news production. Domingo and colleagues (2008) pointed out that eleven out of sixteen online news organisations were considered to have opened up access to the interpretation of news to allow the audience to debate relevant events or news items. User participation at this stage could take the form of comments on news stories or in other places such as forums.

According to Netzer et al. (2014), the term comments refers to the reactions of users expressed in written remarks included in the online article. Compared to processes in the previous four stages, user comments are the most "open" feature of user contributions (Domingo et al. 2008, Netzer et al. 2014), and make online news media more democratic because user comments may potentially increase public discourse (Weber 2014).

Domingo et al.'s (2008) findings invite debate as to whether or not their research is still relevant, taking into consideration the rapid development of CJ in the last few years. Although they conducted an extensive study, Domingo et al. (2008) concluded that the attitudes of journalists to audience participation in the online newsroom were locally constructed. Therefore, they suggested that further contextual research on this acceptance should be conducted, not just in a particular country but also in specific cases. More recent evidence in different locations and

at different times, has offered different results from Domingo et al.'s (2008) findings, showing that online news media are developing strategies to be more "open" to contributions from citizens (Thurman 2008, Palmer 2013), such as in non-profit media organisations (Ferrucci 2017). Online news media sources also provide users with a role in distribution by encouraging them to share news items (Trilling et al. 2017). Nevertheless, the work of Domingo et al. (2008) can be useful as a starting point in the mapping of user contributions to the construction of news and involvement in journalism which, according to Lindner and Larson (2017), seems to have expanded or even become transformed more recently.

### **2.3 Defining Citizen Journalism**

Citizen Journalism (CJ) is understood as public contributions to the construction of news and has long been known to be part of journalism (Lewis 2012). In the early eras of newspapers, the public was involved in the creation and dissemination of news stories (Law, 2003) or reader's notes (Hermida 2011). However, researchers have emphasised that the development of the Internet and digital technology is supporting the recent rise of CJ (Gillmor 2006, Allan 2006, Borger et al. 2013).

There have been a large number of studies published on CJ since the development of the Internet over the last three decades. A Google Scholar search on 15 March 2018 generated 139,000 items relating to the keywords 'Citizen Journalism' from 1990-2018. Nevertheless, to build a conceptual framework for this study, it is useful to begin by reviewing the research output that has been established to

define what CJ is and the relationship between CJ and journalism more widely. Wall (2015) stated that previous research has endeavoured to describe CJ definitively, but a single definition has never been agreed. Quoting Castell (2000), Allan (2013 p. 91) argued that mainstream media have to change their reportorial principles because of citizen contributions in newsmaking. According to Allan (2013), tracing the status of CJ as ‘amateur’ and its relationship to its ‘professional’ counterpart allows an understanding of CJ.

Three divergent and often conflicting discourses emerge from established studies on CJ regarding its relationship to journalism. One view considers CJ to be journalism itself, the second believes that CJ is not journalism, while the third stream sees CJ as a collaboration between citizens (non-journalists) and professional journalists. The first view that considers CJ to be equal to journalism argues that CJ can perform the functions of journalism in its own right.

Journalistic activities are commonly described as collecting, analysing and publishing news (McQuail 2013), and researchers holding this view consider that citizen journalists could replace professionals in performing the functions of a journalist that have been previously monopolised. The emergence of CJ is thus considered to be an attempt to challenge the monopoly. Chandler and Munday (2011) define CJ as:

“The reporting and dissemination of news and information independently of conventional news institutions by individuals who are not professional journalists.”

(Chandler and Munday, 2011 p. 47)

In the same vein, *We the Media* (Gillmor 2006) introduced the term ‘grassroots journalism’ as a form of journalism that can be performed by anybody classed as citizen reporters. Gillmor (2006) argues that, in the simplest example, the citizen who disseminates information could be called a news producer. Despite some problems associated with citizen reporters such as accuracy and fairness, Gillmor is optimistic that grassroots journalism has the potential to make communication more ‘grassroots’ and democratic. Optimism about the growth of democracy caused by the citizen active in journalism is also expressed by Bowman and Willis (2003), who define CJ as participatory journalism, which is:

"The act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information. This participation intends to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging, and relevant information that a democracy requires."

(Bowman and Willis 2003 p.9)

Bowman and Willis note that democratised media challenge the press organisations which were previously known as the exclusive, privileged, trusted, informed intermediaries of the news. The contribution of CJ in democratic development, as established by Gillmor (2006), potentially promotes a change in journalism and the political establishment, as seen in the South Korean website ‘Ohmynews’. Citizen reporters primarily produce the content of ‘Ohmynews’, and it was recognised as being able to compete with the mainstream media in influencing public opinion during the 2002 South Korean presidential election. A

more in-depth discussion of the relationship between CJ and politics is provided in the next section.

Technological advances support the opportunity of every citizen to engage in journalism activities. As Gillmor (2006) stated, all the constituencies in media communication, including journalists, citizens, and newsmakers, now have equal opportunities in producing news. Therefore, journalists and media organisations are losing control of mass communication, which has always previously been in their domination. This phenomenon was discussed by Chaffee and Metzger (2001) in an article entitled 'The End of Mass Communication'. In their view, the new media in the early 21st century have prompted fundamental changes in mass communication to be less controlled. In other words, the new media have 'demassified' mass communication, providing self-expression opportunities for people who were previously neglected by the old media. Chaffee and Metzger (2001) stated that research on what media are doing to people would be more of a concern and study will be more focused on what people are doing with the media. The second view in understanding CJ regarding its connection with journalism states that CJ is not journalism. Keen (2007) called CJ a journalistic activity conducted by non-journalists which, he argued, degrades the value of journalism. Citizen journalists lack cultural capital because they do not experience the formal or non-formal training that professional journalists do (Keen 2011). This cultural capital is important in journalistic work and may include educational credentials, technical expertise, general knowledge, verbal ability, and artistic sensibility (Benson and Neveu, 2005).

Keen (2007) stated that problems would occur if non-journalists reporting the news lacked the necessary cultural capital and the results of such reporting spread among the public, as happened after the disaster of Katrina hurricane in 2005 when citizen journalists mixed facts with unverified information. Citizen journalists provided useful information about the damage caused by the hurricane; however, on the other hand, their role in producing and disseminating the news made some aspects of the situation worse. Citizen journalists participated in disseminating incorrect information about rapes and gang violence or about the increasing death toll caused by the hurricane. According to Keen (2007), citizen journalists do not have the resources to produce reliable news, and this leads to a lower quality of information being received by the audience. Furthermore, the status of citizen journalists as amateurs may lead to biased and unfiltered information being distributed among the public (Keen 2007) which would potentially involve them spreading rumours and fake news (BBC, 2016). BBC Trending observes hundreds of fake news websites whose appearance is similar to that of genuine news websites. These types of websites aim to boost traffic by using false news stories to attract advertisers. Fake news has been identified as having a news-like story format, and therefore, both citizens and even professional journalists may become agents in spreading fake news without knowing it (BBC 2016). The situation is increasingly complex because, among those citizens, there are people who aim to benefit from their access to the public to gain profits, and they are known as ‘influencers’ (Abidin and Ots 2015) or *buzzers* (Paramaditha, 2013). Paramaditha (2013) identified a *buzzer* in Indonesia

as someone who has an account with more than 2,000 followers and is willing to spread information via Twitter for money. Meanwhile, Abidin and Ots (2015) p.2 describes the concept of influencers as follows:

“ordinary Internet users who accumulate a relatively large follower on blogs and social media through the textual and visual narration of their personal lives and lifestyles, [who] engage with their followers in digital and physical spaces and monetise their followers by integrating 'advertorials' into their blog or social media posts.”

Paramaditha (2013) highlighted that advertisers started using *buzzers* at a price of about USD 21 per message posted on Twitter (a tweet) as a way to personalise the message. The intimacy between *buzzers* (usually known celebrities) and their followers came to be motivated by commerce designed to make followers feel familiar, close and emotionally attached. This type of non-journalist would also tweet fictional stories as fact for money (Paramaditha 2013), which is considered unethical in journalistic practice. The lack of knowledge of journalistic ethics among citizen journalists highlights the differences in cultural capital between them and professional journalists, which justifies the view that citizens and professional journalists cannot work together. The former does not apply ethical rules such as neutrality and objectivity, which form the foundation of the professional's reporting (Keen 2007).

The third attitude towards CJ regarding its relationship with journalism is that CJ is not journalism unless it involves collaboration with professional journalists. Without collaboration, the material submitted by non-professional journalists is

not a journalistic product (Hermida and Thurman 2008, Domingo 2011, Ornebring 2013). Many recent studies, such as those by Domingo (2011) and Allan and Peter (2015) have shown that professional journalists have incorporated elements of CJ into their reportage. For Domingo (2011), the idea of collaborative and collective work underlies CJ, and he followed Bowman and Willis (2003) in calling this collaboration ‘participatory journalism’. Domingo (2011) argued that the term ‘participatory journalism’ suggests the participation of people inside and outside the newsroom in online news media production. This view is supported by Kammer (2013), who argued that cooperation between professional journalists and citizen journalists produces the best news.

Collaboration in CJ takes various forms, including a wide range of types of public participation in news production, such as reports, comments, forums, and blogs in the form of text, audio or video, which can be combined or stand alone as participatory journalism (Domingo 2011). Similarly, Mutsvairo (2016) suggested that CJ should be understood in a broad contextual and conceptual sense, which is not limited to reporting news but also the involvement of non-journalists in producing or sharing the news. In the same vein, Hermida and Thurman (2008) argued that the collaboration between citizens and professional journalists could occur in various ways which they called user-generated content (UGC), which is defined as the result of:

“A process whereby ordinary people have an opportunity to participate with or contribute to, professionally edited publications.”

(Hermida and Thurman 2008 p.344)

Hermida and Thurman (2008) identified that news organisations in the UK conduct a gatekeeping process in adopting CJ before publishing material from CJ in their news outlets. Hermida and Thurman (2008) investigated CJ practice in ten online newspapers and concluded that professional journalists develop citizen journalism with economic motivations, and brand loyalty was used to maintain their professional identity. Although the CJ product is a result of the collaboration between the two, their positions are unequal, and professional journalists are always dominant in controlling this relationship (Hermida 2011, Borger et al. 2013). Collaboration in CJ also does not alter the views of professional journalists who do not acknowledge the professional status of citizen journalists (Hong, 2014). Hong (2014) stated that, even if a citizen was portrayed as a "journalist" in mainstream news articles, professional journalists were not supportive of the position of such participants as 'professional'. Carlson (2015) argued that professional journalists still maintain their autonomy even though empirical evidence suggests that citizen journalists have altered journalistic practices (Hermida and Thurman 2008, Allan and Peter 2015). According to Benson (2006), the autonomy of journalism is a complex reality, but it does help to explain news outcomes in the dynamic field of journalism. Based on hierarchical relationships in the editorial structure, researchers have identified that professional journalists shape the nature of the relationship so as to differentiate themselves from non-professional journalists (Carlson 2015, Coddington 2015, Singer 2015). Journalism is one of the most powerful professions in communication, as it helps to control public opinion (Bowman and Willis 2003). However, ironically,

Carlson (2015) stated that the journalism profession now lacks formal boundaries such as licensing, educational requirements, or trade association membership (Carlson and Lewis 2015). Carlson and Lewis (2015) illustrated that, compared to a plumber who has to earn a license to do the job, to become a journalist in the new media era one needs only an Internet connection. Quoting Abbot (1988), Carlson and Lewis said that the lack of formal boundaries makes journalism a very permeable occupation. Similarly, Bourdieu (2005) said that the journalistic field as a cultural product is heteronomous and is easily influenced by other sources of power, such as economic and political power. In his seminal study on journalism, Bourdieu (2005) identified that economic capital is the dominant power affecting journalism compared to other types of capital. However, he pointed out that journalists are also influenced by cultural capital, which maintains their autonomy. In a follow-up study, Lindner and Larson (2017) argued that the cultural capital of journalism has expanded because of the influence of CJ. Several lines of evidence suggest that, during the development of CJ, journalists differentiated themselves from non-journalists. Among such studies, research conducted by Singer (2015) found that journalists distinguished themselves from non-journalists through practices associated with journalistic norms and the ability to verify information (Hermida 2015), as well as emphasising autonomy in producing and distributing news (Coddington, 2015). Based on an understanding of the different views of CJ regarding its relationship with journalism, some important points to explain the concept of CJ can be summarised. Firstly, these studies highlight that the relationship between CJ and

journalism has developed over time. There are three different main views on CJ. However, more empirical evidence supports the understanding that CJ is the work of a citizen journalist adopted by a professional journalist to be presented at a news outlet. Secondly, the professional journalist actively builds boundaries by constructing a hierarchy in CJ to legitimise their professional status. Thirdly, both CJ and journalism are far from static and are determined by factors of time and place that are influenced by political objectives, economic motivations and other goals such as to improve the quality of journalistic or cultural practices. The motivations of professional journalists in adopting CJ are discussed in the next section.

## **2.4 CJ and Politics**

The development of the Internet increased optimism about the prospect of democracy because the Internet was thought to promise a more democratic media space (Coleman and Ross 2010). According to Gillmor (2006), technology and the Internet have provided an opportunity for anyone to conduct journalistic activities. Gillmor (2006) illustrated that the contributions of CJ to democratic development could revolutionize journalism and the political establishment in a country. In South Korea, the 'Ohmynews' website, whose content is largely produced by citizen reporters, has been acknowledged to have won the rivalry with mainstream media in influencing public opinion during the 2002 presidential election. 'Ohmynews' was driven by 35,000 citizen reporters at the time and favoured an untipped reformer, Roh Moo Hyun who was given less attention by

mainstream news media. Allan (2006) called 'OhmyNews' success in supporting Roh's candidacy for President of South Korea as the most significant moment in the life of the website. After he won the election, President Roh gave an exclusive interview to 'Ohmynews' because this UGC website was considered the most beneficial organisation to his goal, rather than providing the interview opportunity to other media. Oh Yeon Ho, founder of 'Ohmynews', said that this 'successes legitimized the idea that citizen reporters are equal to professional journalists who work for the mainstream media. According to Oh, professional news culture has eroded the monopoly of journalism, and now every citizen can be a reporter to bring back the values of journalism (Allan 2006).

The political motivations of citizen reporters are also salient when professional journalism is absent, such as when Syria became part of the Arab Spring in 2011. Under an authoritarian system, the Syrian government tightly controlled the media system, thus limiting freedom of journalistic practice (Wall and Zahed 2015).

Wall and Zahed (2015) identified the activities of citizen journalists as new pop-up news, which tends to emerge when a country experiences rapid and dramatic political change resulting in conflicts such as those in Iraq and Burma. In Syria, dozens of citizen reporters successfully created reports adapting the formats used by professional journalists. The citizen reporters' coverage was then connected to global news networks, generally through YouTube and Facebook.

On the other hand, these activities of citizen reporters are considered life-threatening because many citizen reporters were killed while reporting.

Nevertheless, such Syrian citizen reporter activities are believed to be the

foundation for a change in a media system that has been a government monopoly, and changes in political communication in the new media era are discussed further in chapter 3. As Goode (2009) argued, CJ not only affects the public agenda through peer-to-peer information sharing but also interferes with the agenda-setting of professional journalists. The activity of citizen journalists confirms the conclusion of Kaufhold and colleagues (2010) that CJ can influence political discourse and the political involvement of the public.

Similarly, Mutsvairo et al. (2014) found that the sense of social responsibility among citizen journalists fosters an emerging networked public sphere. Some researchers are optimistic that the rapid growth of CJ in the era of the Internet and digital developments will encourage the development of public space. The optimism about journalism becoming more democratic is increasing as journalism becomes more open to CJ (Domingo et al. 2008) and integrates citizen participation in everyday practice (Allan and Peters 2013, Bossio and Bebawi 2016).

## **2.5 CJ and the Economic Purpose of News Media**

Journalism studies have shown an interest in exploring the development of CJ, and this has led other researchers to investigate the motivations of professional journalists. Genealogical research conducted by Borger et al. (2013) provides an overview of studies on CJ between 1995 and 2011. They found that, in general,

researchers were disappointed with the development of CJ so far. It had been expected that, in CJ, citizens could exercise their rights to speak out in line with democratic principles, but the results of the research did not meet those expectations. As Kauhfold et al. (2010) stated, CJ can improve the role of the public in a democracy and enhance the public sphere. However, over time, researchers have had to accept that citizens are still less active in politics through CJ than scholars had hoped for (Borger et al. 2013).

On the contrary, CJ has inevitably attracted the attention of the corporate media (Kperogi 2011). The noble task of journalism based on social responsibility has increasingly shifted towards forms of journalism based on the market (Mosco 1996, Bourdieu 2005), as citizen social responsibility has been co-opted by the culture and conventions of mainstream media (Kperogi 2011, Wall 2015, Örnebring 2013). The type of CJ that arose on the Internet brought new value to mainstream media and had been regarded as instigating a revolution in the journalism profession (Aborisade et al. 2013). Nevertheless, Paulussen (2011) argued that the 'new' Internet economy is guided by the 'old' economic purposes of cost efficiency, productivity, and profit consolidation. With those motives, the products of CJ need to be modified to make them attractive for sale, which is referred to as “commodification” (Mosco 1996) or becoming “normalised” (Kperogi 2011), where the product is adapted to meet professional standards with editorial judgment (Örnebring 2013). A study by Vujnovic et al. (2010) conducted in ten countries is probably the most comprehensive empirical analysis of the effect of the political economy on CJ. The findings suggest that CJ is no longer a

simple expression of democratic actions by citizens but to some extent is the result of the market value of its contributions, as well as an expression of commodity culture and the consumption of information in market-driven journalism. Vujnovic et al. (2010) argued that there are some economic advantages that mainstream media organisations obtain by adopting CJ, namely branding, building traffic, and bandwagon effects. Based on their research, Vujnovic and colleagues (2010) discovered that building customer loyalty or branding is the main goal in adopting CJ. The adoption of CJ is well understood by editors and news managers as one of the most useful services for the company to strengthen its relationship with the audience.

The second motivation of professional journalists in adopting CJ is to enhance website traffic. Professional journalists develop citizen journalist sections in their outlets to bring in visitors and encourage existing users to stay longer on the site, as both factors influence traffic data. Website traffic refers to the number of users who visit the website and how long those users stay on the website. This data is used to attract advertisers to bring financial benefits to the online news media organisations. Kritzinger and Weideman (2013) stated that one indicator of the success of an online news media company is if it reaches a large number of Internet users, and hence it is necessary to market the website on the Internet. According to one marketing director at the website of France's *Le Figaro*, CJ brings traffic and contributes positively to the visibility of the website in search engine results (Vujnovic et al. 2010). Therefore, online news media need to be visible on the first page of search engine results (Spink and Xu 2000) since

research shows that most Internet users will only click on information in the first three pages of search results (Weideman 2009, cited in Kritzinger and Weideman 2013). One of the most popular methods of search engine optimisation (SEO) is performed by modifying the website to achieve a good ranking or relevancy in search engines (Sen 2005). Online news media, as well as other companies that sell their products on the Internet, should invest in Internet marketing through search engines, which is known as search engine marketing (SEM). Internet users seek information through search engines daily (Spink and Xu 2000). Consumers should therefore be able to access the website easily, or in other words, online news media websites must have high visibility in search engine result pages (SERPs). There are two ways a customer will find a business website via a search engine: through pay-per-click (PPC) listings or organic results listings (based on search engine optimization) (Kritzinger and Weideman 2013). Every search engine has its method to recognise and rank websites and, therefore, every company should choose carefully which search engine is going to be used in marketing their products. Most companies focus on targeting Google because it is the most visited search engine by 66% of Internet users, with Yahoo at 16% and MSN at 13% (Flosi 2011, cited in Krtizinger and Weideman 2013). Using SEO is an online news media marketing strategy requires patience and creative effort to recognize the characteristics targeted by search engines (Richmond 2008). Richmond (2008) noted that many journalists are uncomfortable and feel their writing is dryer by applying the SEO technique. However, utilising SEO will pay

off eventually, and the impact of the results will last longer than with paid advertising (Kritzinger and Weideman 2013).

There are two sets of factors that influence the results of SEO: on-page and off-page factors (Lluis et al. 2016). The former is controlled by the creator, while the latter is largely beyond his or her control. On-page factors are associated with modifications to website content such as title tags, meta-tags, heading tags, links, and other areas on the pages to make them more visible to search engines (Sen 2005). According to former BBC digital editor Martin Asser, the SEO formula that should be applied is as follows. Firstly, the words used should be those most people are likely to use (keywords); secondly, do not use a word that people rarely use; then, the most important word should be placed at the beginning of the news item; and a proper name should be used in the heading.

Meanwhile, off-page SEO factors deal with links that are spread by other websites, known as inbound links (or backlinks), and from mentions on social networks (Lluis et al. 2016). In the social media era, online news media organisations also increase website traffic by maximising the numbers of their followers on social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Some researchers (Lerman and Ghosh 2010, Hong 2012) have found that social media occupy a vital role in journalism both as a network in news dissemination and in attracting readers of news. Hong (2012) stated that online news media readership was positively related to the adoption of social media, and readers expand the network as indicated by the number of Twitter followers. Thirdly, another economic motivation of professional journalists in adopting CJ is the bandwagon effect,

which is defined as a strategy of following other individuals, regardless of their strategy (businessdictionary.com 2016). Online news media organisations adopt this strategy to be able to compete for visitors with other online newspaper organisations or other parties such as Facebook and news aggregators, such as yahoo and google. Vujnovic et al. (2010) noted that online news media organisations in Belgium adopting CJ were motivated by ‘experimental’ action because they believed that CJ Journalism studies have shown an interest in exploring the development of CJ, and this has led other researchers to investigate the motivations of professional journalists. Genealogical research conducted by Borger et al. (2013) provides an overview of studies on CJ between 1995 and 2011. They found that, in general, researchers were disappointed with the development of CJ so far. It had been expected that, in CJ, citizens could exercise their rights to speak out in line with democratic principles, but the results of the research did not meet those expectations. As Kauhfold et al. (2010) stated, CJ can improve the role of the public in a democracy and enhance the public sphere. However, over time, researchers have had to accept that citizens are still less active in politics through CJ than scholars had hoped for (Borger et al. 2013). On the contrary, CJ has inevitably attracted the attention of the corporate media (Kperogi 2011). The noble task of journalism based on social responsibility has increasingly shifted towards forms of journalism based on the market (Mosco 1996, Bourdieu 2005), as citizen social responsibility has been co-opted by the culture and conventions of mainstream media (Kperogi 2011, Wall 2015, Örnebring 2013). The type of CJ that arose on the Internet brought new value to

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## **2.6 CJ and Journalism Practice**

Vujnovic and colleagues (2010) highlighted the responses from interviewees, where one of the goals of professional journalists in adopting CJ was to improve the quality of journalism or its professionalism. Kammer (2013) considered that the best news is produced through cooperation between traditional journalism and CJ. According to Kammer (2013), the adoption of CJ provides an opportunity for the audience to influence the production of news in several ways, such as sharing information, collaboration, conversation, and meta-communication. To incorporate the influence of the audience, professional journalists must modify their journalistic practice (Allan and Peter 2015) and even create a new job description (Paulussen 2011). Deuze (2005) highlighted that journalists have a tendency to base their work practices on certain standards, considering themselves as public servants by being objective, fair, autonomous, and being socially responsible and ethically sensible (Deuze and Witschge 2017), and according to Keen (2007), citizen journalists do not have those values.

Although citizen journalists are considered to lack cultural capital in their journalism, the output they produce has some similarities with the products of professional journalists, leading to the blurring of boundaries between the two (Carlson 2015). Carlson identified CJ as an expansion of journalism, altering its practices, and simultaneously bringing the protection of autonomy to the fore. CJ is considered to be an intervention affecting the autonomy of the professional journalist (Goode 2009), and so it needs to be adopted because, in collaboration

between citizens and professional journalists, the latter act as gatekeepers and form editorial structures to integrate the content (Hermida and Thurman 2008). Based on the hierarchical relationship in the editorial structure in CJ, researchers have identified that professional journalists attempt to differentiate themselves from non-professional journalists. Several methods used by journalists in distinguishing themselves from non-journalists have been identified, concerning professional journalistic attributes such as journalistic norms (Singer 2015), the ability to verify information (Hermida 2015), and autonomy in producing and distributing news (Coddington 2015). Boundaries need to be drawn to maintain the legitimacy of the journalist, which provides prestige, legal rights, audiences, and other privileges (Carlson 2015). Journalists preserve all of these advantages by maintaining their position in the social structure, which is aligned with Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural reproduction. However, Bourdieu (2005) pointed out that the position of the journalists in the social structure is not only determined by themselves but also shaped by outside factors.

In line with Bourdieu's insights, Hallin and Mancini (2004, 2017) argued that the conditions of journalism differ according to the context in time and place.

According to them, the conditions of journalism in each country vary depending on the prevailing media system, and differences could be identified in four dimensions, namely: the structure of media markets, and particularly the degree of development of the mass-circulation press; the degree and form of political parallelism; the development of journalistic professionalism; and the degree and form of state intervention in the media system.

## 2.7 CJ and the Media System

Having defined CJ from previously published research, it can be recognised that the adoption of CJ is influenced by the prevailing media system in a country.

Studies mentioned earlier have explored the relationship between journalism and media systems and found that the type of media system influences the structure and practice of media institutions (Siebert et al. 1956, Hallin and Mancini 2004, 2017, Yin 2008, Voltmer 2013). In the same vein, Paullusen and Ugille (2011) concluded that the structure of the media affects how professional journalists adopt CJ.

In an essay entitled "Four Theories of the Press", Siebert and colleagues (1956) described four types of theory that purport to describe mass communication systems around the globe. These are authoritarian media system, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet media theory (Siebert et al. 1956). These four theories can be simplified into two types, because Soviet media theory is a modification of authoritarian media theory, while social responsibility theory is a modification of libertarian theory. Authoritarian media theory describes a system of the press that is considered to be the oldest. Here, press institutions are controlled by organised society through government, both in terms of function and operation. In Soviet media theory, the media are further considered to be a vital tool for the state, and hence, the media were monopolised by the state.

Meanwhile, libertarian media theory emphasises the understanding that the press is part of a democratic society, which has social and political freedom. The press in libertarian theory not only has a function as the watchdog of government but is

also used as a tool to accrue capital., Siebert et al. (1956) described six tasks of the press in a libertarian press system, namely providing information, discussion and debate on public affairs, servicing the political system, enlightening the public, acting as a government watchdog, servicing the economic system, entertaining, and maintaining press independence. A libertarian press seems to be the ideal form of the press in democratic countries. However, the staff and owners of media organisations often misinterpret its function, and hence the media may become less enlightening to the public and more involved in servicing the economic system. Siebert et al. (1956) also formulated social responsibility media theory, which is a modification of libertarian media theory where the emphasis is laid on the responsibilities of the media in social life.

These four theories of the press are recognized to be appropriate tools in the analysis of media systems globally. However, the four theories have been criticized because they are based on superstructure theory (Hallin and Mancini 2004) and are not fit for application beyond the Western world (Yin 2008).

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), the four theories of the press assume that the media will always be dependent variables in relation to systems of social control. Hallin and Mancini (2004), note that there is good evidence that the media are controlled not only by the media system, which build by the government but also controlled by themselves and other social forces. In their study, Hallin and Mancini (2004) identified four dimensions of the media system in a country, concerning the development of the mass press, political parallelism, professionalisation, and state intervention.

The first dimension is the development of the mass press, which is commonly used as a tool to distinguish between media systems in countries by observing the quantity and quality of newspapers. The development of the press illustrates how the media form relationships with the public. The second dimension of political parallelism concerns a linear relationship between the media structure and the political party system. Hallin and Mancini (2004), argued that, in political journalism, there is a clear relationship between media entities and political actors, which affects the political balance. The professionalisation of journalists tends to develop in market-driven rather than politically-driven media systems. However, Hallin and Mancini (2004) also recognised that commercial media could be politically partisan. The third dimension of professionalisation in journalism is quite difficult to explain because journalism is not static (Bourdieu 2005, Carlson 2015), and has no specific body of knowledge or doctrine (Hallin and Mancini 2004). Therefore, Hallin and Mancini (2004) used three dimensions to explain the professionalisation of journalism, namely; autonomy, distinct professional norms, and public service orientation. Professionalisation exists where journalism has developed as a distinct field with significant autonomy from other social fields, including the political field (Bourdieu 2005). The fourth dimension of state intervention greatly influences the media system through the imposition of rules and regulations, such as those concerning hate speech, libel, and defamation. An example is that, if state intervention is high, this affects the journalist's professionalism which will be low (Hallin and Mancini 2004), and therefore CJ for political purposes may be stimulated (Wall and Zahed 2015).

From the comparative dimensions of the media systems, Hallin and Mancini (2004) identified three basic models of media systems: a polarised pluralist model, a democratic corporatist model, and a liberal model. The polarised pluralist media system is strongly influenced by political factors regarding both state intervention and political parties. The relationships between journalists and political actors in this system are intimate. Meanwhile, the democratic pluralist media system is formed by a free flow of information. This model emphasises the commitment to common norms and procedures as driven by an organised social group in society. Journalism is more institutionalised, and media autonomy is high, even though there may be a high level of intervention by the state. Finally, the liberal model is characterised by less organised social groups and more individualistic representation. The media are less institutionalised compared to the democratic corporatist model; however, the professional culture of journalism is more fully developed. The intervention of the state and political groups is limited, leading to business being in control of the media.

The research by Hallin and Mancini (2004) comparing media systems in eighteen different countries is one of the most extensive studies of its kind. Comparative media system (CMS) theory provides a framework to develop further research on the relationships between the dimensions that affect media systems such as the relationship between structural conditions and political systems and the effects of political communication practices (Canel and Voltmer 2014). However, Hallin and Mancini's observations in North American and European countries do not provide a suitable picture for media systems beyond the Western world (Mody

2013). Quoting McCargo, Mody (2013) said that the media in most Asian countries do not resemble the CMS polarised pluralist model. Similarly, Yin (2008) argued that media systems in European countries might not resemble those in Asian countries such as Indonesia, Cambodia, the Philippines, and Taiwan even though the latter share similarities as new democratic countries. In Japan, the media system operates as the closest real-world exemplar of libertarian theory. However, media companies support state goals by practising self-censorship even though the state does not actively interfere and dictate the media practice. Professional associations and media organisations manufacture their relations with the state for commercial purposes by monopolising public information (Yin 2008).

These studies support the notion that journalists acknowledge norms that apply globally. However, there is evidence to support the idea that journalistic practices are contextual (McQuail 2013, Voltmer 2013). According to McQuail (2013), in addition to economic and political factors, social and cultural factors influence journalistic practices in national settings. Meanwhile, Voltmer (2013), who focuses on journalistic practice in newly democratic countries, suggests that such practice is determined by history, cultural traditions, and the situation arising from the transition to democracy.

Having defined CJ from previously published research, it can be recognised that the adoption of CJ is influenced by the prevailing media system in a country. Studies mentioned earlier have explored the relationship between journalism and media systems and found that the type of media system influences the structure

and practice of media institutions (Siebert et al. 1956, Hallin and Mancini 2004, 2017, Yin 2008, Voltmer 2013). In the same vein, Paullusen and Ugille (2011) concluded that the structure of the media affects how professional journalists adopt CJ.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This chapter focuses on conceptualizing citizen journalism in terms of the established studies of CJ and journalism. It has discussed three types of understanding among researchers of CJ concerning journalism, namely: citizen journalism as journalism itself, citizen journalism as non-journalism, and citizen journalism as collaboration. Without neglecting the other two views, this thesis is based on the third understanding because it is more supported by recent empirical evidence. However, it is acknowledged that collaboration between non-journalists and professional journalists leads to unequal relationships where the professional journalist as the dominant party determines the purpose and nature of the adoption of CJ. The purposes of the journalist in adopting CJ are diverse, including political, economic, and cultural motivations.

Meanwhile, the adoption of CJ is different in each country because the practice of journalism varies among national settings. The contextual practice of journalism depends on such factors as the type of media system (Siebert et al. 1956, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Yin 2008), the effect of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 2005), and social factors that occur during the transition to democracy

(McQuail 2013, Voltmer 2013). The next chapter will highlight the appropriate tools for analysing CJ to build a theoretical framework for this study.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Field and Social Theories of Citizen Journalism**

#### **3.1 Chapter Overview**

In the previous chapter, citizen journalism (CJ) has been described in the terms established in previous studies, and its relationship to journalism across time and place has been discussed. A number of studies have begun to examine the practice of journalism in adopting CJ (see Paulussen and Ugille 2008, Domingo 2011, and Kammer 2013). However, Bourdieu (1998), stated that to understand the practice of journalism as cultural production, one should recognise the power relations in the field. Bourdieu's field theory is considered to be useful in exploring media organisational routines and journalistic practices, where a field is understood as a network or configuration that allows a relationship between agents to be seen objectively (Benson and Neveu 2005, Lindell 2015, Lindner and Larson 2017). Therefore, this chapter explores field theory as a tool for use in identifying and analysing the power relations between CJ and journalism.

Nevertheless, this chapter also argues that field theory has certain limitations, and complementary tools are required to examine the relationship between journalism and society as a whole. This chapter discusses the social theory of journalism to complement field theory in enabling the research questions to be answered. The social theory of journalism views journalism practices as actions taken to fulfil the obligations of journalism towards society.

### 3.2 Field Theory and Journalism

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu introduced field theory as a way of understanding the social world, where society is perceived in terms of politics, cultural production, religion and other areas which are governed by their own rules (Benson 1999). According to Bourdieu, putting journalism in a social context means understanding it as part of the 'field' of cultural production in which there is a relationship between people and power. Bourdieu describes a field as;

“Forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field.”

(Bourdieu, 2005 p.30)

A field is an arena in which individuals or organisations, who are referred to as social agents, consciously, or unconsciously compete for position (Bourdieu 1998, Bourdieu 2005, Benson and Neveu 2005). Fields are known as "games" which are regulated by agreed rules called the "rules of the game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Bourdieu 1998) which agents have to master to succeed in the field (Neveu 2007). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argued that there is a difference between the game and the field in that the field's "rules of the game" are not explicit and codified. Nevertheless, players in the field feel that playing is worth the effort; they assume that the game is worth doing (Bourdieu 1998).

According to Thomson (2008), through the analogy of a game, and especially a football game, Bourdieu illustrates that players occupy positions in a squared area

with internal and external boundaries. The game has a specific set of rules that govern what can be done and what players cannot do in the field; for example, other than the goalkeeper, players cannot touch the ball with the hand, the winner is determined by the number of goals scored, and so on. Every player who follows the game has a common understanding of the rules of the game. During the game, players oppose one another, and the relationship of forces between players determines the structure of the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Players use strategies to maintain or improve their position in the field hierarchy, which is affected by the accumulation of power, which Bourdieu called capital. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) said that accumulated economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals vary across different fields. Bourdieu exemplifies economic capital as money and assets, while social capital includes networks and affiliations concerning family and religious and cultural heritage, and cultural capital is exemplified in forms of knowledge, taste, aesthetics, and preferences such as in language, narrative, and voice. Bourdieu illustrates symbolic capital as being capital, which is "exchangeable" in other fields, such as qualifications and credentials (Thomson 2008). According to Bourdieu, capital is

“Accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its “incorporated”, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour.”

(Bourdieu, 1986 p.15)

Bourdieu mentioned three fundamental forms of capital, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, whose characteristics depend on the field concerned. Social capital includes resources owned by individuals or groups of people in the form of actual and virtual forms through networks (Bourdieu 1986, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). A network could be built by an institutional relationship of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Bourdieu (1986) exemplifies social capital as membership in a group, and according to Grenfell (1998), this type of membership can give privileges used to attain a prestigious position in the field. Meanwhile, political capital (PC) is the resources of political actors, which they use to build the structures of other actors in specific political markets (Casey 2008, French 2011).

Economic capital is considered to be the 'root' of all other types of capital, such as money and access, which can be transformed into other forms of capital. To illustrate economic capital and its relations to cultural capital, Bourdieu explained, that to get a machine, one needs economic capital; however, to use it appropriately, one should have cultural capital either in person or from another agent. Economic capital can be transformed into cultural capital, but, according to Bourdieu, the transformation process takes time and is not immediate. A transformation could take a long time; for example, in academic investment which involves the conversion of economic capital into a legally sanctioned qualification that is 'exchangeable' in the labour market.

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital appears in three forms; namely embodied, objectified, and institutionalised states. In the embodied state,

Bourdieu emphasises that cultural capital is assumed to exist within a person and in the process of representation;

The investor accomplishes this process personally (it cannot be delegated), and it takes time. Cultural capital is integrated into the *habitus* of a person and cannot be directly transmitted to others. Examples of embodied cultural capital are skills, dialect, and personality. Cultural capital in the objectified state occurs when the embodied cultural capital of agent/agents is represented in the form of objects and media such as paintings, monuments, and instruments. Cultural capital affects the ability of an agent to compete in a field. The agents show their level of cultural capital by proven training or academic qualifications, which are called the institutionalised state of cultural capital. This objectification of cultural capital is also used to distinguish between self-learned training from legally guaranteed qualifications. A certificate of cultural competence is required because, under the usual conventions, the holders of academic, cultural capital are deemed to have better qualifications to compete in the field, even though their ability depends on the time and effort devoted to academic investment.

In the field of journalism, Bourdieu focuses on two forms of capital, which are economic capital such as ratings and revenues, and cultural capital such as in-depth reporting or accepted journalistic practice which is usually compensated with rewards such as in the US Pulitzer Prizes (Benson and Neveu 2005). Willig (2012) defined capital as the resources which are recognised in the field that agents can use 'to play the game'. In a field, Bourdieu described capital in terms of magnetic forces where there are two opposing poles. The left-hand pole is the

cultural capital side, while the right-hand pole is described as the economic pole. The former in journalism is defined as a "restricted" part that cannot be controlled by outsiders. Bourdieu cited avant-garde artworks as an example of restricted cultural capital.

Meanwhile, the right-hand pole sees journalism as part of a larger arena of cultural production, which is dominated by economic capital. Journalism is produced for audiences on a large or mass scale, such as in the news (Benson and Neveu 2005). Therefore, Bourdieu argued that journalistic field is considered to have a tendency towards the right-hand pole, which he called 'heteronomous' (Bourdieu 1998, Benson and Neveu 2005). Bourdieu argued that the political vision is grounded in economic capital, taking into consideration the structure of the press organisation and the working practices of journalist, such as self-censorship (Bourdieu 1998). However, Benson (2009) argued that the simplicity of relationship between EC and PC is not so simple. He said that PC is not always grounded in economic capital. There are circumstances where PC dominates EC such as in the PC of the state which applies libel rules and regulations governing official source-reporter relations.

The relationship between capitals is not the only factor in understanding the production of media. Bourdieu (1990) mentioned that the field would work in the presence of the *habitus*, which he describes as a:

“Strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations .... [it is] a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every

moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks.”

(Bourdieu 1977 cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 18)

The notion of the *habitus* as an actively structuring formation expresses a reasonable hypothesis: that predispositions, assumptions, judgments, and behaviours of individual are the result of a long-term process of socialisation (Benson and Neveu 2005, Lindell 2015). In other words, the *habitus* is affected by structure; however, Bourdieu also argued that structure is formed due to *habitus*. People who have the same *habitus* tend to form a specific structure or class in society. Bourdieu (1990) p.54 describes this as due to “the experiences statistically common to members of the same class”. Therefore, the *habitus* is an important factor in one's work practices in the field, although *habitus* is not the only factor affecting practice. As Bourdieu said,

“The *habitus*, an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the *habitus* through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition.”

(Bourdieu 1984, p.101)

Quoting Bourdieu (1986), Maton (2008 p.51) said that the "unconscious relationship" between *habitus* and a field influences practice, which is simplified in the equation;

$$[(\textit{habitus}) (\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice}$$

Here, practice is not merely the result of *habitus* but is a relationship between the *habitus* and current circumstances (Maton 2008); or, in other words, a practice is the result of the relationship between a co-constructed trio of *habitus*, field, and capital (Thomson 2008). Maton (2008) also mentions that *habitus* is the internalisation of the “outer” objective social structure and subjective “inner” personal experiences.

To exist in the field, social agents have to differentiate themselves (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) or strategically improvise in a competitive field in deciding whether to preserve or transform their positions in the social field of practice (Maton 2008). Bourdieu said that *habitus* works because a field is a "space of play" that provides room for the organised improvisation of agents, and so he argued that the field is not an empty place, as assumed by Althusserian Marxism (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The understanding of the *habitus* that leads to the rejection of views of structuralism and hermeneutics provides an objective explanation of social order and subjectively focuses on the meaning-making of social agents (Maton 2008). Jordaan (2013) defined *habitus* in journalism as unconscious behaviour that influences journalists in practice. Jordaan (2013) stated that the *habitus* includes the newsroom culture that determines the selection and presentation of news as produced by the journalist. As the newsroom is a hierarchical social space, the *habitus* then will depend on the agent's position in determining the newsworthiness of information (Schultz 2007). Jordaan (2013) also mentioned several forms of *habitus* that may exist in journalism, such as "reporter *habitus*", "editorial *habitus*" or "intern *habitus*". Schultz (2007) argued

that the *habitus* of each platform also varies, so that the "television *habitus*", will differ from the "newspaper *habitus*" or the "magazine *habitus*". Maton (2008) calls a *habitus* a way of acting, feeling, thinking, and being.

In field theory, social agents with similar *habitus* share rules of the game, known as *doxa* (Deer 2008). According to Deer, a *doxa* involves a natural belief or opinion that is closely related to the field and *habitus*. *Doxa* is important to maintaining a social structure in a stable state through the reproduction of the perceptions and practices of social agents. Deer (2008) said that a *doxa* includes the taken-for-granted assumptions or orthodoxies of a specific time. It is located beyond ideologies but can produce conscious struggles. Schultz (2008) described the *doxa* in journalism as a set of tacit assumptions in the journalistic field, for instance, in identifying news. Schultz (2008) noted that it is straightforward for journalists to identify what kind of information can be considered as news.

Nevertheless, journalists also use different categories and typifications of news to reduce disputes that may arise in journalistic work. According to Schultz (2008), there are two types of journalistic *doxa* related to the evaluation of news which is a distinction between orthodox news values, for example, so-called hard news, and heterodox news values such as soft news.

### **3. 3 Characteristics of the Field of Journalism**

Benson and Neveu (2005) claimed that with the concept of the journalistic field, Bourdieu offers a new way of understanding news media processes and the

constraints which affect its production. Bourdieu (1998) specifically used field theory to explain the relationship of journalism to politics, or in other words, how journalistic processes are assumed to be representations of the political activities of journalists.

“I want to try to show how the journalistic field produces and imposes on the public a very particular vision of the political field, a vision that is grounded in the very structure of the journalistic field and in journalists' specific interests produced in and by that field.”

(Bourdieu, 1998 p. 2)

In a study of journalism and its relation to the political field, Bourdieu developed an understanding of the characteristics of the journalistic field, which he describes as follows. Firstly, the journalistic field has a specific culture (as opposed to those in the art and literary fields) but it is also similar to other forms of cultural production in that the market drives it. Bourdieu argued that the journalistic field is vulnerable to the temptation of the power of the economy and politics rather than in maintaining its own cultural values which are generated from the profession of journalism itself. According to Bourdieu (1998), the journalistic field has two sets of contradictory values, which are internal values such as objectivity and external values, which includes ratings, audience size, sales, and profit. Journalists maintain these two sets of values through their production practices. Quoting Heidegger (1943), Boudana (2011) stated that objectivity is a standard that promotes truth, and is defined as a correspondence, or grounded incorrectness, between thought and reality. Singer (2015) argued that, in a

traditional environment, objectivity coupled with independence supports the primary norms of truth-telling. However, objectivity as an internal value of the journalistic field is not so easy to describe and, therefore, over time, it has become the subject of debate among scholars. Maras (2013) argued that objectivity is a representation of the individualistic view. Secondly, the journalistic field is constrained and controlled by journalists to maintain the reputation of their professional ethics. As illustrated in the game metaphor described previously, the journalistic field also has rules that restrict the actions of agents in the game. Bourdieu describes the field as a football field where a game takes place, and players have their positions during the game. The football field has its own rules, and all players should follow the rules if they want to play. The game will be influenced by factors such as the skills of the players from previous training or their physical condition, and physical factors such as the grass upon which the game takes place (Thomson 2008). Players in better condition will dominate other players entering the field, as can be seen in *collaborations* between intellectuals and journalists in television programmes. Bourdieu (1998) identified that journalists dominate intellectuals in conversation in television shows and force a kind of intrusion into intellectuals' autonomous. In the end, such intrusion tends to lead intellectuals to be more concerned about their presence on the television screen rather than gaining the recognition of their peers. Thirdly, Bourdieu highlighted the characteristics of the journalistic field as an arena which is full of competition. Agents in media organisations are competing to win the market. The former rivalry is described as that between senior and junior journalists putting

into practice the principles and values of journalism. Meanwhile, competition between organisations in the field includes how they compete to get the latest news. According to Bourdieu, news organisations are very concerned with speed in covering news so as to attract audiences. Bourdieu criticised this rivalry because he thought an emphasis on speed degrades the quality of news. However, in everyday practice, competition in terms of speed only occurs in the race to get unexpected and exclusive news because most journalistic work is planned in routine activities (Schultz 2007, Gans 2011, Phillips 2015). To win the competition for the latest news, journalists will depend on the ability of their news organisations to adopt new technologies (Phillips 2015). On the other hand, competition between organisations tends to lead to uniformity because journalists are always spying on their competitors (Bourdieu 1998). In open competition, the success of a television news programme in attracting an audience can be seen via ratings analysis produced by rating agencies such as AC-Nielsen. A programme that attracts a large audience could be directly imitated by competitors who create similar programmes in what is referred to as a bandwagon effect (Vujnovic et al. 2010). This competition based on economics results in a homogeneity where the work of journalism is often sacrificed (Bourdieu 1998, Phillips 2015).

### **3.4 Applying Field Theory to Citizen Journalism**

Field theory is considered to be useful in understanding the media space because it is based on the understanding that a field is a network or configuration in which relationships between positions can be objectively analysed (Benson and Neveu

2005, Lindell, 2015, Lindner and Larson 2017). Bourdieu pays attention to journalism as part of cultural production, as presented in his books such as *Distinction*, *The Field of Cultural Production* and *The Rules of Art* (Benson and Neveu 2005). Despite his early attention to journalism, explicit discussions of the journalistic field were not published until 1996 in his book *Sur la Television*. The book was translated into English as *On Television* and it led to media researchers being more critical of journalism, which was seen as less autonomous due to market pressures (Benson and Neveu 2005, Thomson 2008).

Bourdieu (2005) considered the journalistic field to be important because of its mediating function among other fields, but the journalistic field may become converged with other fields. Similarly, Habermas (1991) introduced the concept of a public sphere that also focuses on the relationship between the media and the economy (Benson and Neveu 2005). Habermas (1991) noted that the media's function as a part of the public sphere tended to be transformed into a field for business advertising, in which organisations in lieu of diverse communities make compromises between themselves and governments while eliminating the public from their consideration. By the same token, in his concept of the journalistic field, Bourdieu (2005) criticized the position of journalism that is more dependent than other forms of cultural productions such as mathematics, literature, and poetry, especially in confronting the pressure of economic capital. Bourdieu believed that the journalistic field is heteronomous, although he was also aware of the existence of the autonomy of journalists, where they still have the power to act as buffers and to determine what information should be communicated to the

public (Bourdieu 1998). This understanding of autonomy distinguishes Bourdieu's concept of the field from Habermas' public sphere in the understanding of journalism. According to Habermas, journalists have lost their autonomy while Bourdieu understands that some degree of autonomy is still owned by journalists as agents in their field (Benson and Neveu, 2005). Even so, according to Bourdieu, the autonomy of journalists is always challenged:

“Journalism is a microcosm with its own laws, defined both by its position in the world at large and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other such microcosms.”

(Bourdieu, 1998 p.39)

By analysing journalism as a microcosm, Bourdieu (1998) rejects two common approaches to the understanding of journalism: the *internalist* and the *externalist* views. The former analyses journalism through its texts without considering the context. The text is seen as something that is autonomous, and so there is no need to connect it with external factors. Meanwhile, the latter approach only sees the text as a result of its relationship with society in general. In this second understanding, journalists are considered to have no autonomy at all. Meanwhile, Bourdieu argued that to understand journalism, one should understand the microcosm and the effect of engagement between people who are interdependent within it (Bourdieu 1998, Thomson 2008). The field is a microcosm that is influenced by other microcosms from outside society as well as within the society in terms of its autonomy (Champagne 2005, Philips 2015). This view is supported by Lindell (2015) p.362 who wrote that, "media production is

always situated in multifaceted, multi-levelled relations of power, be it in the journalistic field, the field of cultural production, or the wider social space occupied by the 'producer' of mediated content". Bourdieu (2005) characterised journalism as a microcosm in order to explain its relationship to political and social science. The analysis of journalism as a field provides an understanding of how journalists impose their views in the political field (Bourdieu 1998).

According to Bourdieu, journalists in politics are active as influential actors but are in an ambiguous position because they are not members of the political field itself.

The struggle between journalism and external forces makes the journalistic field semi-autonomous (Bourdieu 2005, Champagne 2005, Schultz 2007). However, Bourdieu focuses on economics and politics in analysing the journalistic field. By using field theory in the new media era, Lindner and Larson (2017) argued that the cultural capital of journalism is also challenged by other news outlets whose positions are the same in the field (Lindner and Larson 2017). They illustrated how journalism is a "site of struggle" between news outlets that are equivalent in cultural capital and provide different types of news coverage. Journalists view citizen journalism (CJ) as "the other" force that puts pressure on them (Lindner and Larson 2017). The force of CJ alters journalistic practice (Allan and Peters 2015) and potentially pulls it into civil society towards a more autonomous position (Lindner and Larson 2017). Lindner and Larson (2017) identified the phenomenon of citizen journalism in terms of the expansion and contraction of the journalistic field. The different kind of relationships are found because the field is

dynamic. The pressure of audiences to participate in the construction of news in the media is part of this dynamisation.

Unlike journalism, citizen journalism - despite having a long presence throughout the history of journalism itself - does not have an explicit globally agreed *doxa* or rules of the game. However, the phenomenon of CJ is somewhat similar to Bourdieu's concept of collaboration. Collaboration in the journalistic field occurs when journalists invite external parties such as intellectuals to cooperate in cultural production; however, journalists are the ones exerting control (Bourdieu 2005, McQuail 2013, Kammer, 2013).

There is no standard format in adopting CJ in established journalistic work, probably because the *doxa* of CJ is highly dependent on audience participation, while audiences are not always active in participating (Hermida and Thurman 2008, Borger et al. 2013). Therefore, factors that influence *doxa* in CJ are very similar to those in journalism itself, such as political forces like state influence through legislation, economic variables, and aspects of the culture of journalism. According to Benson (1999), the history of journalism needs to be analysed to understand contemporary journalism because the relationships between forces in the field change over time. For example, in the French media in the 1970s, it was recognized that journalism was an autonomous profession because it was independent of political and economic influence (Benson 1999). However, in the 1990s the so-called “good” journalist was seen as one who could attract a readership (Benson, 1999, Bourdieu 2005). Benson (1999) mentioned that there

are at least three important factors that could affect the media, which are demographic and structural changes and the presence of new players in the field. The recent work of Lindner and Larson (2017) has identified citizen journalists as new players in journalism, a phenomenon which has been increasing in importance since 2000. They argued that CJ's growing population puts pressure on the existing field of journalism, leading it towards greater autonomy because CJ brings a positive impact to journalism. CJ has the potential to make democratic discourse more diverse, equitable, and rational-critical (Gillmor 2006, Lindner and Larson 2017). However, journalists as dominant players in the journalistic field are not so happy with the growth of CJ. Ornebring (2013) stated that professional journalists want to establish a boundary between themselves and citizen journalists based on expertise and duty in journalism. By interviewing 63 journalists across European news organisations, Ornebring (2013) found that professional journalists think that citizen journalists can never become fully recognised members of the professional collective. The term journalist thus indicates a form of occupational closure.

Benson and Neveu (2005) argued that field theory is the best means to map the media space comprehensively. As Bourdieu (2005) stated,

“The concept of field is a research tool, the main function of which is to enable the scientific construction of social objects.”

(Bourdieu, 2005, p.30)

Benson and Neveu (2005) argued that field theory shares characteristics with organisational approaches in terms of the daily practice of journalism; however, in

principle, field theory is considered to be more systematic in integrating empirical data about news producers, including individual journalists, media organisations, and a larger system of power (Benson and Neveu 2005). Field theory was developed based on case-studies built from a diversity of materials, objects, and methods, which differs from previous sociological theories (Neveu 2007). Neveu (2007) suggested that the legacy of field theory is to provide a toolkit for the analysis of fields with an emphasis on the content of journalism and considering social conditions in its reception.

Similarly, Lindell (2015) suggested that locating media and communication in a social context involves understanding media content, for instance, as existing in a society in which diverse agents exhibit different behaviour depending on their positions in certain social spaces. Meanwhile, Thomson (2008) focused on how Bourdieu provides instructions for investigating a field through several steps. Firstly, the position of the field vis-a-vis the field of power needs to be analysed. Secondly, the objective structures of relations between positions in the field should be mapped out. Finally, the *habitus* of social agents in the field can be analysed. According to Bourdieu (2005), the degree of autonomy must be analysed in the field in order to understand the interactions between agents in the journalistic field. Bourdieu argued that the autonomy of the individual journalist is determined by ownership, the position of media in the field, the journalist's position, and capabilities or skills and the opportunity for them to become actualised.

A definition of ideology has never been agreed. Karl Marx, in his book *Das Capital*, understands ideology as something abstract which is a result of capitalist practices (Freeden 2003). Freedon (2003) said that ideology is often associated with 'isms' as in the word anarchism, fascism, and communism. According to him, the -isms are a set of ideas that are artificially constructed. Ideology is based in society as a belief system, therefore, ideology can be different between societies depending upon their shared beliefs. Siebert et al. (1956) explained that differences in ideology in society make a difference in the media system which they call "Four Theories of the Press." However, McQuail (2013) said that ideology of journalism is equally described as an idealistic concept of journalism, and as a service to society. McQuail's (2013) ideal concept of journalism is the belief that is shared in democratic state environments. In a communist state, as happened in the Soviet Union in the 1990s, the ideal of journalism was to serve the government (Christian et al. 2009).

The public-service ideal can be seen as a powerful component of journalism's ideology (Deuze, 2005 p. 6). Ideology could also mean a collection of normative beliefs and values that apply individually or are shared in a group of people.

Meanwhile, according to Christian et al. (1999), normative or ideal values in the journalism assessing whether journalism is doing good or bad to society.

According to Christian et al. (2009), there is an ideal shift in journalism to social responsibility because of the pressure of political-ideological media to deregulation and entrepreneurial growth. This shift according to Bourdieu (1998) means that a good reporter is not the one who does good writing but a reporter

that brings revenue to media companies. Bourdieu's understanding is based on journalism that follows the market ideology, known as market journalism. Research ideology is also related to a research paradigm that is based on physical reality. A paradigm is built on a foundation of science, and an individual mindset through a framework of facts, theories, conceptual models, and methods. According to Benson (1998), there are two dominant paradigms in understanding journalism. The first is paradigm structuralism, which suggests that journalism is influenced by external factors such as society or media systems. This understanding is a Marxian approach used to understand journalism. In line with the idea of structuralism, the present research recognises journalism as a 'field'. Journalism is influenced by the larger field of power that forms the structure in journalism. The understanding of journalism as a 'field' follows Bourdieu's (1998) understanding in analysing the development of journalism in France. Bourdieu stated that journalistic fields are influenced by external forces such as macro-societal, which makes them semi-autonomous. However, Bourdieu's field theory also understands that journalistic fields are influenced by micro-structures or internal factors such as journalists' class background and their position in the societal power structure. This understanding is in line with the understanding of news media through an institutionalism approach (Benson, 1998). According to Benson (1998), field theory positions itself between structuralism and constructivism approaches, which are referred to as structural constructivism. This thesis follows Bourdieu's understanding of journalism and uses field theory as the basis of the theoretical framework.

### **3.5 Critics of Field Theory**

Media scholars have hailed Bourdieu's work in exploring journalism practice through the use of field theory as a new way to understand the practice of journalism (Benson 2006, Hesmondalgh 2006, Schultz 2007, Willig 2012).

However, his work on television journalism has received criticism from scholars and even from his followers.

Marliere (1998) said that Bourdieu's criticism of the journalistic field is a somewhat hasty analysis. Marliere (1998) argued that journalistic field is better in the market-driven era compare to state-controlled era. According to Marliere (1998), the inaccuracies in Bourdieu's views arise because his analysis is not based on in-depth empirical investigation. Meanwhile, Bolin (2011) noted some weaknesses in Bourdieu's analysis of the field. Firstly, the aim of journalistic production is not always as large-scale as in Bourdieu's concept of journalistic production. Bolin (2011) argued that nowadays television journalists are not necessarily aiming for large audiences but at specific target audiences on a smaller scale. Secondly, Bolin (2011) criticizes the simplification of economic and cultural capital in field theory. Production in the field is not always aimed at the economy but is also intended to educate people (Bolin 2011) or for political purposes (Benson 1999). Thirdly, Bolin (2011) p.29 rejects Bourdieu's assumption of one centre of power in society. He argued that, "Although the forces of the economy are hard to neglect, at times there are other kinds of value that are influential to the value generation within the field of cultural production".

Critics have also pointed out that field theory does not pay enough attention to developments in technology and of the Internet that support the new media or to changing journalism practices in the Internet era (Benson and Neveu 2005). Benson and Neveu (2005) suggested that research should examine the development of journalistic cultural production to map the interrelations of new and old media. However, other scholars have also found that field theory is useful in analysing communications and media in relation to context and power in the internet era (Vos et al. 2012, Levina and Arriaga, 2014, Lindell 2015, Lindner and Larson 2017, Obateru 2017). In addition to the development of the media, Benson and Neveu (2005) p.2 argued that field theory is a "work in progress" theory that needs to be tested and modified. Similarly, Willig (2012) proposed that field theory should be coupled with other theories to develop a better analytical strategy. The next section proposes ideas to complement field theory to facilitate a more effective analysis in answering the research questions of this thesis.

### **3.6 The Social Theory of Journalism**

Social theory is used in systematic efforts to understand experience and ideas concerning the social world (Hesmondhalgh 2008). In journalism, social theory is a tool used to investigate the relationships between society and journalism. In contrast, field theory focuses more on an organisational approach to particular news producers (Benson and Neveu 2005, Hesmondhalgh 2006), while the social theory of journalism focuses more on how journalism has a responsibility towards society (McQuail 2013).

Similarly, Hesmondalgh and Toynbee (2008) argued that social theory could be used as a tool to understand the nature of social problems, unmet needs and suffering. McQuail (2013) claimed that a social theory of journalism could provide tools to investigate the purpose and practice of journalism in terms of certain 'ideal types' by analysing the goals, rights, duties, and responsibilities of journalists. He said that a person is considered to be a journalist only if s/he were employed for certain reporting, writing and editorial duties. As a news or media organisation worker, however, the journalist has a weak identity (Carlson 2015), and his or her activities tend to be based on conventions and norms of conduct. To do their job, journalists will depend on various other parties such as the audience, clients, or newsmakers. The position of journalists in society shares some characteristics in various countries depending on the structure and practices of media institutions (Siebert et al. 1956, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Yin 2008, Voltmer 2013). In a media system that supports a free press, journalists and news media have enjoyed positions as important parts of society as sources of information used to construct public opinion (Bourdieu 2005, McQuail 2013). Researchers have argued that this position was attained because the news media have rules, procedures, objectives and standards that are well known and widely agreed upon (Gans 2011, McQuail 2013). The news media are also supported by prominent actors in society such as governments, and by the public in general. Journalists have occupied their position as influencers of public opinion for a long time, however, this is threatened by recent changes (Gillmor 2006, McQuail 2013). Gillmor (2006) argued that the position of journalists in society has been

disrupted because now everyone can potentially conduct journalistic activities with the support of technology and the Internet. Some researchers argue that the Internet supports journalism in allowing it to be more open to audience participation. Similarly, Phillips (2015) argued that the hegemonic concept of news production has been overthrown because the audience now has the chance to construct news reports. Gillmor (2006) claimed that such disruption could potentially revolutionize the political establishment in a country.

It has also been argued that, as a social institution, the news media could also be used as a tool of social control (McQuail 2013). In a society with a free press, the obligation of journalists to serve the public can give them power over media proprietors in determining news policy. However, Gans (2011) said that journalists and the news media position themselves in society in a context where the state may influence the standards of newsworthiness. Though, serving the public is only a moral obligation for the journalist and cannot be imposed, society could have such expectations of journalism, and McQuail (2013) identified several such expectations. Firstly, society expects journalists to connect citizens to the government and vice versa. Hallin and Mancini (2004) argued that this tripartite relationship applies contextually, depending on the media system applied in the country. For example, in a democratic country, the government could be dominant in controlling the free press through laws and regulations. However, in a democratic country, the press commonly comes into conflict with the government over the control of information and in constructing reality in what is called an adversarial relationship (McQuail 2013, Phillips 2015). McQuail (2013) also

argued that a well-established media organisation without self-interest could also build mutual relationship with the government. According to McQuail (2013), journalists can support the government by keeping secrets from the public and determining that the 'truth' is.

Secondly, society expects journalism to support the routine work of the main institutions of society. However, in trying to meet those expectations, the media organisation is often affected by political interventions from the state, and business interventions by proprietors. McQuail (2013) argues that an ideal journalism could be only achieved if media organisations are independent of both types of interventions.

Thirdly, society expects journalism to respect the dominant values and norms of the culture and society. The aim of McQuail's (2013) social theory of journalism is the codification of the relevant norms and an assessment of the direction and strength of pressures encountered by the media. McQuail (2013) said that journalism has a strong ideology that positions itself as representing the public in an adversarial relationship with dominant social power.

Finally, society expects journalism to serve the national interest. It is argued that in exceptional circumstances such as crisis or war, society expects that news organisation will voluntarily apply self-censorship and select news to support the government (McQuail, 2013). According to McQuail (2013), that is how journalism serves the national interest and acts patriotically. This condition may be temporary but also may potentially affect the practice of media organisations in normal times (McQuail 2013). On the other hand, the function of journalism in

times of crisis could be different when practised in the authoritarian media system. According to Wall and Zahed (2015), in Syria where an authoritarian media system operates, the absence of a professional press has encouraged the growth of citizen reporters who made news stories during the war.

Quoting Hall et al. (1978), Phillips (2015) p.48 called the press a "primary definer" of meaning, acting as a source which provides facts and opinions that can be trusted and will be credible to the audience. This is considered to represent a certain kind of power. Therefore, the information disseminated from the press is deemed more worthy compared to that from other sources. The press is also recognized to have confirmable expertise to compete with other sources of information. McQuail (2013) alleged that the power of the press gives them legitimacy to control who and what will receive varying amounts of information and to decide on its quality. Therefore, the press is positioned to be equal to the executive, legislative and judicial institutions, as described in the theory of the 'fourth estate'. According to McQuail (2013), journalists maintain the position of the press as a 'gateway' to information in society. However, McQuail (2013) also emphasised that the development of the Internet led to uncertain practices for sources, audience, journalists, and those affected by reporting.

Current social theory of journalism has been criticised because it is not based on an analysis of the 'rules of the game' for the media and society in the new media context (Benson 2005, Hesmondhalgh 2008). However, according to Layder (1993, as cited in McQuail 2013), theory can be related to current conditions by contextualising the background image of empirical evidence to the theory. This

view is supported by Phillips (2015), who writes that, by examining specific practices and behaviours in the journalistic field, one can understand the values and norms which have developed and been reproduced.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed field theory popularised by Pierre Bourdieu in the context of the analysis of contemporary journalistic practice in relation to the phenomenon of citizen journalism. Field theory is considered to be capable of providing an account of the relationship between power and structure in journalism practice (Benson 2006, Hesmondalgh 2006, Schultz 2007, Willig 2012). It can be used to analyse how the journalistic process or production of news functions to transform the journalistic field or maintain existing power relationships. However, Bourdieu's field theory mainly focuses on internal factors in analysing the journalistic field (Hesmondhalgh 2006), whereas analysis of the link between news organisations and society as a whole is lacking (Benson 2006). This goal of this study is to investigate the pressure exerted by non-professional journalists as an external factor affecting the work of professional journalists. Researchers have suggested that field theory is a 'work in progress' theory that needs to be further tested and modified (Benson and Neveu, 2005, Willig 2012). Meanwhile, the theory of the social responsibility of journalism could be complementary and overcome the shortcomings of field theory in exploring journalism practice. According to McQuail (2013), the social theory of journalism focuses on what society demands from journalism. The theory analyses the goals,

rights, duties, and responsibilities of journalists to society. The next chapter will discuss how journalism operates in the context of changing the relationship of political communication between the media, audiences, and political actors.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Political Communication in a New Media Era**

#### **4.1 Chapter Overview**

The previous chapter has explored field theory and social theory of journalism as tools for investigating journalist and citizen journalist relationships in news production. While this chapter narrowed down the investigation of the relationship in the context of political news production, as Gans (2003) stated that most news is political. Research about political news have found that the media actively influence public opinion by interpreting political events and issues (Lippman 1922, McNair 2000, Bourdieu 2005). Conversely, recent studies argued that citizens could influence the political discourse of the public and influence agenda-setting of the media (Gillmor 2006, Allan 2006, Quinn and Lambie 2008, Lindner and Larson 2017, Kaufhold et al. 2010, Wall and Zahed 2015). Other researchers have emphasised their research regarding the role of news media in political communication in the digital era (Blumler and Kavanagh 1999, Chaffee and Metzger, 2001, Norris 2004, Shirky 2011, Soriano 2013, Perloff 2014, Weimann, Weiss-Blatt et al. 2014). However, there is little information from these studies regarding how citizens influence the journalistic practice in the newsroom. Therefore, this chapter explores influence of CJ to the journalism practice. This chapter begins by reviewing research on political communication and its changes in the digital era.

## 4.2 Conceptualising Political Communication

Both words in the term 'political communication' have had various definitions since Aristotle's work *Political Philosophy* in the 4th-BC. This study follows the definition of the politics expressed by Perloff (2014), who adopted Miller's (1987) idea that politics is a process whereby a group of people, whose opinions or interest are different, reach collective decisions which are generally regarded as binding on the group and enforced as common policy. Perloff defines communication as a symbolic process by which people transmit and interpret messages and confer meaning on the universe in which power is wielded. As with definitions of politics and communication, the definition of political communication is also not universally agreed due to its origin as an interdisciplinary field of study influenced by ideas from communication studies, political science, journalism, psychology, history, rhetoric and other fields (Kaid 2004). However, of all the definitions given of political communication, Kaid (2004) quoting Chaffee's (1975) suggestion that it concerns the "role of communication in the political process" (p.xiii). Meanwhile, in defining political communication, Norris (2004) chose to emphasise the parties involved, so that it is seen as "an interactive process concerning the transmission of information between politicians, the news media and the public" (p.1). Perloff (2014) defines political communication in more detail. It "is the process by which language and symbols, employed by leaders, media, or citizens, exert intended or unintended effects on the political cognitions, attitudes, or behaviours

of individuals or on outcomes that bear on the public policy of a nation, state or community " (p.30).

Both Norris and Perloff describe political communication more fully than in Chaffee's definition. However, their definitions ignore other factors that are also related to political communication. Politicians, news media, and the public are the three main factors that are always mentioned in descriptions of political communication. Norris (2004) mentioned politician as single entity as mentioned in the definition in the Oxford Dictionary (2017) in that a politician is a holder of an elected office. Perloff uses the word 'leaders', which is plural, to describe the actors in political communication; whereas the actor in political communication could be an organisation. Instead of using the terms politician or leader, this research follows McNair (2011), who uses the term political actors rather than politician or leaders to refer to individuals, parties, organisations, or governments. As McNair said, political actors are those who aspire through organisational and institutional means, to influence the decision-making process. These include parties, public organisations, pressure groups, terrorist organisations, and governments (McNair 2011).

In the age of mediation, the news media do play an important role in the dissemination of political information. The early research of Walter Lipmann (1922) proved that the news influences citizens' perceptions of the world and researchers have focused on this ever since (Swanson 2005). The news media play a role in political communication with a variety of means and various products (McNair 2011). News media products could be more popular than news, such as

entertainment material. Increasingly, intense media competition has led the media to act pragmatically and prioritize entertainment products over the news. The media may even cover political information simply because politics can attract audiences so that it benefits the media organisation (Swanson 2005). Less interesting political information is packaged entertainingly, as in a tabloid newspaper, which is known as tabloidization. Visual material dominates the analysis and the use of dramatic techniques in tabloids is assumed to be more interesting to audiences. For example, in India, the news is delivered in such a way that focuses on an entertainment format with a sensational style (Swanson 2005), has also happened in the USA (Altheide 2004).

The function of the media in democratic political systems is to transmit political communication that originates from the media organisation itself as the sender of political messages which are constructed by journalists and other producers such as bloggers (McNair 2011). The function sees news media as intermediaries.

However, Perlof (2014) said that the media platform is a place where the game of politics is played. Political actors must use the media for their messages to be communicated to their intended audience. McNair (2002) describes the pivotal position of the media in the exchange of information between political organisation and citizens.

Both Perlof and Norris define the mediated parties in political communication using the terms citizen and public. According to Norris, a citizen is a combination of a politically engaged and opinionated subject, along with those who may be indifferent or woefully ignorant, while the public refers to a people as a whole.

However, in mediation, the intended party is the audience, and therefore, this is a better term to be used when referring to citizens and the public. The audience is defined as the target of the communication, the goal of persuasion. McNair (2011) uses the term audience rather than citizen (Perloff 2014) or public (Norris 2004) because it has both a broad and a narrow meaning. McNair gives an example of when the UK *Guardian* newspaper reported on the "ETA bombing of a Spanish tourist resort", which was aimed at two types of audiences: for Spanish people as a broad audience and the Spanish Government as a more specific audience. The audience can function as a citizen in the broad sense while the government is seen as a narrow audience.

In addition to Chaffee, who uses the simplest definition of political communication, McNair (2011) also defines it simply in declaring that political communication is a purposeful communication about politics. McNair explains that the consequence of this definition is that, firstly, political communication is initiated by politicians or other political actors who use the forms of various means of communication. Secondly, non-politicians such as voters and the newspaper columnists direct communication. The third type of political communication is communication about the actor and its activities. From the consequences of the above definition, it can be concluded that the parties involved in political communication are political actors, media, and audiences.

### **4.3 Changes in Political Communication in the New Media Era**

In the last three decades, the most important changes in the political communication process have occurred due to the rise of the Internet (Swanson 2003, Vedel 2003, Cook 2006, Gillmor 2006, Gans 2011, McQuail 2013, Hermida 2015, Kruike-meier 2016, Perlof 2014). Information is now available in abundance, and it is easily available and cheap for audiences to gather. The ease of getting information raises the question of whether or not this will affect the fundamentals of politics. Is it supporting a new form of political communication or is it just a Pandora's Box that is unleashing new inequalities of power and wealth (Blumler and Kavanagh 1999, Chaffee 2001, Norris 2004)?

Researchers have argued that the development of the Internet could reinforce deeper divisions between the rich and poor in terms of information, between the tuned-in and the tuned-out, the activist and the disengaged (Norris 2004, Soriano 2013) and that it may form 'new electronic cage' (Ragnedda 2011). The Internet is routinely associated with its role in democracy, but according to Morozov (2011), the Internet is not inherently liberating and its liberatory potential depends on the situations. The high penetration of the Internet does not guarantee that any country will become more democratic, as is clear in Russia (Freedom House 2016).

Meanwhile, one consequence of Internet presence is that it is seen as a source of hope by other researchers. They assume that the Internet can embody a utopian concept whereby ordinary citizens can contribute to democracy (Gillmor 2006,

Allan 2006, Shirky 2008). Messages can be sent on the Internet further, faster and with fewer mediators. Ordinary citizens can organise themselves without much preparation because the cost of sharing information and coordinating has collapsed (Shirky 2008). Shirky noted that most of the world's political movements use social media supported by the Internet as a tool of coordination (Shirky 2011).

The development of new media supported by the growth of the Internet has prompted researchers to be more critical about the current conditions of mass communication. In an article entitled "The End of Mass Communication?", Chaffee and Metzger (2001) argue that mass communication today tends to be individualistic rather than mass in any sense because of the presence of new media. Therefore, they suggest that the term mass communication should be change to media communication. However, they did not state that the end of mass communication is absolute. Mass communication is still ongoing even in the new media environment, such as in the live programming of Olympics sports event (Dayan and Katz, 1992 cited in Chaffee and Metzger, 2001). In some situations, the communication conducted by the new media is not individualistic but also attracts a wide audience. However, Chaffee and Metzger's ideas then motivated researchers to develop new theories because, according to them, there is a fundamental difference between the old and new media technologies (Chaffee and Metzger 2001).

Weimann, Weiss-Blatt et al. (2014) have responded to Chaffee and Metzger a decade later give a more nuanced understanding of the changes in mass

communication that have occurred following the rise of new media. However, they said that theories which were developed in the previous media age remain relevant in the new media era. New media environments may force us to readjust the so-called 'old' theories, yet researchers still face the same problems in understanding power and resistance, structure and ownership, which are so-called 'old' issues (Weimann, Weiss-Blatt et al. 2014).

In the midst of these debates, other researchers have argued that the important thing about the changes which are taking place is that the power relations between key message providers and receivers are being rearranged (Swanson 2005, Gillmor 2006, Blumler and Kavanagh 1999, Gans 2011, Soriano 2013, Kruekeimeier et al. 2013 McQuail 2013, Vliegenthart et al. 2013, Perloff 2014, Hermida 2015). This study, therefore, looks at the changes in power relations between the three parties involved in political communication: political actors, media and audiences.

#### **4.3.1 Political Actors Start to Neglect Mainstream Media**

In the era of mediation, media institutions play an essential role in the delivery of political information from political actors to audiences and vice versa (McNair 2011). Perloff (2014) even called politics, a game played on media platforms. According to Vliegenthart et al. (2011), news media give privileges to political actors by reporting on them positively. Empirical data shows that the British newspaper the *Guardian* reported on the government positively in 1997, 2001 and 2005 elections. According to them, this was done because the *Guardian* supported

the Labour Party, which had a majority in the House of Commons at that time (Vliegenthart et al. 2011). This finding is in line with Phillips' (2015) argument that the news media reinforce the power of elites because these types of people have better access to the media.

The importance of the role of news media means that the behaviour of political actors is increasingly dependent on news media, which referred to as 'mediatization' (Vliegenthart et al. 2011, Stromback and Esser 2014). According to Stromback and Esser (2014), the mediatization of politics has important features. Firstly, it is a dynamic and long-term process. Secondly, it emphasises the increasing influence of the media and thirdly, this influence occurs in all political processes and with all political actors. Finally, the influence may be direct or indirect.

Similarly, McComb (2014) found that US President Jimmy Carter's agenda in 1978 was affected by coverage of the *New York Times* and television networks. However, McComb also found that the media did not always affect on agenda of US presidents. In an investigation of the media agenda on Richard Nixon's presidential agenda in 1970, McComb did not find that the media agenda affected the president's agenda.

Researchers have said that the structure of the relationship between political actors changes according to culture and the media system involved (Hallin and Mancini 2004, McComb 2014, Phillips 2015). McComb (2014) said that the culture of journalism structures the norms and traditions of journalism which determine how journalists operate. He gave an example of how relationships between journalists

and political actors differ between the US and the UK. The results of comparative studies in the two countries showed that in the UK 1983 general election, the news media emphasised news which was raised on issues given by political parties. Meanwhile, in the 1984 presidential election in the US, the issues raised by the political parties received little or negative coverage (McComb 2014).

Another comparative study focusing on relations between journalists and political actors was carried out by Stamper and Brants (2011) in the context of British and Dutch journalism. They found that these relationships had become soured. The quality of political reporting was said to have declined so that politicians such as Prime Minister Tony Blair (2007) and Dutch Minister Piet Hein Donner (2005) openly criticised journalists for giving them a hard time during their period in office.

Vliegthart et al. (2011) argued that relations between journalist and political actors are dynamic and researchers have argued that the development of media is inseparable from technological developments (Gillmor 2006, Gans 2011, McQuail 2015). Hermida (2015) gave an example of the development of printing machine technology, giving broader access to information for all social classes. Similarly, the growth of the Internet has provided greater access to information. Therefore, McQuail (2015) argued that the Internet leads to freedom from most kinds of control, even that of news media organisations.

According to Hermida (2015), political actors now have an alternative to exercising communication through social media. He said that the social media function as a contested space where the ordinary citizen could challenge and

neutralise traditional elites such as politicians, business leaders, and the media, expressing a counter-narrative that may disagree with mainstream media discourse. By the same token, Kruikemeier et al. (2013) stated that, in the era of the Internet, political actors are not so dependent on institutions in trying to persuade the public. With the variety of privileges offered by the Internet, political actors now also have the opportunity to become closer to their constituents without the help of institutional media. Kruikemeier et al. (2013) concluded that political actors are increasingly using online methods to interact directly with citizens. According to Vliegthart et al. (2011), news media focus on political news about political leaders and personalities, in what is referred to as personalization. Personalization focuses on the coverage of individual politician rather than political parties.

Interactive features and more personalised online communication may increase the involvement of citizens in politics, and citizen involvement has also increased with the development of social media such as Twitter, which further supports interactivity between politicians and citizens (Kruikemeier et al. 2016). Social media have become a tool in performative power, which achieved through the use of expectations and emotions in messages that resonate with particular publics, such as in presidential election campaigns (Hermida 2015).

#### **4.3.2 Audiences are more Independent**

The development of the Internet supports the availability of an abundance of information so that the audience is less dependent on the mainstream media in

obtaining political information. This condition is associated with a decline in the credibility of traditional news media. Thus, the public is increasingly cynical about the media (Swanson 2005, Gillmor 2006). Gillmor argued that the news media no longer monopolise the function of information dissemination because, in the Internet era, everyone could produce news.

Similarly, other researchers have said that the importance of the news produced by the mainstream media in determining the public agenda has decreased (Chaffee and Metzger 2001, Gans 2003, Meijer 2010). Meijer 2010 emphasised that the decline in public confidence in the news media is due to the decline in the quality of critical journalism. According to her, the news media do not meet the expectations of society, namely in supplying background information, fostering social integration, providing inspiration, ensuring representation, increasing local understanding, creating civic memory and contributing to social cohesion.

Researchers find that social responsibility of journalist encourages participation in public issues and supports journalist to serve the public as a watchdog against abuses of power-driven by market priority (Gans 2003, Barnhurst 2010, Meijer 2010, McQuail 2013).

Prioritizing the market over the public interest contradicts functions of journalists and the news media. Gans (2011) said that journalists are a representation of the public and should prioritise people beyond the news audience in producing news. Therefore, journalists cannot write or talk on behalf of the people they cover or the people they supply the news to. The news media should report the picture of a

country as accurate as possible because they are the major supplier material in building public sphere (Gans 2011).

Journalists affected public opinion when they are carrying out their functions as watchdogs (Gans 2003, Meijer 2010, McQuail 2013). Gans elaborated that in performing this function, journalists search for 'villains' who have committed illegal, dishonest and immoral acts that are contrary to general norms in society. The journalist often criticises politicians and political institutions in operating their watchdog function. Therefore, politicians must always be aware of how journalists report a story about them. According to Gans (2003), the watchdog function of journalist can contribute to encouraging government officials to be honest and responsive to the public.

The researcher observed that journalists operated their watchdog function by applying contextual journalism or explanatory journalism (Gans 2003, Barnhurst 2010, Fink and Schudson 2010). Gans (2003) said that explanatory journalism is journalism, which describes the context within which events take place and statements are made. According to him, there are two functions of explanatory journalism. The first of these is to provide answers to "why" questions. Barnhurst and Mutz's (1997) research showed that there was an increasing explanatory journalism practice in the US between 1894 and 1994. They said that, in this period, journalism became less event-centred, with longer stories focused on answering questions of the 'how' and the 'why'. They concluded that journalists changed their standard form of news from a stenographic style into analysis and interpretation news format.

The term explanatory journalism is less broad than analytic journalism or interpretive journalism, in that it gives merely attempt to an understanding of the audience of what has happened (Gans 2003). If the journalist does not provide explanations, people become more likely to spread rumours or fake news to answer 'why' questions (Barnhurst 2011). The second function of explanatory journalism is that it supports the watchdog functions by supplying information about the context within which event take place and statements are made (Gans 2003).

The history of news media shows that there has been a vast development of contextual journalism (Barnhurst 2010, Fink and Schudson 2014). Fink and Schudson (2014) analysed that there is massive development of contextual journalism from the 1950s to the 2000s. They said that the contextual journalism format has been applied in various media platforms such as in news television and radio, but it was more identical in the newspaper platform (Fink and Shudson 2014). The contextual tradition of journalism was later adopted by online news media (Barnhurst 2010). However, Barnhurst said that newspapers and online news media are no longer prioritise the contextual journalism to serve the citizens anymore but are now motivated by the pursuit of revenue. By observing three online newspapers in the US, Barnhurst found that the development of the Internet had made newspapers adaptable and more interactive, but he did not find changes in the quality of the news. He said that the news media focus on politics and events was driven by the needs of advertising. Journalistic practices that prioritise economic motivations lead journalists to lose their representative functions (Gans

2003, Barnhurst 2011). Barnhurst (2011) called this condition a news media provide various opportunities for audiences to participate in political debate and the production and dissemination of political information (Kruikemeier, van Noort et al., 2013). The development of the Internet gives the audience a wider choice to meet their needs for information. However, this independence of the audience in choosing media is not a new idea that has developed along with Internet technology. Katz (1959) long ago argued that the audience actively choose media to meet their needs. She was reacting to Berelson's (1959) criticism that media research was dead. Katz argued that the direction of communication research was no longer on the effect of the media but the uses and gratification (U&G) tradition. McQuail et al. (2005) stated that research on the effect of media and U&G research are distinctive research traditions. Effects of research emphasise questions of 'what do the media do to the individual?' while U&G research asks 'what does the individual do with the media?' The latter considered appropriate in investigating the contribution of the citizen in news production of mainstream media.

The development of the Internet does not only provide opportunities for wider audiences to choose the media they use but also provides an opportunity for the audience to produce their news. Gillmor (2006) said that the Internet provides an opportunity for ordinary citizens to replace journalists in shaping public opinion. By the same token, the development of the Internet provides an opportunity for an ordinary citizen to become significant actors such as those that occur in social media (Hermida 2015).

### **4.3.3 The Competition of Media Business is Increasing**

The news media have always competed for scarce material and non-material resources (Gans 2003). Bourdieu (1998) called the competition as ‘invisible structure’ where news media compete to obtain direct and indirect economic capital (EC). The latter is the competition between news media over ratings or circulations, meanwhile direct EC is the competition in practicing advertorial stories which known as advertisements that inspired by news stories.

Researchers have different ideas in identifying the practice of advertorial stories in news media (Kim et al. 2001, Reijmersdal et al. 2005, Eckman and Lindlof 2010). Reijmersdal et al. (2005) argued that collaborative advertising and editorial contents appear to be a promising format for advertisers and publishers. They believed that the mixture of editorial content and advertising as no threat to journalism because it added value to the news. Meanwhile, Eckman and Lindlof (2010) said that journalists play a role in blurring the boundaries between advertising and news stories. Their ethnographical study showed that journalism is compromised by advertorial practice and the interaction between advertising and news is increasing and has become more complex. According to Gans (2003), controversial adverts are beyond of journalist control because the adverts generate big money to the organisation they work for.

Kim et al. (2001) said that advertorial advertising is an effective format as alternative advertising because it induces greater message-involvement compared to conventional advertising formats. Kim et al. (2001) found that younger and less

educated audiences are less critical of deception in advertorials, making it easier to fool them. They said that publisher and academicians have long been debating on advertorial format. However, it is not popular among advertising practitioners. Furthermore, Kim et al. (2001) said that journalists blurred the boundaries between advertising and editorial content. To govern the practice, the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) has produced a guidebook on publishing advertorial content in printed and Internet-based magazine forms. However, not all publications follow the guidelines, including those which fail to label the advertorial content (Kim et al. 2001).

Kim et al. (2001) concluded that, whether labelled or not, advertorial, confuse the reader. The label does not provide readers with an effective warning regarding the nature of the text. For the same reason, Ferucci et al. (2016) said that advertorials are a type of advertising that threatens the credibility of journalism. They argued that advertorial, which also called *native advertising* threatens the function of journalists to fulfil their social responsibility.

The floods of information available lead media institutions to not only compete with each other but also with the audience in the production and dissemination of information. Media organisations also develop innovations in developing their products, converging with various platforms to open up participation by parties previously known as the audience. This openness has contributed to the development of citizen journalism and vice versa. Citizen journalism leads to pragmatic improvisation by news media, and the challenge is to find a new practice in collaborating with citizens by pushing the boundaries of news

reportage (Allan and Peters, 2015). Journalists who previously acted as gatekeepers have to adapt to this phenomenon and are turning into ‘gatewatchers’ of information coming to the editor’s desk before being reported back without editing (Thurman 2008). Although journalists still hold control over participation (Domingo 2011, Kammer 2013, Allan and Peters 2015), the media are increasingly dependent on audience participation in daily practice (Jordaan 2013), for example in the event of breaking news (Alejandro 2010, Allan 2013). The involvement of the audience in this way is seen as an innovation in the newsroom and is adopted in different ways by various media (Paulussen and Ugille 2008). Traditionally, the news media compete for a ‘scoop’, to get the newest news and the hardest news or exclusive news (Bourdieu 1998). The news media are reliant on the latest technology to win the competition (Bourdieu 1998, Schultz 2007, Vujnovic et al. 2010, Gans 2011, Phillips 2015). However, as observed by many researchers, the news media prioritise the market in the production of news (Gans 2003, Barnhurst 2010, Meijer 2010, McQuail 2013). In the same token, Vujnovic et al. (2010) stated that as a business institution, a news media organisation must follow the economic model to adapt to changes caused by technology. And to win in the market, the news media are competing to implement technology in analysing the audience. For online news media, the competition concerns the use of technology of search engine optimization (SEO) (Sen 2005, Spink and Xu 2000, Kritzinger and Weideman 2013).

#### **4.3.4 News Media is more Independent of Political Actors**

According to Gans (2003), the significant roles of news media in reporting the government and political events and statements leads to the news media being embedded in the government and politics. Officials and politicians have an essential role as news sources for the news media in political news coverage.

These political actors provide leaks and publish their views through interviews and press conferences as news material for the media. However, this is also a way for political actors to interfere with agenda-setting in the media (McNair 2011).

Public officials need journalists in shaping the accounts of events and statements to meet the needs of journalists and their audience (Gans 2003).

According to Willis (2007), the US news media consider that the most important and most prestigious beats are the presidential and Congress beats. These two beats have more space in the published news, and so reporters assigned to them also have more opportunities to become stars compared to their colleagues. The reporters and news media build a mutual relationship in these types of beats to ensure continuous access. Willis (2007) pointed out that this type of relationship helped Barack Obama in his bid to occupy the seat of US President in 2008. The community quickly recognised Obama because he was positioned as a "media darling". Willis highlighted Obama's characteristics such as being unique, humane, rugged, moderate, and providing leadership, which led to him being positively recognised by the news media.

Even so, the news media do not always report good things about politicians. Entman (2010) said that slanted framing was caused by competition between journalists and politicians or other elites in determining the news. In a political dispute such as in an election, slanted news might benefit the opposition party. It is common practice for journalism to help particular politicians or political parties (Willis 2007). Willis (2007) stated that the phenomenon of partisan news media, both overt and covert has occurred since the eighteenth century in the US where there are many small newspaper companies supported by political and business interest.

Researchers have found that the practice of journalism in supporting a particular party is operationalised by setting the media agenda and priming and framing the news (McComb and Shaw 1972, Shaw 2007, Chong and Druckman 2007, Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, McComb 2014). Chong and Druckman (2007) said that such a frame is a news media report in favour of one party in a dispute. They found that the framing effect was more dependent on the quality of the frame compared to the frequency of dissemination. Other researchers observing partisan news in the media indicate a positive impact in increasing public interest in politics (Moehler and Krutz 2016). However, research conducted in Ghana showed that the participation of the public in politics declined. As a newly liberalised country, Ghana citizen had the opportunity to own radio companies which were previously monopolised by the government. However, of a total of 225 radio stations in the country, many had a clear political bias because they were owned by politicians or businesspeople who adopted partisan views.

Meanwhile, Voltmer and Brants (2011) observed that relationships of news media with politicians develop through the structure of political interviews. They said that the mediatization of political communication occurs by applying professional rules and standards for public appearance to political officials. They argued that there has been a change in relationships between journalists and politicians, as identified in an analysis of political interviews showing that they have become more like a tough interrogation. However, they found that politicians succeed in maintaining control over content and interaction in political interviews. Even though politicians are under pressure due to the behaviour of adversarial journalists, the terms are negotiated when, for example, the journalist and politician discuss what will be asked in the beforehand interviews and what should not be asked.

Other researchers have argued that, in the era of the abundance of information, the power of political actors in influencing the agenda of the media is reduced.

According to Swanson (2005), journalists increasingly try to shape the agenda in order to demonstrate their autonomy. There is competition between and among media organisations and political actors to win public consent and legitimation in the same political arena. Candidates for office have long recognized that news items can potentially reach millions of voters and they always try to influence newsmaking. However, interpretation has become widely used by journalists in reporting the news. The media increasingly refuse the efforts of political actors to control news reports and instead include information that is different from that which the political actors provide (Zaller 1997, cited in Swanson 2005).

Vliegthart et al. (2011) said the relationships between media organisations and political actors lead to news quality in decline, which indicated by the increase of horse-race information, negative news about politics and political actors. The autonomy of news media in choosing sides or whether to be partisan or neutral has led to an understanding that the news media are themselves political institutions (McNair 2002, Schudson 2002).

#### **4.4 The News Media as a Political Institutions**

The news media is known as the fourth estate of democracy after the executive, legislative and judicial sectors (Willis 2007, McQuail 2013). This function implies that the media is a tool for guarding democracy, watching the three other estates for the sake of the public good. News media must be free pressure from the three estates because, even though the public does not choose them, the news media are a representative of the public (Gans 2011). Gans said that this function forced the news media to always consider the public as a whole beyond the news audience. According to him, the journalist as a 'general representative' must pay attention to other parts of the country, especially those that are not well represented. The journalistic practice is guided by such norms and traditions, including newsworthiness, in covering stories (Gans 2011, McQuail 2013, McComb 2014). These norms and traditions lead the journalist to be more interested in reporting on unusual events and atypical object, and therefore, journalists may avoid

reporting about typical events and people. Gans (2011) suggests that the norms and traditions regarding newsworthiness should be changed.

Changes in the practice of journalism and the development of technology have also led to development of theory in political communication (McQuail 2013, Blumler 2015). New theories have been developed in the digital era, such as the theory of voice, the actor's role and holistic and normative perspectives. However, agenda-setting, priming, and framing are still important theories concerning the media in analysing political communication (Blumler 2015). These three concepts are considered capable of showing the characteristics of the ways journalism organises, interprets, and shapes political realities. The theory of agenda-setting, in particular, still plays an important role in media studies of newly democratic countries (Shaw 2007, Tapsell 2015). Shaw (2007) demonstrated that the media affected the presidential election in Liberia in 2005 by favouring presidential candidate Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf rather than the soccer celebrity George Weah. Even though Weah had grassroots popularity, Sirleaf managed to become president with the support of media. Using agenda-setting theory, Shaw analysed how the media set the agenda for informing the electorate and influencing electoral outcomes (Shaw 2007). According to Shaw, the media in Liberia set the agenda to win by focusing the news on Sirleaf's superiority over Weah regarding qualifications and experience. Weah's threats to journalists were also a motivation for the media in pushing for Sirleaf's victory in the 2005 elections (Shaw, 2007). The media conduct the selection, production and interpretation of the realities of society. In selection, what is considered to be important is reported and that which

is not deemed important or less important is ignored. By making some issues more salient in people's minds in this agenda-setting, the mass media can also shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgements about political candidates and issues, and this process is priming (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007).

The same process is conducted in presenting political reality before the audience, which consumes information which closely corresponds with publics' agenda. This process is known as the agenda-setting of the media (Shaw, 2007). Media agenda-settings is operationalised by using the depth of coverage in a negative or positive way and according to the frequency of media coverage (McComb and Shaw 1972, Shaw 2007). The latter technique was used by the media in Liberia in terms of the frequency of news concerning the international experience of the candidates, the advantage of Sirleaf, rather than news about grassroots popularity which was Weah's strength.

In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important role in shaping political reality (McCombs and Shaw 1972).

According to the quantity of information about an issue in the news and its positioning, the news media encourage their audience to become interested in the issue. With agenda-setting, the mass media direct the public in what to think; as McNair (2002) said, public agendas and political agendas are shaped by the news agenda. In Indonesia, the media has favoured presidential candidate Joko Widodo often called Jokowi, who finally won the election in 2014. Jokowi's rise as a media phenomenon represents a new, media-darling form of popular politician,

supported by the extensive coverage of his unique profile (Tapsell 2015). Tapsell sees Jokowi's candidacy for president as a new phenomenon, which shows how the media could fight the oligarchy. Apart from influencing the public agenda, media agenda setting can also influence the agenda of political candidates (McComb 2014).

The idea of agenda-setting has been known since 1922, when Walter Lippman released a book about his research on the US media entitled *Public Opinion* (Swanson 2005, Shaw 2007). Lippman gives clues as to how the power of mass media directs public opinion about an event (Lippman, 1922). Public opinion is seen as a way in which the public act as a citizen in supervising government in a democratic country (Butsch 2007) and the media as a public organ is in a core position in the formation of public opinion (Habermas 1991, McNair 2002).

Although it has been widely used, the concept of the public sphere is still debated now in terms of the issues of public interest, state intervention, and the identification of common concerns (Butsch 2007). According to Butsch, the media can no longer be called a public sphere because they do not serve the public but seek profit or to serve the government. Public spheres are considered to be in crisis, and pessimism about the relationship between the media and democracy extends so far that the future of the political process itself is of particular concern (McNair 2002).

However, the media are not living in a vacuum, and empirical evidence suggests that the media are influenced by public opinion. In the Internet era, journalists in

the mainstream media are influenced by public opinion via stories on Facebook and Twitter (Jordaan 2013). The social media are also tools for online news media to work together with the audience to construct news (Ferrucci 2017). In the UK, evidence shows that the public sphere is larger, denser and more accessible to the public (McNair 2002). McNair added that each media has a different way of playing a role in setting the agenda. For example, broadcast media such as television and radio are have relatively short-term agendas because they tend to follow the existing agenda-setting and focus on daily events.

The role of the news media is to convey political messages from political actors to citizens and vice versa. Nevertheless, media institutions perform not only the cognitive function of information dissemination but also interpretive functions of analysis, assessment and comment (Patterson 1997, Schudson 2002, McNair 2011). This leads to the view that the news media are not just channels for the delivery of messages, but that they also act as political actors. Political actors, narrowly defined, are those individuals who seek, through organisational and institutional means, to influence decision-making processes (Cook 2006, McNair 2011). Media outlets do not just inform people with their news but also use it intentionally to pursue policy objectives. However, how the media act as political actors is dependent on specific circumstances and issues.

The media, in various ways, perform as political actors. McNair (2011) has described how media products are representations of the media as political actors. He argued that among their products are straight news items, editorial content and political interviews. McNair describes the so-called 'straight' news as a form

which can be deployed as a political intervention, intended to smear political organisations and influence voters. In certain situations, the news often becomes an obvious form of propaganda, intended to demonise and dehumanise 'the enemy'. By analysing the conventions, practices and constraints within the media production process, we can understand the features of media output and its impact on politics. The output of the media can be classified into three categories: commercial, organisational and professional (McNair 2011). As political actors, the media exert ultimately control over the news ultimately. Even though, the media depend on political actors for quotations, events, and reliable information, the media make statements about politics in their own right, in the form of commentaries, editorials, and interview questions (McNair 2011).

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the concepts of political communication and the parties involved in political communication, which are political actors, the media, and audiences. Previous studies in journalism have shown that the media actively influence public opinion through the news. However, recent studies also argue that citizens are challenging the monopoly of the media in constructing public opinion. This chapter highlights the agenda-setting theory in understanding changes in the relationships between political actors, the media, and the audience. This study argues that the agenda-setting theory complements the theoretical framework based on field theory and social theory of journalism that has been

built in the previous chapter. The combination postulation of the three theories is considering a promising approach to understanding journalist relationship with citizen journalist and the adoption of CJ in political communication. McQuail (2013) argued, the conditions of journalism are highly dependent on the environment in which it is practised, and so it is necessary to explore empirical study in particular national settings.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Political Communication in Indonesia**

#### **5.1 Chapter Overview**

The previous chapter has explored the theoretical framework chosen for the analysis of the relationship between CJ and journalism. It has investigated the power relations involved in CJ in relation to communication about politics in the context of the era of new media. Meanwhile, this chapter explores political communication in the narrower context of the use of political communication in Indonesia seen as a 'fulcrum'. As McQuail (2013) pointed out, journalism is depending on the place it is practiced. The first part of this chapter explores journalistic practice in the context of the changing political system in Indonesia and the contemporary media landscape. The second part explores the development of online news media as a fast-growing phenomenon in Indonesia, and the third part of this chapter explores political communication during an election.

#### **5.2 News Media in the Indonesian New Order**

Indonesia is a republic that managed to liberate itself from colonialism in 1945 after having been dominated by the Dutch for more than 350 years. Located in Southeast Asia, Indonesia neighbours Singapore and Malaysia to the north and Australia to the south, meaning that the country is situated on an important trade route. Indonesia is the largest country in the region, covering 1.9 million KM<sup>2</sup> of land and the archipelago is split into more than 16,000 islands. Indonesia is the

fourth most populous country in the world with around 250 million people, making it the third-largest democratic country in the world after the USA and India. In 2014, Indonesia's Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia = BPS) listed Indonesia's territory as being divided into 34 provinces, 98 cities, and 416 districts (BPS, 2014).

Despite having been independent for more than 60 years and implementing a democratic system, the practice of political communication in Indonesia is not aligned with democratic values. Winters (2013) has argued that Indonesia has a ten-year deficit in democracy and, similarly, some scholars name its government as a cartel system (Slater et al. 2013), a sultanistic system (Yuki 2012) or oligarchy (Winters 2013, Fukuoka 2013). Meanwhile, Voltmer (2015) argued that country, which turned away from authoritarianism to a democratic state in the mid-1970s, is regarded as a newly democratic country. As discussed in chapter two, system of government affects the media system and journalistic practice (Siebert et al. 1956, Hallin and Mancini 2004), and therefore this chapter explores the governance system in Indonesia and investigates the history of journalism as the basis for an analysis of contemporary journalism, since scholars have argued that its history influences the practice of journalism (Benson 1998, Bourdieu 2005). Meanwhile, Philpott (2000) predicted that how Indonesians are ruled in the future may not change radically compared to the recent past.

In the history of Indonesia, the news media have functioned as a part of political movements to support the nation against Dutch colonialism. Under the rule of Indonesia's first President Soekarno (1945-1965), the news media had various

affiliations to political parties or operated independently (Sen and Hill 2007). Over time, the news media have generally become affiliated to political parties, and this was encouraged by a decision of the Information Department (Departemen Penerangan = Deppen) in 1965, when the Minister instructed news media organisations to become formally affiliated to political parties.

The political transition in 1965 forced Soekarno to step down, and he was replaced by the military regime led by General Soeharto. Under Soeharto's government, which was called the New Order (Orde Baru), news media organisations were ordered in 1973 to cancel their affiliation to political parties. The government forbade political discourse in the media and instructed news media organisations to be more supportive of the development of the country. In the 1980s, a form of journalism emerged that promoted government policy is known as 'development journalism' (jurnalisme pembangunan) (Tapsell 2012). In that period, the government used legislation to ban many news media organisations which were critical of government policy (Gazali 2004), and in some cases, bans were imposed without proper trials (Margiyono 2009). Sen and Hill (2007) recorded various events relating to the banning of news media in the history of the New Order, beginning in 1965 with the action taken against forty-three newspapers in the country. At that time, only 163 newspapers were published. Then in 1974, another twelve publications were banned, and in 1978, seven newspapers and seven student publications were banned following student protests against the government. Finally, bans were implemented against three publications in 1994. According to Gazali (2004), the reason for the news media

tightly controlled was because the government considered news media to be ideological state apparatuses (ISAs). Citing Hidayat (2000), Gazali (2004) p. 76 summarised the types of control practised by the government of the New Order against the news media as follows:

1. The exercise of preventive and corrective control was carried out using restrictions on media ownership through publication licenses (Surat Ijin Terbit = SIT) and Business Press Publishing Licenses (Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Pers = SIUPP). Both were tools to ban news organisations which were politically opposed to the government. Those tools were also used to control news media business by providing access to the family and businesses related to Soeharto (Sen and Hill 2007, Slater et al. 2013).
2. To perform the selection of individual workers in news media such as journalists and editors-in-chief. Journalists were required to take part in government training which represented indoctrination against the profession of journalism and included instructing journalists to join the only legal press organisation, namely the Indonesian Journalists Union (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia = PWI). Local, as well as foreign journalists, were required to have government accreditation.
3. To appoint the leadership of national public news media such as the national public radio station (Radio Republik Indonesia = RRI), and national television (Televisi Republik Indonesia = TVRI).
4. To control news content. The government strictly supervised the content of news that was deemed contrary to government policy (Sen and Hill 2007).

Control of news content was achieved via a reactive "phone culture" where the owner or chief editor was informed if the news had been published that did not follow government policy.

5. To control the resources of news media; for example, by exercising control over paper supplies either in production or distribution (Sen and Hill 2007).

6. To control access. The government limited what could be covered and which subjects could not be covered; for example, including forbidding access to the people who were critical of the government.

Lim (2002) drew an analogy of the supervision of the New Order regime with the *panopticon* or prison system popularised by the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham. The *panopticon* concept allows for one-way supervision by the prison guards of the inmates. In other words, the prison guard could see everything that the prisoners did, but the prisoners could not see the guard and did not know whether or not they were being watched by an invisible guard at any given time. The concept of the *panopticon* has been applied via indoctrination of supervision through television satellite (Lim 2002).

Philpott (2000) said that the control and authoritarian practices in the Soeharto era dampened the autonomous action of individual citizens. The government-controlled national television, and the public was also indoctrinated through television programmes known as "dari desa ke desa" (from village to village) featuring visits of President Soeharto to different villages. The programme constructed Soeharto as a leader who was close to the people, a hero who was dubbed the father of development (bapak pembangunan). The public were, in

effect, emasculated, depoliticised, demobilised and disenfranchised (Philpott, 2000) and persuaded to accept the superior wisdom of a paternalistic elite (Liddle 1999).

News media organisations were completely under government control; however, in 1968, many of them had the chance to develop their business after receiving bank loans following the Domestic Capital Investment Law. According to Sen and Hill (2007), this was a turning point, when the objective of the news media changed from being an ideological tool for political purposes to the economic purpose of aiming to gain a large market share. This was a time when ownership of the Indonesian news media started to be dominated by a handful of businesspeople (Sen and Hill 2007, Lim 2012, Armando 2014). Some people built business empires of news media controlled by individuals and small groups of people who were closely related to Soeharto. In 1990, the government began to allow commercial television stations to operate in addition to the monopoly of TVRI, but until 1995 all five private TV stations belonged to the family of or individuals related to Soeharto (Sen and Hill 2007). Media ownership by family and friends gave sufficient leeway for Soeharto to continue to watch over the news media.

### **5.3 News Media in Post-authoritarian Indonesia**

In 1998 Indonesia was struck by an economic crisis which became a trigger for people to demonstrate, urging President Soeharto to leave his post. That year marked the end of the New Order regime of Soeharto, and the Reformation began. Since the reform era, journalists have found more freedom in making their voices

heard and determining the journalistic missions because the state guarantees freedom of the press (Pintak and Setiyono, 2010). According to Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012), the development of journalism in Indonesia follows counterparts in western countries in emphasizing impartial, neutral, and accurate journalistic products. According to them, professional and procedural factors greatly influence journalists in their work even though hierarchical structures and political influence are still important factors after the reforms. Hanitzsch and Hidayat mentioned that Indonesian journalists are an elite group in society because most of them have university degrees that support their autonomy in news production. However, this autonomy seems to be challenged when it confronts the interest of owners and politicians.

Press Law number 40/1999 defines journalists as people who work for a press company and conduct journalistic activities. This definition is rather vague and dangerous, considering that this law gives the journalist a powerful role in society. Press Law threatens that anyone who hinders the activities of journalism can be sentenced to prison or a fine of up to £250,000 (if £ 1 = Rp. 20,000). Rahmat and Abdullah (2015) observed that this mandate could lead to abuse by journalists in blackmailing government officials. The unclear identity of the journalistic profession also causes the growing of “bodrex” journalist who takes bribery in covering news story (Romano 2010, Rahmat and Abdullah 2015). The vagueness of the definition of journalist is based on the following reasons: Firstly, the definition of a press company is unclear because, since the reform era, the government no longer issues Press Business Publishing Licenses (Surat Ijin Usaha

Penerbitan Pers = SIUPP) as in the New Order regime so that anyone can set up a press company without practising journalism professionally. Secondly, the definition of journalists as people who work for a press company is also uncertain because not everyone working in a press company is a journalist; for example, a driver who escorts television journalists in covering stories. Rahmat and Abdullah (2015) said that the definition of a journalist is not clear, and almost everyone could claim to be a journalist.

A few groups of journalists and the Press Council then gathered to decide on a certification system for Indonesian journalists. The certification was then considered to be a way to fight the producer of “fake news”. It sets boundaries between professional and non-professional journalists and between authorised press companies and others. A verified press company is bound to abide by Press Law and will have constitutional rights in terms of the protection of the Press Council if they face legal proceedings.

On the other hand, journalism scholars greeted the reform era with enthusiasm because it pushed for an end to the shackling of news media and provided an opportunity for the wider public to own news media companies (Lim 2012, Armando 2014). According to Gazali (2004), the structural political transformation in the reform era supported the press freedom, the freedom to express opinions, the beginning of a democratic election system and a new political party system. Lim (2012) recorded at least 1200 newsprint media companies which were established between 1998 and 2002. That growth coincided with the establishment of 900 new private radio stations and five new

commercial television stations to provide an incentive for the improvement of democracy in Indonesia. However, Lim said that a massive number of new publishing companies were owned by a small number of parties with economic and political power. According to Lim, aside from the public news media (TVRI and RRI), there were only 12 individuals or groups that controlled all news media businesses, which she thus named the league of thirteen. Winters (2013) said that ownership in the television industry was further narrowed to only five groups owning stations. Researchers have identified that most of the news media tycoons are affiliated to political parties (Lim 2012, Sudibyo and Patria 2013, Armando 2014, Tapsell 2015).

There are also strong connections between capital in the television industry and political groupings contesting power within Indonesia's democracy (Lim 2012, Sudibyo and Patria 2013, Armando 2014). The owners of the media usually have a direct connection to a political party, such as Aburizal Bakrie who own TVone and ANteve. Aburizal was the chairman of the Functional Group Party (Golongan Karya = Golkar) from 2014 to 2015, while Media Group owner Surya Paloh, who controls Metro TV, has been the chairman of the National Democratic Party (Nasional Demokrat = Nasdem) since 2011. The media mogul Chairul Tanjung, who owns Trans Corp. (Trans TV, Trans 7, CNNIndonesia, CNBC Indonesia) is closely related to the 6th president of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). SBY is the chairman of the executive board of the Democratic Party, and when he took office as President, Chairul served as coordinating economics minister. In addition to Chairul, Dahlan Iskan is also close to SBY and is the

owner of the Jawa Pos group which has the largest local television network in Indonesia. Dahlan also served SBY as CEO of the Indonesia Electricity Company (Perusahaan Listrik Negara= PLN) in 2009 before being appointed Minister of State-owned Enterprises (Menteri Badan Usaha Milik Negara=BUMN) in 2011. Meanwhile, another media businessman who owned the MNC group (RCTI TV, TPI TV), is Hary Tanoesoedibjo who has joined various parties such as the Nasdem Party and the People's Conscience Party (Hati Nurani Rakyat = Hanura) before setting up his own political party named the Indonesia Unity Party (Persatuan Indonesia = Perindo).

The concentration of the ownership of national private TV stations by businesspeople affiliated with political parties has led the news media to lose their political independence, resulting in news being produced which only expresses a few opinions (Lim 2012) and which leads to self-censorship (Tapsell 2012).

Tapsell found that many of Indonesia's newspapers apply self-censorship in a system which he called a media oligarchy. Oligarchy refers to a system dominated by people who have money, positions and access to political networks that give them a chance to govern the political system and acquire more economic power (Winters 2013). Such persons were identified as the dominant figures in business and politics in the New Order era, and they have managed to survive and have reorganized their economic power (Robison and Hadiz 2004, Winters 2013).

These oligarchs were responsible for the fall of Soeharto in 1998, meaning that assumptions about the fall of Soeharto because of 'people power' should be rejected (Robison and Hadiz 2004). These people managed to break their links to

Soeharto in order to survive and re-emerge with new power to rule after the fall of Soeharto (Robison and Hadiz 2004, Fukuoka 2013, Winters 2013).

According to Armando (2014), the concentration of the ownership of TV stations by a few people that he called ‘greedy giants’ hinders democratisation and decentralisation. Private national TV stations were originally awarded permission to operate in various places in Indonesia. For example, SCTV got permission to operate in Surabaya, East Java, while the national television station ANteve got permission for Lampung, Sumatra. However, in practice, all national private TV stations are based in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta (Armando 2014).

Armando said that centralised national TV stations limit the political content in the news and produce biased news coverage about Indonesia, mainly presenting news about Jakarta, while neglecting the development of local democracy (Armando 2014). In the same vein, Philpott (2000) argued that the concerns of national politics which focus on Jakarta neglect civil society in Indonesian political discourse.

#### **5.4 Challenging the Dominance of the Old Media Ownership**

In the New Order era of political communication, bans were implemented on all types of media communication. Print media such as books and newspapers and electronic media such as radio were closely supervised by Deppen. The public TV station, TVRI, was under the full control of the government while commercial TV stations were owned by families and businesses close to Soeharto (Sen and Hill 2007, Tapsell 2012). However, the government did not anticipate the development

of Internet technology in the 1990s, and so they did not know how to ban the information circulating on the Internet (Sen and Hill 2007, 2010). Therefore, researchers have assumed that the media operating on the Internet were the primary medium used to support the fall of Soeharto's government (Lim 2002, Winters 2002, Sen and Hill 2007). The Internet became an alternative public media, especially for students, to discuss political issues because the government closely watched other types of media. Citizens living in Indonesia could connect with citizens abroad via Internet kiosks (warung Internet=warnet) to discuss politics, through mailing list such as 'Pijar', 'SiaR', and 'apa kabar' (Lim 2002, Anggoro 2012). Information from the mailing lists was disseminated to the public before they took to the streets for demonstrations, marking the revival of civil society in Indonesia (Lim 2002, 2003). As Lim said,

“From cyberspace to the warnet and the streets of Indonesian cities, the overthrow of Soeharto succeeded not in virtual space but through actual political activities in appropriating civic space.”

(Lim 2002 p.395)

Some scholars have praised the development of the Internet since it is assumed to support the furthering of democracy in Indonesia (Sen and Hill 2000, Lim 2002) and they support the development of online news media which have interactive characteristics (Quinn and Lamble 2008, Margianto and Saefullah 2012). As has been discussed in chapter two, the Internet accommodates citizen involvement in the construction of news (Allan 2006, Quinn and Lamble 2008, Lindner and Larson 2017). In Indonesia, the presence of online news media is also expected to

lead to diversification in the ownership of news media and to challenge the monopoly of information in constructing public opinion (Lim 2012). The interactive nature of online news media is necessary for the development of Indonesia's democracy because it can accommodate citizens in engaging with politics through social-media platforms. With about 250 million inhabitants, the country is listed as having the second-largest population of Facebook users and fourth largest of Twitter users worldwide (Freedom House 2016). These numbers could potentially grow further because Internet penetration in Indonesia in the year 2017 had only reached 53 percent of the total population so far (Internetworldstats.com 2017). The total of 143 million Internet users in Indonesia is the highest in Asia after China and India. According to Margianto and Saefullah (2012), of the total number of users in Indonesia, 95% use Facebook and Twitter to make Indonesia one of the largest countries in the social media world. Tapsell (2013) argued that Indonesian citizens active on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube could challenge the dominance of the mainstream media in the dissemination of information in political campaigns. Tapsell cited Jakarta's gubernatorial election in 2012 when a group of political citizens supported the couple Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) and gathered public responses through videos on YouTube which had around 4 million hits. The videos carried political messages that Jokowi-Ahok promised clean governance and reform as an "answer" to the problems in the province of DKI Jakarta (Tapsell 2013). Jokowi and Ahok were eventually elected as Governor and Vice Governor of DKI Jakarta; however, Jokowi left the role of Governor of DKI Jakarta after only two

years of a five-year term because in 2014 he ran in the presidential election and won. Ahok then replaced Jokowi to become Governor and continued using social media platforms like Youtube to broadcast the ambience of daily governor's meetings and events to demonstrate the transparency of his administration. On March 1, 2017, a video was released on Youtube featuring Jokowi, who is now President of the Republic of Indonesia, along with King Salman of Saudi Arabia, while they were having lunch. This selfie video showed a monologue by the President interspersed with greetings from King Salman to the people of Indonesia. The video quickly grabbed the attention of viewers and within two days had achieved more than one million viewings. The Jakarta Post praised this act as a new phenomenon by a person with a high profile in a private space and called it a 'whole new level' of vlogging (Valentina 2017). In addition to the video with King Salman, Jokowi also has a special website featuring his other selfie videos.

Social media have become tools of political communication by politicians such as Jokowi and Ahok used to communicate with the public (Nyarwi 2013).

Conversely, social media is also used as a channel of communication from the public to politicians or between members of the public. Yangyue (2014) gives the example of the Prita Mulyasari case, where the sympathy of citizens was invited from other citizens in cyberspace. An ordinary housewife, Prita was sued in a defamation case against a private hospital following a complaint about the hospital's service in an email to a few friends that then spread across the Internet. Prita was sentenced to jail and fined a total of Rp 261 million. In her appeal, Prita

attracted the attention of the public and received funding of around Rp 650 million in 10 days based on a Facebook-based movement. Later on, Prita also support from politicians and gained the attention of mainstream media such as newspapers and national television. In the court proceedings, which took five years, the Supreme Court finally decided that Prita was innocent. According to Yangyue (2014), Prita's case showed that the Internet and Facebook could be used to support public participation in determining the public agenda, in a way that could influence the news media and the political agenda in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Margianto and Saefullah (2012) identified such participation as potential business development for online news media.

### **5.5 The Business of Online News Media in Indonesia**

Online news media organisations have been proliferating along with the increasing numbers of Internet users in recent years. The Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet = APJII) noted that the population of Internet users in 2016 was only 34 percent out of a total population of 254.4 million, while Internetworldstats.com stated the following year that the total amounted to 53.7 per cent. In terms of its economic significance, the Internet has become one of the most commercialised sectors in Indonesia (Nugroho and Syarief 2012).

News media business practices have always been subject to debate among academics and journalists because they are expected to maintain their function as one of the pillars of democracy. However, on the other hand, maintaining the

viability of a private press company as a business institution is a necessity. According to McQuail (2013), the sources of news media revenue and competition to obtain it will affect the quality of content. It is assumed that increases in the numbers of Internet users influence the development of the quality and quantity of online news media in any country. In Indonesia, traditional media such as newspapers have also noticed this opportunity and have diversified their products in the form of online newspapers or converged them with online platforms (Tapsell 2014). Although early in their development, Indonesia's online news media organisations are having a difficult time finding a suitable business model, and only use the online platform for prestige (Margianto and Saefullah 2012).

In the US, the online news media business is growing as the print media business is in serious decline, now accounting for only 20% of media advertising (McChesney 2016). According to McChesney, their share of advertising has been successfully captured by networks such as Google, Facebook, and America Online (AOL). Similarly, newspaper companies in Indonesia are struggling, and the circulation of the largest newspaper company, "Kompas", is also decreasing (Tapsell 2014).

According to the Indonesian Survey Institute (Lembaga Survey Indonesia = LSI), television news was still the main source of political information in 2010. Only 19.6 percent of survey respondents obtained political information from the Internet while that from TV was 71.4 percent with 26.7 percent from newspapers (Yangyue 2014). However, online news media had also begun to be accepted

among Indonesians as reliable sources of political information (Freedom House 2016). Online news media are growing because they have superior characteristics compared to the "old media", such as speed, low cost, and relative lack of geographical restrictions. In the World Wide Web, online news media business has attracted investors due to its effectiveness concerning publicity, marketing and advertising, and online sales (Kritzinger and Weideman 2013).

Nevertheless, like any other business, online news media activities are not for everybody. The number of Indonesia's online news media companies boomed in the 1990s, pioneered by companies which were already established in the print media sector such as Republika, Tempo, and Kompas (Margianto and Syaefullah 2012), but then development slowed down following the bursting of the dotcom bubble in the US at the beginning of 2000 (Anggoro 2012). The development of online news media has since seen a resurgence in recent years. By 2016 there were 43,400 online news media organisations in Indonesia even though only one percent of that number was recognised as part of the national press media landscape (Kuwado 2016).

Although referred to as the "new media", the business model of online news media follows the business logic of their predecessors in the so-called "old media" (Margianto and Saefullah 2012). As well as the economic capital gained by television media, which Bourdieu (1998) cited, online news media business depends on advertising revenue directly through native advertising and indirect revenue through traffic. The latter is a model more commonly applied as a strategy by the online news media in Indonesia. Margianto and Saefullah (2012)

discovered that online news media in Indonesia generally rely on advertising to gain traffic. Traffic is defined as the cumulative duration and frequency of Internet user visits. One of the business strategies used is to prolong each visit for as long as possible through interaction on the platform. According to one of the editors of Kompas.com, Pepih Nugraha, interactivity with the user is achieved through forums, blogs, and other means (Margianto and Saefullah 2012). To pursue high traffic, online news media companies analyse their performance using software that can be accessed online such as Google Analytic, comscore.com, or effectiveness.com (Margianto and Saefullah 2012). Online news media is a product rooted in journalism but, because its products are displayed on the World Wide Web, this new media business should follow the pragmatic logic of other business on the Internet. Spink and Xu (2000) said that companies on the Internet must implement search engine marketing (SEM) because the audience uses Internet search engines to search for information.

Meanwhile, native advertising is advertising that is made in the form of editorial content. This new practice of advertising has the potential to deceive readers because the paid information is disguised in journalistic work. This form of advertising has become a concern among researchers (Kim et al. 2001, Reijmersdal et al. 2005, Eckman and Lindlof 2010, Levi 2015, Phillips 2015, Erin et al. 2016, Schauster, Ferrucci et al. 2016) because this practice is contrary to the ethics of journalism so that it could potentially destroy journalism itself. Erin et al. (2016) also argue that native advertising threatens the social responsibility of journalism.

In addition to supporting the development of online business news media, Margianto and Saefullah (2012) found that interactivity on the Internet creates new problems related to the ethics of journalism. According to them, online interactivity has led to the spread of fake news in the community, such as the story of an Indonesian volunteer named Imanda Amalia, who allegedly died in Egypt. The news spread from one citizen's Twitter account to the online news media and the government. Fake news and hate speech have become notable phenomena in the development of communication via the Internet in Indonesia (Margianto and Saefullah 2012). The government has reacted to the development of such phenomena by applying a new system of censorship through laws, rules, and regulations.

### **5.6 The New Face of Indonesian Censorship**

Vice President B.J. Habibie became President of Indonesia by being automatically promoted after the 2nd President Soeharto resigned. Habibie's reign is known as the first milestone of press freedom. Shortly after taking office, the government and the Parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat = DPR) announced the abolition of regulations that conflict with the freedom of the press, and all Indonesians were free to establish a new media environment (Liddle, 1999). The first milestones were established after Law number 40/1999 was passed, which has five important rules which guarantee press freedom: a press free from government control and free to manage itself; press licensing was abolished; all kinds of press bans were terminated (Margiyono 2009). However, the degree of freedom of the press

started to decline when Parliament established new legislation regarding the election of members of the DPR, Regional Representative Councils (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah = DPD), and Regional Parliaments (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah = DPRD) as covered in Law Number 10/2008 and legislation regarding presidential elections in Law number 42/2008. According to Margiyono (2009), these new laws contradict Press Law number 40/1999 because those laws allow the Press Council to ban press organisations.

Law number 40/1999 was expected to be used to regulate the press and resolve related disputes relating to the press. But, in practice, disputes in the court are often resolved by using the Criminal Code Act (Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana = KUHP) instead of the Press Law, which means that journalists could be jailed out of defamation cases (Margiyono 2009). The KUHP is a product of the Dutch East Indies Government and was instituted in 1917. The rules about the press in the KUHP are considered to be undemocratic because they were used by the Dutch colonial government to maintain control in its colony. According to the Indonesia Journalists Alliance (Aliansi Jurnalis Indonesia = AJI), 37 articles in the KUHP threaten the freedom of the press and this number could potentially double if the draft of the new KUHP is passed. Of all the articles used against the press, criminal defamation is most widely employed (Margiyono, 2009). This offense is regulated by Article 310 of the Criminal Code as follows:

"Whoever deliberately attacks the honour of a person's good name by accusing them of something, with the intention to be public, is threatened with defamation

with a maximum imprisonment of nine months or a fine of four thousand five hundred rupiahs."

The watchdog function of the press becomes disrupted because the use of the KUHP is threatened if the state is criticised. This article is quite problematic for the media because many journalists have been taken to court by government officials, businessmen, or other journalists in defamation cases (Margiyono 2010). Members of the press have been sued in 59 defamation cases between 2003 and 2008. Margiyono argued that there is no clear legal certainty regarding defamation cases against the press because this article is heavily dependent on the interpretation of judges whose understanding could vary.

Even though Indonesia has entered a period of reform that is supposed to guarantee freedom of speech, the legal system in Indonesia does not yet fully support the freedom of the press (Jamaludin 2009). Since the start of the reform era in 1998, Parliament has confirmed ten ACTs and the updated KUHP, which further threaten the freedom of the press. The Law of Information and Electronic Transactions (UU ITE), which passed in 2008, prohibits not only the press but also citizens from expressing their views, as happened in Prita's case. In the period 2008-2015, Article 27 of the ITE Law has been used against at least 74 citizens (detik.com 2015b). In 2014, the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) launched campaigns to censor the Internet and social media. The spread of negative content has led the Indonesian government to start to selectively ban pornographic, religious and, political content in cyberspace (Yangyue 2014). Some content providers like Netflix, Tumblr, and Telegrams

have been banned from operating in Indonesia for these reasons. According to Freedom on the Net, censorship has made Indonesia only partly free regarding free expression on the Internet (Freedom House 2016). According to Yangyue (2014), Indonesia, as a democratic country, is applying a tighter Internet control policy compared to its neighbour Malaysia.

In addition to government censorship, control of news content is also exerted by journalists. In online news media, journalists agreed to conduct self-censorship systematically by forming the Cyber News Writing Guidelines (Pedoman Penulisan Berita Siber). These guidelines define who a journalist is and direct the practice of online news media report, emphasising the need for verification and news balance. As Margianto and Saefullah (2010) state, the nature of online news media tends to rely on speed, resulting in the dereliction of journalistic principles. They said that imbalances and preaching in online news media and passing on information without verification are violations of the journalistic code of ethics which have become most widely performed by online news media journalists. Another focus of these guidelines is journalistic practices concerning interactivity with the audience or user-generated content (UGC), concerning, for example, the legal status of UGC on pages such as comments, forums or other types. If UGC is categorised as a form of the press, so it will be subject to the relevant law, but if UGC is not part of the press, it will, therefore, be subject to the ITE Law, Criminal Law or any other law (Margianto and Saefullah 2010). In the Cyber News Writing Guidelines released in 2012, it is explicitly stated that journalists consider that UGC is part of the news, and therefore, it needs to be censored. The

focus of self-censorship is mainly on racist and religious content (Margianto and Saefullah, 2010) so as to avoid legal problems and to serve the interests of media business (Margiyono 2009). In the same vein, Tapsell (2012) explained that the practice of self-censorship serves the political and business interests of media owners by being carried out on the initiative of the journalists themselves without any official policy from the owners. Therefore, the practice of censorship potentially reduces citizen involvement in politics because online civil society is increasingly weak in showing itself to be a coherent force when facing attempt at Internet control (Yangyue 2014).

### **5.7 The History and Future of Indonesian Elections**

The regulations concerning elections in Indonesia have changed several times in the history of the country. Indonesia's first general election took place in 1955, a decade after Indonesia's independence. The election was conducted in two parts to select members of Parliament and members of the Constituent Assembly which was charged with drawing up the new constitution. This was the only election for the first President of Indonesia, Soekarno.

In 1956 Soeharto became the second President of Indonesia, marking the beginning of the New Order. The next election took place in 1971 with ten parties contesting. The subsequent elections in 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992 and 1997 were only contested by three parties, the Unity Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan = PPP), Functional Group Party (Golongan Karya = Golkar), and Indonesia Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia = PDI). Elections in the

New Order were only intended to allow votes for members of Parliament (Friyanti 2005, Labolo and Ilham 2015).

In 1998, President Soeharto resigned from his post after massive demonstrations marked the beginning of the Reform era. The President's role was taken by Vice President B.J. Habibie, who then held a general election a year later. In contrast to previous elections, 48 parties contested the first elections in the Reform era. There was a change to the electoral system in Indonesia for the next election in 2004 which allowed people to choose their representatives by name for Parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat = DPR), Regional Parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah = DPRD) and Regional Representatives Councils (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah = DPD), as well as the President and Vice President. The number of parties in the elections of 2004 was reduced to 24 parties. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Jusuf Kalla (JK) were elected President and Vice President in the first direct presidential elections. SBY also won the next election in 2009, but this time paired with Boediono as vice president.

The laws concerning elections at the province, city, and district levels have also changed. In the New Order, provincial governors were selected by the Regional Parliament (DPRD). In 2005, Law number 32/2004 declared that the head officials of provinces, cities, and districts were to be elected directly by the people in a simultaneous election. In this era, the legislation also provides the opportunity for independent candidates who are not affiliated to any political party to join the contest. Arifianto and Chen (2015) argued that simultaneous elections support the consolidation of incumbent executives. According to them, this new election

system tends to maintain local political dynasties. For example, the election of Ratu Tatu Chasanah as Bupati (district chief) of Serang Banten and Airin Rachmi Diany as Mayor of South Tangerang, Banten, meant that the sister and sister-in-law of the former Governor of Banten Province, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, were now in office.

In 2015 the national Parliament decided that regional elections would be conducted simultaneously in all regions in Indonesia. However, because the term of office in each region is different, simultaneous elections (Pilkada Serentak) are carried out gradually in seven waves. The first wave of simultaneous elections conducted in 2015 included 204 regions. The second wave took place in 2017 and the third in 2018. After that, the simultaneous election will take place in 2020, and 2023 and are then expected to be conducted throughout Indonesia in the year 2027 (KPU 2017).

The elections in 2017 received special attention from the news media for two reasons: Firstly, it elects the governor of the capital city of Indonesia, DKI Jakarta among ninety-nine other elections at the same time. Secondly, the DKI Jakarta election features a controversial figure, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, who is known as Ahok, as the incumbent. The leadership of Ahok as Governor of the province and capital city of Indonesia, DKI Jakarta, has been praised as a symbol of the development of democratisation in Indonesia (Tapsell 2015). Ahok is Christian-Chinese, which makes him a double minority member in society, and he surprisingly gained the broad support of DKI Jakarta citizens who are majority indigenous Muslim (Tapsell 2015). Ahok was never elected as governor but rather

his position was inherited from the previous governor Joko Widodo (Jokowi). He was the deputy governor who paired with Jokowi in the 2012 election. In 2014, Governor Jokowi won the election to become the President of Indonesia and left the seat to Ahok. Nevertheless, in two years as the governor of DKI Jakarta, Ahok's popularity increased, and he was supported in his wish to stay in office for the next term. Ahok gained support through a social movement, namely "KTP for Ahok". This campaign was targeted at reaching one million copies of identity cards or KTPs (Kartu Tanda Penduduk). Public support was also shown through various social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube (Sinaga, 2015). However, Ahok's continued leadership as governor of DKI Jakarta was opposed by pressure groups led by the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam = FPI). For these Islamic organisations, Muslims are forbidden to elect a non-Muslim as a leader because it is contrary to the commandments of the Al-Quran Surat Al-Maidah, verse 51. However, the interpretation of this verse varies among Indonesian Muslims (Adnan 2017), and other Muslims argue that it is not forbidden to appoint a non-Muslim as a leader. At his working visit in Pramuka Island on 27 September 2016, Ahok mentioned that Al-Maidah verse 51 was being used as a tool to defeat him in the election. He said,

"So, don't believe in [that] people, it is possible that in deep in your heart you don't want to elect me [to be the next governor]. [You are] misled by [people] using [Quran] Surah Al-Maidah verse 51. All kinds like it. That is your right [not to choose me].

(viva.co.id 2017)

The statement was recorded on video and was then posted on the official DKI Jakarta website (Fauzi, 2016). A person named Buni Yani uploaded the edited version of the video to his personal Facebook account to make it go viral on social media and provoke Muslims and Islamic organisations to sue Ahok in a defamation case. Ahok was reported to the police by 14 parties and, since October 6, 2016, the prosecutors have been working on the case to bring Ahok to a first court appearance on December 13, 2016 (Haryanto 2016, Sofwan 2016). The supporters of Ahok made hashtag war on Twitter with their opponents who wanted Ahok to be jailed through their campaigns #tangkapahok (arrest Ahok) and #penjarakanahok (imprison Ahok).

## **5.8 Conclusion**

This chapter reviews the relationship between journalism and CJ in the context of political communication in Indonesia. It explores journalistic practice in the context of the changing political system in Indonesia and the contemporary media landscape. It shows how the changes in the political system have translated into the liberalisation of journalism. The development of the Internet and citizen involvement in constructing news is argued to liberalise journalism even further. This chapter is expected to support the research in providing a narrower perspective on the extensive research conducted by Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012) in investigating Indonesian journalism and providing a different perspective from the research conducted by Lim (2002, 2013, 2017) regarding the Indonesian

Internet and news media. The next chapter discusses the methodology used in this research.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Methodology**

#### **6.1 Chapter Overview**

This thesis has built a theoretical framework in attempting to understand the practice of journalism based on Bourdieu's field theory (1998, 2005), the theory of the social responsibility of journalism of McQuail (2013) and McComb's (2014) agenda-setting theory. Consequently, this framework is used as the basis for the choices of the methodological approach employed to answer the research questions. This research traces the influential factors in the journalistic field by examining the existing literature that has been established in the study of journalism, including that concerning online news journalism practice. This study provides evidence of growing research into citizen journalism (CJ) over the past decade, especially in the context of Indonesian journalism.

This chapter highlights the operationalisation of the research based on the theoretical framework. It explains the rationale for the selection of cases and samples and the choice methods of data collection and analysis. This chapter illuminates the ethics of the research regarding ethnographical study and data collection in terms of reflexive narration. The chapter begins by explaining the research design of this study.

#### **6.2 Implementing the Mixed-Method Research Design**

The central aim of this study is to investigate journalistic practice related to citizen journalism in the production of political news in online news media during

the Indonesian election in 2017. Therefore, this study explores the following research questions: (1) what are the factors that influence the adoption of citizen journalism in a new democratic country ? and (2) to what extent the adoption of CJ influencing the media agenda of online news media in a new democratic country ?

It has been argued that both ordinary citizen and journalists have the same position as a part of the larger society in contributing to cultural production (Bourdieu 1998). However, as explained in chapter 5, Indonesian journalists have a status which is no different from that of journalist in western countries (Hanitzh and Hidayat 2012). They have a prominent position in society as legitimised by Press Law, which guarantees the legal protection of journalists in carrying out their journalistic work. Meanwhile, citizen journalists are ordinary citizens who, although protected by the constitution in expressing their opinions, are also threatened by the Electronic Information and Transaction (ITE) Law if their speech is considered to represent an effort to harm others or to manipulate information.

This study is based on the understanding that the existing structure of society determines the relationship between citizen journalists and journalists, but the relationship is also understood to be dynamic so that it can also have an influence on changes in the structure. Benson (1998) mentioned that the epistemological position taken in understanding journalism in this way is called structural constructivism. He argued that structuralist paradigms such as that of Habermas (1991) and the cultural semiotic approach of Foucault (1977) are insufficient to

understand the dynamics of journalism. Structuralism is failed to connect journalism and changes in society, while Benson (1998) argued that structural constructivism could fill the gap. As indicated in chapter three, Bourdieu's field theory can complement the social theory of journalism and agenda-setting theory in understanding the relationship between journalist and citizen journalists in the production of political news during the 2017 Indonesian election. The use of the three theories originating from different paradigms in the theoretical framework indicates that this study lies in pragmatic worldview. This pragmatism justifies the use of three complementary theories and determines the research processes. A pragmatic worldview accepts that the research methods used are not committed to one system of philosophy and understanding reality so that it provides an opportunity to use different data collection and analysis methods in answering research questions (Bryman 2012, Creswell 2014).

Field theory and the social theory of journalism are within the scope of constructivism, which typical highlights qualitative inquiry (Benson 1998, Bourdieu 1998, 2005, Schultz 2007, Jordaan 2013), while agenda-setting theory emphasise quantitative inquiry (McComb and Shaw 1972, Shaw 2007, McComb 2014) and so this study uses both qualitative and quantitative data which are then analysed by utilising the mixture of methods. It is still a matter of debate whether or not this strategy is scientifically correct because it combines two types of data generated using two methods and different paradigms. However the mixed-methods have been becoming increasingly popular as a research strategy since the 1990s (Bryman 2006) because the strategy is considered to be able to produce

more comprehensive findings (Jordaan 2013), so that mixed-methods research is considered more reliable than using a single strategy (Benson 1998, Bryman 2006, 2007, Weerakkody 2015, Creswell and Creswell 2017).

The objective of this study is to understand the factors that influence CJ and how these factors interact in building the media agenda. This study aims to understand the 'what' and 'how' of the CJ phenomenon, leading to the choice of qualitative research as the main strategy. The method is in line with studies of CJ which prioritize qualitative research because the aim is to investigate the process of collaboration between journalist and citizen journalists (Borger et al. 2013, Domingo et al. 2008, Paullusen and Ugille 2008, Jordaan 2013, Kammer 2013). Meanwhile, quantitative findings are used to corroborate material or to allow convergence with data found in the qualitative research (Jordaan 2013, Netzer et al. 2014, Nah et al. 2013, 2015). This study applies a triangulation strategy in comparing findings derived from the mixed-methods. Bryman (2006) stated that there are five justifications of mixed-methods approaches; complementarity, development, initiation, expansion, and triangulation. He noted that, of these, triangulation is widely used in mixed-methods research.

In research practice, researchers have different priorities in data collection (Bryman 2007). In investigating professional journalism practice in Nigeria, Obateru (2017) utilised quantitative data as the main data. Meanwhile, by using qualitative research as its anchor, this study applies mixed-methods in parallel and quantitative and qualitative data are collected concurrently at the time of an election. Creswell and Creswell (2017) stated that in convergent parallel mixed-

methods, the researcher collects both quantitative and qualitative data at the same time and then compares and confirms the findings against each other. Following them, this study collects qualitative and quantitative data, and the findings are triangulated in the analysis stage.

### **6.3 Selecting the Case and the Context**

According to Dey (2003), the study context is the social setting in which the research phenomenon takes place, which can be a community, a group, or an organisation. As mentioned in chapter one, the journalist-citizen journalist relationship is not a new phenomenon in the study of journalism. Scholars of journalism such as Law (2003) and Hermida (2013) have argued that this relationship has long been established, ever since the original development of newspapers. Such a relationship occurred previously in the dissemination of newspapers or the production of 'letter to editor' columns. However, the development of online news media supported by the Internet has encouraged CJ and led to a robust change in the practice of journalism (Gillmor 2006, Allan 2006, Domingo et al. 2008, Jordaan 2013). It can be understood that journalist-citizen journalist relationship occurs in all news media platforms such as newspapers, television, and radio. However, this study focuses on online news media because of its openness toward citizen journalists. Supported by the features of web 2.0, journalists in online news media are influenced consciously and unconsciously by citizen journalists in news production (Allan 2006, Gillmor 2006, Domingo et al. 2008, Jordaan 2013).

The development of media convergence supports the notion that online news media are currently the most dynamic media (Franquet 2014, Tapsell 2015b, Larrondo et al. 2016). However, researchers have a different understanding of this development. In the case of CJ, for example, researchers have different views of CJ in terms of identifying and conceptualising it (Borger et al. 2013, Wall 2015, Mutsvairo 2016). These differences lead to differences in understanding the context of CJ. For example, Levina and Arriaga (2014) understand citizen journalism as a product of non-professional journalists, such as in blogs or information posted on social media. So, they treat blogs and social media as CJ. Other researchers such as Netzer et al. (2014) and Thurman (2008) treat unmoderated comments as a form of CJ. As has been discussed in chapter two, this study understands CJ as the result of the adoption of the work of citizen journalists in the form of news. Therefore, this study looks at the CJ production process that occurs in the news production site, which is the newsroom.

To decide which type of newsroom was to be studied, this study selects case studies following the results of purposive sampling, which are labelled M1, M2, and M3. This study granted the status of anonymity to the organisations guaranteeing the anonymity of interviewees and to protect them from harm. It is common practice that newsroom researchers give participant informers anonymity (such as Paullussen and Ugille 2008, Jordaan 2013, Ekdale et al. 2015, Larrondo et al. 2016).

The decision concerning case study selection was taken in line with Bryman's (2012) description of purposive sampling as based on strategic considerations

relevant to the specific research question. The selection of M1 and M2 as case studies was for following strategic reasons; firstly, both websites are among the highest pageview getters among national online news media sites in Indonesia (alexa.com 2017). High pageview statistics imply that these online news outlets communicate with broader sections of society compared to other outlets.

Furthermore, Nah et al. (2015) indicated that circulation is positively related to CJ adoption. Secondly, both online news media outlets have particular channels that accommodate CJ. Therefore, they are open to the participation of citizen journalist, thus affecting the news production practices. Finally, both online news media outlets are owned by conglomerates who are not directly affiliated to any political party, and so it is assumed that they are likely to be 'neutral' in their reporting. Dunaway (2013) stated that there is a positive correlation between ownership and bias in news campaigns. This last consideration was a reason to add M3 as a case study because it is owned by a political party leader. The selection of M3 is expected to provide an opportunity to compare 'neutral' and 'partisan' journalism practices in the news media related to CJ and the agenda-setting role of political news during an election.

The comparative study is known to be a prominent strategy in investigating journalistic practice (Siebert et al. 1965, Boczkowski 2004, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Domingo 2008, Paullusen and Ugille 2008, Jordaan 2013, McComb 2014, Netzer 2014, Voltmer 2014), and particularly in research on citizen journalism within the media in various countries. Several studies on CJ within news media have been conducted on a large scale (such as Domingo et al., 2008 Vujnovic et

al. 2010, Netzer, Tenenboim-Weinblatt, & Shifman 2014), while others have investigated CJ in the news media on a small scale (Boczkowski 2004, Paulussen and Ugille 2008, Jordan 2013, Kammer 2013). According to Paulussen and Ugille (2008), small-scale research is important to gain a limited, partial, and fragmented picture of how people communicate. For example, Paulussen and Ugille (2008) examined the newsrooms of four Belgian newspapers, Kammer (2013) studied two courses in online news in the Danish context, and Jordaan (2013) studied two South African newspapers.

Researchers have found that the practice of online journalism in Western countries (Europe and the US) is very similar (Domingo et al. 2008, Netzer et al. 2014, Vujnovic et al. 2010). By contrast, other researchers have found that news organisations have different practices when it comes to the adoption of CJ because the process is gradual and depends on local conditions and contingencies (Boczkowski 2004, Paulussen and Ugille 2008, Thurman 2008). Based on these findings, the scale of a research study depends primarily upon the research objectives. Research that involves large-scale objectives attempts to investigate a phenomenon more globally, while smaller-scale research is aimed at researching a particular context, which is the case with the objective of this study. Therefore, the relatively small scale of this study is justified in investigating CJ in the specific Indonesian online news media context. However, whether research is conducted on a small or large scale, it has been argued that qualitative methods are the most appropriate when examining the process of the adoption of CJ in

news production by the mainstream media (Domingo et al. 2008, Paulussen and Ugille 2008, Jordaan, 2013).

The second aspect of the context of this study is the period considered. The research questions guide this research is focusing on the relationship between journalist and citizen journalists in 2017 Indonesia election. Therefore, this study is conducted before, during, and after the 2017 Indonesian election. The election took place on 15 February 2017, and thus it appropriate that data would be collected in the period 18 January 2017-18 March 2017. There are two reasons for the selection of the 2017 Indonesian election as the context in this study; Firstly, it is assumed that, during election time, the phenomena associated with journalistic practice in political news would be more visible. As Van Aelst and De Swert (2009) stated during political campaigns, journalists are more active compared to regular times. They found positive relationships between the campaign period and the amount and style of actors involved in political news. When journalists are more active, it is also expected that at election times, media activity in adopting CJ may also be more noticeable. Secondly, journalists may be active in determining agenda-setting during election times. Researchers have found that news media actively perform their role in society as a political actor at such time (Hallin and Mancini 2004, Shaw 2007, McComb 2014, Tapsell 2012a, 2012b, 2015a).

#### **6.4 Operating Newsroom Ethnography in Qualitative Research**

This thesis applies an ethnographical study in obtaining qualitative research data by conducting semi-structured interviews and observations. The results of the

interviews of online news media staff in three online news organisations are the primary, data while secondary qualitative data based on observations in the newsroom.

#### **6.4.1 Data Collection**

The nature of the research question in this study are ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions led to the choice of qualitative research as the main approach. In qualitative research, a phenomenon is seen as the result of collaborations between people involved in the production of the phenomenon (Bryman 2012), data about which is collected data in a naturalistic way (Weerakkody 2015). Collaboration occurs in the newsmaking process, and Cook (2006) argued that political newsmaking is a part of the overall communication process between journalists and other political actors. Ethnography is one of the traditions of a qualitative study that is most appropriate to implement in order to answer the research questions in this study. Ethnography has long been used to study journalistic practices in news organisations since this method focuses on people's everyday practices. Researcher such as Lipmann (1922) and Bourdieu (1998) have found that ethnography is relevant in researching the practice of journalism. Ethnography strategy allows researcher to understand journalistic practice comprehensively. Blumler (2015) said that researcher should engage with participants to understand the multifaceted communication in the newsroom. Traditionally, ethnography demands researcher to be in the fieldwork for a long period (Singer 2009). Social researchers such as Herbert Gans (1979) and Gaye Tuchman (1978) conducted ethnographical research in newsrooms for many years (Jordaan 2013). However,

ethnographic media research is a growing field and is increasingly more pragmatic. New practices of ethnographic research have been developed and discussed; for example, regarding the collection of data that relies entirely on interviews and documentation without any need for participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Another matter of debate concerns how long the duration of an ethnographic study should be (Pink & Morgan, 2013).

In the traditional of long-term ethnography, researchers utilised a participant observation by acting as an "intern" to understand a phenomenon in the field (Pink 2009, cited in Pink & Morgan, 2013). However, Pink and Morgan (2013) argued that in an ethnography study, researchers do not have to do what their sources do for such an extended period, which they called short-term ethnography.

Comparisons of previous research experience and reflections on the experience, along with the results of ethnographical work, could also support the researcher in developing understanding. Pink and Morgan's study demonstrated research in understanding the work of nurses without conducting participant observation.

Pink and Morgan argued that participating in nurses work could have been unethical and might cause harmed to the people involved.

In a short-term ethnographic study, the focus is sharper, and the data collection needs to be more carefully tailored to the research questions. Short-term ethnographic research is intended to provide a route to the production of alternative ways of knowing about people and the environments in which they act (Pink & Morgan, 2013). Even though short-term ethnography may not be widely known, the idea is not new. Previously Scrimshaw and Hurtado (1987) and

Bentley et al. (1988) conducted research that relied on the use of ethnographic methods over a shorter time frame by using of mixed-methods of data collection (Pink & Morgan, 2013). Following Pink and Morgan, this research also combines qualitative data obtained by ethnographical study and quantitative data. The short-term ethnography strategy is an alternative way for a researcher who has a limited amount of time for observation, as in the case of research by Paulussen and Ugille (2008) and Jordaan (2013). By the same token, this study applies a strategy of short-term ethnography and uses more structured interviews, or so-called semi-structured interviews, in data collection due to limited time. There is a risk that the researcher misunderstands the phenomenon in the fieldwork because it was observed in a short time. However, triangulation is employed to gain more rounded picture of the phenomenon and avoid bias. The decision to utilise a short-term ethnography strategy consequently means that acting as an intern as in a long-term ethnography is not appropriate to apply in this research. However, close observation is conducted as much as possible within the newsroom by attending important news production meetings daily between the traditional working hours from 9 am to 5 pm.

Whether ethnographical study is conducted in a short-term or long-term period, it is crucial to utilise an appropriate strategy to collect data in newsrooms. Scholars have found that media staff tends to be reluctant to allow the presence of researchers in their newsrooms (Coleman and Ross 2010, Franquet 2014).

Therefore, this study utilised a strategy of obtaining access to news organisations by building personal relationships with the "gatekeepers" in each online news

organisations. The development of such a relationship is intended to generate the trust of gatekeepers, so that they are voluntarily willing to contribute to this study. Bryman (2012) stated that researchers depend on the trust of participants trust to gain access to organisations in an ethnographical study. He suggested ways to gain access for such fieldwork; for instance; using friends and contacts relevant to the research subject, offering something in return, and building personal relationships with the "gatekeepers". Therefore, the researcher in this study build relationships with gatekeepers long before conducting the fieldwork. The researcher made connection with five editors-in-chief of Indonesian online news media organisations and built close relationships with them with the help of friends. After about twelve months of online relationships through telephone calls and text messaging via WhatsApp, they gave their verbal agreement to contribute to this research. Indeed, Northumbria University's guide to ethical study requires a researcher to obtain written consent before fieldwork is conducted. The statement of written consent should contain permission for the researcher's involvement from representatives of each online news organisation. The approvals are obtained from each editor-in-chief who are occupying the highest position in the newsroom. Consents also obtained from representatives of human resource and development (HR & D) departments as representatives of management (see appendix 1).

In the fieldwork in this study, 33 news media staff were interviewed from three online news organisations, M1, M2, M3, giving a total of 13,12,8 subject, respectively, as shown in table 5.1. The numbers of interviews vary between

organisations given their different sizes and numbers of divisions. The selection of interviewees was based on strategic reasons regarding the levels of decision-making processes, including macro-levels such as management and news directors, the middle levels such as editors and heads of sections, and micro-level staff such as reporters and administrative staff. Aside from using purposive sampling by choosing staff at every level of management, the interviewees were chosen as a result of a snowball sampling strategy through following leads obtained in the field. Snowball sampling is a common strategy used in ethnography (Bryman 2012). This strategy is considered appropriate in researching the development of online news media outlets. Franquet (2014) stated that many convergence media, such as online news organisations had not formalised their structure. The competition among online news organisations forces each organisations to develop and implement innovations in journalistic practice. These innovations open opportunities for new professions and new practices in the organisation. For example, the innovation of SEO in the newsroom opens a new profession, which is SEO specialists.

As has been discussed earlier, the collection of data over a shorter time in ethnographic research means that data collection should be more firmly correspond to the research questions. Therefore, the semi-structured interviews were designed based on the theoretical framework of the study. Semi-structured interviews are considered due to limited time in research (Paulussen & Ugille 2008, Bryman 2012, Jordaan 2013, Weerakkody 2015). The interviews lasted around 50 minutes, each with focused questions concerning political, economic,

and cultural factors and issues of the social responsibility of journalism. The operationalisation of interviews is shown in appendix 2. The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim to be ready for analysis. The researcher offered the transcriptions of their interviews to all interviewees, but only the editor-in-chief of M4 wanted it.

#### **6.4.2 Observation**

The qualitative research used data from the interview as the primary data for analysis, while secondary data was obtained from observation in the newsroom. Field observation is commonly used by news media researchers to provide essential knowledge about transformations that are occurring (Singer 2004, Boczkowski 2008, Jordaan, 2013, Franquet 2014). Franquet found that some production tasks in converged media were newly visible to the researcher because they are not formalised yet, and some tasks are practice intuitively. She argued that observation gives the researcher the ability to identify the complexity of organisational and news production practice in the new media environment. This thesis applies ethnography as a strategy to understand journalism practice in the newsroom or its 'natural' setting. By using this strategy, research data is collected by observing and listening to participants to understand the community or culture (Bryman 2012). This study uses a short-term ethnography method with semi-structured interviews as the primary method for obtaining data, and non-participant observation is conducted to gather secondary data.

According to Bryman (2012), ethnography research commonly applies participant-observation methods to obtain data in the fieldwork. However, this

method cannot always be applicable because of ethics reason (Pink and Morgan 2013) or efficiency reason (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, Paullussen and Ugille 2008).

Observations were made to obtain physical data and mental activity. For example, observations in the newsrooms focus on the use of Search Engine Optimization (SEO) in news production. Researcher observe SEO physical tools and hardware that supports SEO strategy. Newsrooms use google analytics through the most searched keywords. Mental activity observation is carried out to see the attitude of the newsroom staff towards the policies adopted by the media company. In the implementation of SEO policy in the newsroom, observations made on the reactions of the reception and rejection of newsroom staff.

This study applies semi-structured observation, where the researcher formulates the rules of observation. Bryman (2012) said that in the structured observation researcher should plan which behavior of participants should be recorded.

Meanwhile, this research observes the fieldwork based on the interview schedule that has been made. The combination of ways of collecting data is conducted to ensure the richness of gathered data, because according to Creswell (2014), researchers may have limited abilities in observation. Bryman (2012) added that structured observation works best when combined with other data collection methods. The researcher is scheduled the observation focusses on economic capital, political capital, cultural capital, and habitus in the process of producing political news in every newsroom. The observation is semi-structured and limited to the newsroom staff who produce political news. The sampling of observations

of newsroom staff behavior is following the interview sample. The sample is representing their positions in the newsroom structure such as micro-level, meso level and, macro level. Researcher do not influence the situation or social settings that occur during observation or so-called non-participant observation.

The researcher acknowledges the possibility of the participant being reactive to the presence of the researcher in the fieldwork. The reactive effects might cause unnatural behavior of participants because they realize that they are being watched (Webb et al. 1966 cited in Bryman p. 281). However, this study does not rely on observation as the only data to be analyzed so that the researcher could triangulate the observation data. The triangulation allows the researcher to observe the gap between actual behavior and interview data.

Observations were mainly done in the newsroom within the office working hour from 9 am to 5 pm, with consideration of media staff being most active in producing news in this period. The observations were conducted in between the interviews, which concentrated on the practice of news media staff in producing political news. The daily observation was expected to allow close relationships to be built between researchers and participants. This relationship will encourage participants to act naturally and not to feel that the researcher was watching them. The researchers sat at a desk with the editors and interacted with them while they worked, including at lunchtime and during breaks, and while attending their regular meetings, and joining the organization's regular training events.

The researcher conducted observations in the three media organisations after obtained access from the three media organisations. However, levels of access vary across the three media. M1 open its access to editorial and managerial meetings but the other two limit its access to newsroom meeting. Even so, information about the editorial meeting and the results of the editorial meetings can be obtained through interviews.

The research design guided the observation schedule in the newsrooms. The observation was conducted a month before the election, during the election, and one month after the election. As the election was scheduled to take place on 15 February 2017, the observations were conducted between 18 January 2017 and 18 March 2018. The observation was completed in three online news media newsrooms with time spent in each newsroom variably, as shown in table 5.1. Observations were mainly done in the newsroom within office working hours from 9 am to 5 pm, with consideration of media staff were most active in producing news in this period. The observations were conducted in between the interviews which concentrating on the practice of news media staff in producing political news. The daily observation was expected to allow a close relationship to be built between researcher and participants. The relationship could encourage participants to act naturally and do not feel that the researcher is watching them. The researcher sat at a desk amongst the editors and interacted with them while they worked, including at lunchtime and during breaks, and while attending their regular meetings, and joining the organisation's regular training events. Observation at M1, the researcher sat between the political news editors who

worked at in a large desk in the newsroom. Their desks were not individually dedicated particularly to staff, which they called hot desk. This situation represents the best position that the researcher could get to achieved better observation within the newsroom.

Media organisation	Date	Duration	Number of Interviewees
M1	18-01-2017 – 14-02-2017	4 weeks	13
M2	15-02-2017 – 02-03-2017	2 weeks	12
M3	03-03-2017 – 18-03-2017	2 weeks	8

Table 6. 1 Duration of the Observation in Newsrooms

As shown in table 5.1, observation of M1 was conducted longer than at the other two sites, because the first two weeks was intended to learn the general practice of online news production. As has been discussed earlier, this study follows the model of short-term ethnography proposed by Pink and Morgan (2013). The strategy is attempted to understand journalistic practice in the online newsroom due to limitations of time. This strategy has been used by researchers to cope with similar limitations, such as by Paulussen and Ugille (2008) and Jordaan (2013) who each spent two weeks in the newsrooms.

### **6.4.3 Ethical Consideration in Newsroom Research**

As mentioned above the trust of the participants is paramount in an ethnographic study, and so researchers must be honest in conveying the intention and purpose of the study. The interest of participants to contribute to this study was prompted mostly through personal approaches using the researcher's networking in the field of Indonesian journalistic field. Despite the researcher's experience in television journalism for more than twelve years, the researcher is not familiar with journalists working in online news media. The researcher is aware that there is a risk of participants withdrawing from the study during the fieldwork due to personal reasons or organisational policy. As Jansson and Nikolaidou (2013) stated, the characteristic of the researcher can be brought to bear in the field, such as their background and personal qualities. The researcher could affect participants who may act unnaturally or refuse to be interviewed if participants consider the researcher could cause harm. Most of the present participants were journalists, who typically are known to be reluctant to engage with researchers (Coleman and Ross 2010, Franquet 2014). However, as Bryman (2012) pointed out, if they trust the researcher, participants will be more comfortable during their daily routine. Through a personal approach, the researcher managed to collect initial consent from five editors-in-chief, and two of them gave written permission via email. They said that they did not have any objection to research being conducted in their newsrooms, and therefore provided access. It was understood that written consent from the representatives of participants in the ethnographical study is one of the requirements for approval by Northumbria University's

research ethics committee. However, it also serves to minimize the risk of participants withdrawing.

Obtaining the consent of the editors-in-chief seemed to be the best strategy to gain access to Indonesian journalistic field. Editor-in-chief occupy the highest position in the newsroom and most cases, they are the most senior staff in the organisation. Therefore, earning their trust and support provides the best chance to gain access to other media staff. On the other hand, if the editor-in-chief would not grant consent, it is mean that the researcher could not access to the whole organisations. The researcher failed to obtain access to the M4 newsroom because the editor-in-chief could not be contacted after the first interview. This "gatekeeper" did not answer any messages either via telephone text messages or emails. The reason for his refusal was not clear, even though he had signed a written letter of consent. Such a change in participant behaviour is in line with Bryman's (2012) point out that the relationship between a researcher and participant could change during the fieldwork, which could lead to a participant's withdrawal. However, the withdrawal did not affect the fieldwork plans because the M3 editor-in-chief gave his written consent not long afterwards. The inclusion of M5 in the case was also canceled because of limited time.

In addition to gaining permission for research in the organisation, written consent was also obtained from each participant individually. The willingness to contribute to this study was agreed after the researcher explained the purpose of the research and the rights of the participants. The researcher encouraged each participant to read and sign the consent form before the interviews were

conducted. The right to be anonymous was granted to encourage fuller responses from participants without them worrying about the risk of disclosing sensitive information. Most of the interviews were conducted one-on-one in a particular space, such as a meeting room, the participant's work booth, or a coffee shop. Interviewees were potentially skeptical in participating in the research because they do not have motivation even though interviewee acknowledge that editor-in-chief permitted the research. The approach taken in addressing this risk was to build personal relationships with almost all participants before the interviews. Surprisingly, all participants in this study were open-minded, and some of them revealed criticisms and 'secrets' of their organisation. Some of them criticised the organisational policy openly and were prepared to be quoted.

#### **6.4.4 Qualitative Analysis**

All interviews were recorded using a voice recorder and stored in digital form in a laptop and external hard disks. Recorded interviews were also stored in online storage such as in Dropbox and Google Drive to minimise the risk of the loss of data. However, the latter was found to be more responsive in uploading and downloading larger data size. All interviews used the Indonesian language, Bahasa Indonesia, and most were transcribed after the researcher had completed the fieldwork using NVivo 11 computer software. The transcribed data was also stored in MS Word format, and some of it was printed out to gain a better understanding of the interviews. Some of the transcribed interviews and quotations have been translated into English. In the translation process, the

researcher looks for the context of the interviews due to the different structures of Bahasa Indonesia and English. For example, in the conversations often interviewee expressed intent by not using complete sentences with subjects and predicate. Long pauses or whispering are examples of non-verbal communication which need to be revealed.

This qualitative research is based to some extent on the researcher's subjective viewpoint because an interpretive approach was used in the process of analysis. The researcher coded the text of the interview transcription in terms of themes using a so-called thematic analysis. In this process, NVivo was utilised, which provides effective tools in assessing the meaning of data. As Bazeley and Jackson (2013) stated, NVivo is efficient in managing data and ideas, and visualising and reporting data. The data were coded based on major themes such as economic capital, political capital, social capital, cultural capital, and aspect of habitus and the social responsibility of journalism. These themes were generated from a set of nodes, which were incorporated in sets. The software assists the researcher in flexibly treating the data. This flexibility means that both nodes and sets can be added, subtracted, and deleted according to the development of the analysis. This feature is a useful tool in anticipating misunderstanding of data that have similar attributes. For example, data concerning cultural capital has similar attributes to that for habitus because both are based on practice. With NVivo, the researcher can trace the data back to the original text to search for its context. The data analysis took advantage of the NVivo Word Frequency feature, which provides information on the most frequent words in the data sets and displays it using Word

Clouds. However, it was necessary to conduct further analysis to sort out the most relevant keywords from the abundance of data in the word clouds.

## **6.5 Quantitative Research**

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the analysis of quantitative data was intended to complement that of the qualitative data in answering the two research questions. There are two types of quantitative data in this study, which are demographic data and data from news content. Demographic data were obtained from interviews and documentation while news content was retrieved from published political news during the 2017 Indonesia election.

The demographic data particularly highlights the background of the media staff, such as education, and experience in journalism and online journalism and organisational background such as media ownership and pageviews statistics. The demographic data was matched with qualitative data in investigating the autonomy of online news media staff in the adoption of CJ. According to Bourdieu (2005), one must know the degree of autonomy in a field to understand journalism. He said that the autonomy of individual journalists is determined according to media ownership and position in the field, the journalist's position, and journalistic skills (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Similarly, Nah et al. (2015) found that demography involves "inner" factors in determining the adoption of CJ in journalism. They said that the number of staff in an organisation and their

experience as online journalists as well as education level influenced the adoption of CJ in online news media. By the same token, Benson (1999) said that information on demographic data and changes is needed to understand the journalistic practice.

The researcher employed two research assistants to gather the news content data because the researcher needed to conduct field observations at the same time. The assistants gathered data on the political news in the three online news media outlets utilising screen captures with the Google Chrome add-on. The data was stored in PDF format and stored on an external hard disk to be ready for analysis. Data was gathered between January-March 2017, giving a total of 5.778 articles. Slonim (1960, cited in Weerakkody 2015) suggested taking a sample of 4.2% of a population if the size of the population is too large to analyse. Following that advice, a total of 243 of the articles collected was chosen in this study as a result of simple random sampling with the use of Microsoft Excel. The political news items from the three online news media were captured one month before Indonesia the 2017 February election, during the election period and a month after the election.

### **6.5.1 Quantitative Data Analysis**

The demographic data were analysed using univariate analysis and the results are shown in the form of tables and pie charts. Bryman (2012) said that univariate analysis supports the effort to understand the complexities of data because it displays one variable at a time. Data analysis using Microsoft Excel allowed the

results to be presented in a more attractive and accessible way to aid the process of triangulation. Univariate analysis was carried out on data ownership, circulation, the status of the news organisation and individual journalists, and the background study of staff and their experience in journalism and online journalism.

The primary purpose of the quantitative content analysis conducted in this study was to confirm and corroborate the findings from the analysis of qualitative data in investigating agenda-setting in the media. This analysis focused on variables such as the sources of news, the frequency mentions of political candidates, and length of news coverage (McComb and Shaw 1972), the tone of news (Hopmann 2010, Dunaway 2013), and the nature of adversarial and national news (McQuail 2013). The variables involved were coded by two coders to provide the assessment of news content. The researcher trained the second coder to follow a rigorous guide using objective procedures to measure agenda-setting.

Weerakkody (2016) advised that the views and interpretation of more than one coder are needed to make coding more objective. This method has been supported by other researchers who agree that research which relies on one person to code content might yield inaccurate results (Neuendorf 2002, Bryman 2012, Perloff 2014).

The researcher acted as the first coder and the second coder was trained to interpret the news items based on the coding manual describe in appendix 4.

When conducting content analysis, an inter-coder reliability test should be used to ensure that the coding is applied consistently (Hayes and Krippendorf 2007,

Bryman 2012, Olson et al. 2016). The measure of inter-coder reliability assessed the level of agreement different between coders in interpreting the same data (Neuendorf 2002, Hayes and Krippendorf 2007). Ten percent of the total data samples were included in the sample in this research (Neuendorf 2002). The total sample of news items included 243 news items and so inter-coder reliability was assessed for 25 news items.

Inter-coder reliability assessment was conducted using IBM SPSS software with the Cronbach's alpha test (Neuendorf 2002, Hayes and Krippendorf 2007, Bryman 2012), which shows the similarity between results for two coders, where a value of alpha of one would be identical. Different understandings may be due to different skill levels or the backgrounds of coders. Coder one was a researcher with experience in the field of journalism while coder two did not have journalistic experience. Even though the method of manual coding was determined in detail, the possibility of different perceptions in judging news items between journalists and ordinary people has been described by Schultz (2007). She said that the habitus of the journalist is embedded so that one assesses news intuitively. The smallest value of Cronbach's alpha for inter-coder reliability was for when coders were interpreting the tone of the news items because this coding depends strongly on the subjectivity of the coder. However, differences in the assessments of coders are common (Hayes and Krippendorf 2007). A value of 0.000 would represent the absence of agreement and to 1.000 or 100%, would mean perfect agreement. The average value in this study was 0.903, with the lowest for news tone at 0.782, and the highest at 1.000 for the length of a news

story. Bryman (2012) suggests that these levels of Cronbach's alpha is included in the 'satisfactory level'. The coding of the sample started after determining that the coders judged the variables in news content similarly. Seven variables of content were rated and tested using IBM SPSS using descriptive statistics of frequencies (Bryman 2012).

### **6.5.2 Operational Definitions**

The coding manual gives guideline to coders in interpreting the content of the text, and also contains all the possible categories for each element being coded (Bryman 2012). In this study, the coders were interpreting the recorded published news content stored in PDF format. However, this format is impractical when the researcher needs to code on the length of news items compared to MS Word format. In defining the coding manual, operational definition is needed to change the expression of concepts to make them more tangible (Sevilla 1992, Bryman 2012). Operational definitions are 'recipes' or details of the procedure used in measuring a construct or variable (Riffe et al. 2005). They describe how something is measured and explain how a researcher understands and interprets a concept (Berger 2016). This study follows McComb and Shaw's (1972) strategy in identifying agenda-setting by analysing the frequency, length, and placement of specific terms. However, researchers added news tone in the analysis agenda-setting (Hopmann 2010, Dunaway 2013). Similarly, McQuail (2013) suggested a new perspective in analysing media content. He argued that journalistic practices operationalised based on the responsibility of journalists to meet public

expectations, such as adversarial relations with government and covering the national interest. Adopting from previous research on journalism practice, this study of agenda-setting focuses on seven categories: the sources of news, the frequency of the coverage of political candidates, the length of news items, the type of news story, adversarial news, national news, and the tone of the news.

#### **6.5.2.1 News Sources and the Frequency of Coverage of Political Candidates**

There are reasons to assume that the media affects voters' perception of political parties and their candidates (Hopmann et al. 2010). Therefore, the more frequent the news is about a party or political candidate will affect their electability. Perloff (2014) said that content analyses could tell us if the news covers certain candidates more favourably than others. Researchers quantify how frequently candidates display compassion, such as by kissing a baby, or how the media select certain camera shots to emphasise that a candidate was smiling or frowning. Weaver (1996 cited in Hopmann 2010) said that the salience of political parties and their representatives could be studied by ranking regarding how much coverage they receive. In this thesis, political candidates are focused on more because the public gives more attention to them during elections rather than paying attention to the political parties which they represent. Miller et al. (1986) said that, in a general election, perceptions of candidates often focus on personality rather than issues or parties. News sources are defined as the main elements in the construction of news. Following McNair (2012), this study divides the sources used in the construction of political news to four types: political

parties, including politicians; the government; the media; and citizens. However, it is considered important to separate the political candidates from the political parties that they represent because evidence shows that political candidates do not always coordinate with their political parties when communicating with the public (Kruikemeier et al. 2013).

### **6.5.2.2 The Length of News Stories**

The length of stories is defined as the amount of words that journalists use in published news. The length of stories in the media varies depending on the type of medium (McComb and Shaw 1972). McComb and Shaw divide story length into major and minor stories depending on space, time or display position in the media outlet. McComb (2005) said that the space is taken up by or length of stories could represent the prominence of that news item or issue. Therefore, it is assumed that the media favour particular political candidates by disseminating longer stories about them. According to Boczkowski (2004), articles on the web has an average length of 700-1,200 words, with generally articles having a length under 1,000 words. The length of web news items is not much different from newspaper stories at the beginning of the development of online news media. However, with the continuing development of online media, news articles have become much shorter in length. According to Associated Press executive editor Kathleen Carrol, online news stories now are between 300-500 words long because journalists are limited in not wanting to give too much information to readers (Bernstein 2015). However, according to Bernstein, journalists still follow

the traditional craft of storytelling, which applies an inverted pyramid model that places the most newsworthy information as the lead, followed by important details and then general and background information at the end of the story. In Indonesia, the length of print news and web news items are very different. According to Anggoro (2012), online news has undergone a revolution where each article can contain less than 100 words. Shorter stories are written because web journals apply the idea of 3W (what, when, where) rather than following the traditional journalistic concept of 5W + 1H (what, when where, who, why, how), which was introduced by Joseph Pulitzer (Anggoro 2012). According to Anggoro, detik.com, the online news media pioneer in Indonesia, implemented short stories by following the classic 3W concept, which was popular in the 19th century. The 3W concept news writing was applied in response to the demand for speed in newsmaking and a lack of newsroom staff. Barnhurst (2011) argued that the incompleteness of the news in conveying context, such as with "why" questions, has confused readers so that they are more easily influenced by rumours and fake news. However, the idea of 3W in news production applied by detik.com is also followed by others. Anggoro (2012) said that the practice had contributed to redefining the press in Indonesia, especially in distinguishing the journalistic practice of online media to that of other media in such areas as the techniques used in coverage, writing practice, and the display of news stories.

### **6.5.2.3 National and Adversarial News as Part of the Responsibility of Journalism to Society**

In the theory of the social responsibility of journalism, McQuail (2013) argued that journalistic practice is driven by its responsibility to society. Some of the expectations of the public of journalism include it being a watchdog or supervising government in performing its functions, and that the product of journalism should serve the national interest. Based on the public expectation of journalism, this thesis analyses two categories, which are adversarial relations in news items and national news. The function of the press as a watchdog often leads to conflict between the press and government in controlling information and constructing reality (McQuail 2013), and these are known as adversarial relationship (Phillips 2015). In a democratic environment, the press commonly criticise government policies to defend the public interest and advance democracy (Gans 2003). Gans said that the watchdog function could contribute to encouraging government officials to be more honest and responsive to the public. However, in the context of a market-driven press, McQuail (2013) argued that the press could also support the government for business reasons with an analogy given to the relationship between merchants and newsmakers. So it can be considered that adversarial news is a news story that is criticising the government for serving society.

One of the social expectations of journalism is that journalists provide useful information in the national interest (McQuail 2013). The online news media are a new phenomenon that emerged after the development of the Internet. Due to

access to the Internet, news distribution is no longer limited by geography, which is a problem faced by the print media. Online news media are also inexpensive to operate compared to broadcast media, for example, need satellite transmitters in order to distribute content. With internet access, online news media can be read anywhere in the world. However, McQuail (2013) identified that the audiences of online news media are people within the geographical boundaries of nations. Therefore, national media are expected to convey useful information to the audience within a national scope. Thus, the national news is defined as a news story that intends to meet the needs of society nationally.

#### **6.5.2.4 Tone of Stories in Political News**

Journalistic practice allows journalists to have autonomy in controlling the content of the news they create (Bourdieu 1998). Consequently, this autonomy may lead journalists to emphasise negative aspects of politics in news stories (Patterson 1996). Researchers have found that negative news, such as of natural disasters, conflict or war, gets primary attention of the media (Harcup and O'Neil 2001, Thesen 2013, Stafford 2014, Soroka et al. 2015). Soroka (2015) said that for neurological and physiological reasons, humans tend to prioritise negative rather than positive news content. However, journalists also emphasise positive aspects in order to favour candidates in their stories during political campaigns. Hopmann et al. (2010) found that the more positive the tone in the news about a given party, the more voters were inclined to vote for this party. Zaller (1992, 1996 cited in

Hopmann 2010) demonstrated how the tone of elites in news messages could affect the attitude and behaviour of voters.

Furthermore, Dunaway (2013) studied the tone of news to examine its correlation with the ownership of media organisations. She found that market penetration is positively related to the news tone of publications, and media that have high market penetration will prioritise news with a positive tone. Therefore, researchers should make judgments about hidden or latent aspects of news content in analysing the news tone (Perloff 2014). This study examines the tone of news about political candidates by categorising it as a positive tone or negative tone. A neutral tone becomes an option if coders cannot identify whether the tone of a news item is positive or negative (Dunaway 2013).

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter explains the design of the mixed-methods research in this study and the methodological approach chosen in order to answer the research questions. It discussed in detail the process of conducting both qualitative and quantitative research and how the results are combined. For the qualitative research methods, the selection of case studies was explained, and the ethnographic study was considered the most appropriate strategy to apply in data collection. The second part of this chapter explained the quantitative strategy used to corroborate the qualitative findings. The quantitative data emphasises demographic variables and agenda-setting in analysing media messages. The findings of the analysis of data

using both qualitative and quantitative strategies are presented in chapters seven and eight.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Newsroom Ethnography of Online News Media**

#### **7.1 Chapter Overview**

This chapter describes and analyses the qualitative data collected in the ethnography study. As explained in chapter six, the researcher utilised ethnography to get first-hand data in a natural setting using semi-structured interviews methods and observation as strategies for data collection. The interviews were conducted with 33 participants in three online news media organisations in Indonesia during January-March 2017. All conversations were recorded and transcribed to make the data ready for analysis.

In displaying the data, anonymity is granted to participants in this research to ensure the confidentiality of their responses. Research subjects are referred to as J1, J2, and so forth instead of their real names. This strategy is common in ethnographic research, although, according to Byrman (2012), it is not easy to maintain the privacy of participants. Therefore, the names of the three online news organisations being studied are withheld to reduce the chances of identification of participants, and are referred to M1, M2, and M3. By maintaining confidentiality, researchers expect to be able to retain credibility and access to subjects for future research.

As mentioned in chapter three, this study applies field theory and the social theory of journalism along with media agenda-setting theory in investigating the adoption of citizen journalism in the construction of news in a new democratic country. The first step in analysing the data is to identify aspects of economic



and Facebook were found in the views of participants, as shown in the word cloud in figure 7.1.

The majority of responses of the participant to questions about economic capital in CJ were mainly about the use of search engine optimisation (SEO). SEO is considered to be the most advanced tool used to increase the pageviews, which ultimately increase the incomes of media organisations. Most of the participants were aware that the business model of online news media strongly depends on SEO, even though they had only been introduced to the concept of SEO in recent years.

SEO is known as one of the most popular strategies used in product marketing to enhance product visibility in search engine result (see chapter two regarding SEO). Nowadays, SEO has become an important factor regarding news production, especially in determining the value of news. As one of the chief editors interviewed said, they agreed to use SEO in deciding which news should be covered.

"So, there is a kind of daily meeting which we are discussing [news story planning]. A journalist said it is interesting. However, the data team said that it is not interesting. [Data team said] Nobody read that story, [it has] a few clicks, it is not visible in Google [search engine]. Oo.. okay. We [decided to] abandon it. Let's find another interesting story." (Interview J1, 2017)

Based on the data obtained in the interviews, it was suggested that there are two ways to get economic capital from the adoption of CJ within online news

organisations, which are direct and indirect strategies. An indirect approach is more common among online news organisations, which is conducted by utilising pageviews. The participants recognised that pageviews could be used to attract advertisers in online business. However, one participant, J9, said that he and his team felt burdened by pageviews targets.

"Right, for instance, well [pause] as an illustration, the news department has to reach the targeted number of pageviews on a daily basis, let say 1.4 million pageviews " (Interview J9, 2017)

This type of economic model in online news media is similar to the economic model of traditional media, such as in television ratings and newspaper circulation numbers. The participants acknowledged that pageviews in online news media are a tool to measure success. These findings are in line with those of the study by Phillips (2015) that audience measurements are to be 'sold' to the advertisers in order to gain advertising expenditure. As Bourdieu (1998, 2005) said, audience measurements are a type of symbolic capital which can be transformed into economic capital.

It is widely known among the participants that, to increase pageviews, they needed to implement SEO. The participants were aware that SEO is one of the innovations within the online business, which displays their products on the World Wide Web. Therefore, the organisational structure, work practices, and attitudes of newsroom staff were investigated in relation to the application of SEO

in online news media organisations in Indonesia. The three factors are discussed separately below.

*Organisational Structure in Implementing Search Engine Optimisation (SEO)*

All of the participants understood that the implementation of SEO would increase pageviews and eventually bring financial gain (by an indirect strategy) even though they acknowledged that SEO is an intrusion into the autonomy of a journalist. Therefore, most of the newsroom staff who had a background as journalists refuse to apply SEO in their work. However, through their marketing teams or chief editors, media companies give formal instructions and use a personal approach to overcome the refusal of newsroom staff to apply SEO. The management team emphasise the tool for the survival of news organisations who compete in the online business. Management gave training to journalists so that they understood the operationalisation of SEO. Even though all participants acknowledged the importance of SEO, this study has found that the three media organisations applied different strategies in utilising SEO in news production. Those strategies rely on human resources or the availability of SEO specialists in the newsroom. In applying SEO, M1 hired SEO specialists with marketing backgrounds, while the other online news organisations relied on journalists who were given new tasks as SEO specialists. Those SEO specialists guide the implementation of SEO to newsroom staff, suggest keywords to be use, and analyse of Google for trends and topics and analytics reports on a daily basis. The size of the SEO specialist team also varied among the organisations. SEO implementation directly increases production costs, and salaries of the SEO

specialist were higher than the wages of most journalists. M2 is a bigger organisation compared to M1, but M1 utilised more SEO specialists. The findings indicating the number of SEO specialists do not depend on the size of the online news media organisations but the strategy used and the allocation of resources. M1 applied the most advanced technologies to support the implementation of SEO of all the media organisations studied. According to M1 editor J1, the application of SEO in the making news boosted their economic development. He said that they were becoming one of the media organisations with the highest number of pageviews in Indonesia due to the implementation of SEO. All of the participants understood that applications of SEO helped the organisation to achieve more pageviews. However, not all media organisations performed SEO intensively. Participants in M3 did not implement SEO intensively in the production of news and applied it only because all other media organisations were doing it. Using strategy basen on trend is similar to the concept of the bandwagon effect, which is defined as a strategy of following other individuals regardless of their own strategy. Vujnovic et al. (2010) found that the trend of CJ adoption in news production causes bandwagon effects and that the staff of media organisations are motivated to experiment in its practice.

The Chief Editor of M3 admitted that they had different strategies to earn financial benefits from news production compared to other online media organisations. Rather than applying SEO to gain high pageviews numbers, M3 provided native advertising services to make money. One of the editors at M3 said that native advertising leads to a high income for the organisations even though

they had fewer pageviews. The idea of selling a news format as advertising (native advertising) is not new in journalism. This strategy has often been discussed, especially in terms of its ethical issues (Phillips 2015). This finding is in line with that of Bourdieu (1998, 2005) that the form of direct advertising is a common means to earn economic capital directly.

#### *Practice in the Implementation of SEO as Innovation in the Newsroom*

All of the participants in the interviews considered SEO to be a new phenomenon in online news media practice. Therefore, it was rare for people to have skills as SEO specialists in the Indonesian job market. As discussed in the previous section, the newsroom staff commonly come from a journalistic background and have the idea of journalism obligation to society.. However, most of this type of newsroom staff rejected the use of SEO strategy in their work because they thought that SEO interferes with their journalistic objectivity. They were aware that SEO is a marketing technique to attract search engines, and that using this method forced them to become involved in marketing. According to one editor, the use of SEO contains elements of coercion:

“SEO is how you use words, magic words so the story could attract [visibility on] Google. It is the art of how to attract Google. The problem is when every online news media applies SEO, and then we are all going to write the same stories.” (Interview J22, 2017)

In practice, the application of SEO consisted of two types of strategies, which are on-page and off-page optimisation. In the former, newsroom staff have to write

news according to SEO rules such as putting in recommended keywords in the title and body of stories. The journalists were trained in how to use these keywords, and the editors would review the writing to make sure they were included. Commonly, sensitive accounts such as political stories went through a double gatekeeping process. The editors would re-check the stories and send them to a computer folder via the content management system (CMS) and then for it to be published.

In the newsrooms of Indonesian online news media, SEO is a relatively new practice. Similar to other innovations in newsrooms, SEO opens up the opportunity for the new profession of an SEO specialist. This types of specialist conduct the second strategy in utilising SEO, which is called off-page optimisation. This latter strategy promotes published news by linking it to other stories which are located on another page, called a backlink. The backlinking of a news story can be done on the home website, or a news story can be advertised on another site which has a bigger audience than the home website. According to a survey by alexa.com (2017), online news organisations in Indonesia promote their websites on the most popular sites such as Facebook, Youtube, and Twitter. Off-page optimisation is the responsibility of marketers in the online news media organisation. However, in practice, this responsibility is handed down to journalists because off-page optimization activities require journalistic skills which the marketing staff does not have; for example, the ability to adapt a news story so as to be published on Facebook or Twitter.

*The Attitudes of Journalists Towards the Implementation of SEO*

This study found that the decisions to implement SEO in newsrooms were taken from the top of the hierarchy. This decision was met with years of resistance from newsroom staff even though they eventually compromised. One SEO specialist admitted that it took two years to convince members of the newsroom to implement SEO. The SEO team persuaded newsroom staff to apply SEO by saying that the implementation of SEO did not mean that journalists should lower the quality of their work.

"... mm... how to say it. They [journalist staff] have their ideals, they have their own rules and style in writing a news story, and then we came and told them how to write a news story. As you know, we [marketing team] are still young, but we have to face those newsroom staff who have more experience than us. We are also not part of the newsroom. So, it is quite difficult to begin [to introduce SEO]." (Interview J11, 2017)

The SEO specialists were trying hard to convince newsroom staff that the implementation of SEO would be in line with the quality of the news. A similar relationship has been found in previous observations (e.g., Richmond 2008, Kritzinger and Weideman 2013). The SEO team could win over the journalist because over time, the number of pageviews was increasing with the intensification of SEO.

Similar to J11, a senior editor (J4) also recognised that her colleagues rejected the implementation of SEO in writing news. But she persuaded them by showing

them tricks in SEO, which she claimed still followed the rule of good news writing.

“At the beginning [when SEO was introduced] my colleagues were very hesitant in applying SEO. However, I am now in the opposite position to them. I noticed that there were few writers who did not follow SEO rules because they said they didn’t want to be dictated by a machine. [They said] Following SEO rules limits their creativity. I told them the tricks. In time they become used to following SEO rules. There are ways to combine SEO guidance along with journalistic rules.” (Interview J4, 2017)

Most journalists hesitated to follow SEO rules in which news writing would be dictated by Google trends whereas they were already committed to the ethics of journalism. J22 admitted that he did not agree with the implementation of SEO in the newsroom. However, as far as he knew every big online news media organisation used SEO. Therefore, he changed his mind.

In general, the role of journalists in SEO implementation is to ensure that their stories are visible and could be identified by search engines by using specific keywords. The problem of SEO related to journalistic objectivity is that journalists should employ those keywords in writing their stories. The rejection of the application of SEO in journalistic work supports evidence from previous research that SEO makes journalists feel uncomfortable (Richmond, 2008) and makes their jobs a little harder (Melia, 2015). The SEO specialists admitted that it was hard to convince the editorial team to use SEO because the results do not instantly pay off. As other researchers have said, the implementation of SEO is

not easy and requires patience, but the results will be obtained eventually (Richmond 2008, Kritzinger & Weideman 2013). One SEO specialist stated that there were debates between the team members and the newsroom SEO specialist about the impact of SEO:

"[They said] if it does not guarantee it will bring good traffic, then why should we apply it [SEO]. [I said] We cannot see the impact instantly, but we will harvest the results in one or two months. It will have a long impact. It is more like an investment." (Interview of J11, 2017)

The primary purpose of the implementation of SEO is to determine the preferences of the market (readers) in consuming news online. The application of SEO has changed practices in online media and journalism, such as how to determine the value of news of an event, improve the methods of writing news and to consider the adoption of citizen journalism in the construction of news. However, the benefits of the application of SEO are indirect. Therefore, a few participants said that applying SEO to gain profit from news production took too much effort. There is also no guarantee that SEO implementation will bring big pageviews number and high income. One journalist said there were ways to make money out of news production, which were faster than the SEO strategy.

"Finally, there is a shift [in the news business] because we are now entering the era of native marketing [trend], and content marketing. This blurs the boundary between news content and business content. The fence of fire becomes blurred. We cannot tell the difference between paid

content and news content. However, this is happening everywhere.”

(Interview J27, 2017)

J27 said that the organisation which he worked for was not focused on implementing SEO and depended on native advertising to earn a profit during the political campaign. He admitted that native advertising is not in line with the journalistic code of ethics. However, he claimed that it is a common practice. The competition between media organisations in selling advertising services means that clients rather than the public interest is prioritised, which leads to decreasing public trust. As Phillips (2015) said that such practices could destroy journalism. Online news organisations utilised election events to boost the sale of news advertorials or native advertising from the political candidates promoting themselves. One editor said that they were offering native advertising fairly because it was open equally to all candidates, especially in the DKI Jakarta election.

In addition to the matter of earning money from online advertising, news media organisations also benefit directly through the utilisation of free labour by adopting citizen journalism (CJ) in news production. Based on the interviews, the majority of participants considered that citizen journalists represent extra labour in covering news. CJ is a solution for the media to cover the vast territory of Indonesia without having to pay many contributors in every area to gather stories. An editor who had more than ten years of experience working in online media (J31) said that citizen journalists become an extension of the hands of the

journalist in the field. Citizen journalists could provide information which is then followed up by a professional journalist.

"... initially, we developed a citizen journalism programme because of our limitations in covering the vast area of Indonesia. So, we depend on society." (Interview J31, 2017)

Aside from contributing to newsgathering, CJ could also support online news organisations in delivering news content. As one journalist said:

"We only take advantage of CJ to make the traffic flow [we are promoting them on our website], but CJ does not have to pay. They will earn money from Google advertising if the traffic in their blogs is high." (Interview J1, 2017)

CJ can be a solution to the problem of efficiency in news production because the media organisations could cut production costs in gathering and delivering the news. However, one journalist said that it was not easy to encourage people to contribute to news production. Therefore, the lure of rewards is important to motivate citizens to participate. Journalists offer rewards in the form of money and gifts such as t-shirts, motorcycle helmets, and mobile phones. M2 rewarded contributors by giving them points which could be exchanged for those gifts:

"There are three types of contribution which will get rewarded that is text, photos or videos. Every contribution will receive different amounts of points such as a text contribution will get 20 points, 30 points for a photo, and 50 points for video. If [CJ] is used for a news story, the citizen will get 200 points." (Interview J32, 2017).



aspects of media ownership are the most influential type of capital which influences all stages of news production. The newsroom staff should be aware of the political policy or agenda-setting of media owners before starting news production activities such as planning and covering stories and disseminating news. A few months before the 2017 election campaign takes place, the owners will have delivered, either directly or indirectly, information about their political interest, which is then to be operationalised in production practice. The findings of this study support evidence from previous research (McComb and Shaw, 1972, Hopmann, 2010, Dunaway 2013, McQuail 2013) that the practices of news media are influenced by the PC of the owner. Based on an owner's PC, two types of media organisations in this study can be identified, which are neutral and partisan organisations.

A partisan media organisation openly supports a particular political party or candidate. In the partisan organisation, newsroom staff immediately deactivate their CJ channels, which are usually used to interact with citizens. Newsroom staff does not want to take the risk that this channel will be utilised by people who criticize the proprietor or his interest in political terms. Meanwhile, in neutral media, the CJ channel remains open with moderation. There may also be a sense of pressure felt by staff from the proprietor on how to decide their political news angles. J32 said that this pressure is a common thing in the environment of Indonesian journalism:

"Well, that actually has to be addressed about the role of media. They [journalists] are still overshadowed by the owner, the man who is funding the media company." (Interview J32, 2017)

Similar to J32, journalist J13 said that, either directly or indirectly, a journalist operated under the control of the media owner.

"The staff is still frightened by the owner. Sometimes the interests of the owner must be prioritised." (Interview J13, 2017)

For J31, no journalist nor media organisation is neutral in the context of elections. Because of this, he said that journalists and media might be responsible for the escalation of conflict in society.

"If we follow the political news lately. In the context of DKI Jakarta election, the mainstream media caused polarisation in society in relation to many issues, including racism. It cannot be denied that every mainstream media organisation has its political candidate to support. Do you want to be neutral? Rubbish! I know they [other media] are connected to them [political candidates]." (Interview J31, 2017).

Most of the journalists said that they could recognise when a media organisation supported a political party or a particular political candidate. According to J15, it can be easily identified through the political activity of the media owner or the media owner's PC.

"Mainly, it is determined by the owner, and there are many media owners who become active in political parties. We are aware of this, and then the

media will strongly support in campaigning either the political party or its candidate.” (Interview J15, 2017)

Most participants thought that they are staff in a company which has to think about its economic interests. This finding is consistent with that of Bourdieu (1998), who called journalists a part of a sub proletariat. Bourdieu argued that journalists conduct self-censorship to fulfil their responsibilities as labour while other journalists act as small capitalistic entrepreneurs who think of using the profession to improve their symbolic capital. The journalist is also part of society, and journalism should serve the interests of the community. Because of its position as a vital social institution, this profession has a journalistic code of ethics, supposedly limiting the owner's intervention. However, this research has found that the interference of the media owner is commonplace and is accommodated by journalists.

J15 said that media organisations in Indonesia are entering an era of partisan media, where media companies openly favour particular political candidates. A partisan press is not a new phenomenon in the Indonesian journalism environment, because a previous era of partisan media occurred in the 1960s. However, at that time, the partisan media phenomenon was controlled by the government. The Information Ministry ruled the media, which were mostly print media, informally affiliating to a political party. Whereas in the post-authoritarian era, partisan media have occurred due to the instructions of media owners. J15 was aware that the owner's intervention in news production is a kind of violation of Indonesian Press Law. J15 claimed that she worked in a media company that

was free from such intrusion. In practice, she always had to remind her colleagues to be balanced in writing stories.

There are two ways in which a media agenda-setting is operationalised; namely, according to the depth of the story or the frequency of media coverage. Regarding the latter, J15 admitted that the number of stories about political candidates is not equal depending on their news value.

“You could check with other [newsroom staff] how many news stories there are on Ahok [gubernatorial candidate]. From the point of view of news value, the story on Ahok has many readers.” (Interview J15, 2017)

Ahok is the nickname for Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, who is the incumbent candidate of the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election. Ahok is known as a controversial figure (see Chapter 2). Therefore, he has higher news value than other political candidates and is more frequently to be covered. In an editorial meeting of M1, newsroom staff said that the keyword “Ahok” was the most searched keyword on Google during election time.

Similar to J15, J1 said the media organisation that he worked for was neutral during the 2017 election campaign. But he also admitted that they accepted advertising business from a particular gubernatorial candidate in the form of news, as so-called native advertising:

"The problem is advertorial ads. Its news always has a positive tone, and the problem is the number [of advertorial stories]. It makes us (journalist staff) produce an imbalance in the numbers of stories even though we have tried very hard to publish the same stories on every candidate [DKI

Jakarta]. But in the last two weeks, our news has not been balanced. Other media organisations also know that we are strictly neutral [in an election], but now it has changed.” (Interview J4, 2017).

The neutral stance of the media concerning political events is not a choice but rather is an obligation according to the code of ethics of journalism. In Indonesia, a neutral media position is also mandatory as stated in Press Law Number 40/1999. However, the practice of the journalists could lead to politically neutral becoming unbalanced. Apart from in a partisan media, environment journalistic practice in neutral media aims to apply the concept of news value in covering stories, which can lead to biased news. All of the participants said that they focused on the election in the capital city of Indonesia, DKI Jakarta, and ignored the hundreds of other elections. As mentioned earlier, the 2017 Indonesia elections elected regents, mayors of cities and governors in 101 different areas. The media focused on DKI Jakarta and neglected to cover stories in the other areas even though all the media organisations studied are national media and have representation in most areas. The unbalanced media coverage is getting worse because the media tend to focus one of the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidate, Ahok, rather than other candidates. Ahok, an incumbent gubernatorial candidate, had to deal with the authorities in a defamation case at the same time as his campaign for election (see chapter two). On the sidelines of the legal process, Islamic organisations urged police to put Ahok in jail. The movement against Ahok managed to mobilise the masses in a

series of rallies called 'Islamic Defence Action' in Jakarta city which started on 4 September 2016 and continued until 5 May 2017. Of the seven rallies, the march on 2 December 2016 which was known as '212' was the largest, involving millions of people. The social movement to demand Ahok be imprisoned also active in the social media world, such as on Twitter and Facebook. Alfina et al. (2017) observed that the citizens of Indonesia who supported Ahok and their opponents conducted a hashtag war on Twitter in the form of #tangkapahok (arrest Ahok) and #penjarakanahok (imprison Ahok).

Although rejected by many groups of people, Ahok and his partner Djarot still had the support of most residents of Jakarta in the 15 February 2017 gubernatorial elections, gaining 42.99% of the total vote. However, the elections needed to proceed to a run-off because no candidate had achieved more than 50% + 1 vote. In the second round of the elections on 19 April 2017, Ahok/Djarot lost to Anies/Sandi with shares of 42.05% to 57.95% (KPU, 2017). Ahok was formally the governor of DKI Jakarta until October 2017 but was forced to leave his post early because he was convicted in the defamation case on May 9, 2017 and sentenced to imprisonment for two years.

As has been mentioned, the popularity of Ahok makes the keyword "ahok" the most searched term on Google in Indonesia. In addition to the name "Ahok", another keyword that comes up in search engine analytics is "Habib Rizieq". Those keywords were mentioned in editorial meetings of M1, which was also attended by marketing and IT staff. Habib Rizieq is known as a leader of Front Pembela Islam (FPI), which is identified as a pressure group in Indonesian

society. In the editorial meeting, staff discussed agenda setting and strategies for increasing pageviews, SEO, and increasing numbers of followers on social media. In term of using keywords to increase pageviews, the journalists refused to use “Habib Rizieq” as keywords in their stories and used the keyword "Rizieq Shihab" instead. Those two keywords are referred to the same person, Rizieq Syihab. The use of the word Habib in front of the name Rizieq Syihab is because his cohort considered that he is one of the descendants of the Muslim Prophet Muhammad SAW. Representatives of the M1 editorial staff argued that Rizieq Syihab was not the descendant of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, so that he was not worthy of the title of Habib. In M2, similar circumstances also occurred. One journalist, J22, said that they did not agree with the title Habib being added to the name of Rizieq Syihab.

“We do not recognise Rizieq Syihab as the descendant of Prophet Muhamad SAW, but we still use the keyword of Habib Rizieq just because it is recommended by SEO.” (Interview J22, 2017).

Beyond the embedding of the name Habib, Rizieq Shihab is known as a person who strongly opposed Ahok's candidacy in the DKI Jakarta election because Ahok is a Christian candidate. According to Rizieq Syihab, based on the commands of Allah in the book of Islamic religion, the Qur'an, Muslims are forbidden to choose leaders from the Jewish and Christian circles. Even so, the interpretation of the Quranic verses differs among Muslims. Some religious leaders assume that they still allowed choosing leaders from outside the Muslim

community. Most of the participants in this study followed this second group. They said that conditions in DKI Jakarta were better when Ahok lead as governor. Differences of opinion between citizens are increasingly openly expressed with various media intermediaries, including citizen journalism (CJ) in the media. CJ channels such as forums, opinion boards, or comments columns accommodate citizens in expressing their opinions. These findings corroborate earlier observations in Western countries (Thurman 2008, Netzer et al. 2013) that users actively comment on news stories. The participants considered that users' comments could also help to construct public opinion. One editor said that the comments are probably more interesting than the news story itself. To prevent comments interfering with the journalists' autonomy in constructing public opinion, the comments features during election time in all media were disabled, except for the comments feature in the M2 outlet.

M2's opened its user's comments channel even though they were selecting or moderating what was included. In terms of moderation, these findings are contrary to those of Thurman (2008) that many media did not monitor comments due to a lack of staff. In Indonesia, moderation is compulsory by law, as stated in the Pedomannya Penulisan Berita Siber (Cyber News Writing Guidelines) for any online news media outlet. The moderation of comments means that media staff select comments to be published according to certain standards, which also known as self-censorship. Given the practice mentioned above, this moderation of comments has two aims, which are to abide by the law and generate profit. It is somewhat encouraging to compare this practice with that found by other

researchers (Margiyono 2009, Tapsell 2012), who have said that Indonesian journalists conduct self-censorship to serve business interests and the political purposes of media owners.

The participants acknowledged the existence of the Press Council and followed the rules made by it. In the authoritarian era in Indonesia, the Press Council was a government body controlling the press by issuing regulations, including press licenses (Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Pers = SIUPP) (Hidayat 2000, cited in Gazali 2004). In the post-authoritarian era, the SIUPP rules have been abolished. However, press companies are not legally accepted unless registered with the Press Council through certification. Non-certified press companies are considered as non-press and so, in the legal dispute, they are not covered by Press Law but will be charged under ITE Law. Since its publication in 2008, the ITE Law has ensnared 74 citizens in seven years.

To adhere to the law, and especially the Cyber News Writing Guidelines, M2 employed five staff to organise comments and reject harmful comments. One staff member, J19, said that moderating comments is mandatory because the media can be exposed to sanctions when their user comments violate Press Law. Another participant, J33, noted that users showed great enthusiasm in commenting on the political news during the election campaign compared to other event. But, according to him, the comments feature was also utilised by die-hard fans of parties/political candidates or organised supporters of the gubernatorial candidate's campaign team in attacking their opponents. The comments feature is open to anyone, but J19 suspected that paid buzzers mainly used this channel.

According to J2, buzzers' aim was purely for personal benefit to make a living from such activities.

Meanwhile, J19 said that buzzers were working in an organised manner as part of the campaign team of a particular political candidate. The work of buzzers is scheduled so that comments features are consistently full of their comments:

"During the elections, there were far more too many buzzers. The buzzers are continuously commenting on news stories in comments feature. We identify that certain accounts comment on the news at a particular time, such as [commenting] in the middle of the night, or during the day."

(Interview J19, 2017)

To sum up the findings of the analysis of PC in CJ adoption in news construction during 2017 Indonesia election, this study argues that economic capital does not always dominate the PC, which is contrary to Bourdieu's description of the journalistic field (1998). Bourdieu said that the market or economic capital strongly influenced the journalistic field in a situation which he called heteronomy. However, this study has found that the media could operate based on the social and political conditions of the country. The findings concerning the complex interaction of economic and political capital in the journalistic field is consistent with those of Benson (2009). He said that the two capitals do not always go hand in hand and may even interplay with each other. Benson noted that there are circumstances that lead PC to dominate economic capital. However, Benson mentioned on PC associated with the state, whereas this research found



participants who are generally working as journalists distinguish themselves from citizen journalists. All of the participants in this research described citizen journalists as "them" and did not consider citizen journalists to be part of the corps of the journalist. One participant said:

"To put it, I consider that they [CJ] are not journalists, because the processes [of news making] have to go through the editorial process. There is planning, and there's the editing process, there are gatekeeping processes (to) decide whether the news story fit to be published or not. Because if the news is wrong, who will take responsibility?" (Interview J5, 2017)

All of the participants realised that CJ is growing increasingly common in the Indonesian journalism environment, and that citizen journalists could have a similar position to that of journalists as producers and disseminators information to the public.

"There is data which says that the number of citizen journalist who was killed in the Arab spring is much higher than the casualties among journalists. This means that citizen journalists could act as journalists so that it makes other people feel it necessary to kill them. So, a lot of citizen journalists have the same position as journalists, although they are not protected by the law. No legal protection, but they still [report], in Indonesia, it is also starting to grow, many netizens have started to deliver their voices outside the media." (Interview J1, 2017).

To identify the cultural capital of journalism related to citizen journalism in news construction during the Indonesian election in 2017 this research has divided the forms of cultural capitals into three types, which is embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital.

### *Embodied Cultural Capital*

A majority of the participants mentioned that there are differences in professionalism which differentiate the journalist's professionalism from citizen journalists, such as skills in understanding and applying journalistic ethics, skills in information verification, credibility, and access to information. The participants claimed that the journalist has those professional skills which are not possessed by the citizen journalist:

“Citizen journalists will, however, be troubled in doing investigative journalism. But the journalist can be comprehensive [in reporting] because they have access. They [journalist] are protected by the Law. Therefore, if anyone refuses to provide information, he [citizen journalist] cannot do anything. But if that happens to journalists who are work in journalism institution, the one who hinders the journalist work can be prosecuted.”

(Interview J26, 2017).

Indonesian Press Law and journalism ethics regulate the obligations of a journalist to defend society and the truth, while citizen journalists have no common ethics that should be followed in guiding of their activities, even though the product of citizen journalism has similarities with that of journalists:

“.... don't forget the one thing that distinguishes journalists from citizen journalists is that they do not know about the code of [journalism] ethics. They do not know about the journalistic standards.” (Interview J13, 2017).

In the same vein, J23 said that the lack of knowledge among citizen journalists about journalism's code of ethics makes them ignorant of the verification process used in producing news, and they rely on emotional preferences. Therefore, citizen journalist potentially becomes a producer or disseminator of fake news.

“Well, the side effect of citizen journalism is the growth of hoaxing. News that feels quite correct according to their personal beliefs or they want it to be true, and they will voluntarily disseminate it to other people. They are not sure whether the news is based on fact or not.” (Interview J23, 2017)

Some of the participants said that access to obtain and verify the information is vital for a journalist in producing the news, especially political news. Concern was expressed as to how citizen journalists verify their information when they are making the news, especially political news. Journalists always think that verifying the information is important to ensure that the news produced is based on facts and not on fiction or fake information. J5 said that, in the Internet era with an abundance of information, it is difficult to distinguish between factual information and gossip or hoaxes. Therefore, the participants noted that they have to verify information more than once to ensure the accuracy of the news:

“We were trained to verify. Even so, we are still making mistakes about news facts. We are told to verify information, especially news from social media, even though that news is widely spread and potentially ignites people’s emotion.” (Interview J23, 2017)

Verification is one of the skills a journalist should have in producing news. The participants focused on these necessary skills to distinguish journalists from citizen journalists. However, the participants saw that the products of citizen journalist are competing with the news. In this manner, the participants recognized citizen journalism as a threat to their profession. These findings were also reported by Lindner and Larson (2017), who said that journalists must defend their position in order to retain their autonomy in the face of other producers of news. These research findings also complement those of studies of journalism which mainly focus on the pressure that journalism received from the state or through the structure of the media system (e.g., Siebert et al. 1965, Benson 1999, Phillips 2015). Benson (1999) argued that field theory complements the understanding of journalism formed by the structure of a media system in a country. Echoing Bourdieu (1998), Benson said that the changes in the field due to internal factors could change the structure. This study shows that embodied cultural capital is one of the factors in the field that can change the structure of journalism.

### *Objectified Cultural Capital*

A common view amongst the participants was that a requirement of working in online news media is that the journalist needs to be fast in producing news. They said that this is what distinguishes online news media from other media such as television and newspapers:

“Indeed we were worshipping speed in making the news. In the time of a news event, ten minutes before the event is finished, our chief editor has already started screaming, punching the newsroom table asking for the news to be published immediately.” (Interview J4, 2017)

However, they also realised that speed often does not go hand in hand with the quality of the news. As one reporter put it:

“Online [media] gather data in a rush, which makes me dissatisfied. I have wasted my time [in the field] meeting [short] deadlines.

Meanwhile, we are not prioritising the accuracy of data. In the Jakarta area, we make news only by quoting a statement from a public figure or someone else, but unfortunately, the statement could be different from the fact in the field.”

(Interview J7, 2017)

Most of the participants recognised that online news media had been fast developed in Indonesia. This type of media has advantages compared to other forms of news media, such as in being more accessible and less geographically constrained, given that Indonesia is separated into thousands of islands. Online news platforms also give advantages to media organisations due to lower production costs and more capability of dissemination through a variety of social

media which have flourished in Indonesia, such as Facebook and Twitter. Among the numerous advantages of online news platforms, the participants were also concerned about the conditions of the low quality of news that has been produced. One of the participants said that they needed to develop the quality of online journalism news, which he called contextual journalism:

“Actually, since two years ago we have already moved to contextual journalism. So amid the flood of information as is happening now, readers need guidance. The media should be the guide. The media should not get carried away with the euphoria of social media. In the context of a big event, we still prioritise speed, but other than that we do not prioritise only speed anymore. The most important thing is accuracy, completeness, not just about the text, but if we can provide visuals, infographics, or other alternatives.” (Interview J30, 2017)

J32 confirmed that prioritising the quality of journalism was more important than prioritising speed. He also said that contextual journalism in online news media could occupy the traditional position of the print media, which are known to produce good-quality journalism. Online news media stories only need to be more in-depth, and they should not just look for breaking news stories. J32 believed that, someday, newspapers would be gone and online news media can take over the newspaper type of content.

Similarly, according to J26, a trend of contextual journalism has begun in recent years in Indonesian online news platforms. However, there is still plenty of room for development. Contextual journalism challenges online journalists to be

smarter in giving context to published stories. J26 said that, in contextual journalism, journalists are forced to create news along with its context. The news not only provides information about an event but also provides the background or offers an analysis of those events. The concept of contextual journalism is in line with what Bourdieu (2005) meant by the term “serious journalism”, where the product of journalism relies heavily on the autonomy of the journalist. Bourdieu said that this autonomy should be free from pressures such as that applied by political and economic interests.

#### *Institutionalised Cultural Capital*

One of the most important things that the journalists mentioned concerning the difference between themselves and citizen journalists was their legal status. The majority of participants said that citizens are not protected by law when they take part in journalistic activities because Indonesian Press Law number 40/1999 explicitly states that the press must be well-formed as a legal entity or corporation. Therefore according to J5, a journalist is recognised by law if he/she worked in media companies:

“... it should be legally incorporated. Because inevitably, the Press Act states that clearly.” (Interview J5, 2017)

Legal protection allows journalists to have the necessary access to perform their journalistic activities. For this reason, J26 said that journalists have the right to obtain information from public officials and anyone that prevent journalists from doing so are considered to be acting against the law and can be prosecuted.

Although journalists have the legal protection that distinguishes them from citizen journalists, they legitimise further their position by certified the profession.

Coordinated by the Press Council, every media organisation and individual journalist has gone through certification processes. This certification was not recently introduced in the Indonesian journalism environment, but it has become more popular, and certification increases in recent years. The participants understood that neither the organisation nor individual reporters who are certified could necessarily be trusted as sources of information. J30 said that this type of certification is not meant to be a license for publishing activity.

“No.. no.. It's not some license. This certification is voluntary, so it is OK if they don't want to be certified. It depends on them [media organisations]. If they are certified, they are trusted media organisations.”

(Interview J30, 2017)

Online news media are known to represent a new platform in the environment of journalism in Indonesia. So, they are also struggling to be recognised along with other types of media. Aside from Press Council certification, online news media journalists also took further action in May 2017 by declaring the formation of the Indonesian Cyber Media Association (Asosiasi Media Siber Indonesia = AMSI). This organisation's first aim is to fight the fake news which has spread through society (AMSI, 2017).

It can be concluded that the certification of media and individual reporters represents a form of activity to defend the position of journalism within society. With formal accreditation, they will gain the trust of the public because a legal

certificate of cultural competence guarantees their credentials. Certification is also used to establish boundaries between journalists and non-journalists. As has been mentioned previously, non-journalists, such as citizen journalists could also gain the trust of the public because they are making products similar to journalism products. This study's analysis of the role of the cultural capital in the adoption of CJ in news production during the 2017 Indonesia election is therefore divided into three categories concerning professionalism, contextual journalism and certification.

### 7.5 The Social Capital (SC) of CJ Adoption



Figure 7. 4 Word Cloud of Responses on Social Capital in the Adoption of CJ

A word frequency analysis terms associated with social capital or networks in the adoption of CJ in news production during the 2017 election is shown in figure 7.5. Seven themes emerged from the interviews related to social capitals, which are members, control, hoax, verification, buzzer, twitter and socmed (social media). This research identifies the adoption of CJ as a form of social capital for an online news media organisation in the sense of operating a membership system. This system opens up access to ordinary citizens to be involved in news production as citizen journalists. Membership involves a mandatory process of rules in online news journalism in gathering contributions from citizens. Therefore, every citizen journalist is required to be a member of the website community to contribute to any channels in the form of CJ, such as blogs, news, and comments. In applying these rules, M2 required every citizen member to submit a copy of their identity card and to register their telephone number. J33 said that these requirements are holding back the contributions of citizens because, according to him, citizens prefer a simpler mode of contribution. In contrast to J33, J19 said that the membership system was useful in preventing the misuse of the channel by users. CJ channels are open to public participation in contributing to the construction of news in online news media. CJ channels promise an opportunity to ordinary citizen to instantly become a part of a journalist-like profession without having to work formally in a media company. J33 said that the journalist has a special status within society and therefore, many people wanted to be journalists. J33 reported cases of when a citizen claimed to work for M2 as a journalist. Such citizens thought that they had earned the status of an M2 journalist after registering as a

citizen journalist. They then went into the field reports with self-made journalistic gear such as a vest and identity card. They may also join with the journalist community in the field until a real M2 journalist found out and reported them to headquarters. With a membership system, J33 said that it was easy to trace the identity of citizens and to prevent them from committing further misconduct. In addition, to control member behaviour, the membership system is one strategy in preventing the spread of fake news on the website (hoax). According to J27, Indonesian society tends to receive the news with chimes with their emotional preferences and which may not be based on the fact. J27 said that other people easily exploit this for their own political purposes. J27 gave an example of the vandalism of the Chinese Confucian temple in Medan, North Sumatra, which was because many citizens were easily influenced by fake news on social media (BBCIndonesia, 2016). In that event, a Confucian temple was burned because of misunderstandings between adherent of Islam and Confucian. J27 claimed that this incident would not have happened if people filtered any information from social media.

The participants said that the membership system could prevent fake news from circulating in the community. However, J20 also thought that the membership system could potentially increase the business of online media news organisations:

“In the future, we want to validate all of the users. If we have many validated users, it can represent some kind of power. It can also be used

for business purposes, right? We want a massive database.” (Interview J20, 2017)

It is clear that the membership systems applied in online news media outlets are opening access up to ordinary citizens to have a journalist-like profession. The journalist has high status within society, and the profession is now open to ordinary citizens through CJ. It is interesting to interpret this type of membership system in terms of Bourdieu’s concept of social capital (Bourdieu 1986, Grenfell 1998). Social capital embedded in a network with a limited number of members. By having social capital, one can have the opportunity to increase symbolic capital, and Bourdieu (1986) stated that social capital could be exchanged for economic capital. Various researchers point out that journalists occupy a prestigious position in society (Bourdieu 1986, Habermas 1991, Grenfell 1998, Phillips 2015), and therefore, many people want to be journalists (Gillmor 2006). Meanwhile, for journalists, people's enthusiasm to become citizen journalists research an opportunity to expand their network, which may ultimately bring further economic capital.

The occupation of journalists within society has extended beyond CJ channels. J31 said that there are people who gain social capital in CJ channels and other platforms of information dissemination such as Facebook and Twitter. J31 called these type of people as buzzers who are known as public figures or ordinary citizens but who could influence public opinion:

“Yeah, I think they [buzzers] have a similar function as the media [press] because they have a big influence on society because they have many

followers. So nowadays journalists have more competitors.” (Interview J1, 2017).

J15 said that they have to be aware of the involvement of buzzers in producing political news. He recognised that buzzers are paid to promote a particular political candidate in an election campaign. These buzzers mainly operate in social media by producing information, opinions, and disseminating information about their political candidate with a positive tone. J15 said that it is easy to spot buzzers even though they are disguised as ordinary people:

“There might be real [CJ], but there are also many buzzers around. It can be seen by what they post about. You can identify a real supporter or a buzzer of a political candidate. As we all know, every political candidate has their cyber army” (Interview J15, 2017)

Similarly, J19 said that a cyber-army is an organised group of people who are promoting a particular political candidate in comments columns. The phenomenon of the buzzer in CJ channels means that a majority of the participants are now more reluctant to accommodate citizen journalists. They do not want to provide a space in the form of citizen participation in the political news because, according to them, buzzers will do everything to support their political candidates including producing and disseminating fake news. According to the participants, in addition to contributing to CJ channels on news websites, these buzzers mainly operate in social media such as on Facebook and Twitter. These findings confirm the correlation of social media, and especially Twitter, with public opinion. Ibrahim et al. (2015) said that Twitter is a social media site that was most widely used to

construct public opinion during the Indonesian presidential election of 2014. According to them, the buzzers could be either computer bots, paid users, or fanatic users. J15 and J19 said that the use of buzzers or cyber armies during an election has become commonplace. This phenomenon has also come to the attention of the British media, and the *Guardian* news website exposed the practice of utilising buzzers during the political campaign to support Ahok (Lamb, 2018). This support was achieved in two ways: firstly, by posting positive information about Ahok and his partner; secondly, buzzers posted negative information about Ahok's opponent. Although the story only revealed information about the practice of Ahok's campaign team, the article implied that other candidate's team also did the same thing.

The phenomenon of the buzzer has put pressure on the autonomy of the journalist's function in constructing public opinion. One interesting finding is that online news media organisations are recruiting buzzers for their benefit. The utilisation of buzzers mainly aims to increase numbers of followers or broaden the network of online news media in the social media world. As well as pageviews, the number of followers on social media is a form of symbolic capital that ultimately may be exchanged for monetary or economic capital. The higher the number of followers on social media, the higher the chance for the news media to bring in advertisers:

"Pageviews is being one of the indicators [of online news media success], but it is not the only indicator. For example, we have a comments column indicator. How many users are Twitting in our social media account? This

also considered to be an indicator. We have more than nine million followers, and it has rocketed within two months. The increasing number of followers on our social media account is also our KPI [key performance index] which we are selling to our clients [advertisers]. That is how we make money.” (Interview J26, 2017)

To sum up, the findings concerning the social capital of CJ adoption during news production in the 2017 Indonesia election, online news media organisations are actively recruiting citizen journalists to expand their networks. These networks of social capital could be directly and indirectly utilised to increase economic capital. This study has found that the expansion of the networks was also carried out by recruiting followers and buzzers on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. Those social media platforms are not part of the journalistic field because they are not built according to the rules of journalism. However, social media platforms could have a similar function to journalism in influencing public opinion. Therefore, the journalist is also considers to “play outside” the journalistic field and to occupy social media platforms. Action taken in occupying social media is a form of journalistic intrusion into the social media field.

## 7.6 The *Habitus* of CJ Adoption



Figure 7. 5 Word Cloud of Responses on Habitus in the Adoption of CJ

A variety of perspectives were expressed when the journalists were asked about the *habitus* in adopting citizen journalism during the Indonesian election in 2017. Six broad themes on *habitus* in the adoption CJ emerged from the interviews which related to the law, the quality of CJ, continuity, the identity of CJ, CJ motivation, and racist messages. The majority of participants thought that Indonesians were enthusiastic about contributing to citizen journalism. However, they identified that the enthusiasm is not accompanied by a good quality of participation. J33 thought that that the purpose of a citizen in participating in CJ was to make friends or to socialise in a virtual world. However, he also found

some users who socialised negatively online, thus causing conflict with other users. Conflicts between users often occur in forums, or comments column in online news media usually involving rants, racism or vulgarity which cause trouble for media organisations. By law, the media are responsible for all content on their websites including various forms of CJ such as news, opinions, or commentary.

“Yes, [mandated by] the ethics of the Press Council, it said bad comments are also the media’s responsibility, it is not the personal responsibility of the people who make that comment.” (Interview J19, 2017)

One participant said that racist comments often occurred on the website, thus making the comments moderators concerned that such conditions were potentially escalating conflict within society. This view was echoed by another participant (J26) who said that an online feud could cause a real live fight. One participant reported that

"They often send racist messages, the minority people feel that they are being bullied, and the majority people do not want to be criticized. In Indonesia people are egoistic, they don't want to understand other. I don't know about [people behaviour] in other countries. Here, they don't care whether their comment is illegal. They do whatever they want. If we have bad comments [on the website], they [Press Council] blame us" (Interview J19, 2017).

The participants recognised that conflicts often occur between the majority indigenous people and migrant minorities on CJ channels. The indigenous are

identified as people who are rooted in Indonesian tribes, while migrants are identified as people or descendants of people who originated in China or other races who are not native Indonesian. This majority-minority relationship in Indonesia also applies to the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. Issues of religious and racial difference escalated when, surprisingly Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), who is Chinese and Christian, which makes him a double minority gained plenty of support as the Governor of DKI Jakarta (see Chapter 6 for further insight). J19 said that conflict occurred when supporters of Ahok and his opponents had different opinions. J19 admitted that this feud increased the traffic. However, he was also concerned that it would escalate even further.

The Cyber News Writing Guidelines released by the Press Council state that racist, pornographic or ranting comments by users on the websites are the responsibility of the website owner. The rules and regulation, concerning the Indonesian online news media are quite different from their counterparts in the UK and US which are open to un-moderated CJ (Thurman 2008, Palmer 2013, Thurman 2013). In Indonesia, any news media outlets which provides channels for citizen journalism such as forums, comments columns, or blogs has to censor illegal content. This causes problems for online news media organisations because they have to allocate more resources moderating CJ. In this study, only M2 employed a special team to moderate contributions from citizens.

The Cyber News Writing Guidelines were formally published by the Press Council. The rules agreed upon in 2012 highlight the contribution of citizens in

the construction of public opinion through online news media. The Cyber News Writing Guidelines were issued in reaction to the development of citizen journalism so as to maintain the quality of information obtained by the public through mass media. However, the rules also serve to maintain the hegemony of journalists in constructing public opinion. This study recognises that journalists took part in designing the Cyber News Writing Guidelines as a way to invoke the law to maintain their position in the status quo. This is consistent with that argument of Phillips (2015) that struggles for position can lead to the insulation of the journalistic profession from incursions by active audience. This finding also confirms that the viewpoints and actions of journalists are based not only on the existing structure but are also influential in defending or transforming the structure. Bourdieu (1987) mentioned such views and actions as *habitus*.

It has been mentioned that media staff may be overwhelmed by the illegal contributions of citizens, and a further problem is the quality of their contributions. J26 said that they are risking their credibility in adopting CJ because it did not meet the standard of quality for news stories, photos, audio or video. Even though credit is given to the citizen journalist, J26 said that the journalist's credibility is at stake. Another participant echoed the opinion of J26:

"There was news in forums which was shared on social media. It was fake news, which was made up by CJ, but people who read it misinterpreted it. They thought that we produced this news and they were cursing us because of it." (Interview J3, 2017).

In addition to its poor quality, the participants were also concerned about inconsistency in contributions from citizens. Citizen journalists have no obligation to contribute regularly, unlike the professional journalists who work for the media. However, those online news media organisations who already provide a specific channel for citizen journalists requires material to be displayed routinely. They have realised that, in order to motivate citizen journalists, the media organisation should offer something in return.

J33 said that irregular contributions of citizens are causing problems because they have slots to be filled. According to J33, they could not motivate citizen journalists to contribute regularly enough because money was not offered as a reward of CJ for contributions. In addition to economic considerations, J33 said that Indonesian journalist ethics also forbid the giving of money to sources to get information. However, the journalists have made attempts to encourage CJ contributions by among others, offering a rewards or gifts such as t-shirts, cell phones, and digital cameras.

J3 also revealed the difficulty in encouraging citizens to contribute. To promote their CJ channels, J3 invited established bloggers to link their blogs to the channel. In this way, He said that bloggers and the media have a mutual relationship. However, problems arise because the bloggers are not working regularly. To overcome this, J3 recounted that he and other CJ channel staff wrote stories but published them as they were written by citizen journalists. J3 claimed that this strategy allowed him to meet the target of amount of news that needs to be published regularly and gained a higher number of pageviews.

“Readers like it. We manage to reach the top 10 [highest pageviews] in 2015 in contributing to company pageviews.” (Interview J3, 2017)

The participants identified that citizen journalists came from the middle classes and younger people in society. Therefore, J31 said that the media organisation that he worked for, which targeted adult readers was struggling to get contributions from citizens. Most of participants agreed that the motivation of citizens to contribute to citizen journalism had increased in recent years. Even so, J19 said that CJ channels are often utilised by people who want to promote their products. J19 noted that this type of contribution had to be rejected because the website already has particular spots for advertising:

“Yeah there are many hidden advertisements in the CJ channels that we have to reject, for example, people selling cars.” (Interview J19, 2017)

M2 has a longer history than the other media organisations studied and has many CJ channels. According to J19, in the time of the 2017 election, they got about 30,000 comments daily with comments on political news receiving the closest attention. CJ channels are open to anybody. However, J19 identified that buzzers who are part of political campaign teams are the most active:

“... well, there is another issue in politics. Forum channels become media for political campaign teams. The opposing campaign teams exchange black campaigns against other. They exchange arguments in the channel.” (Interview, J33 2017)

J27 said that Cyber News Writing Guidelines required that every user should be registered in order to contribute to CJ. This rule led J27 give up on CJ channels because they did not have resources to verify all the members. He said that, during

the political campaign, they closed down all CJ channels especially for political news. According to him, buzzers or certain political parties may potentially use CJ channels in political news:

“In our CJ channels, we treat CJ as it should be. We have the opinion column, or tourism or culinary comments for them. The problem about CJ is their responsibility, their credibility. As you know, we depend on credibility. If online news media were not credible, then it’s over. People will not trust them anymore” (Interview J26, 2017)

Similar to J26, journalist J1 said that political news was not something that CJ could contribute to:

“It is not for political news. Citizen journalists are not like journalists who have the right to get information. For example, if a citizen writes a story about a corrupt mayor of the city, they do not have the right to ask for confirmation from the Mayor. But if they don’t confirm it, it is against journalistic ethics.” (Interview J1, 2017)

The data shows that the adoption of CJ was hampered by the rules of journalism such as journalistic ethics and the Cyber Writing News Guidelines which forced newsroom staff to moderate public participation. Another obstacle to the adoption of CJ is the difficulty of collaboration between people with different *habitus*, namely the journalist’s *habitus* and citizen journalist’s *habitus*. These obstacles include questions of quality, continuity, and the motivations of citizen journalists that are different from those of professional journalists.

As J26 said that CJ should be utilised to collaborate in soft news such on tourism or culinary issues. It can be inferred that collaboration with CJ is used just for

heterodox news value. As Schultz (2007) stated that, heterodox news value is refer to soft news which is defined as misrecognised, disagreed upon news in the newsroom. However, observations in the field confirm that the journalists in newsrooms are also influenced by CJ when they are writing hard news. For example the influence of social media on the practice of journalism in the newsroom can be identified when a story about the Arabic writing on the national flag become a trend in social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The senior editor said that the story was interesting, while other editors reacted by searching for the source of the news on social media. Within minutes, reports about the Arabic flag were published. Furthermore, the issue of violating a national symbol was developed and become news for several days afterwards.

Journalists and editors are affected by information circulating on social media like Facebook and Twitter in their professional practice. This, confirms that the journalists are influenced by their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1998). The concept of *habitus* contributes to an understanding of how social structures interact and influence newsroom routines (Neveu 2007). In line with Bourdieu and Neveu, Jordaan (2013) found that social structures in the form of social media now unconsciously affect the *habitus* of journalists in the newsroom.

### **7.7 The Interplay between Capitals**

Forms of capital recognised in this study are economic capital (EC), political capital (PC), cultural capital (CC) and social capital (SC). It has been argued that these capitals interacted with each other in affecting the journalistic practice of CJ adoption in online news media production during the 2017 Indonesian election.

This research confirms Bourdieu's (1998) observation on the journalistic field in which he said that the journalistic field is strongly influenced by economic capital. However, the present study has also found that political and social capital also played an important role in the construction of the news. Economic capital does not always dominate political capital as Bourdieu thought. An interesting finding in the interaction of capitals is that the cultural capital of journalism is change because of the present of CJ leading to new journalistic practices in influencing public opinion. The interplay between capitals discussed in the following section where economic capital as the basis of capital compared to the other three forms of capital in analysing their position in determining the practice of journalism in the adoption of CJ during the 2017 Indonesian election.

#### The Interplay between EC and PC

This research shows that the practice of journalism in Indonesian online news media is highly influenced by the application of search engine optimisation (SEO). SEO is a strategy in optimising search engine to guide the news production. Utilising SEO means that journalist produce news based on what people look when using the search engines. This strategy is mainly used in marketing on the World Wide Web, but its application in online news media has led journalist to become involved in marketing activity. The use of SEO is correlated with the increases in numbers of pageviews as form of symbolic capital which can be exchanged for monetary capital.

According to Bourdieu (1998), economic capital dominates journalistic practice in the form of self-censorship. Journalists select news stories or censors them based on consideration of economic profit. This study's findings are generally in agreement with Bourdieu's observations about economic capital in the journalistic field. However, evidence in this study reveals a more complicated interaction between capitals in practising self-censorship. The data evidence shows that the journalistic practice of the adoption of CJ in news production is also dominated by the PC of media owners, especially in partisan media. PC is hierarchically based in the organisation's structure, meaning that political motivations of newsroom staff at the micro and meso levels have an insignificant influence on the output of political news. The higher the level of staff in the newsroom, the stronger the influence of their political views in affecting the construction of news.

Evidence in this study shows that journalists are greatly influenced by the owner's political view in covering the news. The media proprietors express their political views directly to newsroom staff or indirectly via the chief editor. The influence of the media owner in the practice of journalism is contrary to the freedom of the press. Indonesian Press Law No. 40/1999 states that the press has to be free from any pressure in performing its functions. Consistent with the literature, Indonesian journalists have also ratified a code of ethics for journalism to prevent media owners from interfering in their journalism, and McQuail (2013) stated that such codes of ethics are manufactured to maintain the autonomy of journalists from the proprietor's business and political interests. This study, however, found that such

interference is common in the Indonesian journalism environment and journalists voluntarily accommodate the owner's business and political motives.

The political expression of journalist at the meso and micro levels has no significant impact on the journalistic output. By following political capital of the owners, journalist could increase their economic capital. These findings are in line with Bourdieu's (1998) conclusions in his research about television journalism. He said that journalists could perform as semi-capitalists to convey symbolic capital. Therefore, journalists are assessed not according to how good they are in writing stories but in their ability to support the company's economic and political goal.

#### The Interplay between EC and CC

By analysing the cultural capital of CJ adoption in the news production by online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election, this research has found that journalists develop their practices in news production. Online news media have several superior characteristics compared to other media forms such as media electronic and prints. The lack of geographical constraints has made access to online news media easier in Indonesia, which is spread over more than 16,000 islands. Online news media organisations also have better opportunities to create two-way conversations with the wider society. Therefore, online news media are considered to be more open to CJ. Online news media in Indonesia are relatively new players in the journalistic field, but have developed rapidly in recent years.

Online news media are also known to be news sources of lowest quality within Indonesian journalism. However, the quality is improving in trying to earn the same status as other platforms for journalism.

The present research evidence shows that there are two important aspects of cultural capital in the CJ phenomenon. The first is that journalists actively build boundaries that distinguish journalists from CJ and other non-journalist actors. Journalists campaign against fake news and claim that non-journalists produce and spread fake news. Boundaries imposed in terms of cultural capital concern journalistic skills, contextual journalism as serious journalistic products, and the certification of media organisations and journalists as professionals. In this manner, journalism is developed to have better quality because journalists are aware that they need to develop their skills, to write better contextual journalism, and to certify their profession to meet certain standards.

The second focus of cultural capital regarding the CJ phenomenon is that journalists adopt CJ to build a hierarchical structure; that is, the journalist becomes the dominant party and determines the rules in the relationship between the two. This study has found that these two uses of cultural capital are ways for journalists to defend their position in the status quo as legitimate disseminators of information to the public. Both are legitimized by law and operate through the Cyber News Writing Guidelines which were designed and agreed upon by journalists.

The analysis of cultural capital in online news media organisations shows that economic capital dominates cultural capital in the journalistic field, including in the practice of the adoption of CJ in news production. The practices of online news media include commonly utilising search engine optimisation (SEO) to aim at a high number of pageviews as standard success for online media. SEO has been found to be intensively applied in all media in the last few years. The journalists in newsrooms have become more aware of the application of SEO. The journalist will focus on the quality of news only if it will support economic motives. This research confirms Bourdieu's (1998) opinions about the relationship between economic capital and cultural capital. He said that those forms of capitals are located as if at different poles of a magnet, which means they cannot go hand in hand. For example, the important skills that participants develop include news writing skills, but this is used to meet the aims of SEO. All participants said that a good story should include its context, as in contextual journalism. However, the journalists focus more on applying SEO rules in news writing rather than wishing to apply contextual journalism for its own sake. The best reward for a journalist is achieved according to the quality of writing but when they meet the targets of number of pageviews.

#### The Interplay between EC and SC

The position of the journalist as a disseminator of information influencing public opinion is a strategic position in society. The adoption of CJ in online news media

gives citizens the opportunity to occupy that prestigious position when a membership system is applied. However, as mentioned in the journalism cultural capital analysis that the adoption of CJ brings is used as a way to build a hierarchy in which citizen journalists are positioned as subordinates. This relationship gives journalists control over CJ and over the content produced by citizen journalists.

The participants considered that the existence of CJ contributes additional resources for the social capital of online news journalists because the adoption of CJ is used to expand their networks in order to attract advertisers. The involvement of citizen in news production also provides greater labour efficiency in the field in the forms additional unpaid reporters and disseminator of information.

This study has found that journalists themselves are also involved in activity outside the journalistic field and a similar membership system is applied. Staff of online news organisations gather as many as possible followers on social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Media organisations compete to increase the numbers of such followers because this represents additional social capital for business purposes (Ragnedda 2011). This social capital also functions as symbolic capital which can be transformed into monetary capital. Therefore, the numbers of followers has become a performance index (PI) in online media used to identify success. Along with pageviews, follower numbers are also utilised by online news media organisations in attracting advertisers.

This study also finds that the analysis of the relationship between social and economic capital shows that there is no conflict between them. Social capital is

utilised as a short-term and long-term investment to be exchanged for economic capital. These findings corroborate the ideas of Bourdieu (1986) in that social capital is closely related to economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) said that social capital is formed by a group of people with similar affiliations. In the membership systems of online news media, social capital develops when the number of members increases through registration. Grenfell (1998) said that this type of membership gives members privileges achieving a prestigious position in society. In this study, such a privilege was obtained by citizens when they registered as CJ members in a group or in online news media organisations. However, the citizen will never be a fullmember in that prestigious position because the structure of CJ is hierarchical. In this structure, online news media staff always occupy supervisory positions and control citizen members and do not recognize citizens as part of the journalistic corps. The social capital is built hierarchically so as to control its member and support surveillance conducted by members in higher position over subordinates. It is interesting to compare this situation to that found by Ragnedda (2011), where social capital could be a tool for supervising members and controlling them to build a new electronic cage.

## 7.8 The Social Theory of Journalism Applied to the Adoption of CJ



Figure 7. 6 Word Cloud of Responses Concerning the Journalist's Responsibility in the adoption of CJ

Figure 7.6 shows the responses of participants about the journalist's responsibility in news production during the 2017 Indonesian election related to the adoption of CJ. The word cloud shows that the most frequent words spoken in the participants responses were news, media, follower, Facebook, Twitter, Jakarta, socmed (social media), hoax and buzzer.

It can be argued that the practices of journalists in engagement on Twitter or Facebook represent an intrusion of the journalist into social media. It is further argued that the motivation for that intervention is to build broader social capital. However, some journalists also said that the intrusion is based on their responsibility in countering fake news. They have found that fake news is more commonly utilised by political campaign teams or so-called cyber armies to vilify

opponents. J26 said that the need to take part in social media was to provide correct information to the public:

“At least we have the responsibility to provide clear and correct information. We are providing credible information which is not a hoax. We are not framing our information to make chaos in society.” (Interview J26, 2017)

J26 said that the biggest challenge in online news media nowadays is to fight fake news. He said that fake news was threatening the credibility of disseminators of information on the online platform. In the same vein, J31 said that many times the online news media were also trapped in agendas which were built out of fake news. Just because everybody on social media was talking about one issue, online news media also report on it, even when the news is based on false information.

“Mass media could also spread fake news. Even though it is in the form of news, we should be able to prevent it from spreading. In recent developments, people started to see that fake news was a way to destroy political opponents in the 2014 election. They [political campaign teams] are serious about this. They have trained a special force to wage cyber-war. From what we learned in 2014, we are now more ready to tackle fake news”. (Interview J31, 2017)

The use of the citizen journalist and social media followers in disseminating information has become an alternative way for media to set the agenda concerning a particular event. The dissemination of news through social media has occurred along with the rapid development of popular social media platforms such as

Facebook and Twitter. But J27 said that they previously had to pay social media companies to spread news during the 2014 Presidential election:

"We were spending [some of] our marketing budget on social media. However, we thought this budget was too big. We want to save money. Unless we've got a particular message that needs to be disseminated instantly. If we are setting up an agenda on a particular area, how many people we want to reach [based on that agenda], then we spend money on Facebook. We did that during the 2014 presidential election" (Interview J27, 2014).

Networks built by recruiting buzzers are also utilised by the media to provide services on clients who want to market their products. J24 said that he maintained a buzzer network to use to disseminate advertising messages. Buzzers are deployed to spread messages to the world of social media such as on Twitter, Facebook, or Instagram. J24 said that these buzzers are paid when they meet specific targets such as achieving certain numbers of hours of the topic trending on Twitter. Buzzers are selected based on their numbers of followers and their influence on society.

"Are people replying to their [buzzers] tweets or not? Because everybody can tweet, right? We only select buzzer who tweets and people reply, or they can influence people so that they willingly forward the message." (Interview J24, 2017).

Another critical finding in this research is how media organisations utilise their networks in dealing with crises in the community. The participants were

concerned about the polarised conditions within the society based on their political choices in the 2017 DKI Jakarta election campaign. According to the participants, the community was divided into two; namely, Ahok supporters and opponents.

The opponents joined groups who demanded that Ahok should be prosecuted in the defamation case. This group managed to gather people from all over Indonesia to march in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta. The participants worried that this massive gathering of people could easily turn into a riot. J15 said that they began a campaign to calm the situation regarding the polarisation within society:

“We were anxious with the situation caused by the demonstration, and we thought that ... as the media, we had to play our role to keep Jakarta at peace. Well at least through social media. Then, on Twitter, we spread messages of peace. The day before the big demonstration, we shared #jakartadamai [peace Jakarta]. We not only using our official [Twitter] account, but we also paid buzzers and famous public figure to tweet the theme.” (Interview J15, 2017)

J15 said that what they did was a form of showing responsibility towards the community in keeping order. Previous studies have demonstrated that the news media operate based on a sense of their responsibility to society. McQuail (2013) said that as an important part of the community, the work of journalists has to meet society's expectations in times of crisis. The belief that they are a vital part of society is the motivation for what journalists do for society (Neveu 2007).

Neveu said that journalists are driven by the belief or *illusio* (a subjective belief)

that motivates them to play and defend their role. According to Neveu, this *illusio* can also motivate journalists to go to war zones to cover events, although in doing this, they risk their lives. In this study, the participants were motivated to campaign for peace in Jakarta even though they have to spend a lot of money to do so. The belief about the vital role of the journalist is also mentioned in the discourse of democracy, as journalism is seen as one of the pillars of democracy. However, it can also be argued that the role of the media in keeping order is an operationalization of the media agenda in supporting the government. The participants believed that the online news media business was going well, and they believed that social chaos would not be good for business.

“It [Online news media development] is amazing. If we look at the statistics, the trend of the last five years has been remarkable growth along with changes of behaviour by starting to consume alternative news media. Well, the bridge is online media. Now is the era of the online era website. Online news media has experienced tremendous development.” (Interview J26, 2017).

Other journalists believed that society has become disordered because there are insufficient regulations regarding the development of digital media. J32 thought that the government should introduce more stringent rules to maintain order:

“I don't think the rules are sufficient. Too many rules are in grey areas. They are not clear, and ultimately are used in the interest of certain rulers or groups. For example, if you say you can't mention religion, you can't. Period. There are usually loopholes if rules are unclear and are not clearly

binding. It is necessary to regulate anonymous accounts that spread messages that are not clearly verified but make a noise” (Interview J32, 2017).

This finding further support the idea of McQuail (2013) that neutral media tend to support the government to maintain their business interests. McQuail said that rather than being critical of the government, this type of media organisation is building a relationship similar to that between newsmakers and news merchants. This relationship works against the function of the media organisation as a watchdog of government.

Another focus in the responsibilities of journalism to society is that journalism should prioritise the national interest over local or special interests. In 2017 Indonesian elections were conducted in 101 areas in Indonesia simultaneously, raising the issue of how the media could accommodate coverage of all those elections at the same time. From the interview data, all of the journalists said that they focused on covering the DKI Jakarta election rather than reporting on the elections of other areas. J15 said that this decision was taken because of various considerations such as the readership and the limited human resources in the field:

“Well, indeed for this election, we focused on Jakarta. Then [we covered] Banten. Even though we also covered other areas, the lack of reporters limited us. The largest proportion of human resources are located in Jakarta. So we highlight more stories on Jakarta.” (Interview J15, 2017)

J1 said that the focus on regional coverage of DKI Jakarta was due to business considerations. According to him, the number of audience for online news in Jakarta is the biggest compared to any other regions in Indonesia:

“Obviously the election, particularly the Jakarta election become a very interesting [event] and the fact that we had more readers in Jakarta”

(Interview J1, 2017).

Media coverage based on readership is not typical of online news journalism practice. Traditional media forms such as the print and television media also considered readership in news production. Particularly in the Indonesian case, these findings confirm earlier observations which show that the media focus on reporting on Jakarta and neglect development in local democracy elsewhere (Armando 2014). According to Armando, the development of Indonesian democracy improved after the 1998 reforms, which led to press freedom. New press companies have sprung up along with the new Press Law, which removes the banning of companies in the national press system. Lim (2012) found that more than two-thousand new print and electronic press companies were established in the four years after the 1998 reforms. Even so, Lim said that no more than twelve businessman still owned all of the press companies in Indonesia. Furthermore, Winters (2013) identified these individuals as oligarchs who sought to perpetuate their own positions in the reform era. The monopoly of ownership of press companies among very few people causes a lack of balance in reporting. Armando (2014) said that all national media are controlled by large capital centered in Jakarta, leading to their reporting only focusing on Jakarta. This also

results in a lack of coverage of civil society in Indonesian political discourse (Philpott 2000). However, according to J1, the choice of focusing on Jakarta in the election was because they wanted to meet the demands of readers. He said that people were only concerned about the DKI Jakarta election even if they lived outside Jakarta. He said that news about elections in other areas was not attractive, even to people who live in those areas:

“No, [stories] in other areas, election is not interesting because our democracy is barely growing. I also live outside Jakarta, but I don’t really know the regent in the place I live. Why should I care? The Jakarta election is different, everybody knows about it. All eyes are towards that [Jakarta] election. The Jakarta election is also a barometer to predict the next president in 2019. This is part of the fight for the presidential election in 2019.” (Interview J1, 2017)

J18 had a similar perspective. According to him, reporting on the Jakarta election was the most important of all. However, he was also aware that reporting on other areas outside Jakarta was also essential in order to develop loyal communities. In this way, their networks and audiences would be more extensive:

“We want to remind [our colleagues] that we have to grab this audience [outside Jakarta] with our actions and also to encourage them to become our loyal community” (Interview J18, 2017).

This study’s findings show that the practice of the adoption of CJ in news production during the 2017 Indonesian election was driven partly by the sense of the social responsibility of the journalist to society. Two aspects of the

responsibility of journalists are highlighted in this study: the response of journalists to crisis and the priority given to the national interest. This study shows that, in the latter, online news journalists neglected the national interest by only focusing on reporting the Jakarta election. However, the journalist's response to the crisis during the election campaign was intended to meet the society's expectations. The participants were aware that they had to challenge fake news, which easily spreads within society. The participants were also aware that they were intruding into the social media field to construct public opinion during the political campaign. The intrusion into the social media to meet public expectations is the kind of negotiation that journalists engage in because of the pressure of both EC and PC.

## **7.9 Conclusion**

This chapter displays the findings from the analysis of qualitative data obtained from interviews with the participants. The data are analysed in terms of five broad themes to investigate the contribution of each. Each subject is then further examined to see how they interact, and which themes are more dominant. The significant findings obtained in this research include the following:

- Economic capital (EC) had both direct and indirect influence on the production of online news in Indonesia during the 2017 election. Native advertising supported EC directly, while EC was supported indirectly by SEO practice.
- EC dominated political capital (PC) in the journalistic practice of the production of news in the 'neutral' online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election.

Meanwhile, in the partisan media, the PC of media owners dominated staff media PC and journalistic practice.

- Journalists in the online news media journalist increase their cultural capital (CC) in terms of professionalism, quality journalism, and certification in order to differentiate themselves from citizen journalists.
- EC and PC motivate online news media organisations to increase their social capital (SC) in the social media area.
- The journalist's *habitus* hindered the access of citizens to influence journalists in constructing news during the 2017 Indonesian election.
- Journalists were negotiating their social responsibility to EC and PC in news production during 2017 Indonesian election.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Investigating Journalistic Practice**

#### **8.1 Chapter overview**

This chapter describes the quantitative data obtained in this research study. The first part presents the findings and analysis of demographic variables concerning online news organisations and their newsroom staff. The second part displays the findings from the study of online news content. The result of these two types of quantitative data analysis is compared with those of the descriptive analysis and the qualitative findings examined in chapter 7. The demographic data in this research are analysed based on media organisation ownership, circulation, and status, and the backgrounds of staff, and their media experience. While the analysis of content includes geographical coverage, the sources of news, the frequency of news on political candidates, news tone, the length of the stories, and adversarial story.

#### **8.2 Demographic analysis**

This section displays the demographic data of participants from the three online news media organisations examined in this research. The demographic data was resulted from interviews and document analysis investigating the: ownership, circulation, and status of media organisations and backgrounds and experience of their staff.

### 8.2.1 Media Ownership

Table 8.1 shows the demographic data of online news organisations. The organisations were all commercial organisations with private sector ownership. They operate on a national scale and employ contributors from various regions in Indonesia. They also have networks of contributor affiliated to other types of media platforms such as print or television media.

Media organisation	Ownership status	Political relationship	Web age	CJ adoption
M1	Private	Not related to political party	< Ten years	CJ channel, comments column, social media
M2	Private	Not related to political party	> Ten years	CJ channels, forum, photo and video CJ, social media
M3	Private	Related to political party	< Ten years	Deactivated comments column, social media comments

Table 8. 1 Demography of Online News Media Organisations

The data shows that none of the media organisations were closely related to any political party except for M3, which is owned by a businessman who leads a political party. It is suggested that a media will favour a particular political party which is closely related to its owner. Conversely, those that are not directly

related to political parties are considered to be more likely to provide balanced reporting. However, to see how particular political parties were covered in reporting in the 2017 Indonesian election, further analysis of news content was conducted is explained in the next section.

The three media organisations were subsidiaries owned by media moguls who also owned other media companies on the national scale. As mentioned in chapter six, the selection of media organisations in this study was based on purposive sampling. The three media organisations produce online news on national scale media and are owned by the private sector; it is assumed that journalists in all three organisations have greater autonomy than in the partisan media. More autonomous journalists are expected to be more open to CJ. Even so, evidence shows that partisan media are booming more prevalent in the Indonesian journalism environment. Many national television companies are owned by high-ranking politicians, and according to Armando (2014), the MNC group television network is owned by Perindo party founder Hary Tanoesoedibjo. Founder of the Nasdem Party, Surya Paloh owns Metro TV, and Golkar party advisory board member, Aburizal Bakrie owns TVone and ANteve. The data about media partisanship shows that it is a growing phenomenon in Indonesia's journalism environment. However, these findings are contrary to those of previous studies by Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012), which have suggested that the partisan style of journalism has vanished from Indonesia's newsrooms after 1966. A possible explanation for this might be that their research was conducted before 2010 when partisan media were still "taboo" in Indonesian journalism. However, Hanitzsch

and Hidayat mentioned that the utilisation of television news reports favouring its company's owner in supporting owners' campaign to become chairman of the Golkar party in 2009.

Concerning the adoption of citizen journalism, the data suggest that neutral media organisations are more open to CJ contributions. Table 8.1 shows that M2 is the organisations most open to CJ because it has a variety of specific channels which accommodate CJ, such as citizen forums, active comments columns, and CJ contributions through social media. M2 also allocates a particular group of staff to manage CJ channels. Meanwhile, M3 is the organisation that uses CJ the least in news production. M2 has an individual channel for CJ, but this channel is intended for soft news such as health, culinary issues, and tourism. Meanwhile, M3 does not have a particular channel to accommodate CJ contributions and deactivated its comments column during the 2017 Indonesian election.

Table 8.1 also shows that M2 is an online news media organisation which has been established for more than ten years, whereas M1 and M3 had been established for less than ten years. M1 and M3 have both occupied outlets on the World Wide Web for more than ten years. However, these outlets were not adequately managed and were only utilised to display television news products or print news reports using material obtained from affiliated media companies. The online outlets were just seen as an alternative distribution channel for the mainstream media. M2 has the most prolonged web presence in this research and the most openness to CJ. This research finding supports the finding of Nah et al. (2013) that the adoption of CJ is related to the age of a website. They said that the

higher the age of web-based media organisation, the more likely the media would be to use CJ in its news production process.

### 8.2.2 Circulation of Online News Organisations

<b>Media organisation</b>	<b>Staff size</b>	<b>Pageviews ranking</b>	<b>Facebook followers national</b>	<b>Twitter followers national</b>
M1	< 300	Top 10	< Top ten	< Top ten
M2	> 300	Top 10	< Top ten	> Top ten
M3	< 300	Top 100	< Top ten	< Top ten

Table 8. 2 Circulation of Online News Organisations

The results in Table 8.2 show that M2 was the online news organisation with the most staff, employing more than three hundred. M2 is also ranked as having the highest pageviews ranking among national web companies. Meanwhile, M1, which had less than three hundred staff, had also managed to enter the top ten nationally in terms of pageviews rank. M3 employs the fewest staff in the production of news and also occupies a position in the top 100 in the online rankings of websites released by alexa.com in 2017.

Table 8.2 shows the positions of the online news media organisations in occupying social media networks at the national level. This study has obtained data about the number of followers for each media organisation on the social media platforms Facebook and Twitter. M1 is in the top ten media organisation

with the most followers on Facebook. Meanwhile, M2 has the highest number of Twitter followers nationally. This suggests that social media have become an important field that can be utilised by media companies to achieve their goals. Social media accounts are used as tools to disseminate news and as a marketing outlet. This use of social media in journalistic practice confirms the findings of previous studies (Lerman and Ghosh 2010, Hong 2012). In particular, Hong (2012) mentioned that online news media companies expand their networks via Twitter, as indicated by increases in the numbers of Twitter followers.

### 8.2.3 The Status of Media Organisations

Media organisation	Certified	Journalist Certification
M1	Yes	9.6%
M2	Yes	2 %
M3	Yes	0.6%

Table 8. 3 Status of Media Organisation and Journalist Staff

Table 8.3 shows that all three media organisations were aware of the importance of being certified by the Press Council. The certification gives them status as part of the Indonesian press and gives them access to legal protection in the event of disputes with other parties. As a new media phenomenon, the online news media seek ways to align themselves with their predecessors such as the television and print media. The online media have boomed since 2000, but they are struggling to be recognised as mainstream news sources because of their lack of credibility. This certification of the online news media is consistent with Bourdieu's (1984)

point out that an institutional state of cultural capital is needed to distinguish the qualifications of the owner of a certification. Such certification gives online news media instantly status as credible. By holding a certificate, the media organisations are distinguishable as part of “us” as legitimate, legally recognised journalism organisations rather than “them” who are non-legitimate journalism organisations.

In addition to legitimizing the organisation through certification, media organisations must also register their reporters to obtain certificates. In the same vein, the certification of journalists also legitimizes the boundaries between them and the other. Certification as a journalist is tiered starting from the highest, namely the senior journalists (*wartawan utama*), intermediate journalists (*wartawan madya*) and young journalists (*wartawan muda*). Table 8.3 shows that the percentages of journalists who were certified when the data were collected in February 2017 were less than ten percent of the total number of journalists in each organisation. However, further research shows that there is a significant development in the numbers of certified journalists in Indonesia from 7,478 in 2017 to 8,716 in 2018. The rocketing number accredited journalist indicates that there has been a massive effort among Indonesian journalists to become certified.

### 8.2.4 Staff Background

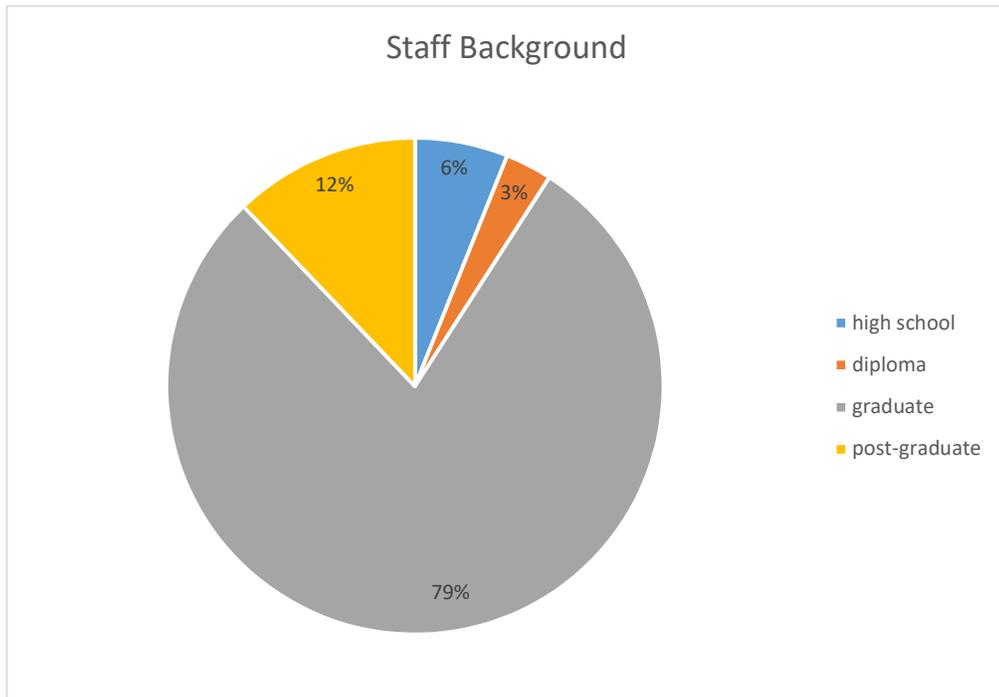


Figure 8. 1 Background of Online News Media Staff

Figure 8.1 shows the data concerning the participants' educational background, indicating that the majority of the staff of the three Indonesian online news media organisations were university graduates. This finding suggests that online news organisations are prestigious institutions in their own right because they employ members of an elite group in Indonesia. The numbers of Indonesians who have university education is less than 10 percent of the total population (BPS, 2017). Educated journalists are considered to have greater autonomy so that this type of journalists are assumed to produce a better quality of news. In accordance with the present findings, the previous study of Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012)

demonstrated that the demographic characteristic of Indonesian journalists include in those of an elite group.

### 8.2.5 Staff Experience

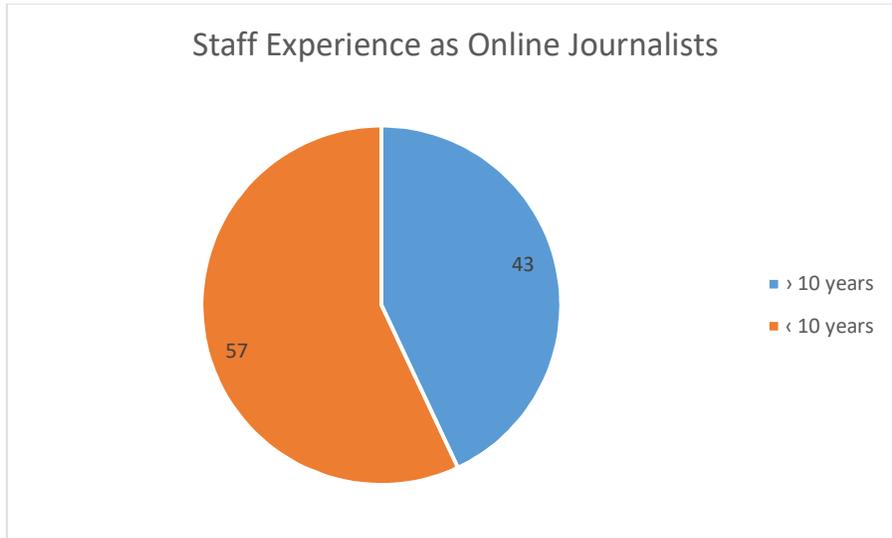


Figure 8. 2 Staff Experience as Online Journalists

Figure 8.2 shows 40 percent of online news media staff had experience of more than ten years as online journalists. This type of journalist has been in the industry since online news media were not widely known as important sources of information.

The number of staff who had more than ten years of experience as online journalists indicate that online journalism has been developing for quite a long time in Indonesia. These staffs are working for online news organisations that survived the bursting of the dotcom bubble in early 2000. This surviving media companies such as detik.com become major players in the competition among Indonesian online news media. The new generation of online news media staff are

known to be younger, have their journalistic doxa, and have new ways of writing news. The variety of staff background in online news media organisation indicated that there has been culture collaboration.

### 8.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis was conducted to investigate the results of the journalism practice in published news items. The results of this analysis are then used in trying to confirm or corroborate the qualitative findings. Therefore, the focus of the content analysis matches the qualitative findings have initiated; geographical coverage, the sources of news, the exposure of political candidates, the tone, and length of news stories, story types and the occurrence of adversarial stories. The data used in the content analysis was obtained from news stories published during the 2017 Indonesian elections between 15 January and 18 March 2017. The 243 articles analysed were randomly selected from the total sample of 5.778 articles published by the three online news media organisations. Intercoder reliability analysis was used to minimize bias in coding.

	The geographical coverage	Source of news	DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election candidate	News story tone	The length of news story	The type of news story	Adversarial story
Items	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Cronbach's alpha	0.857	0.974	0.912	0.782	1.000	1.000	0.807

Table 8. 4 Reliability of Data Content Analysis

The results of intercoder reliability analysis are shown in Table 8.4, indicating that the value of Cronbach's alpha for each variable is more than 0.7. This data means that the degree of the similarity between coder 1 and coder 2 in interpreting the data is high. The highest values of Cronbach's alpha are 1.000, which means that the interpretations of the coders were identical for the variables of the length and the type of news story. The smallest Cronbach's alpha value has resulted when the coders analyse news story tone. A possible explanation for this might be that this analysis is more subjective compare to other variable analysis even though the coding guide has been compiled in detail.

### 8.3.1 The Geographical Coverage

The Geographical Coverage					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	DKI election	214	88.1	88.1	88.1
	National election	29	11.9	11.9	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 5 Geographical Coverage in Indonesian Online News Media

Table 8.5 shows that, during the 2017 election in Indonesia, the three online news media published news that focused on DKI Jakarta election even though 101 elections were taking place at the same time. These three organisations were national media and had networks of contributors distributed throughout the country. However, news about other areas was neglected apart from the DKI Jakarta election. A wide topic range of topics was covered concerning the Jakarta

election, such as stories about debates between political candidates and on a political candidate visiting a traditional market.

The focus on covering the DKI Jakarta election suggests that market preferences drove the online news media. It is believed that stories about the DKI Jakarta election were the most searched because the most significant numbers of internet users are based in the Jakarta area. By focusing on the Jakarta election, the online news media would then have a better chance of gaining high numbers of pageviews. There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by the journalists in this study and those described by Bourdieu (1998) where the competition to gain market share motivated journalists to conduct self-censorship on the basis of economic considerations. In his research about television journalism, Bourdieu (1998) said that such a strategy eliminates certain types of information based on sales. In the same vein, the findings of this research corroborate Hanitzsch and Hidayat's (2012) finding concerning Indonesian journalism, where the market and audience research seem to have a substantial impact on journalistic practice. Armando (2014) concluded that the TV stations which are mainly based in the capital city of Jakarta are limiting political news coverage. He said that the TV stations only focus on political news in DKI Jakarta, resulting in the neglect of democracy elsewhere.

### 8.3.2 Source of News

Source of news					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Political candidate	114	46.9	46.9	46.9
	Political party	33	13.6	13.6	60.5
	Government	70	28.8	28.8	89.3
	Media	13	5.3	5.3	94.7
	Citizen	13	5.3	5.3	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 6 Sources of News in Indonesian Online News Media

Table 8.6 shows that the online news media depended on political candidates as sources of news during the 2017 Indonesian election. It is suggested that a political candidates' agenda strongly influenced the media agenda in reporting on the election. News about the political candidate were reported as stories with soundbites about elections, stories about the responses of political candidates regarding issues, and interviews with members of political candidate's campaign. The second source of news that attracts the most media attention is political parties. The media report on political parties usually in following up their support for a political candidate or concerning issues regarding the DKI Jakarta election. Meanwhile, the data in table 8.6 show that the utilization of citizens as news sources during the 2017 Indonesian election was very infrequent, in only 5.3% of stories. It is suggested that online media lacking the use of citizens as sources of information in news construction during political campaigns.

### 8.3.3 Frequency of References to DKI Jakarta Political Candidate

DKI Jakarta Gubernatorial Election Candidates					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	AHY/Sylvi	28	11.5	11.5	11.5
	Ahok/Djarot	48	19.8	19.8	31.3
	Anies/Sandi	50	20.6	20.6	51.9
	Others	117	48.1	48.1	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 7 Frequency of References to DKI Jakarta Political Candidate

Table 8.7 shows that the media focused on reporting on political candidates in the DKI Jakarta election more than any other source of news during the 2017 Indonesia election. The data indicate that AHY/Sylvi were the least reported compared to the other two pairs. The frequency of stories about AHY/Sylvi represented 10.5 percent of the total news stories examined. A possible explanation for this low frequency is that this couple was eliminated in the first round of the DKI Jakarta 2017 election. There were no further reports on AHY/Sylvi during the second round of the election.

Meanwhile, the table shows that the media used Anies/Sandi as sources of news in the 2017 Indonesian election more frequently than other political candidates. However, their coverage was only slightly different from that of their opponent Ahok/Djarot. Therefore, the finding suggested that media were balanced in their reporting on the frequency of covering the DKI Jakarta political candidates. News coverage about the political candidates was dominated by showing the political candidates speaking at campaign events. The category ‘others’ in the table refer to

published news which did not focus on the candidates themselves, such as news on television campaign debates, polling, or news about the election commission.

### 8.3.4 News Tone

News story tone					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Positive	188	77.4	77.4	77.4
	Negative	30	12.3	12.3	89.7
	Neutral	25	10.3	10.3	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 8 News Tone of Political News During the 2017 Indonesia Election

Table 8.8 shows that tone of 77.4% of the news stories published by the three online news media organisations during the 2017 Indonesian elections was positive. They generally informed readers about the optimism of political candidates about the election, information about personal information of candidates, and the support of candidates. Meanwhile, news with a negative tone was far rarer. It informed readers about violations of the election rules, shortages of election ballot forms, and conflicts in the election. The number of negative news stories is slightly more frequent than that of neutral news which gave information about election debates on television, the election process or information on how to vote.

The dominance of news with a positive tone suggests that the production of news was affected by considerations of economic capital. The finding is in line with the

findings of Dunaway (2013) that the predominance of positive news indicates that the market controls journalistic practice. In the previous section, it was reported that the media focused on reporting on the political candidates more than any other news source. This section, therefore, also investigates the tone of the news is reporting on political candidates.

Frequency of Positive Stories (%)				
Media organisation	AHY/Sylvi (%)	Ahok/Djarot (%)	Anies/Sandi (%)	Total (%)
M1	25	35	38	100
M2	22	36	42	100
M3	11	26	63	100

Table 8. 9 Frequency of Positive Tone on DKI Jakarta Political Candidates

Table 8.9 shows that the pair of Anies/Sandi was the most widely reported in with a generally positive tone by all the organisations, while the fewest positive reports were about AHY/Sylvi. As has been discussed previously they were knocked out in the first round of the 2017 DKI Jakarta election.

The analysis of the positive tone of the news about political candidates indicates that M1 and M2 were relatively balanced in reporting. This suggests that the media actively planned the frequency of news on every candidate and planned to report on them positively. The media set the agenda on the election by deciding to use a positive tone in news writing. Therefore, they limited the publication of

negative stories. It may be assumed that the media censored information about the defamation case of Ahok. The media also did not exposing the people's movement, which demanding Ahok to be jailed. Only one story regarding Ahok's trial was found in the sample examined in this research.

It is believed that the media were active in setting the media agenda utilising the news tone to support particular political candidates. However, surprisingly, although M3 is a partisan media organisation which supported Ahok/Djarot in the election, this organisation also balanced in reporting. M3 reported the three pairs of DKI political candidates relatively equally in terms of numbers of positive news stories. The balanced reporting is probably because the journalists at M3 were more affected by the procedures or ethics of journalism rather than the directions of the media owner. This finding is line with what Phillips (2015) said about news framing. According to Phillips, news frames are plastic, which means that even though it may have been set at higher levels in the organisation's structure, they can be contested by lower level staff.

### 8.3.5 Adversarial News

Adversarial news					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Adversarial	9	3.7	3.7	3.7
	Support	57	23.5	23.5	27.2
	Neutral	177	72.8	72.8	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 10 Adversarial News during the 2017 Indonesia Election

Table 8.10 shows that the number of adversarial news in 2017 Indonesian election was only 3.7% of the total online news examined in this study. This suggests that the media were not utilising the election event to criticize the government even though there were cases of administrative errors which meant that many citizens could not vote, such as shortages of ballot forms during the election.

The media preferred to support the government in their news reports, as indicated by the data in table 8.10. The amount of news in favour the government was 23.5% of the total stories examined. Examples of news that supported the government in the elections included focusing on the success of the election, the anticipation of conflict, and the effects of the election in increasing positive sentiment on the economic growth. The lack of adversarial news suggests that the media support the government during the 2017 Indonesian election. This type of support is in line with McQuail's (2013) observations on the mutual relationship between media and government. He said that the media could support the government because they want to maintain their business.

The finding is also supported by the data of the neutral news coverage about the government. Neutral news means that the information given is not attributable to the government either directly or indirectly. Neutral news dominated the news stories that gave information about the activities of a political candidate, about the support of a political party given to a political candidate.

### 8.3.6 Types of News Stories

Types of news stories					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Orthodox	226	93.0	93.0	93.0
	Heterodox	17	7.0	7.0	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 11 Type of News Story

Table 8.11 shows that 93% of the political news published by the online news media organisation during the 2017 Indonesian election were orthodox stories. The orthodox news covered hard news issues such as about campaign events, political debates or statements made by political candidates. This finding confirms the characteristics of online news as hard news which relies heavily on speed in competing with other online media or other media platforms as mentioned by Margianto and Saefullah (2010). It is also suggested that online news media did not practice contextual journalism in news coverage.

### 8.3.7 Length of News Stories

Length of news stories					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	< 100 words	3	1.2	1.2	1.2
	100-500 words	238	97.9	97.9	99.2
	> 500	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	243	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. 12 Length of News Story

Table 8.12 shows that the three online news media organisations published stories that contained 100-500 words more frequently than other categories. Almost all the stories (97.9% of the total) published during the 2017 Indonesian election were short news. These findings suggest that the media did not give comprehensive information to the audience. The limitation of a maximum of 500 words does not allow the journalist to follow the 5W+1H concept in writing stories and does not give them the space to cover both sides of stories. The news was commonly published to inform readers about the activity of a pair of or only an individual gubernatorial candidate in DKI Jakarta. The journalists did not apply contextual journalism in their writing to provide more thorough information. This finding is in accordance with that Anggoro (2012) that online news media do not offer complete information through the news. He said that online journalists practise the 3Ws (what, when, and where) rather than the 5W+1H (what, when, where, who, why, and how). Short news stories generally informed readers about the activities of political candidates along with one or two quotations from them. There were three news articles in the sample that contained less than 100 words and displayed pictures and graphics. This type of news is less common because it takes a longer time to construct than writing short news stories. Stories containing more than 500 words were also rare, at only 0.8% of the entire sample of news content. This type of story usually exhibits the traditional model of 5W + 1H and includes more news source in one story. Examples of news that contained more than 500 words were those who gave information about Ahok's defamation case

and another case about fake identity card during the election. This finding broadly supports the conclusions of other researchers (such as Bourdieu 1998, Gans 2003, Barnhurst 2010, Meijer 2010, McQuail 2013). For example, Barnhurst (2010), stated that the news media are pragmatic in pursuit of revenue and do not prioritise longer stories such as those using contextual journalism.

#### **8.4 Conclusion**

This chapter presented the data generated from the quantitative study of demographic variables and published news. The data are displayed in the form of tables and figures in relation to the objective of the research. The categories of quantitative data in this chapter are analysed to determine if they confirm or corroborate the qualitative findings. The quantitative results can be summarized as follows.

1. The online news media organisations examined in this research were owned by private owners who owned more than one media company at the national level. M3 was owned by a businessman who was closely affiliated with a political party.
2. The three online news media organisations used a number of social media followers as an indicator of their performance in order to attract advertisers.
3. The three online news media organisations were certified by the Press Council; however, there are still only small numbers of certified media staff.
4. The online news organisations employed elite Indonesian people because a majority of staff were university graduates.

5. Journalists with more than ten years-experience as online journalists are dominating the newsroom
6. The news media neglect local democracy by only focusing on publishing news about the DKI Jakarta election at the expense of the many other elections that took place at the same time.
7. The online news media organisations avoided citizens and pressure groups as news sources, while the primary news sources dominated by political candidates.
8. The online news media expose DKI Jakarta political candidates with an equal number of stories about them.
9. The positive tone of news articles dominated the news published during the 2017 Indonesian election, suggesting that the media avoided the negative news.
10. The positive tone of news on issues related to the government suggests that online news media were not performing their function as a watchdog over government.
11. The news media focused on the orthodox type of news stories in reporting on the 2017 Indonesian election.
12. The online news media did not give comprehensive information to the audience in reporting on the 2017 Indonesia election.

## Chapter 9

### The use of Mixed-Method Strategy in Analysing Journalistic Practice

#### 9.1 Overview

This chapter compares and triangulates the findings obtained from the qualitative and quantitative analysis conducted in the study. The two data sets were analysed simultaneously according to the convergent parallel mixed-methods approach and the use of a side-by-side comparison strategy (Creswell and Creswell 2017).

Following a priori coding approach (Weerakkody 2015), this study uses qualitative findings as the basis for the coding of quantitative data. This chapter shows how the twelve key quantitative findings and six qualitative findings were triangulated. The triangulation process is summarised in figure 9.1

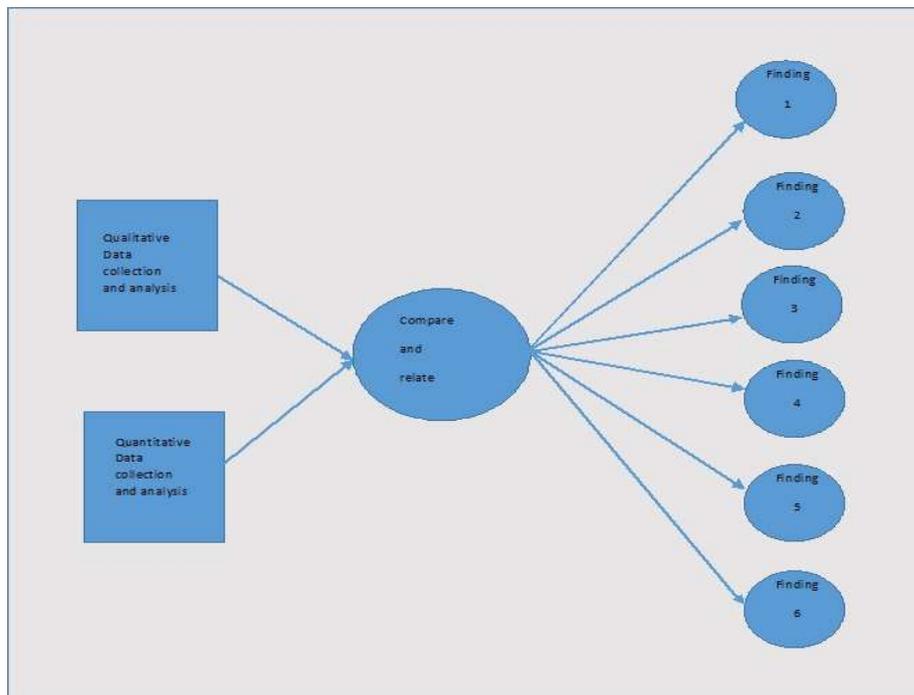


Figure 9. 1 Process of the Triangulation Findings (Modified from Creswell and Creswell, 2017)

**9.2 Economic capital (EC) directly and indirectly influenced the news production of online news media in Indonesia during the 2017 election.**

**Native advertising supported EC directly, while EC indirectly was supported by SEO practice.**

Qualitative data obtained through the ethnographical study shows that the EC was strongly influenced by the use of SEO in the practice of online news media.

Therefore, it is concluded that the adoption of CJ and other journalistic practices were also motivated by SEO, as shown in table 9.1. Online news media staff practised SEO because they believed that SEO positively correlated to the increase in pageviews. This finding is in line with those of previous studies that online organisations utilise SEO to get high rankings on search engines as a marketing strategy in the World Wide Web (Sen 2005, Kritzinger and Weideman 2013). The common practice of SEO in journalism confirms Phillips' (2015) description of the practice of journalism in contemporary media where news is produced based on the most used words on search engines such as Google and Yahoo.

This study explores the quantitative data to corroborate the qualitative findings concerning EC. It is found that the pageviews statistics for each online news media organisations varies. M1 and M2 had high pageviews numbers and were ranked among the 10th largest pageviews earners in Indonesia (Alexa.com accessed in February 2017). M1 and M2 are online news organisations active in practising SEO in their daily news production, while M3, which does not seriously apply SEO in news production, is ranked beyond the top hundred

pageviews earners nationally. It is assumed that the application of SEO in online news media practice in Indonesia also correlates with pageviews numbers. One interviewee believed that the better they were in practicing SEO, the higher the pageviews would result:

“I said to them [news media staff]) that we cannot see the impact instantly, but we will harvest the results in one or two months. It will have a long impact. It is more like an investment.” (Interview J11, 2017)

Journalism practice that prioritises SEO leads the news media to uniformly focus on the production of news that is popular or most searched for by the audience. Participants said that, based on audience analysis, information about the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election information is the most searched news in Google during Indonesia election. Therefore, the news media focused on reporting this election even though at the same time, there were elections in a hundred regions in Indonesia. The quantitative data shows that 88.1% of the total published news stories in the 2017 Indonesia election focused on the DKI Jakarta election. One interviewee said that the biggest market for online news media was in Jakarta, and therefore they neglected other elections:

“Obviously the election particularly the Jakarta election has become very interesting, and it has more readers in Jakarta.” (Interview J1, 2017)

Another participant said that human resources issues were the reason for focusing reports on Jakarta:

“Well, indeed for this election we are focusing on the Jakarta election, then (we cover) Banten. Even though we also cover other areas, but we have a lack of reporters. Most human resources are located in Jakarta. So, we are more highlighting stories on Jakarta.” (Interview J15, 2017)

The selection of news sources based on audience demand, or in this case based on SEO methods, is considered to make the journalist’s work easier than ever, as one participant said:

“[Data team said] Nobody read that story, [it has] few clicks, it is not visible on Google. Oo ... okay. We [decided to] abandon it. Let's find another interesting story.” (Interview J1, 2017)

The quantitative data regarding the selection of news sources also supports the qualitative finding, as shown in table 9.1. The media organisations chose political actors, which can be identified mainly as political candidates and political parties, as the most popular news sources. The content analysis showed that 60.5% of news sources were political actors. This number is very different from the number of news sources who were ordinary citizens, at only 5.3% of the total. The interviewees believed that reporting on political actors potentially resulted in higher pageviews because SEO suggested their names.

Another reason to focus on the reporting of political actors is that it is more efficient than reporting on other news sources. There is always something to report about political actors at election time, and it is easy for the media to get

access to them. A mutual relationship is built between news sources and news merchants.

The political actors, and especially political candidates, need to be covered with a positive tone to increase their popularity and electability during elections. As for the news media journalists, the strategy of giving exposure to political candidates also gave them material to report on to meet the news budget targets. This kind of relationship is in line with Phillips' (2015) belief that the news media re-enforce the power of elites because these people have more access to the media. Even though they need each other, the news media occupy a position of having control in the relationship. The media have the autonomy to decide if they will report extensively, positively, or negatively about political candidates. Even so, the media open up the opportunity for political candidates to negotiate their positions and to be reported on positively and extensively.

Other quantitative data supports the view that the EC dominates online news journalism practice, (see Table 9.1), in that the majority of published political stories had positive tones. As many as 77.4% of the total published stories examined used a positive tone in reporting about campaign events, the plans of political candidates, and their personal information. This finding suggests that the media intentionally produce positive rather than negative news. However, it is contrary to what other researchers have found over the last two decades, where the news media tends to emphasise negative news to get the audience's attention (Harcup and O'Neil 2001, Thesen 2012, Stafford 2014, Soroka 2015, Pinker

2018). Soroka (2015) stated that, neurologically and physiologically, humans tend to prioritise negative rather than positive news content.

A possible explanation for this disagreement is that there have been changes due to the development of the media where news providers are starting to alter their attention to positive news because they rely on social media to disseminate their products (Trilling et al. 2017). According to interviewees, positive news has a higher shareability or better potential to be shared on social media compared to negative news. Therefore, interviewees such as J1 believed that a positive news tone attracts readerships. This finding is in line with Berger and Milkman's (2013) conclusion that people tend to share positive content on social media, and positive content is more likely to become viral.

There is, however, another explanation as to why the news media emphasise a positive news tone. Few participants explicitly stated that this practice is driven by economic motives to attract native advertisers. Qualitative analysis suggests that all media organisations offer an advertorial service to political candidates in reporting positively. Therefore, the news media have to be friendly to potential advertisers. Participants recognised that the practice of native advertising is common in the Indonesian online news environment, leading to the news always having a positive tone.

"Finally, there is a shift [in the news business] because we are now entering the era of native marketing, content marketing. Native advertising is one kind of blurring the boundaries between news content and business

content. The fence of fire becomes blurred. We cannot tell the difference between paid content and news content. However, this is happening everywhere.” (J27 interview, 2017)

One editor stated that the practice of native advertising was fair because they offer to advertise all candidates equally, especially the DKI Jakarta election gubernatorial candidates. However, the phenomenon of native advertising in Indonesian online news media has become a matter of debate among journalists. Other journalists reject this practice because it goes against the ethics of journalism. As J4 said, native advertising leads journalists to produce unbalanced news:

“Actually, the problem is the advertorial ads. Its news always positive [in tone] and the problem is the number [of advertorial stories]. It makes us [journalist staff] produce unbalanced stories even though we have a hard time publishing the same number of stories on every candidate [in DKI Jakarta]. But in the last two weeks, our news has not been balanced. Other media [organisations] also know that we are strictly neutral (in the election), but now it has changed.” (Interview J4, 2017)

The quantitative research confirms that the news media published stories with mostly a positive tone. 77.4 % of the total news and information published on the campaigns of the DKI Jakarta candidates had a positive tone. It is assumed that the main reason for a positive news tone is the effect of native advertising practice. Therefore, the news classified as native advertising was analysed further,

however, it was not possible to identify news stories that can be classified as native advertising in the sample. The obstacle in identifying native advertising is probably because it was designed to resemble traditional news.

The qualitative findings regarding the practice of native advertising add evidence to support the hypothesis that EC influenced the production of the online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election. This result agrees with Dunaway's (2013) statement that journalism practice controlled by the market will prioritize news with a positive tone, and it also confirmed Tapsell's (2013) conclusion that the market strongly influences news media practice in Indonesia. Native advertising is one of the methods with a direct link to EC that news media can potentially utilise. From the qualitative data, it was found that another such direct link to EC in the online news media environment was utilising free labour due to the adoption of CJ to produce news. However, the analysis of content did not suggest that the contribution of citizens influenced the production of news during the 2017 Indonesian election. The proportion of the news that used citizens as the sources of news only represented 5.3% of the total stories, and the present research did not find any published news based on CJ submissions. This finding suggests that the online news media staff actively ignored the contribution of CJ in political news construction. Journalists maintained their autonomy even though they were provided with an opportunity to exploit free labour. The qualitative and quantitative findings concerning EC confirms that online news media did not take advantage of CJ in news production during the 2017 Indonesian election. The findings are summarised in table 9.1.

Qualitative findings	Operationalisation	Influence	Quantitative findings	Triangulation
Indirect EC	SEO method	High	News focus on covering Jakarta gubernatorial candidates, high pageviews	Confirmed
Direct EC	Native advertising	High	Majority of news published in positive tone, balanced in number	Confirmed
Direct EC	Free labour	Low	No CJ submission	Not confirmed

Table 9. 1 EC in News Production during 2017 Indonesia Election

**9.3 EC dominated political capital (PC) in journalistic practice in the news production of ‘neutral’ online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election. Meanwhile in partisan media, the PC of the owner dominates of media staff PC and EC of journalist.**

Qualitative analysis found that there are various forms of PC in news production by online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election; namely, state PC, and the PC of media staff, politicians and users. Interactions between these forms of PC show that the PC of media staff dominates that of others in the journalistic field. The other types of PC could influence the media staff’s PC in various ways, as discussed later in this section.

This study finds that the PC of media staff is hierarchical with that of macro-level media staff occupying the highest position, followed by meso-level staff and

micro-level media staff. The qualitative findings suggest that the PC of the media owner at the highest level is served voluntarily by lower levels of media staff by minimizing the influence of PC from other sources. For example, without further instructions from the media owner, M3 media staff suspended the comments column on political news to accommodate the media owner's goal in supporting Ahok's candidacy as governor of DKI Jakarta. The staff anticipated that citizens or opposition groups could potentially use the comments column to attack the M3 media owner politically. The quantitative data support the qualitative findings that the PC of media staff dominated news construction during the 2017 Indonesian election. Quantitative data were obtained from the analysis of media content, focusing on the selection of news sources, the balance and the positive tone of news, and the absence of CJ.

The result of the content analysis of online news media showed that political actors are most frequent reported during the 2017 Indonesian election. The percentage of news sources are shown in Table 8.7, and political actors represented 60.5%, government 28.8%, and citizens 5.3% of sources of news. This finding means that online news media depended on political actors, namely political candidates and political parties, as news media sources in the construction of political news during the 2017 Indonesian election. The news media dependency on political actors suggests that the PC of political actors influences the PC of media staff in determining the agenda of the media.

However, it is also observed that the media staff actively set a political agenda before even covering stories. This means that the selection of political actors as

the sources of news is carried out deliberately by the media staff in line with the organisation's policy. Political actors are chosen as news sources because this supports the media organisations' economic and political interests (Gans 2003, Barnhurst 2010, Meijer 2010, McQuail 2013). Every news media organisation makes plans daily about the target numbers of news stories, which is referred to as news budgeting. At election times, news budgeting focuses on how many stories they should produce about each political candidate, and all staff, especially reporters in the field, have to work to meet these targets. During the election, it is almost certain that the political candidates were active in campaigning for their programmes. Their activity benefits journalists in meeting the news targets. However, if political candidates do not engage in campaign activities, there are always ways for journalists to meet news budgeting targets; for example, by asking for the opinions of political candidates about current issues (Anggoro 2010). One or two quotes from political candidates may be enough for an online journalist to write one story.

The news media did not possess full freedom in choosing the source of news and in determining the media agenda in Indonesia before press freedom in the country, which was introduced in 1998. Since then, authoritarian governments have not determined news media agendas, so that Indonesian journalists have been free to determine their vision and mission (Gazali 2004, Sen and Hill 2007, Pintak and Setiyono 2010, Hanitzsch and Hidayat 2012, Lim 2012). Indonesian journalists then formed and agreed upon their journalism ethics to maintain their professionalism. The ethics of journalism normatively guide news media

practices, including in determining media agendas, impartiality, and balance. Consistent with the literature, this research has found that Indonesian journalists operate based on their ethics or norms and traditions. McComb (2014) stated that journalistic norms and traditions had become a potent filter in determining the media agenda, even though political actors and media owners are powerful forces in influencing news media practices. These norms and traditions also helped determine the balance and news tone in reporting on the political candidates during the 2017 Indonesian election.

From the analysis of qualitative data, it is concluded that the political interests of media owners influenced journalistic practice in the adoption of CJ in news production during the 2017 Indonesian election. The data shows that M1 and M2 were owned by businessmen who are not directly related to any political party. These two media owners did not convey their political opinions directly to media staff. Meanwhile, the M3 media owner gave direct instructions to the media staff to support his party and Ahok/Djarot's candidacy. It can be assumed that M1 and M2 were neutral media organisations, while M3 was a partisan.

The quantitative data confirms that media organisations M1 and M2 were neutral in reporting the 2017 DKI Jakarta election. They published news on gubernatorial candidates Ahok/Djarot and Anies/Sandi with relatively equal frequency. Meanwhile, the gubernatorial candidates AHY/Sylvi received the least attention by the two organisations because the couple had been eliminated in the first of the two rounds of the DKI Jakarta elections.

Based on the interviews, it can be assumed that M3 set the agenda to support Ahok/Djarot because the media owner had directly stated his political opinions. However, interestingly, the analysis of quantitative data could not prove that assumption. The data showed that M3 was ‘neutral’ in their news coverage despite the owner’s relationship to Ahok/Djarot. The frequency of news published by M3 for all gubernatorial candidates was equal. This finding means that the quantitative data finding does not directly correspond to the qualitative finding. A possible explanation for this dispute is that journalistic practice at M3 was affected by the other news organisations, which were highly practicing SEO. Although M3 is an organisation that does not seriously apply SEO in their news reporting, M3 does follow other media development and news trends. This finding is in line with Vujnovic et al.’s (2010) discovery that a news media organisation could apply the strategies of other news media organisations rather than operating its strategy in newsmaking in a so-called ‘bandwagon effect’. Bourdieu (1998) also mentioned that journalists spy on their competitors. By the same token, McComb (2014) noted that agenda-setting of a news organisation could influence others.

Another possible explanation is that the lower-level staff of M3 refused to implement the framing specified by the owner. Editors who become gatekeepers in the newsroom may operate according to their norms and traditions in keeping balance in the news on the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates. This possibility is in line with Phillips’ (2015) point, that framing can be flexible. It may be set from above but could be challenged from below. Hallin and Mancini (2004) also

observed the dynamics of political agendas in news media and stated that partisan news organisations are not always narrow-minded but could also perform professionally by being balanced in their reporting.

A further content analysis of published news stories shows that the media also balanced their reporting of political candidates using a positive tone. A total of 77.4% of the stories published were categorised as having a positive tone. Meanwhile, news with negative tone made up 12.3% of the total stories. The data suggest that the media chose to publish positive political news during the 2017 Indonesian election. Therefore, during election time, the news media were actively conducting self-censorship to minimise potentially negative news such as conflicts between candidates, the activity of pressure groups, and adversarial stories.

News media self-censorship also instigated the absence of CJ in political news reports during the 2017 Indonesian election. The qualitative findings included that the media did not utilise CJ as a tool to exercise their responsibility towards society. The news media neglected the possibility of using CJ as a mediator between themselves and society and as a tool to cover wider areas that were holding elections.

CJ is an opportunity for society to be heard by the government. This concept makes citizen journalists ideal tools for the news media in fulfilling their role in society of facilitating the expression of ordinary people's voice. However, the results of the qualitative analysis are did not meet with researcher expectation

because the media staff hesitated to collaborate with non-professional journalists in the production of political news. The news media staff viewed citizen journalists as competitors who threatened their autonomy in influencing public opinion through political news. During the 2017 Indonesian election, the news media avoided giving access to CJ submissions in contributing to news production. This finding was confirmed in the quantitative data analysis, which showed that only 5.3% of total published stories utilised citizens as news sources, while none of the news was generated based on CJ submissions.

It was expected that CJ could offer an opportunity for the news media to make up for their lack of resources in covering elections outside Jakarta, and especially in rural areas of Indonesia, in order to meet the needs of a national audience.

Contrary to expectations, however, no evidence was found that the news media were utilising the opportunity to accommodate the interests of the broader public in political reporting. The qualitative data show that the national interest was neglected because the interviewees said that they only focused on covering stories in the Jakarta election. The quantitative data corroborates the qualitative findings, showing that the news media mainly published news about the election in Jakarta, representing 88.1% of the total published news stories. Gans (2011) said that the news must be aimed not only at the existing audience but beyond the audience, and especially at unrepresented people.

To sum up the result of the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative findings, it is concluded that the PC of the media owner is most influential in news production. However, the quantitative findings do not wholly support the

qualitative results. It is therefore determined that the PC of the media owner can be challenged by the norms and traditions of lower-level staff.

Nevertheless, the PC of all the media staff work together to compromise or to deal with the influence of external PC that could potentially interfere with their autonomy. For example, media staff compromise with politicians, such as DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates, by positively reporting on them and providing them with native advertising services. At the same time, the absence of adversarial news during the election suggests that media staff accommodated the PC of the state. However, it is concluded that the media staff censored CJ in the construction of political news during the 2017 Indonesian election by suppressing users' contributions. According to the journalists, practitioners of CJ are not regarded as credible sources, and they potentially interfere with the journalist's autonomy in political news production. It can be concluded that the media staff's PC and its norms and traditions dominated the PC of online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election. However, the existence of CJ is putting pressure on journalist's cultural capital, which will be discussed in the next section.

Qualitative findings	Operationalization	Influence	Quantitative findings	Triangulation
Media staff PC	Media agenda setting	Accommodated	Majority of news published in positive tone, balanced in number	Not fully confirmed
State PC	Rules and regulation	Accommodated	Absent of adversarial news on government	Confirmed
Politician's PC	Campaign activity, native advertising	Accommodated	Majority of news published in positive tone, balance in number	Confirmed
User PC	CJ	Censored	No news based on CJ submission	Confirmed
Pressure group PC	Activity, protest	Censored	Few stories on pressure group	Confirmed

Table 9. 2 PC in News Production during the 2017 Indonesia Election

**9.4 Online news media journalists attempt to increase their cultural capital (CC) that is associated with professionalism, the quality of journalism, and certification in order to differentiate themselves from citizen journalists.**

The results of the qualitative analysis suggest that the journalists were actively building professional barriers to citizen journalists during the 2017 Indonesian election. These boundaries related to three aspects of cultural capital (CC), which

are embodied CC, objectified CC, and institutionalised CC. The qualitative data indicate that journalists focus on their journalistic background and their skills to distinguish themselves from citizen journalists. Participants said that to be a journalist, one must hold a university degree and have gone through a series of training courses in a formal setting or informally by learning from senior journalists. One editor also said that a journalist should learn how to work rapidly:

"New journalists will be assigned to senior journalists to cover stories.

After four days, we let the new journalists report stories on their own. The first thing that they need to learn is to be accurate and fast. After that, they can improve themselves, and there is no need for our [editors] directions."

(Interview J21, 2017)

The learning process of journalists is, according to Bourdieu (1986), a way of gaining embodied CC. The process followed to earn embodied CC can vary depending on one's background. The editor J20 admitted that she only recruited subordinates who had university degrees. According to her, it is easier to train someone with these qualifications. The analysis of quantitative data confirmed the qualitative findings, as 91% of media staff had a bachelor's degree, and 12% of that percentage held post-graduate degrees. The dominance of high-profile media staff is also shown in the experience of staff as online journalists. The data show that 40% of all staff already had experience as online journalists for more than ten years.

The quantitative data demonstrate that online news media staff are part of an elite group in Indonesian society. Article 28 of the Republic of Indonesia's constitution guarantees people's freedom in expressing their opinions. Even so, this freedom was confined after the enactment of the ITE Law in 2008, and dozens of ordinary citizens have been imprisoned in defamation cases (detik.com 2015b). However, unlike ordinary citizens, journalists have the privilege of conveying their opinions through the news. Journalists are protected by the Press Law No. 40/1998 so that they are more 'immune' from such prosecutions compared to ordinary citizens. However, to gain this privilege, a journalist must have certain qualifications.

Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012) identified a relatively small group of people in Indonesia who have the chance of getting an education at university level and have had formal or informal training in journalism over many years.

Commonly, one should earn a university degree to join a news media company and to be qualified as part of the elite group of journalists. This initial qualification should be coupled with the formal or informal training, which allows a journalist to operate professionally. The long process required to earn their status means that journalists hesitated to welcome ordinary citizens into their corps. As one journalist said:

“Citizen journalist is not like a journalist who has the right to get information. For example, if a citizen writes a story about corruption and the mayor of the city, they do not have the right to ask for the mayor’s

confirmation. However, if they don't confirm it, it is against journalism ethics.” (Interview J1, 2017)

In the same vein, another participant highlighted that citizen journalists do not have professional responsibilities. Therefore, they are not credible in conducting journalistic work:

“In our CJ channels, we treat CJ as it should be. We have the opinion that comments columns, tourism, or culinary issues are for them. The problem with CJ is their responsibility and their credibility.

As you know, we depend on credibility. If online news media were not credible, then it's over. People would not trust us anymore.” (Interview J26, 2017)

The qualitative data indicates that the participants emphasised the quality of online news as objectified CC, which is the output arising from the embodied CC. The data confirm that the quality of news produced by the professional journalists did meet the norms and traditions of journalism. As shown in Table 9.3, the journalists produced balanced and impartial news according to professional journalism standards. The journalists produced news about the political candidates in Jakarta with the balance in both frequency and news tone. However, both qualitative and quantitative data show that online news media have not demonstrated the practice of contextual journalism. The quantitative data confirmed that 99.1% of the news items produced were short items which contained less than 500 words. The practices in writing short news stories are not

in line with the standards of quality journalism, or so-called contextual journalism.

Journalists are not able to complete a news story along with information with its context if they are limited to 500 words, and they will not be able to complete the news story to traditional writing standards of 5W + 1H (what, when, where, who, why and how). Most stories only apply the 3W concept of what, when, and where, which is an effect of the need to write stories quickly to compete with other online news media organisations. These findings support the previous observations of Anggoro (2012) and Bernstein (2015) that online news media use limited numbers of words in conveying information to audiences and that distinguishes them from other types of news media. However, this limitation also causes problems in the efforts in building credibility and improving the quality of news.

Indonesian Press Law No 40/1999 guarantees the freedom of the press. Journalists therefore have the chance to fulfil their function as mediators of people's voices and be a watchdog of the government. In the post-authoritarian era, journalists freely conduct investigative reporting in the name of the public's right to know. Journalists enjoy their position within society even though, according to Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012), most of them are not well paid. However, in the Internet era, their function in society is being challenged by ordinary citizens who make products similar to news (Gillmor 2006, Allan 2006, Lindner and Larson 2017). Yangyue (2014) found that ordinary citizens in Indonesia have been occupying positions as influencers of public opinion. Influencers also utilised their networks to influence public opinion to earn money (Paramaditha 2013).

Based on Press Council records, all of the media organisations studied in this research have been awarded certificates as legitimate media companies. Their journalists are also known as initiators of the certification rules. For online news media staff, certification provides two benefits. The first is that it gives them legal protection in carrying out journalistic activities and, secondly, gives them a status equal to that of other news platforms, which they are trying hard to get.

However, the records also show a lack of media staff being certified as individual journalists. The documentation indicates that only a few online media staff have undergone the series of processes required to earn a certification. The numbers of staff at M1, M2 and M3 who are certified are 9.6%, 2%, and 0.6% respectively of total media staff. A possible explanation for the small levels of individual certification is that many journalists are waiting their turn to be examined by the Press Council. Journalist certification can take place in one day for journalists working in certain media. For example, the process of certifications of 158 journalists at Kumparan took a single day. This bundle certification boosted the number of certified journalists in the Press Council database. It shows significant developments during 2017-2018, where the total number of certified journalists reached 8,716 from 7,478 the previous year ([dewanpers.or.id](http://dewanpers.or.id)).

Qualitative findings	Operationalisation	Influence	Quantitative findings	Triangulation
Professionalism	Discipline in news production	High	Balanced news, impartial	Confirmed
Contextual journalism	Analysis and context	Low	Orthodox, short news, not complete (3W)	Corroborated
Certification of news organisations and individual journalists	Building boundaries	High	Increased numbers of certified journalists and news organisations	Confirmed

Table 9. 3 CC in News Production during the 2017 Indonesia Election

### **9.5 EC and PC motivate online news media organisations to increase their social capital (SC) in social media.**

The pursuit of social capital motivated the adoption of CJ by the online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election. Journalists expanded their social capital by playing outside the journalistic field, such as using social media to influence public opinion. The qualitative data indicate that the online news media staff developed SC differently from the SC build-up by traditional media such as newspapers and television. With the support of web 2.0, online media staff developed SC through the membership systems of the CJ community, as shown in Table 9.4. According to J33, there is a strong enthusiasm among citizens to become involved in their CJ community. He said that one of the motivations of citizens in joining the CJ community was to establish social networks in the

online world. On the other hand, this enthusiasm of citizens allows news media staff to widen their organisations' SC. They use the number of members as a measurement or as symbolic capital to be sold to advertisers along with pageviews as their primary sources of economic capital.

However, the membership system is also a way for media staff to build hierarchical relationships with citizen journalists, as a way for media staff to exert control over the CJ community members as their subordinates. In such a relationship, the media staff encourage CJ members to submit work actively, but they will respond to it only when they feel like it. In the 2017 Indonesian election, the CJ channels were suspended because the media did not want CJ to interfere with their agenda. Therefore, no quantitative data on CJ in news stories during this period was found.

Qualitative research concluded that the online news media staff actively expanded their SC via social media. The three online news media organisations were competing to get as many followers on social media as possible on the most prominent social media sites in Indonesia, which are Facebook and Twitter. It was found that there are two types of online news media follower; that is ordinary citizens, and buzzers. The latter are followers who are rewarded for spreading information, and followers of this type had a significant influence on social media. One of the chief editors acknowledged that the number of social media followers is also a key performance indicator (KPI) or attribute used to measure the success of a media company, and it also represents symbolic capital.

“Pageviews is being one of the indicators [of online news media success], but it is not the only indicator. For example, we have a comment column indicator. How many users of Twitter are in our social media account? This is also considered an indicator. We have more than nine million followers, and it has rocketed over two months. The increase in followers on our social media accounts is also our KPI, which we sell to our clients [advertisers]. That is how we make money.” (Interview J26, 2017)

The analysis of quantitative data confirms that the three online news media companies have extensive networks on social media. M2 had even become the owner of the Twitter account with the biggest network of followers at a national level.

This study observes that online news media organisations actively expand their networks through membership systems and the use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter. This SC is utilised as a channel for referral in news dissemination to increase traffic. Online media staff do not recognise such SC as representing a way to accommodate the users’ voice to carry out their functions as mediators of the public voice.

<b>Qualitative findings</b>	<b>Operationalisation</b>	<b>Influence</b>	<b>Quantitative findings</b>	<b>Triangulation</b>
CJ membership	CJ closure	Low	No CJ adoption	Not confirmed
Social media following	Social media team	Low	High number of followers on social media	Confirmed

Table 9. 4 SC of News Production during the 2017 Indonesia Election

### **9.6 The *habitus* of journalists hindered the access of citizens to influence journalists in constructing news during the 2017 Indonesian election**

The qualitative data showed that journalists' *habitus* distinguishes them from citizen journalists. The journalists' views and actions were operationalised in terms of verification, continuity, and the ethics of journalism, as shown in Table 9.5. As explained in Chapter seven, journalists claim that the critical difference between themselves and citizen journalists is their ability and discipline in verifying information. According to journalists, verification is a working standard for a professional journalist in producing accurate news. They said that to check information, one should have access to the authorities, which citizen journalists do not have. Furthermore, the Press Law protects journalists working in news organisations in obtaining information to ensure their access to news sources, in the name of fulfilling the public interest. Press Law threatens anybody who hinders the work of journalists in getting information, with fines or imprisonment.

The journalists could also gain access by maintaining their relationship with news sources. These connections not only distinguish journalists from citizen journalists but also distinguish some journalists from other journalists. Over time, journalists compete in developing their networks to be the first to file stories, or exclusives or to be more in-depth in covering the news. Journalists' relationships with political candidates are also essential resources in covering an election. A close relationship between journalists and their news source facilitates a more straightforward verification process. Therefore, in the DKI Jakarta election, online news media organisations focus on reporting political candidates daily. This finding means that an embedded journalist would follow each political candidate daily. The access to DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates supported online news media organisations in reporting on them. The quantitative data shows that 44.6% of the total published news during the election was about the Jakarta gubernatorial candidates.

As explained earlier, news about the election of a governor of Jakarta was strongly based on the pursuit of EC, but this focus also provided an easier verification process to allow faster news production. The content analysis confirms that the majority of news published comes from first-hand sources among the DKI gubernatorial campaigns. Even focusing only on the gubernatorial candidates in the DKI Jakarta election, was sufficient for the news media organisations to be able to publish stories continuously.

Continuity is one of the themes that appears when journalists distinguish themselves from citizen journalists. J3 said that it is difficult to rely on citizen

journalists to continuously produce news daily because they do not get rewards for what they are doing. He said that he often produced news on CJ channels as if the story was written by citizen journalists to meet the targets of CJ news. The quantitative data analysis confirms the consistency of journalists in producing news. This study collected political news stories from three online news media outlets amounting to 5,778 items over 59 days so that on average, each outlet published 32 stories each day. The amount of news that was collected in this study proves that the three online news media outlets were very active in reporting the election, even though they only focused on reporting about the DKI Jakarta election. This finding supports Aelst and De Swert's (2009) argument that journalists are more active during elections. However, the analysis of quantitative data suggests that the three online news media organisations produced news with similar patterns, balancing the exposure of DKI gubernatorial candidates reporting on those candidates with a positive tone.

Qualitative data shows that the online news journalist's habitus includes the censoring of illegal content such as racist, pornographic, and ranting material. According to interviewees, citizen journalists do not recognise the rules and regulations of journalism, and so they may easily contribute illegal content. The content analysis confirms that online news media strictly censored such illegal content.

Interviewees J6, J5, and J19 recognised that illegal content, and especially pornographic material, would potentially attract pageviews. However, they said that they did not want to be banned because of publishing illegal content.

Concerns about illegal content were also reported by Yangyue (2014), who stated that the Indonesian government has campaigned against pornography, extremist religious and illegal political content since 2014. The interviewees did not want to experience the same thing with companies such as Netflix, Tumblr, and Telegrams, which are banned in Indonesia because illegal content cannot be censored. J19 acknowledged that citizens tended to convey messages using racism and ranting in contributing to the comments column. Therefore, J27 said, that due to the hard work required to censor content provided by citizens, they had decided to deactivate the comments column.

Journalists apply their professionalism in censoring illegal content, consistency, and continuity in newsmaking, and in exercising discipline in verification. These skills are built in a long-term process. J20 said that in order to achieve professional journalistic standards, one should have a background of a university degree and have undergone formal or informal training. The analysis of quantitative data confirms that 91 % of the interviewees were university graduates, while 40% had more than ten years of experience in journalism. This finding confirms those of Hanitzsch and Hidayat's (2012) research, which stated that journalists belong to an elite group of people in Indonesian society. With this background, it can be understood why journalists feel that they are different from citizen journalists as ordinary Indonesian citizens. The comparison of qualitative and quantitative findings is summarised in Table 9.5.

<b>Qualitative findings</b>	<b>Operationalisation</b>	<b>Influence</b>	<b>Quantitative findings</b>	<b>Triangulation</b>
Verification	Only use trusted sources	High	First-hand single source	Confirmed
Continuity	Focus on election	High	Published on average 32 news story per day	Confirmed
Ethics	Censor on racism, pornography, ranting	Low	No racist, porn, rant	Confirmed
Elite	Autonomy	High	Elite, educated, qualified	Confirmed

Table 9. 5 Habitus in News Production during the 2017 Indonesia Election

### **9.7 Journalists are negotiating their social responsibility to EC and PC in news production during 2017 Indonesian election.**

The analysis of qualitative data suggests that the journalistic practice concerning CJ in online news was not designed to meet the expectations of society concerning journalism. Society expects that news media carry out responsible journalism such as mediating communication between society and government, being a watchdog, and serving the national interest. However, qualitative research has not been able to demonstrate that those responsibilities drove news media practices. The qualitative findings indicate that EC and PC dominated in the use of CJ in the production of news in the newsroom. For example, the quantitative data confirms that more positive stories were published about the government than adversarial stories. These results are quite disappointing because they show that the news media failed to act as a watchdog of the government. The data also

suggest that the news media supported the government during the 2017 Indonesian election. This finding confirms what McQuail (2013) identified as a relationship of mutualism between the media and the government.

Possible explanations for this relationship between the news media and the government are as follows. Firstly, the news media favoured the ruling government led by Joko Widodo (Jokowi) who was a 'media darling' when he was running in the presidential election in 2014. Jokowi beat Prabowo Subianto who is the son-in-law of former President Suharto. Jokowi's victory was considered to be symbolic of a glorious win of the ordinary people over an oligarch (Tapsell 2015a). It is believed that the majority of people in the news media carried on supporting Jokowi and avoided news criticising the government because that would mean doing a favour to the opposition. Secondly, the news media built relationships of mutualism with the government to maintain the status quo of both parties. News media staff need government support to retain their positions as mediators of public information. In this way, journalists could invoke regulations to re-build boundaries between them and non-professional journalists. On the other hand, the government needed as much media support as possible in maintaining the status quo during the 2019 presidential election.

It can be concluded that the news media did not produce news during 2017 Indonesian election based on the responsibility of journalism. However, the participants had not lost sight of their responsibility to society, and this encouraged them to react to a recent development in society. The analysis of qualitative data found that the media staff campaigned for peace in Jakarta using

social media as a reaction to the extreme polarisation in society during the 2017 DKI Jakarta election.

News media staff spread the campaign by overtly and covertly utilising its follower and buzzers. One participant said that they were campaigning for peace to tackle the rise in fake news that had been circulating in the community, especially when millions of citizens from all over Indonesia had gathered in Jakarta to protest against the Governor of Jakarta, Ahok, in a defamation case.

"We are anxious about the situation caused by the demonstration, and we thought that ... as a media (press) we have to play our role to keep Jakarta in peace. Well, at least through social media. Then, on Twitter, we spread messages of peace. The day before the big demonstration we shared #jakartadamai (peace Jakarta). We were not only using our official account (Twitter), but we also paid buzzers and famous public figure to tweet the theme." (Interview J15, 2017)

This news media activity in forming public opinion is one expression of the responsibility of journalists at a moment of crisis. With a large number of participants in the demonstrations, the interviewees were worried that the event would become a riot. The campaign for peace was conducted by media staff using social media, encouraged by their sense of social responsibility as journalists. The media staff felt that they are responsible for influencing public opinion to keep the peace because of their positions as mediators to the public. This finding is reflected in Schultz's (2007) description of the journalists' set of beliefs which

enables them to do their job, such as going to the battlefield as a war journalist. However, the analysis of quantitative data was not able to confirm this campaign activity because it was conducted on social media, which was outside the scope of this study. Considering that social media is not a traditional journalistic field, it can be concluded that the journalists' campaign represented an intrusion into social media.

Qualitative findings	Operationalisation	Influence	Quantitative findings	Triangulation
Neglecting local democracy elsewhere	Focus on reporting on the DKI Jakarta election	Low	Focus on reporting on the DKI Jakarta election	Confirmed
Not performing watchdog function	Self-censorship	Low	No adversarial news	Confirmed
Journalists' response to crisis	Self-censorship,	Low	No conflict on stories, only published news with positive tone	Confirmed
Journalists' response to crisis	Campaigning for peace overtly and covertly	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Table 9. 6 Social Responsibility in News Reporting

## **9.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided further analysis of the qualitative and quantitative findings from the mixed-methods research. It triangulates the two types of findings by displaying and comparing them. In this manner, it can be understood how the twelve points of quantitative findings correlate with the six critical qualitative research findings. In most circumstances, the analysis of quantitative data confirmed and corroborated the qualitative findings. However, there are also cases where the quantitative findings contradicted the qualitative findings. Therefore, this chapter demonstrates that the convergent parallel mixed-method is beneficial in analysing the research data. The results of the triangulation of data then can be used to answer the research questions of this study, which are discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 10**

### **Implication of Findings**

#### **10.1 Chapter Overview**

This chapter explains how the present study answers the research questions by utilising a strategy of triangulating the qualitative and quantitative findings, as shown in Chapter nine. It highlights the evidence of the research, whether it meets the research objectives. As mentioned in Chapter one, the research objectives were:

- To explore the factors that influenced CJ in the news production of online news organisations in new democratic country
- To investigate the agenda of online news media in new democratic country and to examine who set the agenda
- To develop conceptual frameworks to understand the current state of new democratic country

By adopting the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (1998, 2005) and the social theory of journalism developed by Dennis McQuail (2013), this study explores the use of CJ in the field of journalism in Indonesian online news media. The two theories are utilised to understand the relationship between professional journalists and non-professional journalists in the construction of news during an election. However, this study also acknowledges that the two theories have limitations in meeting the research objectives. Therefore,

McComb's agenda-setting theory (2014) is also adopted to investigate the media's agenda during the 2017 Indonesian election. This chapter examines the study's findings in light of the research questions to determine the extent to which the study's aims have been fulfilled.

## **10.2 Research Questions and Findings**

As mentioned in Chapter one, the research questions (RQ) in this study are as follows:

RQ1: What are the factors influencing the adoption of CJ in political news production in a new democratic country?

RQ2: To what extent has the adoption of CJ influenced the media agenda of media in a new democratic country?

Chapter 9 highlighted that the triangulation of findings used in this study provides evidence of the benefits of using two types of data in answering the research questions. In this case, the quantitative findings may confirm and corroborate the findings from the qualitative research.

## **10.3 Explanation of Finding 1**

Finding 1 was that economic capital (EC) directly and indirectly influenced news production by the online news media in Indonesia during the 2017 election.

Native advertising directly supported EC, while indirect EC is supported by SEO

practice. This conclusion was based on the analysis of qualitative data, which showed that the direct and indirect effect of EC dominated the journalistic practice and therefore it can be said to have controlled the practice of the online news media. The analysis of EC shows that journalistic practice was strongly determined by audience research due to the utilization of search engine optimisation (SEO). The implementation of SEO increases numbers of pageviews, which in turn generates financial gain. SEO methods were applied by journalists in the online news media in almost all production processes such as the planning of coverage, news writing, and editing. They utilised Google as standard research in applying SEO methods. As do most people, the majority of Internet users in Indonesia use Google as their primary reference search engine.

The consequence of SEO practice meant that the staff in the three online news organisations studied were working according to the same instructions, based on Google analytics. The analysis of quantitative data confirms that the three online news companies exhibited similar patterns in their reporting. For example, all three reported on the 2017 Indonesian election with the main focus on the election in Jakarta and most news coverage of the political candidates in that election. The three online news organisations also covered the gubernatorial candidates in Jakarta in the same manner, in terms of frequency of stories and news tone.

SEO has become a trend in the news production process of the online media in Indonesia, reflecting a bandwagon effect. However, the online news media organisations applied this method differently. Firstly, there was resistance from some journalists who considered SEO methods to interfere with their autonomy.

Secondly, SEO is not cheap because the news media organisations need to hire SEO specialists with relatively higher wages compared to most journalists.

Thirdly, the benefit of SEO is not instant, and therefore the media staff considered that SEO is not related to the development of pageviews. Those media organisations which do not apply SEO so seriously rely on another way of pursuing EC, including the use of native advertising.

Native advertising is a type of advertising where adverts are designed to look like news stories. Some journalists are opposed to the use of native advertising practice because it violates the ethics of journalism by deceiving the audience, but the fact that it brings in revenue faster than any other method means that this strategy has become a common practice among Indonesian news media organisations. However, this study did not find evidence of native advertising in the published content. This obstacle may be due to the nature of native advertising, which is created to disguise itself as ordinary news. Based on the majority of published stories that focused on political candidates, equal coverage is given to them and the positive tone of stories leads to the conclusion that the three online news companies had built relationships of mutualism with the political candidates, which became the basis for the growth of native advertising. Equal numbers of reports on the political candidates and the positive tone represent an act of negotiation between online news media staff and political candidates as their clients. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that such ‘balance’ is in fact false.

The dominance of EC in the journalistic field is in line with the arguments of

Bourdieu (1998), which he defined as the heteronomy. He described the journalistic field as divided into two poles; relation to the economy and culture. A heteronomous state is when economic capital has more power than cultural capital in influencing the journalist's autonomy in the field. According to Bourdieu's concepts in describing the journalistic field, the practices of SEO and native advertising have pulled journalists towards the economic pole. Both strategies aim to gain EC even though they appear to support the norms and tradition of journalism, such as balance and impartiality.

Journalists have the ability to determine newsworthiness based on their background, experience, and instinct in determining which events are to be reported. As with journalists in newspapers or television, online news journalists applied the criteria of newsworthiness to their journalistic practice. A journalist who has more experience is more able to identify newsworthiness. However, with the support of Internet development, the main role in deciding newsworthiness has been taken over by technologies such as Google Analytics. Google Analytics collects information from Internet user preferences in search engine practice. J1 said that this has made their lives easier in deciding what to report. If Google does not identify a story, then it will not be covered. Every online news organisation then adopts Google Analytics, leading them to produce similar output. The news media only produce what the audience searches for most on Google, rather than using other criteria of what audiences need. Therefore, this strategy neglects the majority of Indonesian who lives in outside Jakarta. For example, the news media only reported DKI Jakarta election because more Internet users in Jakarta would

search for such stories using Google.

However, the use of technologies such as Google Analytics could be challenged by other strategies in obtaining EC, such as by using native advertising. The current research has revealed that the practice of native advertising is pulling journalism further away from its original purpose and against cultural capital because advertisers, in this case, DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates, could determine the content of news stories. These practices show that the news media are not engaging in transparency, which could potentially lead to the public distrusting the news media.

The potential to gain EC from SEO and native advertising during the election meant that using CJ and its benefits were neglected. The online news media staff focused on practising SEO and native advertising, and so they did not engage with CJ in the production of news even though they drew on EC of CJ directly and indirectly. The findings concerning the dominance of EC in journalistic practice indicated that their answered RQ 1 and 2.

#### **10.4 Explanation of Finding 2**

Finding 2 states that media staff's PC and their norms and traditions dominated the PC of the online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election. This finding contradicts the qualitative research finding which states that the political capital of the media owner dominated the PC of the media in news construction.

As mentioned in Chapter one, this study aims to investigate the different forms of

capital as factors that affect the adoption of CJ and how those forms of capital interact with each other. The neutral and partisan media were compared in terms of their reportage during the election.

The qualitative data indicate that M1 and M2 are neutral, while M3 is a partisan media company. J32 said that M3's media owner, who was leading a political party, had ordered his staff to back the party in supporting the Jakarta gubernatorial candidates Ahok/Djarot. The media staff at M3 suspended all CJ channels to accommodate the owner's political interests. The quantitative data from published news stories confirmed that CJ did not influence the construction of news. However, it did not indicate that the media agenda of M3 was to show particular support for Ahok/Djarot. As with the two other news media organisations, M3 reported on all the political candidates in the DKI Jakarta election equally. It could then be concluded that the PC of the media owner was challenged by lower-level staff acting according to their norms and traditions in newsmaking. The operationalisation of these norms and traditions meant that all political candidates were treated equally and news about the conflict between the gubernatorial candidates was not reported. Potentially negative content was also avoided by censoring information from CJ and information about pressure groups. These norms and traditions have a strategic function because, in addition to supporting PC, they also support EC in the news media organisation.

As has been mentioned previously, equal treatment in the coverage of political candidates and not reporting on conflict also serves business purposes. In the PC analysis, these norms and traditions serve the news media organisation's political

agenda. The news media conducted self-censorship due to their political interests in supporting the government of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), in accommodating a conducive environment during the election. The practice of self-censorship is in line with Bourdieu's (1998) point that the relationship between journalists and government shapes, in effect, 'invisible censorship'. Their relationship means that journalists deliberately provide access to government representatives to present their views. The relationship also leads journalists to conduct self-censorship in suppressing news that could harm the government.

The support of Jokowi by the news media has existed ever since Jokowi ran for Governor of DKI Jakarta 2012, and he became a candidate in the presidential election two years later. In the 2014 presidential election, Jokowi's rival was Prabowo Subianto, who was the former son-in-law of the President of Indonesia in the New Order era, Suharto. Jokowi was treated as a 'media darling' who gained the support of many Indonesian news media. Jokowi was positioned as a symbol of working people's fight against the oligarch Prabowo (Tapsell 2015).

The relationship between journalists and government is complex and is a relationship of exchange. In 2014 the motivation of journalists to support Jokowi was also because they did not want Prabowo Subianto to take charge. Prabowo was known as the opposite to a 'media darling' but as a critical figure for news media for challenging journalists who wrote negatively about him. Therefore, the support of journalists for Jokowi continued in the 2017 election because they predicted that the 2019 presidential election would be another confrontation between Jokowi and Prabowo.

The operationalisation of journalistic values and traditions such as newsworthiness, the censoring of news conflict, suspending CJ channels and censoring information on pressure groups during the 2017 Indonesian election represented ways to support the government of Jokowi. Therefore, this finding helps in answering RQ2. However, the result is also relevant to RQ1 in providing evidence of the importance of PC in the journalistic field.

### **10.5 Explanation of Finding 3**

Finding 3 was that online news media journalists increased their journalism cultural capital (CC) in terms of professionalism, by certification to differentiate themselves from citizen journalists. The qualitative and quantitative analysis supports the view that the CC of online news media increased during the 2017 Indonesian election. It shows that online news media were carefully balanced in their reporting. The qualitative data shows that professionalism was an important factor in producing balanced online news stories. However, even though the news media treated DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates equally, it is concluded that this type of balance is not genuine because it was designed based on economic and political motives rather than by the responsibilities of journalists. From an economic perspective, the false balance was a strategy in a negotiation between news media staff and their native advertisers. Political candidates as advertisers would demand positive reports about themselves, and the news media were willing to meet that demand in exchange for money. From a political perspective, this balance provides non-adversarial relationships with political actors and the state.

The news media staff increase their CC to help them to build boundaries between journalists and citizen journalists. As mentioned in the previous sections, the online news media staff suppressed CJ during the 2017 Indonesian election, however it indicates that citizen journalists had been putting pressure upon the journalistic field. This research has identified that the relationships between journalists and citizen journalists led to the discovery of the current conditions of the Indonesian online news media, which are in three states. Firstly, they are struggling to find a business model to ensure their survival. Secondly, online news media are struggling to be recognised as providing quality journalism, as are newspapers and television. Thirdly, they are struggling to compete with non-professional journalists in occupying the position of mediator of information for the public. This study shows that CJ has put pressure on the journalistic field, which has contributed to shaping the current Indonesian online news media environment. The activity of citizen journalists has provoked journalists to increase their CC in terms of professionalism and certification. The findings concerning the increase of CC in journalistic practice indicate that RQ1 and RQ2 have been answered.

#### **10.6 Explanation of Finding 4**

Finding 4 states that EC and PC motivate online news media organisations to increase their social capital (SC) in social media. The qualitative and quantitative analysis in this research has confirmed that the news media are active in expanding their networks on Facebook and Twitter. The qualitative data reveal that online news media staff recognised the importance of the development of

social media such as Facebook and Twitter in Indonesia. The media staff saw opportunities in social media that could be used as a way to improve their organisation's SC. To support this, each online news media organisation had a special social media department. These differed in size, depending on the strategy and ability of each organisation. However, the online media staff did not see this SC as a way to accommodate the users' voices in carrying out news media function of being a mediator of the public voice. SC was used more as a resource for journalists to influence public opinion outside the journalistic field; for example, the activity of news media staff in campaigning for peace both overtly and covertly during the demonstrations in Jakarta protesting about the incumbent DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidate, Ahok. The online news media staff used media organisations' social media accounts and followers to spread the theme #Jakartadamai (peaceJakarta) during the campaign. They also utilised paid buzzers who had wider networks and considerable influence. The use of social media in influencing public opinion means that this SC can be recognised as an alternative form of symbolic capital alongside numbers of pageviews. As symbolic capital, SC could be 'sold' to advertisers to earn money (EC).

The quantitative analysis data confirms that the three online news media organisations were actively extending their social media networks. The media activity in social media ensured that M2's Twitter account reached the biggest network of followers at a national level. However, this research could not identify the activities of online news media organisations on social media because, again, this study focused only on journalistic practice in the field of journalism. Social

media has become a channel for online news media staff to gather information from the public, but journalists were reluctant to trust information that comes from this channel during the election because, according to them, people and groups of people who have personal and political interests have dominated the channel. According to the news media staff, such untrustworthy information could harm not only people in the online community but the wider offline society. During the election, the news media were very aware of buzzers in supporting the political candidates. J27 said that every DKI gubernatorial candidate had a cyber-army to operate in the online world, especially in social media, to support the candidate in the campaign.

Based on the above explanations, it can be summarized that SC was used as a symbolic form of capital to increase EC. Over time, this SC could be used as a resource to influence public opinion both overtly and covertly. The SC was also used to gain alternative sources of information, but during election time, the online news media staff were reluctant to use information from the public. This analysis of SC helps in answering RQ1.

### **10.7 Explanation of Finding 5**

Finding 5 was that the *habitus* of journalists hindered the access of citizens to influence journalists in constructing the news during the 2017 Indonesian election. The qualitative and quantitative analysis shows that journalists had the perception of citizen journalists as "they". Although the role of citizen journalists is

increasingly accepted and necessary in the construction of news, the journalists maintained their traditional position and definition. The increasing role of the citizen in producing information that is similar to the news has blurred the boundaries between traditional and citizen journalists. This research found that journalists were actively maintaining their position by building boundaries between themselves and citizen journalists. This study investigated the journalists' *habitus* to analyse how the perceptions, appreciation, and actions of journalists affected the adoption of citizen journalism.

Based on their background, the individual online journalist is part of an elite group of people in Indonesian society who have university degrees, and most have more than ten years of experience as journalists. Journalists with more than ten years of experience usually occupy higher positions in online news media organisations. These types of journalists celebrate the freedom of press when they managed to escape the shackles of the New Order government in 1998. Since that Reform era, journalists have had the opportunity to determine their mission and vision. The importance of the journalist's position in Indonesian society was legally recognised by the Press Law Number 40/99, which protects journalists and threatens with fines and imprisonment anyone who hinders them from carrying out their work. Therefore, journalists have monopolised resources in the dissemination of public information. Data on the backgrounds of journalists was used as part of the analysis of how Indonesian journalists thought about and acted towards citizen journalists. As explained earlier, all of the journalists interviewed

in this study said that citizen journalists were not part of the journalist corps even though both parties work together in citizen journalism.

This research cannot support the optimistic thinking that CJ is a channel which makes the news media more democratic. The involvement of public in news production is needed in the journalism environment where media companies controlled by several people who have huge capital, referred to by Armando (2010) as 'Greedy Giants'.

Armando (2010) said that the concentration of media ownership then led to limited media coverage based on the proprietor's interests. There has been optimism that CJ could overcome this limitation in media content to make it more diverse to meet wider public needs in Indonesia. However, this study has revealed the findings that CJ is motivated by the EC and PC of journalists. Therefore, journalists will abandon CJ when it is hard to handle, such as at election time. The interviewees said that it is hard to collaborate because journalists and citizen journalists have different viewpoints and ways of acting (*habitus*) in constructing the news. There is a critical difference in *habitus* between them, such as concerning verification, continuity, and ethics.

The journalist's qualifications, which are of primary concern, include the ability to verify information in the newsmaking process. The interviewees said that citizen journalists could play a role in the dissemination of information in society with the support of the Internet and social media. However, they argued the activity of citizen journalists might harm the wider society if, for example, they disseminated unverified information that could provoke mass violence. The interviewees gave

an example of when the people of Medan, North Sumatra, burned down a Confucian Temple, an action provoked by fake news. Ordinary citizens do not possess the verification skills as *habitus* because they do not have access to authorities such as the police or security forces to verify any information they have.

Journalists utilised their access to political actors as their primary sources in the production of political news during the 2017 Indonesian election. The quantitative data show that the online news media published a large number of news stories during the election. This finding demonstrated the journalist's consistency and distinguishes them from citizen journalists. The three online news organisations produced, on average, 32 news items per day. The journalists could perform such a high production rate because of the characteristic of online news reports when producing orthodox news stories. Journalists relied on first-hand news sources without adding their analysis and context. By publishing this type of information, a journalist could avoid the time-consuming in-depth verification process. The practice of producing news using first-hand sources also avoided the occurrence of disputes in news stories as well as illegal content such as racism, pornography, and ranting. This practice of a single first-hand source does not correspond to the ethics of journalism that should guide the journalist's practice. However, the online news media are developing their traditions which have modified the profession's traditional ethics, such as the responsibility to cover both sides in a news story. Online news journalists argue that the coverage of both parties is not necessarily conducted in one story but could be fulfilled in different news stories.

The analysis of *habitus* contributed to answering the two research questions of this study. Firstly, this study demonstrates that *habitus* attributes, such as background and journalists' attitude towards citizen journalists, influence how journalism is practiced. Their views and actions are part of the journalism norms and traditions and support the answer to RQ1. Secondly, the analysis of *habitus* shows the history underlying the views of journalists in their treatment of citizens in political communication. By applying the norms and traditions that have been formed since the post-authoritarian era, journalists actively maintain their position in the status quo to limit or even censor citizens in contributing to the media agenda. In this way, these norms and traditions support the autonomy of journalists in determining the media agenda, which helps to answer RQ2.

### **10.8 Explanation of Finding 6**

Finding 6 was that journalists were negotiating their social responsibility to EC and PC in news production during the 2017 Indonesian election. It was concluded based on qualitative evidence that the adoption of CJ was not motivated by journalists' social responsibility to society. The quantitative analysis confirmed this by showing that the adoption of CJ was absent during the election.

The social theory of journalism is utilised in this study to complement field theory and agenda-setting theory. The social theory of journalism recognises that the expectation of society drives journalistic practice. This thesis aims to understand news media organisations as a form of social institution whose practices are influenced by society and society's expectations. However, the qualitative findings

indicated that the journalistic practices of online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election were not based on attempting to meet their social responsibilities. This conclusion is based on the evidence concerning geographical coverage and the absence of the media fulfilling their function as a watchdog over the government.

The qualitative data analysis revealed that the focus of online news media in reporting on the DKI Jakarta election during 2017 Indonesia election ignored local democracy elsewhere. This finding is confirmed by the quantitative data that shows 88.1% of news stories were about the DKI Jakarta election. The fact that Jakarta is considered the most important election compared to other elections meant that journalists are more interested in unimportant stories in Jakarta compared to important stories elsewhere. For instance, news about the hobbies of the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates was deemed more important to cover compared to the conflict in rural areas such as in Papua Province.

Online news media organisations decided that the news to be published would include 'positive and balanced' news only, which has economic and political advantages. Economically, good news with a positive tone has a better chance of attracting the audience. J1 said that the era of 'bad news is good news' is over. He said that they could not sell bad news anymore because audiences nowadays want to consume news with a positive tone. The attention of the audience will increase pageviews for online news, therefore attracting advertisers. The high numbers of pageviews will also attract gubernatorial candidates as native advertisers. Politically, the online news media intend to maintain their relationship

with the government by reporting only positive news about the government. However, this mutual relationship means that journalism's responsibility as watchdog is not fulfilled. News media censor possible negative news such as information from citizens and pressure groups opposing the government. This censorship is motivated by the economic and political interests of the media and causing public receiving incomplete information consistently.

On the other hand, this censorship prevents possible chaos in society which, according to J15, is in crisis. She said that some groups of people are putting pressure on the government, which could endanger the public order and security that has been preserved since the Reform era. J15 said that this pressure had been identified in demonstrations against the incumbent DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidate, Ahok over a defamation case. This is considered as potentially damaging democracy, and it may become a way to cause chaos and subvert the government. The public knows that Ahok is a figure close to President Jokowi because they were partners in governing the province of DKI Jakarta in 2012. The qualitative analysis found that the online news media conducted a campaign for peace on social media as a reaction to the extreme polarisation in society during the 2017 Jakarta election. News media organisations spread the theme #peaceJakarta overtly and covertly, utilising its follower and buzzers on Twitter. One participant said that they were conducting the campaign for peace to tackle the fake news that has been circulating in the community, especially while millions of people from all over Indonesia were gathered in Jakarta to protest about Ahok and the defamation case. However, the quantitative analysis was not

able to confirm the qualitative finding since #peaceJakarta spread in the world of Twitter and its origin could not be confirmed because the news media staff were also spreading the message covertly. It is recognized that news media effort in campaigning for peace in Jakarta was driven by a sense of their social responsibility even though a part of the campaign was conducted covertly utilising buzzers, and this conflicts with journalistic ethics.

This study has observed that the journalistic practices of online news media have led to narrow geographical coverage and a failure to fulfil the watchdog function in supervising the government. This is evidence that the journalists did not meet society's expectations. However, those expectations were met to some extent outside the field of journalism on social media. This empirical evidence helps to answer RQ1 and RQ2.

### **10.9 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the findings of the study in the light of the research questions to determine if they have been answered. It gives explanations by connecting the results of the mixed-method design to research questions of the study. It is found that the findings corresponded to the research questions. It is considered necessary to compare the findings of the study with those of previous research to confirm its originality and to explore the opportunity to fill the gap in knowledge in journalism research in global and national contexts and to recommend further research based on the results of this study. These matters are discussed in chapter eleven.

## Chapter 11

### Conclusion

#### 11.1 Summary of Research

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the current development of online news media in connection with the phenomenon of non-professional journalists in Indonesia. This study has specifically investigated the relationship between the two in the context of political communication during the 2017 Indonesian election. By utilizing a mixed-methods design, this research utilises qualitative and quantitative data which were collected following a parallel mixed-methods strategy. Data were collected to answer the two research questions:

- What are the factors influencing the adoption of CJ in political news production in a new democratic country?
- To what extent has the adoption of CJ influenced the media agenda of media in a new democratic country?

The research questions guided the development of a theoretical framework which includes three theories: the field theory of Bourdieu (1998, 2005), the social theory of journalism of McQuail (2013) and McCombs' (2014) agenda-setting theory. This theoretical framework provides an in-depth understanding of factors affecting the journalistic field and their interaction in influencing the news production of online news media during the 2017 Indonesian election. An understanding of the processes involved is obtained by utilizing two sets of

qualitative and quantitative data and applying the strategy of convergent parallel mixed-methods. The methodology is based on a pragmatic worldview, which understands research methods as part of a strategy which is not committed to one system of philosophy and reality so that it can provide the opportunity to use the collection of different types of data and analytic methods in answering research questions (Creswell 2014).

With this strategy, this study confirms that the use of two sets of data has been beneficial in gaining a comprehensive understanding of the study object. This study shows that the data sets complement each other. The research has produced six key findings which were discussed in chapters nine and ten.

## **11.2 Comparison to Previous Research**

Researchers have devoted attention to the development of journalism and online news media in Indonesia to contribute to Indonesian journalism literature.

Extensive research conducted by Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012) in describing Indonesian journalists since the Reform era has contributed significantly to the background of this study. They said that the professionalism of Indonesia journalism has developed since the reform era di 1998. Other important contributions to the field have been made by Jeffrey A. Winters, Ross Tapsell, Krishna Sen and David T. Hill who have provided the Western perspectives in considering Indonesian journalism. The long-term research by Merlyna Lim (2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004, 2012, 2013, 2017) has provided a basis for understanding the development of news media, and particularly the growth of online news media and political communication. However, the

aforementioned research lacks an in-depth understanding of Indonesian journalistic practice, especially in the context of contemporary online news media. Most previous studies were conducted taking a 'bird's eye' view and therefore could only observe the surface appearance of Indonesian journalism. This thesis contributes to filling gaps in the existing literature on Indonesian journalism by collecting first-hand data through ethnography in the newsroom to understand the dynamic development of contemporary Indonesian journalism.

Ethnographic research in newsrooms, however, is not a new strategy in seeking to understand the practice of journalism. It has evolved since first being introduced by Walter Lipmann (1922) and has contributed importantly to the study of journalism. Researchers such as Boczkowski (2004), Paulussen and Ugille (2008) and Jordaan (2013) have recognized the importance of newsroom ethnography to observe developments in the new media in the digital era. Boczkowski (2004) concluded three in-depth ethnographical studies aiming to understand news practice in the early convergence culture. He concluded that critical factors that influence online innovations related to ethical, material, and organisational issues. Meanwhile, Paulussen and Ugille (2008) conducted ethnographic studies in four Belgian online news organisations to investigate their strategies concerning citizen journalism. They concluded that the contributions of non-professional journalists adopted in CJ depend on newsroom structures, work routines, and the professional beliefs of journalists.

Jordaan (2013) applied newsroom ethnography to observe the penetration of social media in newsroom practice. She concluded that journalist practice had

been affected by citizen content through Facebook and Twitter. However, her conclusions were somewhat hasty because they were only based on an analysis of *habitus*. This thesis complements Jordaan's (2013) work through an in-depth understanding of journalistic practices in the newsroom through the analysis of forms of capitals, *habitus*, and a consideration of the social responsibility of journalists. This thesis also provides evidence of the importance of content analysis to complement the analysis of the ethnographical study.

The past thirty years have seen increasingly rapid advances in the Internet and that affects the journalism field. An important factor that affects the development of contemporary journalism is the role of citizen journalism in the production of information that spreads in the community, thereby influencing public opinion. There is a growing body of literature that recognizes the importance of citizen journalism in political communication and how professional journalists react to the existence of citizen journalism.

Citizen journalism gives hope to the development of democracy in a new democratic country. Indonesia represents a new democracy with the largest population in the world after China, India, and the US. Researchers are optimistic that the development of the Internet could support the democratization of journalism in Indonesia because the Internet supports the increasing activity of citizens in contributing to political communication and influencing public opinion. However, the activity of citizen journalists also caught on in mainstream media and was adopted by television, radio and online news media. This research focuses on citizen journalism in online news media because online media is most

adaptable to change, including in adopting citizen journalism. However, this research found that citizen journalism in Indonesian online news media is an innovation with old motivation. Citizen journalism is a new product in journalism with economic and political motives. Citizen journalism was formed to maintain a professional journalist social position in dominating and influencing public opinion in political communication. Professional journalists set citizen journalists as subordinates in the structure of citizen journalism so that professional journalists can keep their autonomy in news production and determining the agenda-setting. The construction of citizen journalism is not based on the motivation to fulfil journalism which is responsible to society.

Despite the dominant role of the professional journalist in the structure of citizen journalism, the development of citizen journalism has put pressure on the journalistic field. The professional journalists then made further efforts to maintain their status quo. Professional journalists are developing their journalism norms and traditions in order to defend their position in dominating political communication and influencing public opinion.

Journalists make several efforts to build boundaries between them and citizen journalists; firstly, professional journalists improve their skills in news production. They focus on maintaining old ways of news production, such as balance and verification. Professional journalists are also developing new ways to improve their skills by using search engine optimization. Secondly, professional journalists actively institutionalize their profession and their press institutions.

This study is distinctive compared to other research because it not only investigates the practice of journalism but also interrogates how Indonesian journalists defend and develop their status in the field. This study shows how forms of capital interact with each other (Bourdieu 2005) and with the social responsibilities of journalism (McQuail 2013) in affecting news production and the media agenda (McComb 2014) during the 2017 Indonesian election. This thesis contributes substantially to an understanding of contemporary Indonesian journalism as summarized in the "three states of struggle".

### **11.3 Description of Indonesian Online News Media States of Struggle**

The investigation of the relationships between journalists and citizen journalists in the journalistic field has led to the discovery of the current conditions in Indonesian online news media, which can be described in terms of three states: Firstly, the online news outlets are in a state of struggle, attempting to find a business model to survive in the midst of competition with other online news organisations. Despite similarities in applying SEO methods and native advertising, online news media companies have different ways of implementing such methods. The harsh competition between online news organisations has forced many of them to close down. This situation could recur in the future if online news media organisations cannot find an appropriate business model. Online news journalists utilise the SEO strategy, which relies on search engine analytics to understand the market. This kind of market strategy is not a new

practice in journalism and is applied by other media such as newspapers and television. In the television industry, journalists have referred to audience ratings which describe audience behaviour. The difference between search engine analytics and audience ratings, or newspaper circulation statistics, is that search engine analytics methods are more technologically advanced. They provide more complete data about the news content most consumed by audiences. SEO is a strategy to determine how to insert keywords into news stories so that the search engines recognise the stories to increase numbers of pageviews.

Thus, the competition between online news media is partly about the strategy implemented to earn pageviews. However, because all online news organisations apply the same strategy, the application of SEO leads to news becoming homogenous. The quantitative data in this study provide evidence that all online news media produce news with a typical pattern. During the 2017 Indonesian election, the online news media focused on covering DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates with similar percentages of stories and the same news tones.

One of the news media organisations studied did not implement SEO extensively due to limited resources. However, this organisation followed its competitor's strategy in determining the news value. Vujnovic et al. (2010) explained that news organisations could follow the strategies of others rather than applying their own strategy, which she called the 'bandwagon' effect. This concept illustrates that a news organisation follows trends, and Bourdieu (1998) said that every journalist spies on their competitors.

The SEO strategy will make news become uniform and limit the information given to the audience. Meanwhile, the practice of native advertising has a more significant impact on jeopardising journalism because it combines advertising content with news content, thus blurring the boundary between news and sponsored content. This practice is contrary to the Cyber News Writing Guidelines, which mentions that any cyber media is obliged to distinguish between advertising products and news products. The guidelines emphasise that news media must include either references to ‘advertorial’, ‘advertising’, ‘ads’ or ‘sponsored’ to distinguish the news and advertorial item. Even so, the content analysis in this study did not find any such information. Also, though the interviewees said that they applied the native advertising strategy in covering the 2017 Indonesian election, J4 said that they only received native advertising from the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates in equal amounts. However, in reality, not all candidates were interested in spending money on native advertising. J4 said that one pair of DKI Jakarta candidates became their client, while two other pairs of candidates did not want to advertise this way.

Secondly, Indonesian online news media are struggling to be recognised as providing quality journalism. The online news media have long been thought to not be credible news sources compared to newspapers and television news. The qualitative data suggest that the online news media staff were keen to develop quality journalism, which they called ‘contextual journalism’. However, the quantitative data did not reflect any such eagerness. The lack of quality journalism may be due to the online news media not being able to get away from the tradition

of prioritising speed in news production. The journalists can only produce orthodox news with a maximum of 500 words of content per news story.

This thesis observes that the online news journalists were developing their new norms and traditions of journalism based on their practice; for example, in the practice of native advertising, the utilization of social media, and orthodox news styles. They wanted to accommodate the short, orthodox news stories that have become characteristic of online news to fit the traditions of journalism norms and traditions. Therefore, there is struggle between the preservation of traditional norms and traditions and developing them.

The demographic data showed that 57% of interviewees had less than ten years of experience as journalists and often no experience at all as online news journalists. This type of media staff was more open to practical strategies to develop journalism's traditional norms and traditions; for example, in the practice of covering both sides of a story. They argued that the strategy of covering both sides would likely not fit in a single news story. Therefore, they suggest a strategy of covering both sides in two different news stories.

There are, however, news media staff who had experienced more than ten years as journalists. They came from other media platforms such as television news and newspapers. This type of journalist tended to maintain their traditional norms and traditions. They were usually positioned at the middle and upper levels of media staff so that their opinions are important in influencing newsroom practice. As senior journalists, they understood that only the quality of journalism could

maintain their position in the status quo, and so they focused on traditional practices such as the double verification of information, censoring harmful content, balance, and impartiality. Experienced journalists were eager to emulate the quality journalism of newspapers in an online news format. They realised that they could not display news in incomplete fragments which would leave the audience in confusion. According to them, journalists must include the background of a story to provide context to the news and offer an analysis of the events reported. However, their eagerness to implement contextual journalism is trapped in the online news practices that they have built. The quantitative analysis confirmed that there was no contextual journalism in evidence in the news published during the 2017 Indonesian election. The competition to be the fastest and most exclusive in news production leads journalistic practice away from its ideals. These findings support evidence from previous research (Bourdieu 1998, Schultz 2007, Gans 2011, Phillips 2015). Journalists are competing with each other for the newest news, and depending on technology, to win the competition. Bourdieu (1998) called this competition to search for ‘scoops’ that determine the whole series of choices in terms of their absence and presence. According to Bourdieu (1998), competition for scoops encourages journalists to spy on each other and copy each other’s strategies rather than generating their own. In other words, the competition favours uniformity so that the quality of journalism deteriorates.

Thirdly, online news media are struggling in competing with non-professional journalists who produce information similar to the news. The qualitative and

quantitative data show that online news media journalists were actively establishing boundaries between themselves and non-professional journalists. It is concluded that Indonesian online news journalists distinguish themselves from citizen journalists in two ways; namely their professionalism and certification. As previously stated, experienced journalists wanted to maintain the traditional norms and traditions of journalism, such as balance and impartiality. This is supported by the quantitative data, which shows that the online news media published a similar percentage of news stories for each of the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidates. The journalists believed that their professionalism, such as in skills in verification and accuracy, will increase the credibility of online news media. Meanwhile, to maintain their autonomy, the online news journalists legalised their practice by invoking the law, such as in developing the Cyber News Writing Guidelines as an asset of new norms and traditions.

#### **11.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

The three contributions to the knowledge of this study are as follows:

1. A new empirical study of journalism related to citizen journalism in a new democratic country
2. An exploration of the position of the online news media in a new democratic country
3. An investigation of the online news media agenda-setting during the 2017 Indonesian election

This research has investigated the current state of online news media related to the phenomenon of CJ during the 2017 Indonesian election. By utilising Bourdieu's field theory (1998, 2005) and the social theory of journalism postulated by McQuail (2013), this study has discussed the relationships between journalists and non-professional journalists. The use of the agenda-setting theory of McComb (2014) complements the two theories mentioned above in the interrogation of the media agenda.

The study of journalistic practice and the media agenda has illuminated the contemporary development of Indonesian online news media. The online news media engaged in three types of struggle; to find a business model, to be recognized as providing quality journalism, and to compete with non-professional journalists.

The results of this research are generally in line with Bourdieu's (1998, 2005) understanding of the field, which is a site of struggle between agents. The three types of struggle mentioned above help to explain the relationship between journalists and other parties in the journalistic field, such as the relationships with other journalists, the state, and non-professional journalists.

This study finds that the relationships between media staff in the journalistic field are hierarchical and strongly influence the practice of journalism in news media organisations. These relationships are guided by the traditional norms and traditions of journalism. This study shows that in the 2017 Indonesian election, the media owner's political views were served by lower-level media staff by

disallowing any possible contribution of CJ. The competition was also found between media staff at the middle and lower micro levels in applying new technological skills in journalistic practice such as SEO and the utilisation of social media. A similar competition also occurs between journalists in different news media organisations. Some journalists now occupy new professions such as SEO specialists and social media managers.

Meanwhile, the relationships between news media organisations and the state have become more open with the emergence of partisan media revealing their relationships with government or particular political parties. However, this study found that there was no apparent difference in journalistic contents between partisan and neutral media during the 2017 Indonesian election. Both show adherence to regular journalism practice in maintaining balance in covering political candidates, even though it was learned later that this was a false balance. The media are censoring the negative news tone about the government and neglecting their watchdog function. The agenda-setting analysis concluded that online news media agenda during the 2017 Indonesian election was to support Jokowi's government to maintain order and security. This agenda was strongly supported by the new norms and traditions of online news journalists.

The analysis of qualitative data showed that online news media are aware of the development of CJ in Indonesia. News media organisations use CJ in the construction of news mainly as an alternative way of increasing direct and indirect EC. However, in the 2017 Indonesian election, the online news media limited and suspended CJ channels. As mentioned in Chapter 9, the media did not want to risk

their agenda being disrupted by the contributions of non-professional journalists who, according to them, had been infiltrated by buzzers. Therefore, the news media staff actively built boundaries between them, and non-professional journalists based on professionalism and certification.

### **11.5 Limitations of the Research**

It is accepted that this research has some limitations. As well as with any research that uses ethnographic methods, this study has other limitations in several respects. Firstly, the study investigated a sample of three newsrooms, and so the results of this small-scale research could not be generalised to a global context. Secondly, this study utilised short-term ethnography rather than the traditional long-term approach by allocating a maximum of four weeks of observation in each online news media newsroom. Therefore, it is understood that, within this relatively short time, the researcher has less opportunity to be fully embedded in the newsroom to gather natural first-hand data. In short-term ethnography, there is a risk that the participants act unnaturally because they are aware of the existence of stranger amongst them who is watching their movements. Thirdly, ethnographic research relies on the objectivity of researchers, and researchers may show bias, and incomplete data may be collected. As Berkowitz (1989, cited in Jordaan 2013) said, the researcher might doubt whether he had seen and heard everything needed, or everything observed understood correctly.

The mixed-methods strategy was applied to overcome the second and third limitations. This study used quantitative demographic data and content analysis to complement the primary qualitative data obtained from interviews. It has been demonstrated that the analysis of quantitative data has complemented the qualitative research in agenda-setting research. The use of mixed-methods research is beneficial in minimising the bias, which may be generated, leading to more confidence in the reliability of the findings.

Meanwhile, the first limitation is, to some extent, unavoidable. By using a sample of three study subjects, this research did not aim to generalise its findings, and it is not claimed that the results could be applied globally. However, this research has offered a comprehensive description of the practice of journalism in online news media in the context of political news production in post-authoritarian Indonesia.

### **11.6 Direction for Future Research**

This thesis aimed to investigate the current state of online news media in Indonesia in connection with the development of citizen journalism (CJ). By seeking to answer two research questions, this study has identified that citizen journalists have put pressure on the journalistic field in online news media. The relationships between journalists and citizen journalists was used as the groundwork in describing the current state of online news media in Indonesia.

This thesis contributes to the body of knowledge concerning and understanding the development of online news media and Indonesian journalism. It has identified that journalism in Indonesia is in a dynamic state due to changes in society. Indonesian journalists are developing new practices to accommodate their economic and political interests and to maintain their position in society. These new practices also put pressure on the traditional norms and traditions of journalism, leading to the development of new norms and traditions. Therefore, further research is needed to monitor these developments, such as concerning business practices, the quality of journalism, and the relationships between journalists and citizen journalists. More empirical studies of this relationship may potentially enrich research knowledge of citizen journalism.

This study provides evidence that journalists played a role as political actors on social media to support the government in maintaining social order during the 2017 Indonesian election. Therefore, journalists are not only defending their position in the journalistic field but also expanding their influence to construct public opinion in social media. This thesis, therefore, calls for further research into the activities of journalists in social media and to investigate the practices of journalists in influencing public opinion through social media.

### **11.7 Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendation is suggested:

The online news media should revise their norms and traditions regarding journalistic practices such as transparency in terms of economic and political motivations and purposes. News media organisations should develop business models that do not depend on practices which could potentially destroy trust in journalism, such as false balance in the news and native advertising. Both practices potentially decrease the credibility of the media and risk losing the audience's trust. On the other hand, online news media organisations should apply quality journalism in the production of news to provide more comprehensive information to the public. This effort is needed to earn the public's trust in the online news media as equal to other media such as newspapers and television news in offering quality journalism.

News media stakeholders should understand that CJ is a tool for journalists to fulfil their function as mediators of information to the public in two directions. The Press Council and professional journalism organisations should encourage news organisations, and especially online news organisations, to be open to the contributions of citizens to build a more democratic journalism environment.

The public should be more aware and wiser in consuming news, especially political news, because news media organisations potentially do not provide complete information due to them pursuing their economic, political, and cultural interests.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 Northumbria University Ethics Approval

## Indra Prawira - Ethics Approval - News Construction in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia; Citizen Journalism Influence in News Media.

Dear Indra,

**Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences**

**Title: News Construction in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia; Citizen Journalism Influence in News Media.**

I am pleased to confirm that following review of the above proposal, ethical approval has been granted on the basis of this proposal and subject to compliance with the University policies on ethics and consent and any other policies applicable to your individual research.

All researchers must also notify this office of the following:

- Any significant changes to the study design;
- Any incidents which have an adverse effect on participants, researchers or study outcomes;
- Any suspension or abandonment of the study;

We wish you well in your research endeavours.

Best wishes,

Frances Leach | Research Administrator (Ethics) | Research and Business Services

T: +44 (0)191 227 3656

E: frances2.leach@northumbria.ac.uk

W: [www.northumbria.ac.uk/research](http://www.northumbria.ac.uk/research)

Follow Northumbria University's Research Support Blog

Northumbria University, Ellison Building, B Block, Room 106, Newcastle upon Tyne  
NE1 8ST

Appendix 2 Research Permit  
Research Permit 1



Jakarta, February 15, 2017

[www.detik.com](http://www.detik.com)  
Aldevco Octagon Building 2<sup>nd</sup> floor  
Jl. Warung Jati Barat Raya No. 75  
Jakarta 12740

Dear Members of the Ethics Committee of Northumbria University,

On behalf of [www.detik.com](http://www.detik.com), I am writing to formally indicate our awareness of the research proposed by Indra Prawira, a PhD Student at Departement of Media and Communication Design. We are aware that Indra intends to conduct his research by conducting interviews and observation.

As Editor in Chief of [www.detik.com](http://www.detik.com), I grant Indra permission to conduct his research at our organization.

If you have any question or concerns, please feel free to contact at +6287877055916.

Sincerely,

**Iin Yumiyanti**  
Editor in Chief

Research Permit 2



Jakarta, 24 Oktober 2016

Liputan6.com  
SCTV Tower  
Senayan City Jl. Asia Afrika Lot 19  
Jakarta 10270

Dear Members of the Ethics Committee of Northumbria University:

On behalf of liputan6.com, I am writing to formally indicate our awareness of the research proposed by Indra Prawira, a PhD Student at Department of Media and Communication Design. We are aware that Indra intends to conduct his research by conducting interviews and observation.

As Editor in Chief of liputan6.com, I grant Indra permission to conduct his/her research at our organization.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact at +628176519106.

Sincerely,  
  
**KMK ONLINE**  
PT KREATIF MEDIA KARYA  
**Mohammad Teguh**  
Editor in Chief

PT Kreatif Media Karya  
SCTV Tower - Senayan City 14th Fl. | Jl. Asia Afrika Lot 19  
Jakarta 10270, Indonesia  
Phone : +62-21 722 9690 | Fax : +62-21 722 9695

[www.kmkonline.co.id](http://www.kmkonline.co.id)

## Research Permit 3



Jakarta, 24 Februari 2017

**Metrotvnews.com**  
Jalan Pilar Mas Raya Kav. A-D  
Kedoya Jakarta Barat  
11520

NO : 020/Metrotvnews.com/Ext/02/17  
RE : Recommendation letter

Dear Member of Ethics Committee of Northumbria University,

On behalf of Metrotvnews.com, I am writing to formally our awareness of the research proposed by Indra Prawira, a PhD Student at Department of Media and Communication Design. We are aware that Indra intends to conduct his research by conducting interviews and observation.

As Vice Editor in Chief of Metrotvnews.com, I grant Indra permission to conduct his research at our organization.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact at +6281380464745.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Nurfaizri Budi Nugroho'.

**Nurfaizri Budi Nugroho**  
Vice Editor in Chief

### Appendix 3 Operationalisation of Research Questions

Research questions	Core area covered	Example of questions
<p>What are the factors that influence the adoption of CJ?</p>	<p>Political factors of adopting CJ in news production</p>	<p>What is the policy in reporting election in 2017?</p> <p>What is political view of the company?</p> <p>What is your view about election in 2017?</p> <p>Is there any political party affiliated to the organisation?</p> <p>What are the different between today's journalism practices and in the New Order?</p> <p>What are the obstacles of today's journalism</p> <p>How does government interfere in the news?</p> <p>What do you think the current regulations in relation to journalism?</p> <p>What do you think about partisan media?</p> <p>How political party / politician influence news production?</p>
	<p>Economic factors of adopting CJ in news production</p>	<p>What is the motivation in adopting CJ?</p> <p>What are the company's economic goals?</p> <p>What is the performance of citizen journalism channel?</p> <p>How to "sell" citizen journalism channel?</p> <p>What is the quality of CJ so far, is modification needed?</p> <p>How to improve page views of CJ adoption in news?</p>

		<p>How to encourage the audience to participate in CJ?          What is the reward for the contribution of the audience?</p>
	<p>Cultural production factors in adopting CJ in news production</p>	<p>Who is the citizen journalist?          What is the difference between the citizen journalist and professional journalist?          What are the criteria of citizen journalist?          What do you think about CJ phenomenon?          What do you think of citizen journalist's motivation?          What are the obstacles to adopting CJ in news production?          What is the process of gatekeeping in CJ?          Is there any particular department which in-charge in CJ channel?          What is the structure of that department?          What are the staff qualifications in CJ channel?          Should citizen journalist become a member of CJ channel? How to verify member?          What is the process of moderation?          How to select CJ stories?          How to adopt CJ in the election?</p>

	<p>Social responsibility of journalism factors in adopting CJ in news production</p>	<p>What is the focus of news coverage in February 2017 election?</p> <p>How to use CJ in February 2017 election news coverage?</p> <p>How the use of CJ in time of crisis?</p> <p>What is the use of CJ in conducting Press role as “watchdog”?</p>
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## Appendix 4: Code Book

Unit of Analysis: The unit analysis is generated from published political news in three Indonesia online news media.

Please read the entire article before code the news item. Use the printed coding sheet.

Item ID Number (1.00): write in the name of the file (Ex: 0129- Anies Baswedan Ingin Subsidy Semua Angkot di Jakarta).

Coder (1.00): select your name to indicate that you are the one coding the item.

Date (1.00): Indicate the date that the story was printed. Use a four-digit code: January 29 is 0129.

Source of news.

Identify the news sources by investigating these variables in news stories. Story on candidates' activities, stories on political parties, government, media and citizens

1 = Political candidate. Choose this variable for stories about political candidates, or the campaign team of each political candidates.

2 = Political party. Choose this variable for news about politicians who are not political candidates whether they are presenting their party or not

3 = Government. Choose this variable for news about government such as governors, police officer, and election commission. Example for news about government is; government activities, talking head of government representatives such as ministers, KPU, president, government press releases.

4 = Media. Choose this variable if the news is based on news media reportage, editorial, commentary and analysis.

5 = Citizen. Choose this variable for news story based on polls, letters, blogs, CJ, citizen social media such as from Twitter and Facebook.

### Candidate

Please examine whether the news stories were informing about election political candidates, which could be identified by searching the person/s interviewed in the news story or which gubernatorial candidate that the news is informing about.

1 = Agus (AHY) / Sylvi

2 = Ahok/Djarot

3 = Anies/Sandi

4 = Others. If more than one candidate is reported or news is not informing about political candidates

### Length of Story

The length of the news is calculated using word count. You do this by copy-pasting the news in Microsoft word. The division of this category is quite large so that over time the coder can see a choice of categories without copy-paste

1 = less than 100 words

2 = between 100 and 500 words

3 = more than 500 words

### The Tone of News Story

This category is very subjective compared to other categories. The Coder is expected to be able to identify the news tones of the published news.

1 = Positive. Choose this category if the subject of news is exposed positively.

The positive news could range from informing about the achievements of a news subject to inform news subject's daily activity.

2 = Negative. Choose this category for news stories that are informing about the negative side of the subject of news.

9 = Neutral. Choose this category if you cannot identify the news has a positive or negative tone.

### Responsibility

One of the responsibilities of the press is to be a watchdog for the government.

The function of press watchdogs often creates (adversarial) conflict between the press and the government. Choose adversarial for news that criticises the government, while choosing support for news that supports the government.

1 = Adversarial. Criticise the government

2 = Support government. Support the government.

3 = Neutral

### Geographical Coverage

The 2017 Indonesian election conducted in 101 areas in Indonesia simultaneously.

Please identify which area is the news stories covered.

1 = DKI Jakarta election

2 = Other areas of coverage