Metajournalistic Discourse on the Commercialization of News: Resistance toward Journalistic Autonomy

Nanang Krisdinanto
Faculty of Communication Sciences, Universitas Katolik Widya Mandala Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

Abstract

The digital evolution in the journalistic arena forces journalists to adapt their practices to the rules that come from the economic arena associated with commercialization. Reduced advertising revenue has resulted in the media tending to prioritize financial survival over journalistic principles or ethics. This research aims to describe how journalists struggle to define journalistic practices amidst the pressure of commercialization, using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective. The method used is metajournalistic discourse, using metajournalistic documents in the form of scripts written by digital journalists who broadcast them on Remotivi. Metajournalistic discourse is a textual analysis method that focuses on how journalists tell stories about their journalistic practices, and these stories are assumed to shape the journalistic arena they inhabit. The findings show that journalists experience a paradox in defining and carrying out journalistic practices that are considered ideal. On the one hand, journalists appear to carry out journalistic practices in a situation with a high degree of heteronomy. On the other hand, journalists also seek to develop resistance by maintaining or developing definitions of journalistic practices or norms that are close to the autonomy pole, for example, by defining their journalistic practice with the term "journalistic jihad." These idealized journalistic definitions or norms (which prioritize verification, accuracy, and adherence to journalistic firewalls) are shared and circulated through discourse texts to become resistance narratives.

Keywords: advertising; commercialization; journalistic field; metajournalistic discource; resistence

Abstrak

Evolusi digital di arena jurnalistik memaksa jurnalis mengadaptasikan praktik jurnalistik dengan aturan yang datang dari arena ekonomi yang terkait dengan komersialisasi. Berkurangnya pendapatan iklan mengakibatkan media cenderung memprioritaskan kelangsungan hidup finansial daripada prinsip atau etika jurnalistik. Riset ini bertujuan menguraikan bagaimana pergulatan jurnalis mendefinisikan praktik jurnalistik di tengah tekanan komersialisasi dengan menggunakan perspektif teoritik Bourdieu. Metode yang dipakai adalah metajournalistic discourse, dengan menggunakan dokumen metajurnalistik berupa naskah yang ditulis sendiri oleh para jurnalis digital yang tayang di Remotivi. Metajournalistic discourse merupakan metode analisis tekstual yang berfokus pada bagaimana jurnalis bercerita tentang praktik jurnalistik mereka sendiri, dan cerita-cerita tersebut diasumsikan ikut membentuk arena jurnalistik yang dihuni. Temuan menunjukkan adanya paradoks yang dialami jurnalis dalam mendefinisikan dan menjalankan praktik jurnalistik yang dianggap ideal. Di satu sisi, jurnalis terlihat menjalankan praktik jurnalistik dalam situasi high degree of heteronomy. Di sisi lain, jurnalis juga berupaya mengembangkan resistensi dengan cara mempertahankan atau mengembangkan definisi praktik atau norma jurnalistik yang dekat dengan kutub otonomi, misalnya dengan mendefinisikan praktik jurnalistik mereka dengan istilah "jihad jurnalistik." Definisi atau norma jurnalistik yang dianggap ideal ini (yang mengedepankan verifikasi, akurasi, dan patuh kepada pagar api jurnalistik) ini dibagi dan disirkulasikan melalui teks wacana untuk menjadi narasi resistensi.

***Kata kunci**: arena jurnalistik; iklan; komersialisasi; resistensi; wacana metajurnalistik*

Correspondence: Dr. Nanang Krisdinanto, Drs., M.Si., Faculty of Communication Sciences Universitas Katolik Widya Mandala Surabaya, Dinoyo St. No. 42-44, Surabaya 60265, Email: nangkris@ukwms.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

Since the last decade, journalism has been going through a period of digital evolution and has been forced to change and adapt to rapidly evolving technological innovations (De Maeyer & Holton, 2016, p. 1). Journalists and media organizations are forced to adapt their competencies and organizational structures to digital challenges that impact all their professional activities (Goyanes et al., 2020, p. 171). A number of studies, such as Eldridge-II and Franklin (2019); Ferrucci and Vos (2017) show that digital journalists today often perform different professional roles than non-digital journalists. They are more accepting of advocacy roles while still feeling bound to the norms of news production.

On the other hand, journalistic practices have also changed due to the transformation to digital platforms (Deuze & Witschge, 2018; Goyanes et al., 2020, p. 175), including the relationship between journalism and social media (Alejandro, 2010; Olsen et al., 2020, p. 5). Digital technology has also resulted in changes in the media landscape. Siles and Boczkowski (2012, p. 1376) mentioned the drastic shrinkage of advertising spending and readership in print media. This has resulted in the so-called "newspaper crisis" while media using digital platforms are growing rapidly (Cawley, 2019, p. 5). Basically, the number of website visits is the financial source of digital media. It is the number of visits that will determine the amount of advertising revenue. That is why the survival of media companies today is highly dependent on the number of visits (Thakur & Kurhade, 2021).

At this point, research on journalistic practices in the digital era becomes important and interesting because it is connected to various problems, such as the injustice of the political economy structure of the media, the orientation of pursuing viewers or "likes," closed algorithms, and most importantly, the profit-seeking nature and dominance of advertising on digital content. This complicates the achievement of democratic aspirations through digital journalism (Peters & Witschge, 2015, p. 1). That is why the hope that digital technology will open up democratic access to journalism seems to be overblown. Zelizer (2019, p. 346) even calls it part of the myth of digital democracy.

These various problems indicate a struggle in journalistic practice related to an issue that has long been a concern in journalism, namely commercialization. Commercialization, referring to Benson (2006), is the widespread transformation of capitalism in the world of mass media towards increasingly intense profit-driven interests. According to McChesney (2004, p. 138), the profit in question is related to advertising, which has become the dominant source of profit for the media industry. This terminology can be combined with commodification, which Mosco (2009, p. 144) refers to as an effort to turn anything (including news) into a commodity or merchandise in order to make a profit by utilizing media content as a commodity or marketable item.

In the terminology of commercialization, to quote McManus (2009, p. 219), there is a connotation of corruption that means emphasizing the importance of profits, especially those obtained through the sacrifice of quality. Talking about commercialization also means talking about the "taint" that comes from the complication of the intertwining of profit orientation and public interest in the news media. Therefore, within the definition of commercialization is a controversial assumption regarding the relationship and the public interest: that business-based journalism will only serve the public interest under certain conditions. McManus, therefore, defines commercialization as any profit-driven action that undermines journalists' best efforts to maximize public understanding of a particular issue or event.

This advantage is related to advertising, which is increasingly becoming a dominant part of the profit structure of the news media, which raises issues of journalistic ethics. The

relationship between advertising and the media is a crucial problem because the wishes of advertisers can dramatically change the content of the media. As a result, the public interest must face advertiser control or filters (McChesney, 2004, p. 140). In contemporary journalism, journalistic ethics can be seen in two ways: the separation of facts and opinions and the strict separation between editorial and business (Iggers, 2018, pp. 57–58). In the context of the separation of news and business, the relationship between news and advertising has long been a concern in journalism, as advertising is considered a potential threat to editorial independence.

In many cases, advertisers can use the advertising factor to "punish" media outlets that report unfavorably on their companies or products. McChesney even sees commercialization resulting in the decline and marginalization of public service values in the media, which means a break with journalism. In newsrooms, it also means the collapse of long-established walls between the editorial and business sides (Yu, 2018, p. 2).

In various countries, including Indonesia, research on press commercialization has been conducted several times, including by Chyi and Lee (2018); Hannah (2019); Krisdinanto (2021); Magin and Geiß (2019). Overall, these studies show how the commercialization of the press puts pressure on journalists to produce large amounts of news and sensationalism, as well as new pressures on journalists' professional autonomy for economic reasons. What is also worrying is that readers find it difficult to distinguish between promotional content and news content.

This research aims to unravel the complexities of struggles experienced by journalists in carrying out and defining journalistic practices in stressful situations, especially the pressure of commercialization, through textual analysis of reflective texts on journalism written by Indonesian journalists and posted on Remotivi's website. Journalists are assumed to be standing in the middle of a tension or tug-of-war between the pole of autonomy (orientation to the public interest) and the pole of heteronomy (orientation to interests outside journalism, including profit). In other words, researchers want to understand the impact of commercialization on journalistic practices in the Indonesian media. The premise is that reduced revenue from advertising will result in the media tending to prioritize financial survival over journalistic principles or ethics.

To achieve this goal, the researcher used the metajournalistic discourse method, which allows researchers to understand not only how journalists view themselves but also how society views the journalism industry. This method still needs to be widely practiced in journalistic research in Indonesia. As journalism is a socially constructed profession, one way to understand its definition, practice and ethics is to examine the discourses published by its actors regarding the industry itself. As the "primary definers of journalism," journalists produce metajournalistic discourse to explain normative practices to both those inside and outside the journalistic arena (Carlson, 2016, p. 7). Simply put, metajournalistic discourse relates to how journalists tell stories about their field practices, and these stories help shape the journalistic field they inhabit (Perreault et al., 2021, p. 3).

This metajournalistic discourse shows that the way journalists practice journalism cannot be separated from the way they imagine journalism and the discourse about journalism has an impact on how journalism is understood and practiced (Carlson, 2014). Metajournalistic discourse is also often understood as journalism about journalism or public expressions that evaluate news texts, the practices that produce them, or the conditions of their reception. This discourse can take the form of reporters covering their industry, ombudsmen commenting on journalism, or trade magazines covering the industry (Carlson & Usher, 2016, pp. 4–5; De Maeyer & Holton, 2016, p. 4; Ferrucci, 2018, p. 4821).

In this regard, this study answers the research objectives by analyzing the reflection texts, or "outpourings" of digital journalists uploaded on Remotivi (remotivi.or.id). Remotivi is a media study and monitoring organization established in 2010 in Jakarta, with a scope of activities that includes research, publishing, mentoring and advocacy. This non-governmental organization was established as a form of community response to the increasingly commercialized media practices in the reform era, one of the impacts of which is the neglect of public responsibility (Ulfah, 2021). The metajournalistic documents studied were taken from the Behind the Scenes section, which is intended for digital journalists to articulate what they think and do in their daily journalistic practices. These documents can be a window to see and understand what digital journalists think about the commercialization of their industry and what they see as the limits of professional practice. This research is interesting because it raises a topic that many other studies have not touched on: the impact of economic pressures on the media. The use of metajournalistic discourse allows researchers to see how journalism is defined by its actors through metajournalistic discourse documents in the midst of strong commercialization pressures.

As an analytical tool, the researcher used Bourdieu's theoretical perspective on the journalistic field because it is able to describe the struggles of journalists in carrying out journalistic practices that take place in a stressful journalistic field (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 53). Bourdieusian concept is used as an instrument to explain the various struggles of digital media journalists who are the subjects of the study (Champagne, 2006).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used a qualitative approach, which places the researcher as the key instrument (Lune & Berg, 2017, pp. 15–16). The method used is metajournalistic discourse, which will be able to provide an overview of how actors in the journalism industry discursively shape the boundaries of their profession (Vos & Singer, 2016, p. 150). According to Carlson (2016, pp. 5–6), textual or discourse analysis allows researchers to see the figurative world created by journalists. This method is useful for researchers who want to explore metajournalistic discourse in situations where journalists face challenging moments.

This metajournalistic discourse can be found on a variety of sites, including institutionalized publications such as journalism reviews, news and opinion columns, news analysis programs, and a variety of internet-based outlets ranging from professional news organization websites to individual blogs and social media. Metajournalistic discourse can be found in various places, including institutionalized publications such as journalism reviews, news and opinion columns, news analysis programs, and various internet-based outlets ranging from professional news organizations to individual blogs and Twitter feeds (Carlson, 2014).

This research uses data in the form of metajournalistic documents obtained through text documents (articles) written by digital journalists in Indonesia uploaded in the Behind the Scenes feature or rubric on the Remotivi website. This rubric is provided as a space for journalists to take a break from their daily routines. Here, journalists can share their experiences, reflections, and self-criticism on their daily professional practices or news production practices in the media. This rubric has been in existence since 2017, and Remotivi has placed the manuscripts based on the year.

The data collection of metajournalistic documents in this study consisted of two steps. First, researchers conducted a manual search (by reading the entire metajournalistic document in the form of articles written by journalists about their journalistic practices) of all articles in the Behind the Scenes section. Since 2017, there have been 48 articles, with details of 1

article in 2023 (February deadline), 13 (in 2022), 9 (in 2021), 11 (in 2020), 6 (in 2019), 5 (in 2018), and 3 (in 2017). The second step was to determine a purposive sample taken from all articles for analysis. The researcher selected and determined articles with the theme of journalistic practice experience related to the problem of commercialization pressure as the metajournalistic documents analyzed. From this step, we got 1 article (in 2023), 5 (in 2022), 6 (in 2021), 5 (in 2020), 3 (in 2019), 2 (in 2018), and 1 (in 2017). The following documents were selected.

Table 1. Analyzed Metajournalistic Documents

No	Title	Journalist Name	Link
1	Correspondents and Freelance Writers, Equally Strapped (February 11, 2021)	Eko Rusdianto	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/662/koresponden-dan-penulis-lepas,-sama-sama-cekaknya
2	The fate of sports journalists who stir up soccer fanaticism (October 14, 2020)	Dion Lexander	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/640/nasib-jurnalis-olahraga-penggoreng-fanatisme-sepak-bola
3	Journalistic Collaboration during the Pandemic and How I Learned from It (August 6, 2020)	Irwan A. Syambudi	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/618/kolaborasi-jurnalistik-di-masa-pandemi-dan-bagaimana-saya-belajar-darinya
4	Imagine if you were a tabloid journalist like me (May 10, 2020)	Zuly Kristanto	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/590/bayangkan-kalau-anda-wartawan-tabloid-gaib-seperti-saya
5	I'm too lazy to do the coverage by myself, so I cheat (February 7, 2020)	M. Ihsan Yurin	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/568/malas-reportase-sendiri,-menyadur-pun-jadi
6	Am I the only one sick of bribery? (November 14, 2019)	M. Ihsan Yurin	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/558/apakah-hanya-saya-yang-muak-dengan-budaya-amplop?
7	Online journalists must master Kage Bunshin to fulfill news quotas (November 6, 2019)	Diana Gaizka	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/557/jadi-wartawan-online-itu-mesti-menguasai-kage-bunshin-untuk-kejar-kuota-berita
8	Writing them is like pointing a gun at your own forehead (August 7, 2019)	Dieqy Hasbi Widhana	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/538/menulis-mereka,-seperti-menodong-pistol-ke-jidat-sendiri
9	Behind the Fragrance of Meikarta News (December 3, 2017)	Ghina Ghaliya Quddus	https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/462/di-balik-wangi-pemberitaan-meikarta

Table 1 (continued)

| 11 | Environmental issues are not selling well in the media; traffic and production patterns are to blame (December 20, 2021) | Fadiyah Alaidrus | https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/734/isu-lingkungan-tak-laku-di-media-traffic-dan-pola-produksi-jadi-penyebabnya |
| 12 | Are Journalists Ready for Digital Attacks? Survey on Cybersecurity Literacy among Journalists (August 27, 2020) | Ann Putri dan Muhamad Heychael | https://www.remotivi.or.id/pantau/624/siapkah-wartawan-menghadapi-serangan-digital-survei-literasi-keamanan-siber-di-kalangan-wartawan |

Source: processed from Remotivi (2023)

The procedure of analysis is done qualitatively by grouping the metajournalistic discourse that appears in each article into certain themes. This data reduction process was carried out by referring to the key perspectives or concepts of journalistic studies developed by Bourdieusean. The researcher then interpreted the metajournalistic discourse that appeared in the selected documents. The researcher focuses on the metajournalistic discourse reflected in the author's experience story, the use of language, or the ways the author constructs meaning related to journalistic practice through word choice, language style, sentence structure, or metaphors that can be seen as the author's discursive strategy (Vos & Craft, 2017, p. 8).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Economic Field Pressure: Commercialization

In Bourdieu's (1998, p. 53) thinking, the journalistic field is not seen as independent. The journalistic field is a sub-field of a larger field, namely the field of cultural production. Meanwhile, the cultural production arena is also positioned to have relations with other fields, namely the political and economic fields (Krisdinanto, 2023, p. 143). Regarding this relationship, especially the relationship between the journalistic field and the economic field, Bourdieu offers the thesis that the journalistic field has lost its autonomy due to commercialization (see Figure 1). As a sub-field of the cultural production field, the journalistic field is much more dependent on external forces (in this case, the economic arena) than other sub-fields of the cultural production (Bourdieu, 2004, pp. 42–43).
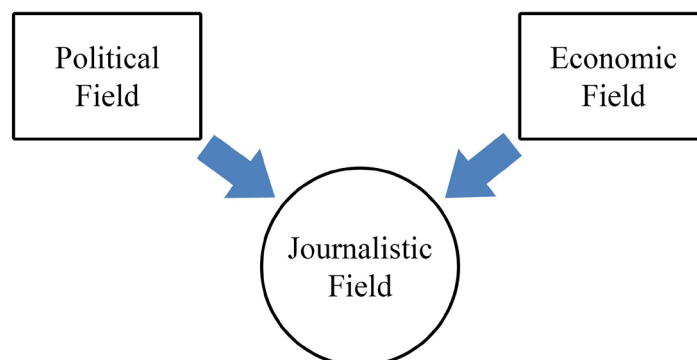

Figure 1. Journalistic Field
Source: Bourdieu (2004)

In the context of field theory, according to Vos et al. (2019, p. 2), social spaces are always shaped by a series of endogenous and exogenous forces. So is the journalistic field, which is shaped by the interaction between the autonomous poles within itself (endogenous) and the economic and political poles (exogenous) that come from outside itself. The discourse that emerges in the metajournalistic documents studied illustrates the heavy pressure of the economic and political field on the journalistic field. This pressure ultimately shapes the way journalists define, negotiate, and compromise their journalistic practices.

The forms of pressure vary. The pressure of the economic field (which is the focus of this research) varies from page views, speed, plagiarism, and advertising (related to the issue of journalistic firewalls). Regarding the pressure of the economic field, the metajournalistic documents studied tell many stories in the field that reflect the anxiety and even anger of digital journalists stemming from what McManus (2009) and McChesney (2004) call commercialization.

This anxiety and anger towards commercialization can be seen in a text written by Quddus (2017) in Remotivi with a quite striking title, "Behind the Fragrance of Meikarta News." Located in Cikarang, Meikarta is part of a new city project developed by the Lippo Group with an investment of up to IDR 278 trillion (Sukmawijaya, 2022). However, this giant project was hampered by permit issues and bribery cases and was not realized, leading to protests from consumers who had already purchased it.

What is told in the metajournalistic document written by Quddus (2017) is his anxiety and anger because the editorial board prohibited the publication of any news that was detrimental to Meikarta. According to him, this was also experienced by almost all economic-business journalists who were his colleagues in the field. The reason for the prohibition is the advertising contract between Meikarta and many press companies in Jakarta, with one of the clauses being not to publish news that is detrimental to this project. Among them, Quddus wrote:

> "A colleague in a WhatsApp group containing journalists from various media sent a short message, 'This morning, my pickets and eyes are stinging because everywhere, in any newspaper, there are five-page Meikarta advertisements.' ... Then, a journalist from another media responded, 'I've been told from this morning all negative news about Meikarta cannot go up. It's huge.' ... Then, a journalist from another media responded, 'I've been told that as of this morning, all negative news about Meikarta cannot go up. Because it's advertising.' He also sent a memo that was distributed by the editor where he works to us in the group, saying: 'The Meikarta project is an advertising partnership with the office. They are a big client. Please keep the news positive. Reading the memo, I was horrified. Nowadays, it is not unusual for the media to give added value to big advertisers, namely guarantees on the news (Quddus, 2017)."

This story is important because, firstly, it is experienced not only by the author but also by many of his colleagues. Second, it reflects a long-standing and fundamental problem of journalistic practice, namely the journalistic firewall. Quoting Harsono (2010, p. 46); Kovach and Rosenstiel (2021, p. 6), to maintain the independence of journalistic practice from business pressure, journalists are protected by an ethical concept called the firewall. Editorial and business are very strictly separated and are not to be exceeded for any reason. This separation is considered so sacred that McChesney (2004, p. 138) calls it the equivalent of the separation of church and state. Commercialization is what broke down the wall of separation and made Quddus and his friends feel that journalistic independence was being compromised.

This advertising variable raises issues related to journalistic ethics because the wishes or needs of advertisers can dramatically change the content of the media. As a result, the public interest that should be promoted must face the control or filter of advertisers. In other words, news that reflects the public interest must be compromised or often sacrificed if it clashes with

the interests of advertisers. Many advertisers use their influence by withholding advertising to "punish" media that cover their companies or products unfavorably (Chyi & Lee, 2018, p. 4).

The metajournalistic documents studied also show the anxiety of journalists towards other forms of commercialization of journalism that lead to traffic motives. Before the emergence of digital journalism, people recognized the term audience rating as a measure of the readability of news. Media companies then convert audience ratings into profits through advertising, and in the current digital media era, there is a new term, namely traffic or click rate (Zhou, 2022, p. 1545). In some of his writings, Bourdieu has emphasized his concern about how the journalistic field is faced with great pressure from the economic field through audience ratings (in the era of print and electronic media). This pressure makes the heteronomy pole increasingly dominant in the journalistic field and results in the marginalization of the autonomy pole (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004).

This pressure has led to a variety of journalistic stories recorded in the metajournalistic documents studied, ranging from clickbait, plagiarism (copy and paste), speed vs. accuracy of reporting, and news targets, to sensationalism. As Alaidrus (2021) complained, the high dependence on advertisers makes online media almost always accommodate advertisers' interests. They then focus on keywords that become trending topics and pursue as much traffic or page views as possible. This business model results in long working hours for journalists, large news targets per day, and the avoidance of important news issues such as the environment.

In a satirical tone, a journalist who was then a Regional Coordinator at Liputan6.com expressed his feelings about traffic:

> "There is a popular joke among journalists: online media practitioners who are Muslims also recognize the seventh pillar of faith, namely traffic. In Islam, there are six pillars of faith. For the sake of traffic, it is not uncommon for some journalists to create original content as long as it gets many clicks. The original content is, for example, vulgar, sadistic content, or false information (Mahbub, 2018)."

This traffic orientation also makes digital journalists feel forced to write as much news as possible, as quickly as possible, without regard to verification. In fact, the discipline of verification is one of the most important elements of journalism, which distinguishes it from fiction (Kovach & Rosentiel, 2021, p. 101). This pressure to make as much news as possible and as quickly as possible without verification, as complained by a number of journalists in their metajournalistic documents, has made the practice of plagiarism (copying and pasting) of journalistic works seem normal.

One journalist shared his experience in this regard. In order to meet news targets and keep track of daily issues, journalists' network through groups on messaging apps or mailing lists. There, journalists share material they call "bounces", usually in the form of audio recordings or transcripts of interviews related to various events. Group members can use them to fulfill their news quota without the obligation to verify directly with sources.

> "There have been three events at the same time: The DKI DPRD plenary meeting, Felix Siauw's lecture at City Hall, and GP Ansor's rejection of Felix's lecture. It was impossible for me to split my body into three to cover all three, but the office asked me to do it anyway. As a result, I relied on the 'bounces' of Felix Siauw and GP Ansor's interview transcripts to create the news, as I was only covering the DKI DPRD Plenary Meeting. This 'bounce' is what makes the news in online media similar to each other... (Gaizka, 2019)."

The metajournalistic document written by Yurin (2020) tells a sadder story. One day, his editor said that the exclusive news he wrote was "in demand," meaning that it was adapted many times by other media by increasing the dramatic elements. Among journalists, this practice of

increasing the level of sensationalism in the news is often referred to as "frying" (Lexander, 2020). For him, adapting exclusive news is excessive cheating. What made him even angrier was that one of the plagiarists was a media organization led by the former head of a journalists' alliance known to be idealistic, for example, prohibiting its members from enjoying food treats at the coverage location. "Man, I swear I just found out that this is how journalists play. No wonder the hoax doesn't go away (Yurin, 2020)."

All these journalistic practices illustrate the law of the journalistic arena formulated by Bourdieu: that the journalistic field is constantly under the pressure of the economic field. Commercialization brings profit-driven journalism that uses audience ratings as a benchmark. When journalism began to be digitized, plus the presence of search engines, the concept of traffic emerged to measure the number of audiences. Today, traffic analytics are embedded in newsroom practices to track how audiences absorb information. From this information, editors shape editorial content, such as by choosing content placement, selecting stories, developing stories, building social media engagement to drive traffic, choosing keywords caught by search engines, choosing photos, displays, news frames, and so on. This kind of analysis shows the strong orientation of advertisers toward the number of clicks (Bazaco et al., 2019; Neheli, 2018).

'Journalistic Jihad,' Resistance under Pressure

In metajournalistic discourse, referring to Ferrucci (2021, p. 7), texts written by journalists about the world of their profession can be seen as discourse practices. Through this discourse practice, researchers detect how journalists respond to commercialization pressures, which in turn affect the way they define journalistic practice. This is where digital journalists engage in struggles, negotiations, or even resistance between the professional values of journalism that they believe in and the rules of the game that the economic field brings to the journalistic field. The stories they send to Remotivi can be seen as a negotiation or even resistance to this pressure.

The various discourses and experiences recounted reflect Bourdieu's thesis that the journalistic field continues to lose autonomy and is increasingly dominated by its heterogeneous poles (Bourdieu, 2004, pp. 42–43). This also reflects what Champagne (2005, p. 48) has said, which is that the journalistic field experiences a double dependency on the market and political power. The history of journalism is understood as an incomplete story of autonomy that must be won or a story of journalistic autonomy that is impossible. Journalistic practice is imagined to be under tight control by the economic situation as well as organized politics. Journalism, according to the Bourdieusian perspective, is imagined to be caught in the middle of a conflict of ideas about market law and press freedom. Meanwhile, journalistic practice is seen as trapped in a production logic that emphasizes speed and intense competition. In a hyperbolic tone, Champagne and Marchetti (2005) wrote that journalists seem to be structurally "cursed" to carry out journalistic practices under economic or political pressure.

This is where the use of the Bourdieusian perspective becomes interesting. On the one hand, Bourdieu (1998, p. 42) sees the journalistic field is losing its autonomy due to commercialization. However, on the other hand, the Bourdieusian perspective also mentions the possibility of journalists getting out of this "curse" pressure. It is still possible for journalists to resist, namely by moving from the pole of heteronomy to the pole of autonomy. This is where Bourdieu emphasizes the concepts of journalistic habitus and journalistic capital that shape journalists' ability to negotiate or resist (Vos et al., 2019, p. 2). These two concepts are what make Bourdieu's approach to social practice able to get out of the danger of reductionists

who simplify social phenomena as products of structural opposition or agency (Schultz, 2007; Willig, 2012). The specific configuration or accumulation of capital and journalistic habitus can make journalists break out of the "curse" or constraints of the structure. Therefore, the Bourdieusian perspective is used in this study to present the data findings as the struggle of digital journalists between the constraints of the structure and their agency actions.

Through the study of metajournalistic discourse, the struggles in the journalistic field can be further unraveled. This metajournalistic document at Remotivi not only illustrates the pressure of commercialization but also implies the struggle and even resistance of journalists to get out of the pressure. Resistance, referring to Champagne (2005, 2006), occurs when agents move away from the pole of heteronomy and closer to the pole of autonomy. This resistance, from a Bourdieusian perspective, is possible by paying attention to the journalistic capital and habitus of journalists. The metajournalistic documents studied illustrate how journalists attempt to define their profession and journalistic practices against the backdrop of the ever-changing context of the journalism (De Maeyer & Holton, 2016, p. 4). This metajournalistic discourse shows that the way journalists practice journalism cannot be separated from the way they imagine journalism and the discourse about journalism has an impact on how journalism is understood and practiced (Carlson, 2014). The argument is not that discourse strictly determines practice, but rather that metajournalistic discourse can shape the repertoire of possible journalistic performances.

Although their journalistic practices are always under constant control, these journalists seem to resist by trying to maintain an ideal definition of journalistic practice. In the midst of commercialization pressures that force them to submit to traffic, be oriented towards speed over accuracy, plagiarize or fabricate news, and ignore verification, there is still resistance, as reflected in the following narrative:

> "Do I also use any means to get traffic? The answer is no. There are many elegant ways to get traffic without sacrificing information (Mahbub, 2018)."

> "As a journalist, I want to make news that I can be proud of, and that can happen when I have the time to study the issue more deeply and conduct rigorous verification (Gaizka, 2019)."

A journalist also wrote in a very satirical tone when explaining his journalistic practice that was not in line with the principle of journalistic independence, namely when forced to submit to the will of advertisers. He still defines journalistic practice as a professional practice that must be limited by various ethical conceptions, such as journalistic firewalls, even though in daily practice, he is forced to violate them. He even uses the diction of "jihad", a conception in Islam that has many meanings, from military action, fighting infidels, and fighting oppression to spiritual struggle against lust (Enz-Harlass, 2022, p. 1; Hasanzadeh & Renani, 2021, p. 3).

> "I am increasingly worried about the independence at stake for journalists whose media companies are affiliated with advertisers. Both can be called jihad for their loyalty to the money giver. The 'jihad' among journalists occurs when they are required to cover an agenda that prioritizes office interests over editorial interests. The coverage is deliberately presented to report only the good stuff. Indeed, there are still those who are serious about reporting among those who are asked to 'jihad' for advertisers. Covering the Meikarta event in the eyes of journalists is almost the same as 'jihad' because negative news or criticism of the project is almost impossible to publish (Quddus, 2017)."

In the context of metajournalistic discourse, the use of the word "jihad" implies journalists' resistance to commercialization pressures by continuing to put the principles of independence and journalistic firewalls as the main values. When forced to violate them, the journalists concerned use the phrase "journalistic jihad" as an expression of cynicism towards the press

company where they work, not towards the journalistic code of ethics that guides professional practice. On the one hand, the use of the word "jihad" can be seen as a satirical expression of the pressure of commercialization and the powerlessness to resist it. However, on the other hand, this diction can also be understood as resistance to pressure through defining ideal journalistic practices. In other words, despite failing to carry out ideal journalistic practices, these digital journalists are still trying to develop definitions or boundaries of professional norms that reinforce the pole of autonomy in the journalistic arena.

CONCLUSION

The use of the Bourdieusean perspective in this metajournalistic discourse study shows the paradox in journalistic practices carried out by journalists in Indonesia when under the pressure of commercialization coming from the economic arena. This paradox reflects an internal struggle among journalists, especially regarding the journalistic practices they carry out daily and the way they define journalistic practices that are considered ideal. In general, they accept various assumptions or ideal values (such as independence, objectivity, impartiality, verification, and so on). However, they are also forced to compromise because these values are constantly under the pressure of commercialization. On the one hand, as seen from the discourse texts studied, their daily journalistic practices clearly reflect what Bourdieusian call a high degree of heteronomy, which is a journalistic practice with norms that are very close to the heteronomy pole. Journalists also seem to be trying to develop resistance at the discourse level by maintaining or developing definitions of journalistic practices or norms that are close to the autonomy pole. These idealized journalistic definitions or norms (which prioritize verification, accuracy, and adherence to journalistic firewalls) are shared and circulated through discourse texts to become shared meaning.

The use of a Bourdieusian perspective allows this research to escape the deterministic trap: that journalistic practice is not always absolutely under the control of political and economic structures, or vice versa; that journalistic practice reflects the agency of journalists. The paradox between everyday journalistic practice and the metajournalistic discourse developed by journalists can be seen as a struggle between journalists who seek to negotiate or compromise the pressures of commercialization with journalistic norms that are considered ideal. At this point, the diction of "journalistic jihad" can be understood as an effort to resist the pressure of commercialization amidst the powerlessness to carry out journalistic practices that are considered ideal. Because it uses a text or discourse analysis method, this research cannot reach the depth of daily journalistic practices carried out by journalists both in the newsroom and in the field. In fact, journalistic practice always occurs under constant pressure and has implications for the emergence of ethical problems every day and on every issue. For this reason, the researcher recommends the use of field methods such as ethnography to get a completer and more detailed picture of this phenomenon.

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