From Instability to Initiative: Navigating Editorial Challenges in the Formation of Independent News Portals in Indonesia

Rr. Pramesthi Ratnaningtyas [a,1,*], Wiwid Adiyanto [b,2]

[a,b] Universitas Amikom Yogyakarta, Jl. Ring Road Utara, Ngringin, Condongcatur, Kec. Depok, Kabupaten Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia
[1] pramesthi@amikom.ac.id; [2] wiwidadiyanto@amikom.ac.id
* corresponding author

Check for updates

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

This study explores the editorial and organizational challenges faced by Indonesian journalists who, amid financial instability and professional dissatisfaction, choose to establish independent online news portals. Using a descriptive qualitative design grounded in phenomenological methodology, the research draws on the lived experiences of two senior journalists in Yogyakarta. Findings reveal that motivations for establishing independent media include dissatisfaction with low wages, editorial constraints, and weak media management. Despite limited human and financial resources, these journalists maintain their commitment to journalistic ideals while adapting to the demands of a competitive digital media environment. The study identifies three core challenges in establishing independent news outlets: human resources, funding, and marketing. It also highlights the role of media ecosystems in supporting operational viability, while emphasizing the compromises required to balance journalistic integrity with business sustainability. Anchored in the social responsibility theory of the media, this research contributes to scholarly discourse on media precarity, professionalism, and entrepreneurial journalism in the Global South. The findings suggest that, although independent journalism offers a path toward editorial autonomy, it remains vulnerable to structural, legal, and commercial pressures that continue to shape media practice in the digital era.

INTRODUCTION

One of the principal challenges confronting the press today is the preservation of public trust in the news it disseminates. A decline in trust toward mass media threatens to diminish its societal role, leaving a vacuum increasingly filled by social media platforms that frequently operate outside the bounds of journalistic ethics, propagate low-quality content, or serve the interests of particular groups. Such a transformation undermines the media's fundamental function in facilitating the democratic circulation of information (Bangun, 2020). In parallel, media institutions that traditionally operated within the confines of a single platform are undergoing a structural evolution, emerging as diversified multiplatform conglomerates (Tapsell, 2015). This shift is propelled by rapid developments in communication technologies, prompting media organizations to implement both media convergence and editorial convergence strategies.

Journalists are increasingly required to produce and disseminate diverse forms of information in real time across multiple media platforms to maintain their competitiveness. The very definition of news has evolved in response to the proliferation of internet-based media. Whereas news was traditionally conceptualized as the reporting of events that had already taken place, it is now more commonly framed as the live coverage of unfolding events (Haryanto, 2014). Moreover, convergence strategies are not only driven by technological imperatives but also serve economic goals, notably the reduction of human resource expenditures within the press industry (Carr, 2019; Pratopo, 2017; Tapsell, 2014). In this digital era, multitasking across platforms has become a normative mode of media consumption (Zhong, 2013), contributing to the diminishing analytical depth of mass media coverage. Concurrently, journalists are increasingly subjected to novel forms of threats, including doxing—an emergent form of digital harassment that signifies a shift from traditional physical

intimidation to online forms of attack, facilitated by the pervasive accessibility of digital media (Krisdinanto, 2024).

Another pressing challenge faced by journalists is the widespread reduction of employment opportunities within the press industry. One of the adverse consequences of the digital economy for journalism has been a significant decline in job security, compelling many journalists to seek new employment after being displaced from newsroom positions (Zion et al., 2024). For instance, in 2020, 25 journalists from The Jakarta Post exited the industry within the same month—11 through voluntary resignation and 14 through a separation scheme initiated by the company. Similar workforce reductions have occurred at other major media outlets, including Kumparan, Tempo, and Jawa Pos. Prior to this, technological advancements had already prompted mass layoffs across several print media platforms, such as Pikiran Rakyat Daily, Femina, and other Indonesian magazines (Mariani, 2020). The Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI, 2020) reported 110 employment-related complaints in July 2020, encompassing issues such as delayed wages, wage deductions, termination with or without severance pay, and dismissals accompanied by financial penalties.

Compounding these challenges, many journalists continue to face financial insecurity due to inadequate compensation. They often work under combined editorial and economic pressures, receiving wages that are disproportionately low relative to their responsibilities (Surugiu, 2013). Surveys conducted by Thomas Hanitzsch at the German University of Technology Ilmenau in 2001, the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) in 2005, and the Press Council in 2008 consistently revealed that journalists in Indonesia were earning salaries below two hundred thousand rupiah (Manan, 2011). More recently, a 2021 survey by AJI Jakarta (2021) indicated that 93.8% of 97 validated respondents believed their wages were insufficient to meet a decent standard of living. Notably, ten respondents reported earning below the Provincial Minimum Wage (UMP) for DKI Jakarta. These findings underscore a broader structural issue: the normative expectation that media institutions should uphold democratic values is increasingly compromised by the concentration tendencies inherent in capitalist media markets (Thomass, 2024).

In 2023, AJI Jakarta conducted an additional survey involving 51 media companies and 97 respondents, which revealed that journalists' monthly wages in Jakarta ranged between two and eight million rupiah. Notably, one respondent disclosed being compensated based on the number of readers accessing their articles, reflecting a shift toward performance-based remuneration (Napitulu, 2023). The persistence of low wages has further contributed to the normalization of the "envelope culture," or bribery, within journalistic practices (Pramesti, 2014; Romano, 2000). As a result, many journalists are compelled to seek supplementary sources of income. This phenomenon underscores a systemic imbalance wherein journalists are undervalued by media institutions, both symbolically and materially, as evidenced by inadequate remuneration (MBK, 2009). Simultaneously, media literacy advocates continue to combat disinformation and promote sustained digital media literacy education (Astuti et al., 2023). Despite these structural limitations, journalists—as central actors within press institutions—retain the capacity to influence societal and governmental accountability through their reporting (K. S. Wicaksono, 2015).

Furthermore, Soewardojo (2008) cites Hanitzsch's research, which found that one in four journalists in Indonesia held secondary employment. Notably, 77% of journalists surveyed expressed satisfaction with their jobs, with many indicating greater contentment derived from their side occupations—some of which offered higher financial returns than their primary journalistic roles. For others, however, journalism becomes a professional trap. The lack of alternative skills beyond those applicable to journalistic work limits their employment mobility, confining them to the media sector. Financial pressures further exacerbate this situation, compelling journalists to remain continuously active in producing content. As a result, it has become increasingly common for journalists to work across two media outlets simultaneously, particularly in cases where their primary employer fails to provide adequate salaries or honoraria.

Prasetyo (2017) observed that a number of former journalists, as well as individuals without formal experience in journalism, have established internet-based press companies with minimal capital, often lacking legal recognition and failing to meet established press industry standards. This phenomenon has led to the proliferation of new media entities operating with rudimentary journalistic practices. As a result, the production of critical and investigative reporting has noticeably declined. These under-resourced media organizations typically lack professional operational structures, with unclear systems for employee compensation and benefits. Content production is frequently driven by financial considerations, focusing on assignments deemed profitable—such as product launches or promotional events—which often culminate in advertorials rather than independent journalism.

The strategic position of the press and the journalistic profession in the eyes of the public and state officials has increasingly become a target for opportunistic financial gain. This perception has encouraged individuals to pursue journalism through shortcuts, bypassing formal training or institutional affiliation (Prasetyo, 2017). Additionally, some seasoned journalists who have spent considerable time in established media institutions have gone on to create their own online media outlets. Their pre-existing professional networks and partnerships serve as valuable assets, granting them access to government or private agencies that seek media coverage. Despite lacking clear legal status, these newly established media platforms continue to produce and disseminate news, often receiving legitimacy from their sources or collaborators. In many cases, only a limited number of individuals or corporate entities recognize the absence of legal credentials among journalists affiliated with such media.

McLuhan (1964) posited that information and communication technologies play a pivotal role in shaping the course of historical development. Communication media are not value-neutral conduits; rather, they actively influence the transmission of messages across time and space (Lum, 2014). Innovations in communication technologies have generated distinct experiential realities for individuals in different historical periods (McLuhan, 1964), as individuals are embedded within—rather than external to—the media environment (Lum, 2014). Expanding on McLuhan's thesis, MacDonald (2006) argued that each historical epoch is marked by the dominance of a specific communication medium, which often monopolizes the production and dissemination of public knowledge. Similar to how transportation modes influence societal organization, communication media shape the affective and cognitive dimensions of human experience—producing particular moods that define the technological environment of a given culture and, by extension, the behavior, perceptions, and expressions of media users (Hildebrand, 2017).

Suraya (2019) investigated the credibility of journalists in relation to their use of digital media within the Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi (Jabodetabek) regions. The findings indicated that most journalists in these areas exhibit high levels of social media usage. In several cases, journalists repurpose trending topics from social media into conventional news content, thereby positioning themselves more as consumers than critical producers of information. In a related study, A.P. Wicaksono (2023) analyzed the dual roles assumed by journalists and the resulting deviations from journalistic codes of ethics. His findings revealed that this dual role is driven by intense media competition, insufficient journalist remuneration, and market-driven recruitment practices within media organizations.

Cohen, Hunter, and O'Donnell (2019) examined the effects of corporate restructuring on job losses within Canadian journalism. Their study surveyed 198 journalists who were laid off from Canadian news media between 2012 and 2016. While 83% of these individuals were re-employed, only 21% remained within the journalism profession. The layoffs compelled many to accept lower-paying part-time or full-time positions outside the field. The study yielded three interrelated findings concerning journalistic precarity in this context. First, layoffs—particularly when journalists do not return to the industry—may have lasting consequences for communities, public knowledge, and civic discourse in Canada. Second, the increasing prevalence of freelance employment may diminish journalists' capacity to engage with institutions regarded as vital to the maintenance of democratic society. Third, these layoffs reflect broader corporate efforts to safeguard profit margins, often at the expense of journalistic labor. Additional consequences include excessive workloads, diminished mentorship opportunities for early-career journalists, and a perceived decline in reporting quality. Overall, the erosion of journalistic employment in Canada underscores the shifting power dynamics within the industry, wherein individual journalists disproportionately absorb the burdens of structural and economic transformations undertaken by newspapers, broadcasters, magazines, and online platforms.

Researchers have sought to address gaps in existing literature concerning journalists in Indonesia, particularly in the Yogyakarta region. In response, this study adopts a descriptive approach aimed at explaining and contextualizing the challenges faced by media editors in establishing independent online news portals. Additionally, the study contributes to ongoing debates surrounding journalistic professionalism and financial sustainability. Scholarship on the disruption of media workers' career trajectories has grown, especially in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis (Badran & Smets, 2021). The uncertainty and casualization experienced by journalists reflect a broader, multifaceted crisis within the profession. This trend is accompanied by a shrinking journalistic workforce and increasing reliance on freelance contributors, both of which exacerbate the economic precarity faced by journalists (Gollmitzer, 2014; Waisbord, 2019). The practice of journalism today involves both professional and personal pressures (Kotisova, 2019), and is increasingly shaped by systemic transformations that blur the boundaries between traditional journalism, public relations, and marketing (Badran & Smets, 2021; Hayes & Silke, 2019; Mathisen, 2019; Sherwood & O'Donnell, 2018).

Richards (2004) noted that journalists occupy a dual position—as ethical agents committed to public service and as instruments utilized to maximize shareholder profits. This duality places journalists in frequent ethical dilemmas, stemming from the inherent conflict between their professional responsibilities and the commercial imperatives of their employers. These tensions are further intensified in the online media environment, where the pressure to generate revenue often undermines journalistic integrity. Herzog (2022) highlights how the competition for audience attention has become increasingly fierce, exacerbated by the disruptive presence of trolls and bots. In this context, a free press is essential to uphold its watchdog role, while healthy media competition is necessary to ensure the expression of diverse worldviews. Striking this balance is undoubtedly challenging, yet it remains a fundamental responsibility of journalists in democratic societies. Ultimately, the emotional labor of journalists involves navigating a complex array of professional and personal pressures (Kotisova, 2019).

Within the contemporary media landscape, the increasing precarity of journalistic labor has resulted in tangible shifts in professional practice and a diminished capacity for journalists to fulfill their watchdog function (Hayes & Silke, 2019). This precarization has also contributed to the erosion of boundaries between journalism, public relations, and marketing (Mathisen, 2019; Sherwood & O'Donnell, 2018). Importantly, this condition is not limited to freelance journalists. As Morini and Armano (2014) argue, market-driven imperatives have led to a loss of autonomy and heightened instability even among formally employed journalists and media professionals. These challenges are compounded by

broader economic pressures, particularly in many Western democracies, where declining public trust in the media has coincided with a rise in both verbal and physical attacks on journalists. In other regions, journalism is increasingly threatened by growing reliance on state or politically motivated advertising, which can indirectly compromise editorial independence or directly intimidate journalists attempting to hold power to account (Newman, 2024).

News production involves the transformation of stories into news, a process in which journalists apply principles of balance, neutrality, and objectivity, while also considering factors such as timeliness, accessibility, newsworthiness, and audience engagement (Fitzgerald et al., 2008). In recent years, the integration of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies has increasingly supported journalistic work, particularly in news reporting and content generation (Opdahl et al., 2023). However, these technological advancements have introduced new ethical challenges. In earlier media environments—prior to the advent of social media—journalists operated primarily as professionals, distinct from their roles as private citizens. Despite the shifting landscape, traditional ethical standards remain relevant. For instance, while social media facilitates fact-gathering by allowing journalists to access user-generated content such as eyewitness accounts, photographs, or videos of breaking news events, the longstanding journalistic standard of verification still applies. Regardless of the medium through which news is delivered, journalists can continue to uphold the core principles articulated by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel: independence in news gathering and dissemination, loyalty to the public, and a commitment to truth-seeking and verification (Foreman et al., 2022). From the audience perspective, younger generations increasingly prefer to consume news through free digital platforms (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012), further intensifying the economic pressures faced by traditional mass media institutions that rely on earlier technological infrastructures.

In addition to technological advancements, a growing segment of society is distancing itself from mainstream media due to perceived political bias, declining trust, and the spread of coordinated disinformation within established news institutions (Chyi & Ng, 2020; Siles & Boczkowski, 2012; Wintterlin et al., 2020). Developments in media technology have fundamentally altered societal communication cultures and reshaped how audiences consume news. Younger generations, in particular, tend to favor content that aligns with their interests, prefer following events in real time, and are more inclined to form independent opinions rather than accept conclusions presented by news anchors. The widespread adoption of digital communication platforms, especially online news portals, signifies a shift away from traditional media toward more flexible and interactive formats. In response, newsrooms are increasingly prioritizing topicality and immediacy, reflecting a transformation in how journalism engages with the public (Tanner et al., 2017).

This study employs Normative Theory to explore the intersection of mass media and technology, with particular emphasis on the Theory of Social Responsibility. This theoretical framework underscores both the rights and obligations of the media in serving individuals and society at large (Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004; Middleton, 2009). While mass media function within market-driven systems—responding to consumer preferences and client interests—they are simultaneously shaped by broader economic, cultural, and social dynamics (Gripsrud, 2017). These contextual factors influence how news is produced, framed, and disseminated, thereby shaping public discourse and determining which issues dominate everyday conversations (Heningtyas & Amali, 2024). Ultimately, mass media are expected to serve the public interest and fulfill their institutional responsibilities as part of a democratic society (McQuail, 2011).

Normative media theory encompasses four principal models that conceptualize the role of the media in society. The first is the liberal pluralist or market model, which emphasizes a free marketplace of ideas, wherein media accountability to individuals and society is presumed to emerge through competitive market mechanisms. The second is the social responsibility or public interest model, which supports press freedom while asserting that this freedom must be balanced by broader obligations to society that extend beyond the interests of media owners or practitioners. The third is the professional model, which positions society as a key actor in holding the press accountable, particularly through the reinforcement of professional standards and journalistic ethics. The fourth is the alternative media model, which refers to non-mainstream media that often operate from grassroots perspectives, embrace shared community values, and serve as counter-forces to dominant state or industrial powers (Baran & Davis, 2014; McQuail, 2011). Paul and Kabiru (2019) further emphasize that media freedom and responsibility are inherently intertwined; however, appeals to responsibility should not be used to suppress the reporting of unconventional or extraordinary issues, particularly when such coverage serves the public interest.

Journalists serve multiple vital functions in democratic societies—as government watchdogs, gatekeepers of information, and conveyors of knowledge intended to inform and educate the public on a wide range of issues. In this role, journalists are expected to remain attuned to societal interests and trends, ensuring that their reporting reflects the concerns and realities of the communities they serve. The media bears the responsibility of setting the public agenda by presenting accurate, honest, and thoroughly investigated information on matters of public interest. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2006) emphasize that all journalists, from editors to the editorial board, must adhere to a strong sense of responsibility and personal ethics, serving as moral guides in the execution of their duties. News content should be accurate, fair, balanced, community-oriented, independent, and courageous in presenting factual truths. While previous research has examined the challenges faced by journalists in the digital era—such as inadequate wages, dual roles, job satisfaction, and career sustainability within media organizations—this study introduces a novel perspective by focusing on the lived

experiences of journalists in Yogyakarta who are engaged in building independent online news portals. Specifically, it seeks to describe the challenges encountered and strategies employed by these journalists in navigating the evolving digital media landscape.

METHOD

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach, which is contextually situated within a specific temporal and spatial framework (Dodgson, 2019). In the context of social science research, qualitative methods involve the collection and analysis of human actions and expressions, encompassing both spoken and written forms (Afrizal, 2017). In addition, this study employs a phenomenological approach to gain a deeper understanding of participants' lived experiences. As described by Tuffour, phenomenology—originally developed by Edmund Husserl and later expanded by Martin Heidegger—aims to examine human experience as it is consciously perceived (Helaluddin, 2018). Over time, phenomenology has become a widely recognized methodology in qualitative inquiry, with its central objective being to uncover the essence or structure of lived experiences as situated within human consciousness.

Data for this study were collected through in-depth interviews with informants who have worked as journalists for a minimum of five years. Two key informants, each with over 19 years of professional experience, were purposively selected based on their extensive careers in reputable mass media organizations and their involvement in founding independent online news platforms. These individuals also perform multiple roles as journalists and editors. The object of this study comprises newly established online media outlets that are still in the formative stages of organizing and conducting journalistic activities. The research subjects are those who played a foundational role in establishing these platforms. Data were obtained through a combination of interviews, participant observation, and documentation. The collected data were then systematically reduced based on the research focus and presented in descriptive form.

The phenomenological method employed in this study follows four distinct stages as outlined by Moustakas (1994). First, the researcher analyzes life experience texts (life protocol texts) derived from in-depth dialogues with journalists who have established their own online media outlets. These narratives are then developed into descriptive accounts of the participants' lived experiences. Second, the researcher engages in explanation and interpretation to uncover the structure and significance of the experiences related to the founding of online media—whether undertaken individually or collectively. Third, patterns in the formation of online media are examined to identify shared and divergent trajectories among informants, either as individuals or as part of a group. Finally, the study constructs internal and external communication models of the online media platforms. At this stage, the researcher explores both the similarities and distinctive features of communication practices within independently established mass media organizations.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study involved two informants, each with over 19 years of experience in the media industry. Both had previously worked in reputable media organizations before transitioning to establish their own independent online media platforms. Informant 1 had a background in print media (Media A) and later founded two online platforms: *Senangsenang.id* and *Nyatanya.com*. Informant 2, formerly employed in an online media company (Media B), went on to establish *Jogjaaja.com*. Both informants were motivated to create new media outlets due to professional circumstances that diverged from their expectations. Informant 2 viewed the establishment of a small independent media company as a practical alternative for sustaining their livelihood. In contrast, Informant 1 was driven by firsthand experiences with poor managerial practices at their previous organization. While the media outlet where Informant 1 had worked was once promising—particularly before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic—its decline highlighted the importance of maintaining foundational journalistic values. These values continue to inform the editorial direction of the new platforms founded by Informant 1.

Informant 1, who served as both a journalist and editor at Media A, disclosed during the interview that he had formally submitted his resignation. Although he received an official Letter of Resignation, it included a provision stating that he would continue to fulfill his duties and responsibilities within the organization. As a result, he no longer received position-related allowances and was assigned solely to manage the Entertainment section. Informant 1 accepted this arrangement, largely due to strong personal and professional ties with colleagues at the media company—many of whom had collaboratively contributed to building the outlet from its inception. He expressed a sense of solidarity with his peers, stating that he would have felt comfortable leaving the organization only if his colleagues had also chosen to resign.

Similarly, Informant 2, who worked as a journalist and editor at an online media outlet in Yogyakarta, explained that his decision to remain with the organization was driven by the lack of alternative employment opportunities. This decision was further influenced by age-related concerns and apprehension about losing a fixed income—despite the salary being relatively modest. Another source of dissatisfaction was the assignment of tasks beyond his official job description, which were not accompanied by corresponding increases in salary or incentives. The informant also reported experiencing external pressures, such as requests to retract previously published news articles or to suppress content

before publication. These requests were often communicated indirectly through intermediaries, such as officials within the media organization's environment. Middleton (2009) argues that such pressure from interest groups can erode journalists' editorial independence. While journalists may strive to remain impartial, they require a supportive legal framework to uphold socially responsible decisions—especially when those decisions conflict with external interests. These experiences reflect tensions with the tenets of social responsibility theory, which advocates for the development of media professionalism grounded in high standards of accuracy, truth, and public service.

Despite these challenges, Informant 2 acknowledged that journalistic idealism still persists in certain contexts, particularly in reporting on issues related to justice and public interest. Strömbäck et al. (2020) suggest that this persistence may be linked to audience trust in media coverage of specific topics, especially those that are politically polarized and exert a greater influence on overall perceptions of media credibility. However, Informant 2 also observed that such idealism is often compromised by commercialization pressures and personal economic considerations. In some cases, idealism is subordinated to company policies, which prioritize institutional interests above journalistic principles. Ultimately, these conditions led Informant 2 to resign from the media organization, despite being invited to return in late 2022 to assist with media operations. Clark and Grech (2017) argue that journalistic freedom is frequently undermined by internal interference originating within media organizations themselves. Such conditions contribute to job dissatisfaction among journalists, prompting some to leave their positions and pursue independent ventures. These interventions are often closely tied to the media outlet's agenda, including selective use of sources and issue framing (Ratnaningtyas, 2023).

The challenges previously described served as a catalyst for the establishment of new, independent media ventures. These initiatives emerged in response to internal management issues, despite efforts to uphold the quality of journalistic content. The process of building an independent online news portal entails navigating three interrelated dimensions of challenges: human resources, financial constraints, and marketing strategies (see Table 1).

Table 1. Key Challenges in Building an Independent Online News Portal

Human Resources	Cost	Marketing
Limited personnel to support ideal editorial operations	Ongoing website maintenance expenses	Limited public recognition of the media outlet
Lack of skills beyond journalism (e.g., website management, accessibility optimization)	Administrative costs for legal registration and compliance	Absence of structured marketing strategies to expand reach and visibility
Limited competencies in media management	No base salary for contributors	

The establishment of independent news portals was largely driven by financial dissatisfaction with the compensation structures in the media organizations where the informants had previously worked. Additionally, broader contextual factors—such as industry climate and internal company dynamics—contributed to their decision to initiate new media ventures. The editorial teams for these portals were assembled through personal networks and professional acquaintances who shared similar experiences and challenges. As a result, the editorial structures had to be reorganized from the ground up. Given the limited technical expertise in areas such as computer networking and website management, the informants were required to allocate additional financial resources to address these technical aspects, further underscoring the complexity of launching and sustaining independent media platforms.

Media management in these independent online news portals continues to operate on a self-managed basis. The transition from structured, institutionalized media environments to independently formed platforms necessitates significant managerial adaptation. A critical challenge lies in maintaining a balance between journalistic ideology and financial sustainability—both of which are essential for the long-term viability of the media outlet. Due to financial limitations, contributors currently do not receive a base salary; compensation is instead provided in the form of honoraria for specific assignments. Marketing presents another challenge, as the platforms remain relatively unknown to the public—despite advertising being a crucial source of revenue. For both Informant 1 and Informant 2, media is perceived as an idealistic endeavor, grounded in the belief that journalistic ethics cannot function in the absence of idealism. Furthermore, the establishment of an online media outlet requires formal authorization and verification by the Press Council to ensure regulatory compliance. Technical infrastructure also poses a significant cost burden, particularly in terms of website maintenance and ensuring server stability to prevent operational disruptions.

For many individuals, journalism remains an appealing profession despite widespread awareness of the structural challenges faced by the industry. These individuals willingly forgo higher wages and job security in order to engage in meaningful self-expression and align themselves with broader societal values. This persistence suggests that journalism offers intrinsic "rewards" that extend beyond monetary compensation (Powers, 2024). Arba'iyah Satriani (2022) characterizes media as a distinctive form of enterprise that merges idealism with commercial imperatives, requiring

a careful balance between the two in order to serve the public interest while maintaining professional integrity. This perspective is echoed by Harahap (2022), who argues that media organizations must strive to sustain their roles as agents of change while also addressing business realities. Achieving this balance demands the implementation of thoughtful internal policies aimed at preserving journalistic ideals and contributing to public education.

In response to the challenges they face, journalists who establish independent online media have undertaken various efforts to sustain their platforms and advance their journalistic missions. The process of building an online news portal independently involves navigating three key dimensions: human resources, financial sustainability, and marketing communications. The initial motivation behind founding these platforms was twofold—to create an alternative source of income and to realize journalistic ideals that were constrained or unmet in their previous professional environments.

Table 2. Efforts to Build an Independent Online News Portal

Human Resources	Cost	Marketing Communications
Establishing an editorial structure composed of journalists who share similar experiences, including financial difficulties and unfavorable organizational climates	Utilizing Google AdSense as a revenue stream	Promoting the platform through word-of-mouth marketing
Emphasizing individual responsibility and mutual trust, with news filtering conducted through peer review.	Securing financial and in-kind support from team members	Establishing partnerships with relevant stakeholders
Engaging in multitasking roles (e.g., serving as reporter, editor, and social media manager)		Offering press release creation services
Participating in networked media management initiatives		Prioritizing positive economic news over conflict-based reporting to enhance public appeal and attract advertisers
Developing skills in search engine optimization (SEO)		

Ultimately, the newly established media platforms did not fully guarantee freedom in the expression of journalistic ideology. In practice, media companies must navigate the tension between individual journalistic ideals and the commercial imperatives of sustaining the media business. To reduce operational expenses, efficiency measures such as downsizing and streamlining editorial processes are often implemented. As a compensatory strategy, integration with networked media systems helps alleviate the technical burdens associated with managing computer networks and online infrastructure. This allows journalists to concentrate more fully on their core responsibilities in news production.

The informant noted a shift in the structure of news writing on digital platforms compared to traditional media. While print newspapers typically employ the inverted pyramid structure—presenting comprehensive details at the beginning—this format is not consistently applied in online news portals. Instead, digital news content is often structured to stimulate reader curiosity, encouraging audiences to scroll through the article to its conclusion. Additionally, word choice and diction are adapted to align with search engine optimization (SEO) practices, and content is tailored to reflect emerging digital trends and audience engagement strategies.

The new media venture established by Informant 2, *Jogjaaja.com*, has developed into a formal media enterprise under the name *PT Jogja Kreasi Sejahtera*. The platform features a range of thematic columns, including tourism and socio-cultural issues, which have garnered substantial audience interest due to their relevance to everyday life. Additional columns, such as those focused on micro, small, and medium enterprises (UMKM), serve as forums to promote local economic and business development—particularly significant given Yogyakarta's strong potential in this sector. Similarly, as a nationally recognized educational hub, Yogyakarta's appeal is reflected in the popularity of the Education column, which demonstrates high levels of reader engagement. According to Informant 2, this new media initiative, co-founded with former colleagues, offers greater financial and personal benefits than previous employment in traditional media. The flexible work structure, which allows tasks to be completed from home, has resulted in more regulated working hours, reduced occupational stress, and improved work–life balance. Editorial workflows follow a structured process: idea generation, journalist assignment, reporting, editing, and article publication. In line with digital media standards, *Jogjaaja.com* employs responsive website design to enhance user experience, particularly for mobile readers.

In a democratic society, the media is expected to operate autonomously, free from coercion or external interference, and to regulate its practices based on ethical standards and professional governance. Central to this role is the media's obligation to serve the public interest by providing objective and unbiased information (Paul & Kabiru, 2019). However, Informant 2 acknowledged that the independent online media outlet he established faces significant limitations in human resources, particularly in terms of personnel with specialized competencies in journalism and media management. This constraint poses challenges in maintaining content quality. As a result, team members are required to assume multiple

roles—such as article writing, video production and editing, and social media management—which may compromise both the efficiency of operations and the overall quality of media output.

Multitasking, which was once considered a supplementary skill, has now become a prevailing trend—and, in many cases, an obligation—for media professionals. Connolly (2024) asserts that contemporary media practitioners are expected to perform a wide range of tasks, including writing and editing scripts, uploading digital content to social media platforms, sourcing images, and recording and editing audiovisual materials. These responsibilities effectively merge the skill sets traditionally associated with print, radio, and television journalism into a single role. However, the limited availability of time and resources often hinders the ability to manage editorial operations effectively. This situation is particularly prevalent in regional media organizations, where resource constraints have led to a greater reliance on 'desk' journalism at the expense of in-depth, on-the-ground reporting.

At the same time, journalists face significant pressure in navigating the tension between accuracy and immediacy, a challenge that directly impacts the quality of content produced and disseminated. This stands in contrast to the perspective of Bekidusa (2024), who argues that multitasking is not only a valuable skill but an essential one in contemporary journalism. According to Bekidusa, the diverse competencies possessed by journalists can benefit both editorial teams and individual practitioners by transforming journalistic skills into marketable assets within an increasingly competitive media landscape. Moreover, multitasking is viewed as a strategy to reduce workflow disruptions and increase operational efficiency. In this context, journalists equipped with a broad range of skills are positioned to work globally, as their versatility is highly sought after by various media and communication entities.

> *"Challenges also arise in managing an ideal organizational structure and ensuring smooth editorial flow with good management. Media management is also not entirely ideal, especially regarding content management and distribution efficiency. However, it is continued because this media has great potential to grow and strengthen its position in the local market," (Informant 2).*

Informant 2's statement aligns with the normative theory of the media, particularly the liberal pluralist or market model. One of the central challenges within this framework is managing content and distribution within a free marketplace of ideas, while simultaneously mitigating the spread of misinformation, hate speech, and propaganda. Journalists are expected to uphold accountability for the content they produce, irrespective of the communication channel through which it is disseminated. Press freedom, in this context, is intrinsically tied to the obligation to convey truth, while market dynamics influence the perceived quality and relevance of news products. The effort to build an ideal organizational structure also reflects the media's role in fulfilling its social responsibilities—namely, producing accurate, balanced, and truthful information. As Oluwasala (2020) explains, the liberal pluralist model is conceptually linked to democratic processes, wherein collective decision-making outcomes emerge from the aggregation of individual or group preferences. In such systems, consensus is achieved when a majority of actors make similar or shared choices, reinforcing the idea that responsible media practices are foundational to democratic discourse.

Informant 2 also emphasized that the newly established media outlet maintains editorial neutrality and is not aligned with any particular political or interest group, despite being part of a broader media ecosystem under *PT Konten Media Berjejaring (KMB)*.

> *"We are still required to prioritize the community's interests, and there is an unwritten rule not to present criminal news or avoid conflict or problems in the community. Instead, prioritize positive news in the economic field," (Informant 2).*

However, this editorial approach appears to be at odds with Oluwasala's (2020) assertion that the media's primary responsibility is to report on public issues and events. Journalists are expected to be attuned to societal interests and evolving trends, and as such, media coverage should not be restricted to specific domains—particularly when the issues at hand have broad implications for the public. Responsible journalism serves as a critical foundation for societal progress by fostering informed citizenry and public accountability. Nevertheless, Paul and Kabiru (2019) highlight a recurring obstacle: the government's subjective interpretation of what constitutes press responsibility. In many cases, governments define socially responsible journalism as that which preserves their comfort and authority—often favoring coverage that aligns with their narratives, while resisting reporting that challenges or scrutinizes their actions.

The online media ecosystem represents a dynamic, flexible, and innovative environment—attributes that are critical to its continued evolution and sustainability. This ever-changing landscape requires its participants to adapt continuously in order to survive and thrive. The ecosystem analogy, with its emphasis on evolution and interdependence, underscores the importance of approaching partnerships with openness and adaptability (Fahnehjelm & Thomander, 2020). Through the establishment of his independent media outlet, Informant 2 has also acquired business acumen, particularly in forming strategic collaborations and offering services such as press release creation. Looking ahead, he envisions transforming

the platform into a multifaceted journalism enterprise—akin to a "supermarket"—offering services such as website management and audiovisual documentation of events. Nevertheless, conventional revenue streams, such as banner advertising and advertorial content, remain integral to the business model. Informant 2 also benefits from participation in a broader news ecosystem, leveraging content from affiliated media portals by modifying news leads to suit local contexts. In instances where regional revenues increase, profits are redistributed to the respective regional managers. For specific collaborations with external partners, editorial direction is guided by the central office, ensuring coherence across regional platforms. As Fahnehjelm and Thomander (2020) further explain, the ecosystem perspective introduces an added layer of complexity, as individuals may adopt different roles across multiple ecosystems. This approach enables media companies to form strategic alliances tailored to specific agendas while also encouraging them to broaden their outlook and pursue opportunities beyond their current ecosystem.

This approach contrasts with that of Informant 1, who noted distinct differences between the two media outlets he established. The primary distinction lies in the nature of the news content produced. *Senangsenang.id*, which is part of the new media ecosystem *PT Promedia Teknologi*, focuses on lighter, soft news intended to evoke a sense of enjoyment and relaxation among its readers. The editorial tone and content style are deliberately aligned with the media's branding and name, which translates to "enjoyment" or "having fun," reflecting its aim to provide accessible and pleasant reading experiences.

In terms of staffing, *Senangsenang.id* operates with a small team of only five individuals, each of whom holds multiple concurrent roles. This limited workforce significantly affects the platform's productivity. As part of the *PT Promedia Teknologi* media ecosystem, the outlet is required to meet a monthly target of 500 published articles—equating to approximately 40–50 news items per day. With only five team members, each individual is expected to produce around 10 articles daily. This high output expectation poses a challenge to content quality, particularly as reliance on copy-pasted press releases or aggregated sources tends to reduce audience engagement and traffic. Nevertheless, the media ecosystem offers several operational advantages, including profit-sharing mechanisms and centralized management of technical infrastructure such as domain hosting, servers, and Google AdSense integration. Information technology (IT) services are handled by *PT Promedia Teknologi*, allowing the *Senangsenang.id* team to focus solely on content production. As a result, the platform has shown steady growth, attributed to streamlined management and an efficient support system within the ecosystem.

> *"Everyone in this media is responsible for their own writing. Meanwhile, if there are reporters, we as editors will edit the writing according to media regulations" (Informant 1).*

The editor's decision to revise a journalist's article is often driven by concerns regarding adherence to the media's editorial standards. This includes addressing structural issues such as unclear sentence construction, lack of conciseness, inaccuracy, illogical flow, or failure to communicate key points effectively. Additionally, editorial intervention may be necessary to prevent violations of journalistic ethics, such as the omission of sources or the inclusion of unverifiable claims. Editorial decisions are also influenced by broader media regulations, particularly those shaped by media ownership. Media owners may seek to leverage their platforms to serve political, social, or economic interests, thereby influencing editorial direction. As Paul and Kabiru (2019) argue, editors are often required to comply with the interests of media proprietors, which can constrain journalistic independence. Within the new media ecosystem, this dynamic manifests as editorial policies aligned with the overarching agenda of media owners or networks.

In contrast, *Nyatanya.com*—which is not part of any new media ecosystem—is managed by a small team of only three individuals. This limited staffing presents significant challenges in the day-to-day operation and sustainability of the platform. Establishing and maintaining an independent online news outlet requires substantial capital investment, particularly in ensuring reliable server infrastructure to prevent website downtime. Informant 1 acknowledged that, at the outset, he lacked technical knowledge related to managing a digital news platform. However, through gradual self-learning, he came to recognize the financial potential of new media, particularly through revenue generated from advertising via Google AdSense. Nonetheless, monetization through such platforms is subject to regulatory policies, especially those governing media review and quality standards. Additionally, direct advertising is influenced by web traffic and is generally more effective when integrated into online platforms with measurable audience engagement.

Senangsenang.id and *Nyatanya.com* are not yet registered as legal entities and are currently in the process of formalizing their legal status. Once incorporated, both platforms intend to register with the Press Council and comply with regulatory obligations, including tax reporting. At present, both outlets—managed by Informant 1—remain in the capital-raising phase, with investment efforts prioritized for *Senangsenang.id*. Compared to the print media organization where Informant 1 previously worked, these two online outlets demonstrate a greater willingness to publish critical content. This marks a departure from the editorial constraints of his former media institution, which adopted a more conservative and cautious approach. Within the framework of social responsibility theory, this distinction underscores the principle that media freedom must be balanced by accountability in reporting. As Oluwasala (2020) explains, the social responsibility

model upholds the notion that while media should operate freely, it bears a moral obligation to serve the public by delivering information that enables informed decision-making.

Informant 1 acknowledged that his continued involvement in the print media where he previously worked offered strategic advantages, particularly in promoting his newly established online media to colleagues and the broader public. While conducting coverage for the print outlet, he was also able to introduce and build awareness of his digital media venture. In contrast, Informant 2 relied on community-based collaboration by engaging with local stakeholders, including tourism actors, UMKM entrepreneurs, and relevant government agencies. These partnerships supported content development and expanded the reach of information dissemination through co-organized events and collaborative publications. Despite their differing strategies, both informants agreed on the critical importance of digital marketing, particularly the role of search engine optimization (SEO), in enhancing visibility and driving audience engagement.

Both Informants acknowledged that, given the rapid and dynamic evolution of news portals, the challenges facing online media will persist and become increasingly complex in the future. Despite this, they expressed sustained optimism about the sustainability of digital journalism. Their confidence is grounded in the enduring relevance of journalists, who continue to play a critical role in delivering credible and trustworthy information. Maintaining consistent news production remains essential, as public demand for timely and accurate news persists. To address future challenges, journalists must continuously adapt to technological advancements. Moreover, it is crucial to develop robust digital platforms, strengthen strategic partnerships with stakeholders, and invest in enhancing both human resource capabilities and technological infrastructure to ensure the resilience and growth of independent online media.

CONCLUSION

This research contributes to a deeper understanding of the evolving media landscape and provides valuable insights into the strategies employed to sustain independent journalism. The findings reveal that financial constraints, interpersonal dynamics, and journalistic ethics are key factors influencing journalists' decisions to remain within or depart from established media organizations. The process of establishing a new media outlet presents substantial challenges and demands a strong sense of individual responsibility and commitment to journalistic principles. These experiences are closely aligned with the social responsibility theory of mass media, wherein journalism is viewed not only as a profession but also as an idealistic pursuit. For the informants in this study, media is perceived as a platform for upholding ideals—although limited human resources in nascent editorial teams often necessitate multiskilling and role convergence. While participation in existing media ecosystems offers certain operational advantages, it also requires compromise, particularly in reconciling idealism with commercial sustainability. Independent media founders are encouraged to broaden their perspectives beyond existing frameworks to explore new avenues of growth and innovation. Although the future of journalism remains promising due to society's continued demand for credible information, the tension between editorial autonomy and market realities persists. Journalists must continuously navigate these tensions while adapting to technological advancements to ensure both the survival and integrity of their media platforms.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

REFERENCES

Afrizal. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Upaya Mendukung Penggunaan Penelitian Kualitatif dalam Berbagai Disiplin Ilmu*. Depok: Rajawali Pers.

AJI (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen). (2020). *Dewan Pers Harus Melindungi Pekerja Media dari PHK Semena-mena*. Aji. or.Id. https://aji.or.id/informasi/dewan-pers-harus-melindungi-pekerja-media-dari-phk-semena-mena

AJI (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen). (2021). *Upah Layak Jurnalis Jakarta 2021*. AJI Jakarta. https://ajijakarta.org/upah-layak-jurnalis-jakarta-2021/

Astuti, Y. D., Attaymini, R., Dewi, M. S. R., & Zuhri, A. (2023). Combating the Disinfodemic and Spreading Digital Literacy in Indonesia: Analyzing Japelidi's #japelidivshoakscovid19 Campaign. *CHANNEL: Jurnal Komunikasi*, *11*(1), 43–54. https://doi.org/10.12928/channel.v11i1.179

Badran, Y., & Smets, K. (2021). Anatomy of a precarious newsroom: precarity and agency in Syrian exiled journalism in Turkey. *Anatomy of a Precarious Newsroom: Precarity and Agency in Syrian Exiled Journalism in Turkey*, *43*(8), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437211011556

Bangun, H. C. (2020). Tantangan Pers 2021. *Dewan Pers*.

Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2014). *Teori Komunikasi Massa: Dasar, Pergolakan, dan Masa Depan* (5th ed.). Jakarta: Salemba Humanika.

Bekidusa, A. (2024). *An Analysis of Status of Journalism Following Transitions of Journalists from Newsrooms in Kenya*. The Aga Khan University.

Carr, D. J. (2019). Multitasking or Multiskilling. In *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0233

Christians, C., & Nordenstreng, K. (2004). Social Responsibility Worldwide. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *19*(1), 3–28. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327728jmme1901_2

Chyi, H. I., & Ng, Y. M. M. (2020). Still Unwilling to Pay: An Empirical Analysis of 50 U.S. Newspapers' Digital Subscription Results. *Digital Journalism*, *8*(4), 526–547. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1732831

Clark, M., & Grech, A. (2017). *Journalist Under Pressure: Unwarranted Interference, Fear and Self-Censorship in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Cohen, N. S., Hunter, A., & O'Donnell, P. (2019). Bearing the Burden of Corporate Restructuring: Job Loss and Precarious Employment in Canadian Journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *13*(7), 817–833. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1571937

Connolly, E. (2024). The Impact of Changing Work Practices in Journalism in Ireland. *Journalism and Media*, *5*(1), 14–30. https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia5010002

Dodgson, J. E. (2019). Reflexivity in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Human Lactation*, *35*(2), 220–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334419830990

Fahnehjelm, A., & Thomander, I. (2020). *Strategic Alliance Formation in a Dynamic Environment : A Business Ecosystem perspective applied to Strategic Alliances in the Online Media Industry*. the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH).

Fitzgerald, R., Jaworski, A., & Housley, W. (2008). Generating News : Agenda Setting In Radio Broadcast News. In *L'analyse linguistique des discours médiatiques: Entre sciences du langage et sciences de la communication* (pp. 133–157). Québec: Les Éditons Nota bene.

Foreman, G., Biddle, D. R., Lounsberry, E., & Jones, R. G. (2022). *The Ethical Journalist Third Editions: Making Responsible Decisions in the Digital Age*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Gollmitzer, M. (2014). Precariously Employed Watchdogs? *Journalism Practice*, *8*(6), 826–841. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2014.882061

Gripsrud, J. (2017). *Understanding Media Culture*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Harahap, A. S. (2022). Strategi Mengelola Bisnis Media. *Jurnal Abdimas*, *08*(05), 258–262. https://doi.org/10.47007/abd.v8i05.5388

Haryanto, I. (2014). *Jurnalisme Era DigitalTantangan Industri Media Abad 21*. Jakarta: Kompas.

Hayes, K., & Silke, H. (2019). Narrowing the discourse? Growing precarity in freelance journalism and its effect on the construction of news discourse. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *16*(3), 363–379. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2019.1570290

Helaluddin. (2018). *Mengenal Lebih Dekat dengan Pendekatan Fenomenologi: Sebuah Penelitian Kualitatif*. https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/stgfb

Heningtyas, A., & Amali, M. T. (2024). Framing Analysis of the Mcdonald's Corporate Boycott in Indonesia in kompas.com and kumparan. com Media. *Jurnal Spektrum Komunikasi*, *12*(4), 529–539. https://doi.org/10.37826/spektrum.v12i4.828

Herzog, L. (2022). Shared Standards versus Competitive Pressures in Journalism. *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, *39*(3), 393–406. https://doi.org/10.1111/japp.12491

Hildebrand, J. M. (2017). Modal media: connecting media ecology and mobilities research. *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(3), 348–364. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717707343

Kotisova, J. (2019). The elephant in the newsroom: Current research on journalism and emotion. *Sociology Compass*, *13*(5), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12677

Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2006). *Sembilan Elemen Jurnalisme*. Jakarta: Pantau.

Krisdinanto, N. (2024). Countering Journalist Curse in A Bourdieusian Perspective: Metajournalistic Discourse on Doxing in Remotivi Indonesia. *CHANNEL: Jurnal Komunikasi*, *12*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.12928/channel.v12i1.649

Lum, C. M. K. (2014). Media ecology: Contexts, concepts, and currents. In R. S. Fortner & P. M. Fackler (Eds.), *The Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory* (pp. 137–153). Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118591178.ch8

MacDonald, M. (2006). Empire and communication: the media wars of Marshall McLuhan. *Media, Culture & Society*, *28*(4), 505–520. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443706062912

Manan, A. (2011). *Upah Layak Jurnalis: Survey upah Layak AJI di 16 kota di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.

Mariani, E. (2020). *Pandemi dan PHK: Jurnalisme Indonesia Kehilangan Sebagian dari Wartawan Terbaiknya*. Remotivi. or.Id. https://www.remotivi.or.id/headline/liputan/650

Mathisen, B. R. (2019). Ethical Boundaries among Freelance Journalists. *Journalism Practice*, *13*(8), 1008–1012. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1642135

MBK, B. (2009). Mengupayakan Manajemen Media Massa yang Menghargai Jurnalis. *Jurnal Komunikasi*, *4*(1), 25–38. https://journal.uii.ac.id/jurnal-komunikasi/article/view/6536

McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding media: The extensions of man*. California: Ginko Press.

McQuail, D. (2011). *Teori Komunikasi Massa* (Edisi 6). Jakarta: Salemba Humanika.

Middleton, M. (2009). *Social Responsibility in the Media*.

Morini, C., Carls, K., & Armano, E. (2014). Precarious Passion or Passionate Precariousness? Narratives from co-research in Journalism and Editing. *Recherches Sociologiques et Anthropologiques*, *45*(2), 61–83. https://doi.org/10.4000/rsa.1264

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. California: SAGE Publications.

Napitulu, E. L. (2023). *Kesejahteraan Jurnalis Masih Jadi Masalah*. Kompas.Id. https://www.kompas.id/baca/humaniora/2023/04/11/kesejahteraan-jurnalis-masih-jadi-masalah

Newman, N. (2024). *Journalism, Media, and Technology Trends and Predictions 2024*. https://doi.org/10.60625/risj-0s9w-z770

Oluwasola, O. (2020). The Normative Theories of the Press in the Digital Age: A Need for Revision. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, *4*(2), 27–36. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3678282

Opdahl, A. L., Tessem, B., Dang-Nguyen, D.-T., Motta, E., Setty, V., Throndsen, E., Tverberg, A., & Trattner, C. (2023). Trustworthy journalism through AI. *Data & Knowledge Engineering*, *146*, 102182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.datak.2023.102182

Paul, U. O., & Kabiru, M. I. (2019). Social Responsibility Theory of the Press: A Critique of Its Application and Constraints. *International Journal of Innovative Research & Development*, *8*(12), 26–35. https://doi.org/10.24940/ijird/2019/v8/i12/DEC19010

Powers, M. (2024). *Journalism has Become Ground Zero for the Vocation Crisis*. The Conversation. https://theconversation.com/journalism-has-become-ground-zero-for-the-vocation-crisis-232963

Pramesti, O. L. (2014). Penerapan Kode Etik di Kalangan Jurnalis. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *11*(1), 81–92. https://doi.org/10.24002/jik.v11i1.386

Prasetyo, Y. A. (2017). Abal-Abalisme Sebagai Musuh Kemerdekaan Pers. In *Media dan Praktik Abal-abal* (pp. 4–5). Dewan Pers.

Pratopo, W. M. (2018). Komodifikasi Wartawan di Era Konvergensi: Studi Kasus Tempo. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, *6*(2), 129–138. https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v6i2.8715

Ratnaningtyas, R. P. (2023). Child Prostitution in The Media Vortex. *Ultimacomm*, *15*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.31937/ultimacomm.v15i1.2765

Richards, I. (2004). Stakeholders Versus Shareholders: Journalism, Business, and Ethics. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *19*(2), 119–129. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327728jmme1902_4

Romano, A. (2000). Bribes, Gifts and Graft in Indonesian Journalism. *Media International Australia*, *94*(1), 157–171. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X0009400115

Satriani, A. (2022). Mungkinkah Menyandingkan Idealisme dan Bisnis Media? In *Idealisme Jurnalis & Inovasi Model Bisnis Industri Media* (pp. 49–55). Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Publikasi dan Pengabdian Masyarakat (LP3M) LSPR. https://doi.org/10.37535/20320220100

Sherwood, M., & O'Donnell, P. (2018). Once a Journalist, Always a Journalist? *Journalism Studies*, *19*(7), 1021–1038. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1249007

Siles, I., & Boczkowski, P. J. (2012). Making sense of the newspaper crisis: A critical assessment of existing research and an agenda for future work. *New Media & Society*, *14*(8), 1375–1394. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812455148

Soewardojo, H. (2008). *Carut Marut Rangkap Jabatan di Dunia Kewartawanan*. Dewan Pers. https://dewanpers.or.id/publikasi/opini_detail/32/Carut_Marut_Rangkap_Jabatan_di_Dunia_Kewartawanan

Strömbäck, J., Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H., Damstra, A., Lindgren, E., Vliegenthart, R., & Lindholm, T. (2020). News Media Trust and its Impact on Media Use: Toward a Framework for Future Research. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *44*(22), 139–156. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1755338

Suraya, S. (2019). Journalist Credibility Based on Digital Media Used. *Jurnal ISKI*, *4*(1), 26–34. https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v4i1.261

Surugiu, R. (2013). Labor Conditions of Young Journalists in Romania: A Qualitative Research. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *81*, 157–161. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.06.405

Tanner, C., Fishman, E. K., Horton, K. M., & Sheth, S. (2017). How Technology Is Changing News and Our Culture: Lessons From Elections 2016 and Davos 2017: Tech, Media, and the Newsroom of the Future. *Journal of the American College of Radiology*, *14*(12), 1632–1634. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jacr.2017.06.025

Tapsell, R. (2015). Platform convergence in Indonesia. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, *21*(2), 182–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856514531527

Thomass, B. (2024). Public service media and public service internet as a counterweight to media concentration. *European Journal of Communication*, *39*(5), 457–471. https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231241270972

Waisbord, S. (2019). The vulnerabilities of journalism. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 210–213. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918809283

Wicaksono, A. P. (2023). Peran Ganda Jurnalis dan Penyimpangan Kode Etik Jurnalistik. *Rekam: Jurnal Fotografi, Televisi, Animasi*, *19*(1), 59–70. https://doi.org/10.24821/rekam.v19i1.8995

Wicaksono, K. S. (2015). Peran Pers dalam Peningkatan Daya Saing Daerah. *Jurnal Interaksi*, *4*(2), 175–186. https://doi.org/10.14710/interaksi.4.2.175-186

Wintterlin, F., Schatto-Eckrodt, T., Frischlich, L., Boberg, S., & Quandt, T. (2020). How to Cope with Dark Participation: Moderation Practices in German Newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, *7*(8), 904–924. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1797519

Zhong, B. (2013). From smartphones to iPad: Power users' disposition toward mobile media devices. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *29*(4), 1742–1748. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.02.016

Zion, L., Marjoribanks, T., & O'Donnell, P. (2024). Who is a journalist now? Recognising atypical journalism work in the digital media economy. *Media International Australia*, *192*(1), 98–114. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X221134207