

The practice of McJournalism in Indonesia's Cyber Media

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal the application of the principles of McJournalism by cyber media in Indonesia. This research has a subjective approach with a constructivist paradigm and uses descriptive qualitative methods. The theory used is McJournalism, which is based on George Ritzer's McDonaldization theory. The sample for this research is *Tribunnews.com*, an Indonesian cyber media that has the largest network in Indonesia. Data collection was carried out through semi-structured interviews with ten informants, and content analysis of the news published on the website *www.Tribunnews.com* from December 2020 to January 2021. The implementation of the principle of efficiency was carried out in seven forms. First, the headline uses clickbait. Second, the headline is bombastic, provocative, and lengthy. Third, there are interesting photos in each story. Fourth, one paragraph contains one sentence and the distance between the paragraphs is tenuous. Fifth, the news is distributed through social media by network members. The principle of calculation is carried out by producing as much news as possible. In one day 700 to 1000 news stories are produced, which have high human interest news value and the ability to be shared on social media. The implementation of the predictability principle is carried out by giving a uniformed website appearance and format. The principle of control is applied by utilising communication technology such as smartphones, search engines, and social media analytics programme in the process of journalistic work.

Keywords: *Clickbait, journalist, McDonaldization, McJournalism, multitasking.*

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to reveal the practice of applying the principles of McJournalism by cyber media in Indonesia. McJournalism is a theory introduced by Bob Franklin based on George Ritzer's McDonaldization theory (Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey & Richardson, 2005). McDonaldization is a theory developed by George Ritzer by taking the principles of successful McDonald's fast-food restaurant management in America and has even gone global (Caldwell, 2015).

There are four principles in McDonaldization, namely efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. Efficiency is the search for the best means or tools to achieve goals. Predictability is anything that can be predicted so that there are no surprises. Calculability is emphasising something that can be counted, measured, or calculated. In calculability, quantity takes precedence over quality. A product can be replicated elsewhere around the world. Control is exercised through nonhuman technology rather than human technology. Technology replaces the role of humans in the production process (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2018).

The concept of McJournalism, which was introduced in 2005 with the aim to study newspapers, has now become relevant for analysing cyber media in Indonesia. There are some reasons why McJournalism is very relevant as a basis for studying cyber media in this country. First, the number of cyber media in Indonesia has reached more than 43,000 (Asosiasi Media Siber Indonesia, 2019), giving rise to fierce competition for readers and advertisers. To succeed in competition, innovation and strategies are needed in the

production and distribution of media products, one of which is by utilising technology (García-Orosa, López-García & Vázquez-Herrero, 2020).

Second, to win the competition, cyber media forms a network or networks that are members of the media business groups that are generally owned by conglomerates (Tapsell, 2017). The purpose of network formation is for efficiency. The parent network is generally located in Jakarta with members in various areas, like fast-food restaurants such as McDonald's. Some cyber media that have networks in various cities in Indonesia include *Tribunnews.com*, which has 48 online media (*Tribunnews.com*, n.d., retrieved data in year 2020) and *Antaraneews.com* which has 33 online media (*Antaraneews.com*, n.d., retrieved data in 17 June 2021).

Third, the cyber media business model in Indonesia is uniform, that is, the content produced can be read by readers without paying or for free. The model of creating content without paying is chosen so that the media gets readers because if they must pay, readers will choose media that provide free content that is widely available on the Internet (da Silva, & Sanseverino, 2020). With this business model, Cyber media's income comes from advertising. Advertisers will consider traffic from cyber media to advertise. The higher the traffic, the bigger the chances of getting ads. As a result, cyber media will create content that is of great interest to readers to generate high traffic, using a clickbait strategy (Bazaco, Redondo & Sánchez-García, 2019; Ramon & Tulloch, 2019).

The demands of generating high traffic to get advertisements, ultimately affect the work process in news gatherings. To pursue immediacy, many cyber media ignore journalistic codes of ethics such as accuracy in the news gathering process (Diekerhof, 2021). Cyber media in Indonesia, which prioritises immediacy and exclusive presentation to win the competition, often ignore journalistic principles such as prudence, accuracy, and verification (Bangun, 2018). An example of a media case that neglects journalistic principles occurred on June 3, 2020, when 33 cyber media in Indonesia incorrectly reported the Civil Court of Justice's (*Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara/ PTUN*) decision regarding Internet restrictions in Papua (Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2020).

Research on McJournalism has been conducted by some previous researchers. Dean Cummings (2020) researched the impact of applying the principles of McDonaldization in the news production process at a broadcasting news corporation in the United States. Broadcasting news corporations make Multimedia Journalists (MMJ) an important part of the future employee structure in newsrooms (Cummings, 2020). Mulyadi (2015) researched political news on television in Indonesia, the results of which explained political news was packaged in a tabloid-style, by applying the principles of McJournalism. The impact is that the appearance of news becomes uniform, such as it is full of drama and is given musical illustrations (Mulyadi, 2015). Kshetri (2010) examines the forwarding of McJournalism principles in newspaper management in Nepal. The study concluded that newspapers in Nepal, for the sake of efficiency, use more news sources from news agencies than their coverage. Other researchers stated that the slow journalism model was born in cyber media as a form of resistance to McJournalism. It is said that the development of slow journalism is a sign of the end of the McJournalism era (Andersen, 2020; Carretero, & Bargain, 2016; Drok & Liesbeth, 2015). Meanwhile, Bahiyah Omar (2017), although not explicitly using the term McJournalism, states that remediation practices are carried out in production, consumption, and immediacy in online media in Malaysia. Based on the description above, it appears that there has been no research on the application of McJournalism principles in cyber media, at

least in Indonesia. This is what is new in this research, namely the application of the principles of McJournalism in the production and distribution of cyber media news in Indonesia.

The object of this research is *Tribunnews.com*. The choice was made based on two reasons. First, *Tribunnews.com* is a cyber media that has the largest network in Indonesia spread across 24 cities with 51 portals or websites (Tribunnews.com, n.d., retrieved data in year 2020). *Tribunnews.com* is the regional press division of the Kompas Gramedia Group or KKG (Kompas Gramedia, 2020). Media in the KKG is divided into three groups, namely regional press with the Tribun brand, national media with the Kompas brand, and entertainment media that are members of Grid Network with 54 portals (Grid Network, n.d., retrieved data in year 2020). Second, *Tribunnews.com* is the number one cyber media in Similarweb ranking (Similarweb, n.d., retrieved data in year 2020).

The question in this research is how does *Tribunnews.com* apply the principles of McJournalism in its journalistic practice?

LITERATURE REVIEW

a) *Cyber Media and McJournalism*

Cyber media is all forms of media that use the Internet and carry out journalistic activity and meet the requirements of the Press Law and the Press Company Standards set by the Press Council (Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2020). This definition provides an understanding that not all forms of media that use the Internet as a vehicle are cyber media. There is a requirement for a form of media to fall into the cyber media category, namely carrying out journalistic activities and press company standards. Journalistic activity according to the press' law are activities of seeking, obtaining, possessing, storing, processing, and conveying information in the form of writing, sound, image, sound, and image, data and graphics as well as in other forms using printed media, electronic media, and all kinds of channels available. Meanwhile, press companies, in this case, are Indonesian legal entities that carry out press businesses including print media companies, electronic media, and news agencies, as well as other media companies that specifically organise, broadcast, or distribute information (Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2020). Cyber media has a different character from other media. Foust (2017) explains that the characters of cyber media are audience control, nonlinearity, storage and retrieval, unlimited space, multimedia capability, and interactivity.

Ward (2002) describes the characteristics of cyber media as consisting of immediacy, multiple paginations, multimedia, flexible delivery platforms, archiving, the relationship with the reader, interactivity, and linkage. Meanwhile, according to John Vivian, as quoted by Rizkiansyah, Muslikhin and Wiratma (2020), the characteristics of cyber media are navigability, interconnectivity, site map, and loading time. Spyridou and Veglis (2016), by summarising the thoughts of other experts, describe the characteristics of cyber media, namely; a) increasing volume of news and information; b) provide sheer nonlinear flexibility; c) provide the possibility of reciprocal communication and interaction; d) define community in terms of common goals and interests; e) question the role of traditional gatekeepers; f) blur the boundaries; g) alter the relationship and the role of the producers and receivers; h) enhance news diversity, immediacy, and analysis.

Competition between cyber media in Indonesia is very tight, because of the large number of cyber media that reaches more than 43,000 (Asosiasi Media Siber Indonesia, 2019). It requires a strategy in managing cyber media, in order to win the competition (Kumalasari, 2018). Cyber media publishers who cannot adapt to the digital era will go

bankrupt (Hendartyo, 2019). One of the strategies used to win the competition is to apply the principles of McJournalism initiated by Bob Franklin (Ruswandi, 2006; Bahiyah, 2017)

There are four principles of McJournalism adopted from McDonaldization, namely efficiency, calculation, predictability, and control (Franklin et al., 2005). Efficiency in practice in cyber media is to make the news easy to read by readers. This can take the form of making a title that is sensational and arouses the curiosity of the reader or what is known as a clickbait title (Bazaco, Redondo & Sánchez-García, 2019).

There are eight types of clickbait, namely exaggeration, teasing titles that arouse readers' feelings (inflammatory), titles that always use capital letters, punctuation especially exclamation marks (formatting), titles that contain untrustworthy material, obscene (graphic), written in the title with no relevant news, only implied (bait-and-switch), the title is not clear (ambiguous), and the title of the article is wrong (Biyani, Tsioutsoulouklis & Blackmer, 2016). Chakraborty, Paranjape, Kakarla and Gangunly (2016) as stated by Pramesti (2020) explained, clickbait titles or headlines have characteristics such as the number of words in the title averaging 10 words; headlines have long clauses; the title is bombastic which is marked with the words "wow", "*astaga*", "*ckck*", "*yuk*"; titles using an exclamation point (!) or question (?) and titles exploiting the reader's curiosity. Apart from creating a clickbait title, another way to make the news enticing to be read is to put up photos that attract the readers' attention and write short news that is not in-depth so that it is quick to be read.

The application of calculations in the media is done by prioritising traffic or the number of readers who open the website rather than the quality of its content. This is done because the higher the traffic, the greater the cyber media's income from advertising. Besides, cyber media will produce as much news as possible, especially if the news materials are trending or are in high demand by readers. The goal is that when readers search for content via search engines such as Google or Bing, the article will be the first to appear on the search.

Predictability is reflected in the existence of standardisation in cyber media products. The form of standardisation in cyber media is that the news is short, one news is broken into several pages, the news is uniformed, and the news title is put forward as clickbaits (Hadiyat, 2019; Ramon & Tulloch, 2019)

The principle of control in cyber media is carried out by applying communication technology, using social media listening and analysis programmes, Google Analytics, to control its' journalists and readers. Through this technology, most of the work of cyber media journalists is taken over. Smartphones with camera facilities, voice recording devices, and Internet connections have made journalism work previously done by many people, now done only by one person. With the existence of smartphones, cyber media journalists must have multitasking and multi-skilling skills in their journalistic activities. The implementation of control is also carried out by utilising media platform algorithms such as Google Trend, SEO Google Search, Crowd Tangle from Facebook, and aggregators in journalistic activities ranging from planning coverage, coverage, news writing to news distribution (Smyrniaios & Rebillard, 2019; Lee & Chyi, 2015).

b) Economy of Cyber Media in Indonesia

The discussion of managerial economics in communication media is a study that has intersections with some sciences, namely communication science, management economics, psychology, and semiotics. There are three perspectives or levels in economic studies of communication media management, namely micro, macro, and mezzo. The micro or

individual level is analysing language use. The question at the micro-level is how to use language or conversation efficiently. At the macro or political economy level, it is about analysing how the media system is optimised to best serve the public interest. Meanwhile, the mezzo level analyses how the media optimises the development of production and distribution of media products intending to maximise profits (Rimscha, 2020).

Cyber media's income sources can be grouped into six sources, namely paid articles, sponsored links, paywall, the share of expert opinions, Pay Per Click / PPC (AdSense) networks, and banner ads. Paid articles or also known as advertorials are articles in cyber media sponsored by a product. Sponsored links are links that appear on articles in which some products provide sponsorship in the publication of the article. A paywall is a subscription system that attracts payments to users or readers. Only subscribers can access or read the content. The PPC (AdSense) network is an advertisement provided by an AdSense management ad agency such as Google and is posted on web pages. Cyber media owners only provide a place for AdSense managers to advertise. Banner ads are advertisements that are placed directly by advertisers on news sites. These advertisements are usually in the form of banners (Korobka, 2020).

METHODOLOGY

This research has a subjective approach (Mulyana, 2018; Griffin, Ledbetter, & Sparks, 2019) with a constructivist paradigm, which intends to interpret how cyber media in Indonesia applies the principles of McJournalism, namely efficiency, control, predictability, and calculability. The object of this research is *Tribunnews.com*, a cyber media that has 51 news website networks spread across 24 cities in Indonesia. *Tribunnews.com* is a cyber media under the KG Media group, one of the largest media groups in Indonesia (Tapsell, 2017; Kompas Gramedia, 2020). The descriptive qualitative method is used in this research because it will examine in-depth and holistically the implementation of McJournalism at *Tribunnews.com* (Bungin, 2015; Tracy, 2020). Data were collected from semi-structured interviews with 10 informants ranging from editor-in-chief to reporters as shown in Table 1. Interviews were conducted face-to-face and recorded.

Table 1: Research Informants

Number	Name	Information
1	DD	Editor in Chief
2	YS	General Manager Content
3	VS	General Manajer Operasional
4	YT	Deputi General Manajer Conten
5	SA	Content Manager
6	DA	Editor
7	PR	Uploader
8	IH	Reporter
9	CA	Reporter
10	AB	Information Technology Manager

Meanwhile, the news analysis was chosen from news that is disseminated by the *Tribunnews.com*'s Facebook account from December 2020 to January 2021. The sampling technique is carried out purposively, namely, news that is shared every Wednesday, the best time to share content to Facebook (Ferreira, 2021), and those that got comments from at

least 10 readers. Referring to these criteria, the number of news stories used as data is 187 with details as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of news analysed by title

Number	Week	Number of News
1	December 2020, Wednesday Week 1	21
2	December 2020, Wednesday Week 2	17
3	December 2020, Wednesday Week 3	22
4	December 2020, Wednesday Week 4	25
5	December 2020, Wednesday Week 5	19
6	January 2021, Wednesday Week 1	23
7	January 2021, Wednesday Week 2	28
8	January 2021, Wednesday Week 3	20
9	January 2021, Wednesday Week 4	22
Total		187

The data analysis process follows the steps developed by Creswell and Creswell (2018). First was the processing, and preparing data from interviews with informants and 187 pieces of news that were distributed to the *Tribunnews.com* Facebook account.

Second was reading the data to find common themes about the implementation of McJournalism's principles. Third, coding and organising data from interviews and news was collected to fit the research problem. Fourth, coding was applied to describe the implementation of McJournalism's principles at *Tribunnews.com*. Fifth was showing how McJournalism's principles will be presented in the report. Sixth was interpreting the data on the implementation of McJournalism's principles in *Tribunnews.com* presented in the report (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

i) *Efficiency Takes Many Forms*

The implementation of the principle of efficiency so that the news on *Tribunnews.com* is easy to read by the audience takes various forms.

First, the headline leads to clickbait. In the view of the administrator of *Tribunnews.com*, making clickbait headlines is not a problem, because every journalist hopes that the news they write will be read by the audience. According to informant DD, all cyber media in Indonesia applies clickbait to news titles. The goal is to bring in visitors, who are the main targets of cyber media corporations.

No journalist writes articles and is given a title in the hope that no one will read it. It would be wrong for you to write this title; it does not have any contents. In cyber media, the target is like that (informant DD).

For *Tribunnews.com*, visitors are very important because they are related to traffic. The more visitors visit their website, the higher the traffic. As a cyber media whose main income is from advertising, clickbait titles are used to increase traffic so that more advertisers will advertise (Bazaco, Redondo & Sánchez-García, 2019; Ramon & Tulloch, 2019; Korobka, 2020). Clickbait is used for the benefit of bringing in visitors because all cyber media are chasing visitors. *Tribunnews.com* uses seven forms of clickbait in its news titles with details of exaggeration 45, titles; teasing, 10 titles; inflammatory, 50 titles; formatting, 70 titles; graphic, 5 titles; bait-and-switch, 5 titles; and ambiguous, 2 titles. The wrong clickbait form was not

used because it was against journalistic norms, namely reporting the truth, facts, as stated by informant DD. This is in line with the journalistic element, namely serving the truth (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2017).



Figure 1: Example of an inflammatory title.
Published on *Tribunnews.com*, January 4, 2021, uploaded at 11:00 WIB.

The title in Figure 1 is categorised as clickbait inflammatory because it arouses the readers' feelings to know how Michael Yukinobu, a suspect in a pornography case, looks when he fulfils the call of the Polda Metro Jaya for examination.



Figure 2: Examples of titles that are exaggerated or an exaggeration.
Published by *Tribunnews.com* on December 21, 2020, at 22:04.

The title in Figure 2 is considered an exaggeration or excessive because the content does not match the title. The content of the news is about a gimmick in the form of a debate among gossip performers on television. The debate is then broken up by the host. Readers only know that the uproar between Barbie Kumlasari and Evelyn happened on a television show after reading all the news.

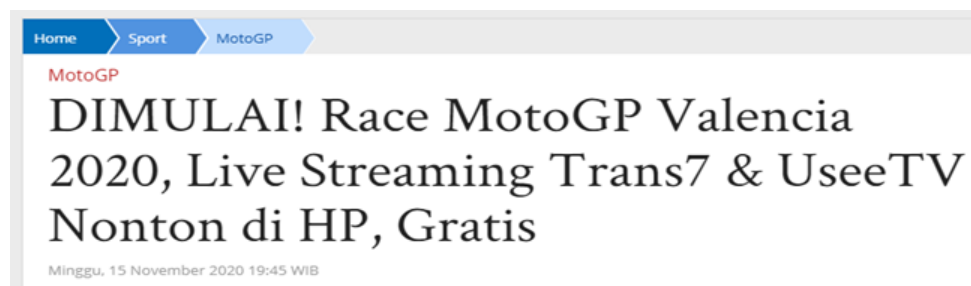


Figure 3: Example of a formatting title, using capital letters and an exclamation mark.
Published by *Tribunnews.com* on November 15, 2020, at 19:45 WIB.

The title in Figure 3 includes formatting, using capital letters and exclamation marks. An exclamation point in the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) Online is used after expressions and statements in the form of exclamations or orders (KBBI, 2016). The exclamation mark after the word starts gives an exclamation that the MotoGP race in Valencia has started and that you can immediately watch the live stream

Second is making bombastic, provocative, and long titles. Titles on *Tribunnews.com* are long, with a word count between 10-12 words. By reading the title, *Tribunnews.com* readers already know the content, because the title is a summary of the news content. The headline is also a news headline. These considerations were done, according to informants DD and YT, to attract readers. Besides, *Tribunnews.com* news content is also distributed through Facebook.

Now, here comes the problem, that an interesting title often has a provocative connotation. In my opinion, so, the point is orderly and disorderly. If you want the titles to be orderly, that's easy. Just flat. Tribune is not like that. Tribune journalists were not trained to do this. He was educated to find interesting things from an event. So, maybe if I can understand that people have been consuming mainstream mass media for decades (Informant DD).

But if for example, we look at the Facebook platform Tribun News, most of the titles are important which are long and have interesting descriptions. It is like a call to action. For example, the description, wow ... this is the most popular place ... So, it attracts users to click (Informant YT).

Third, put up interesting photos. All news on *Tribunnews.com* is accompanied by a photo to illustrate or describe the news. Large photos, sometimes one-third of the page, are placed after the headline. Based on a research conducted by the *Tribunnews.com* information and technology (IT) team, as disclosed by informant AB, the placement of photos in every news is preferred by readers who are mostly millennial generation and generation Z. The results of the *Tribunnews.com* IT team research are in line with Stillman's opinion which states that millennial and Z generations prefer images (Stillman & Stillman, 2017).

Fourth, one paragraph on *Tribunnews.com* contains one sentence. Besides, the distance between the paragraphs is tenuous or not tight. According to informant VS, this method was carried out because based on experience and research, 95% of readers use cell phones to read the news on cyber media. If a paragraph contains many sentences, it will be difficult to read them.

It has been researched. We have proven it, and it is true. If that person wants to read, the sentences are piled up, one sentence according to the rules of the Indonesian language. One paragraph consists of several sentences, it is difficult to read on mobile phones (Informant VS).

The opinion of the two informants is in line with a survey conducted by UC Browser, a mobile Internet software service provider in 2016. In the survey, 95% of Indonesians read the news on cyber media using cell phones (Kure, 2016).

Fifth, distribution of news through social media in which the number of users in Indonesia, according to the We Are Social Hootsuite survey which was released in January 2019, reached 150 million people (Fachrizal, 2020). *Tribunnews.com* uses all popular social media accounts in Indonesia such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, Line to distribute its news. This method is done because there has been a change in readers accessing news on cyber media. Readers no longer make news portals their main source of news. A survey conducted by DS Research in 2017, on the behaviour of the Indonesian Internet community in consuming news from the Internet, shows that Facebook is used by 70.85% Indonesians to find new news. Next is LINE, at 50.64% (Daily Social id, 2017). DS Research's research is in line with research conducted by the Indonesian Research Institute or LIPI which states that 60.6% of generation Z access news related to politics through social media (Setyowati, 2018).

Sixth, create a network for content distribution. The news produced by *Tribunnews.com* is not only published on one website, but also the member portal of the Tribun Network. At the end of the news, a statement is written that it has been published on the network member portal.

ii) *Calculation: Production of News to Generate Traffic*

The application of calculation principles in cyber media is carried out in two ways, namely producing as much news as possible and pursuing the highest traffic. For cyber media such as *Tribunnews.com*, the quantity of news produced takes precedence over the depth and completeness of the information. In one day, *Tribunnews.com* produces 700 to 1000 published stories. Producing a large amount of news can be done by breaking an event into various angles so that a lot of news can be generated from an event.

Apart from breaking the angle, updates on an event that is of concern to readers are always provided, even though such updates are not that many. This situation has consequences that will reduce the quality of the news produced, especially in terms of the completeness and depth of the information displayed (Ambardi, 2017).

The goal is to increase the number of news published so that the opportunity to enter the first page of search engines such as Google Search or Bing, is greater so that it will have an impact on traffic and the number of visitors to the *Tribunnews.com* website. In addition to increasing news production, news writing must also pay attention to search engine algorithms such as keywords that are widely searched for in news headlines and bodies. This step was taken because the behaviour of readers in accessing news was found to be mostly through search engines such as Google Search and Bing rather than directly entering news portals. In a survey conducted by the Reuters Institute in 2020, 72% of readers' access cyber media news through "side doors" such as search engines, social media, aggregators, and email. The percentage of accessing cyber media news through search engines is 25% (Newman, Fletcher, Schulz, Andi & Nielsen, 2020).

The Reuters Institute's research is also reflected in the profile of readers of *Tribunnews.com*. Similarweb data from June - December 2020 revealed that 83.79% of readers accessed *Tribunnews.com* via search engines, the remaining 10.34% accessed directly through the website, and 4.50% via official *Tribunnews.com* social media accounts (Similarweb, 2021).

Chasing traffic is the main goal of *Tribunnews.com* in making news. This step was taken because *Tribunnews.com*'s main source of income was advertising. Advertisers on cyber media make traffic the main reference in choosing cyber media that will be used as a place to advertise (Wendratama, 2017). There are some ways to catch up with traffic in making news. First, make a headline that is interesting and leads to clickbait. Second, publish more stories that readers are looking for. According to informant SA, to find out what information readers are looking for, information that is currently a trending topic, editors are always monitoring Google Trend, and trending topics on Twitter (Pramesti, 2020).

While the news is being sought after, we use Google Trend. What is trending on Twitter, not just Twitter trending? What's trending on YouTube, just open what's trending on YouTube (Informant SA).

Third, as disclosed by informant six, editors also take advantage of viral information on social media to be written into news, after going through the confirmation process.

When we write the news, we take it from some of the ones that are viral on social media, the highest on Google Analytics. But there are also those of us who write based on planning. Some translate interesting foreign news. But we use more items that are viral on social media or are high on Google Analytics (Informant DA).

Fourth, reporting unique things that have high human-interest value. This unique news source comes from social media, and search results from the editorial team in the field. In the era of social media, unique news and human interest have high shareability. Human interest and shareability are news values that are considered by editors in producing news. Shareability is the ability of news to be shared by readers via social media (Harcup, & O'Neill, 2016).

Our reporters cover the field, the SOP is looking for something unique, that is interesting. Our journalists are asked to look for something unique. We provide it with the knowledge or ways to find unique things (Informant YS).

iii) Predictability: Uniform Website Appearance and Format

The application of the principle of predictability in *Tribunnews.com* is reflected in the emphasis on the standardisation of 51 websites of *Tribunnews.com* network members spread across 24 cities in Indonesia. There are some forms of standardisation carried out by *Tribunnews.com*. First, the naming of websites that belong to members of the network is uniform. Apart from naming the typology, the letters and colours used for the website name design are the same. The only difference lies in the location where the cyber media is published. For example, those published in Bandung, West Java, are named *TribunJabar*. Meanwhile, those published in Semarang are named *TribunJateng* as shown in Figure 4.

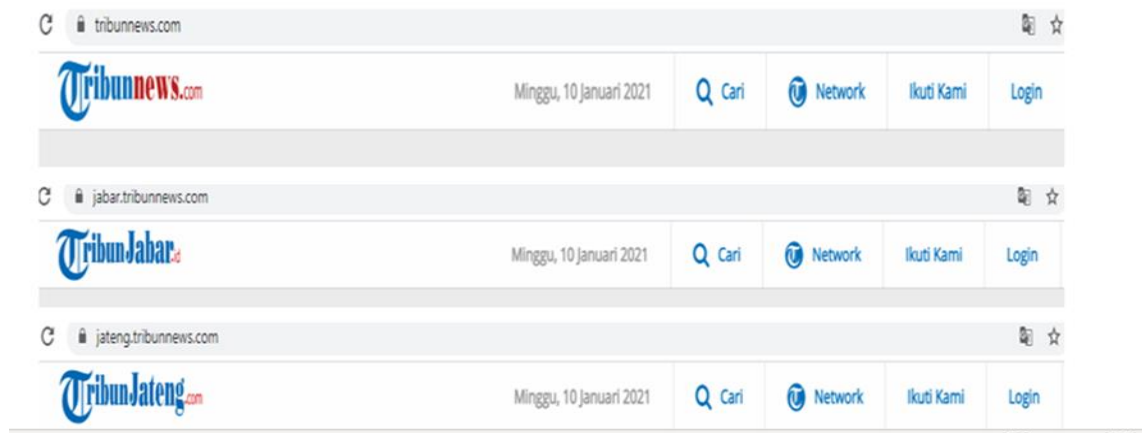


Figure 4: Uniform naming and typology of *Tribunnews.com* network members' websites

Second, the appearance of the homepage of the website is uniform on the 51 members of the Tribunnews.com network as shown in Figure 5. After the name of the website are the channels available on the website. Then there is a photo of the latest event or news placed in the middle of the website page. Apart from the home page, the appearance of the news page is also the same, namely, the headline is an average length of 10 to 13 words. Each news page is equipped with a photo with the size of one-third of the news page placed under the news headline that leads to clickbait with the same typology.

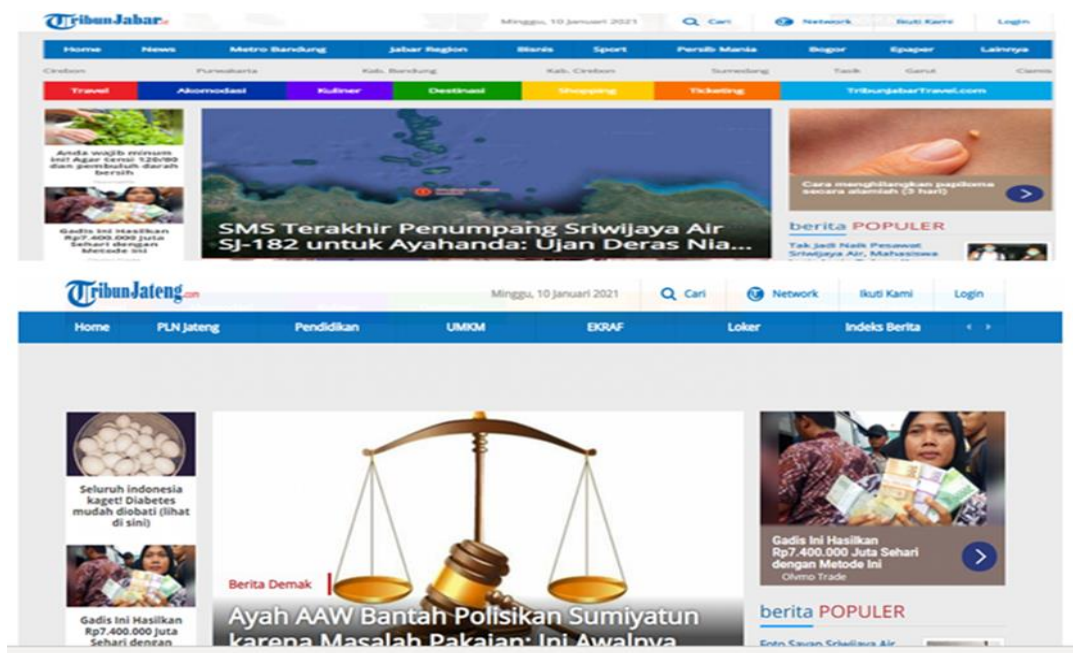


Figure 5: Uniform homepage, typology of *Tribunnews.com* network members

Third, the news writing format is uniform, one paragraph only has one sentence. The distance between paragraphs is tenuous. One news item is displayed on several pages of the website, so if readers want to know the entire news content, they must click the “next page” sign or page number at the end of the unfinished news as shown in Figure 6.

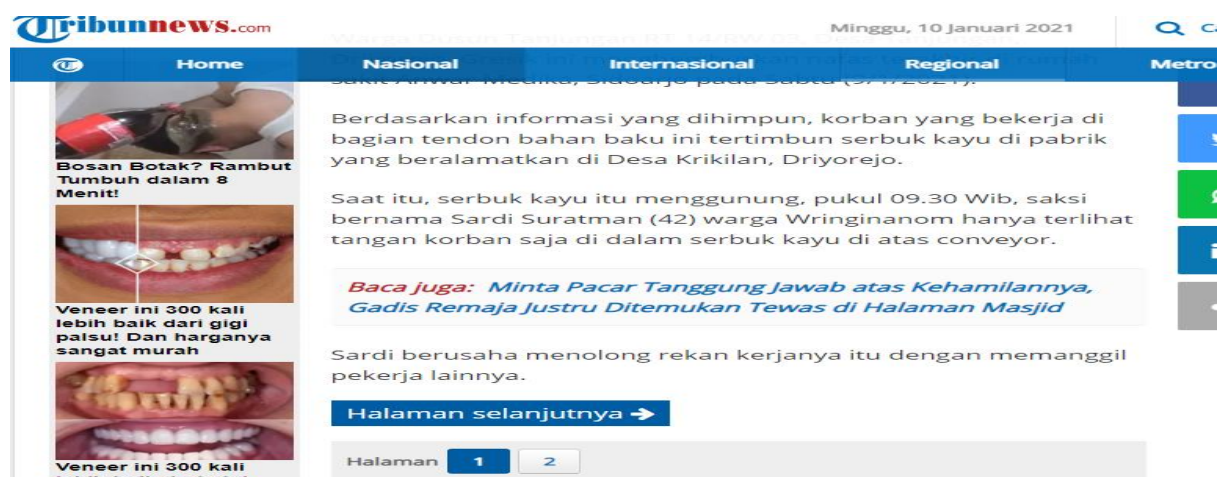


Figure 6: Uniform news writing format

What *Tribunnews.com* and its network members do is a form of formal rationality of predictability, which is characterised by uniformity. In predictability, there are no surprises, everything appears in the same form. There is no difference between *Tribunnews.com* published in Jakarta and 51 websites of network members located in 24 cities throughout Indonesia; they are all uniformed in their appearance. The impact felt by readers is that there is no variation and diversity in the appearance and content of the website, resulting in demystification and dehumanisation of the experience in reading news portals (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2018). The *Tribunnews.com* management, as explained by informant YS, such a model was carried out for efficiency. To reduce the boredom of readers, each Tribune Network member portal has regional-specific content for its readers.

iv) *Controls: Multitasking, Search Engines and Social Media*

The application of the control dimension to journalists and readers at *Tribunnews.com* is carried out by utilising smartphones, search engines, and social media analysis programmes. The use of smartphones in journalistic work processes, starting from taking pictures, recording voice, writing, and accessing Internet networks, makes journalistic work now only done by one person, from previously done by two or more people. Journalists at *Tribunnews.com* must have multitasking abilities; they must be able to write news, take videos and photos, and send them directly from the field to the newsroom via smartphone.

The field reporter, now a multi-talent. You must be able to type fast, take photos and videos... After they get the news, they go to the office. They make it at the office. Then we change it to real-time. Get the news directly written and sent (Informant YS).

In the era of media convergence and the development of educational technology, journalists are expected to have the ability to do many things or multitask and have a lot of skills or multi-skilled (Hamzah & Esa, 2020). Journalists who are referred to by media companies become super journalists so that their journalistic work processes become more efficient. To become super journalists, journalists must master the communication technology (Spyridou & Veglis, 2016).

In addition to mastery of communication technology, journalists must also master the workings of search engines such as Google Search and Bing, and master various social media analysis programmes and Google Analytics to support journalistic work processes (Bossio, 2017). Journalists at *Tribunnews.com* must understand how to write news so that they enter the first page of search engines when readers search for information. Because if the news from *Tribunnews.com* is on the first page, the opportunity to be read is very large, so it will bring traffic.

Mastery of social media analysis programs and Google Analytics are used to guide journalists in their journalistic work processes starting from searching, writing, and distributing news. In searching for news, *Tribunnews.com* journalists must understand what information readers are looking for, what issues are trending topics or trends. *Tribunnews.com* journalists must provide the information needed by these readers so that the number of website visitors continues to increase.

Providing the information needed by readers, as done by the journalists of *Tribunnews.com*, is a communication phenomenon that occurs in cyber media whose purpose is not only for reader satisfaction, but also to pursue traffic. The communication phenomenon itself can be understood using a communication model, which according to Soreno and Mortensen is an ideal description of what is needed for communication to occur (Mulyana, 2019). The communication model that occurs between *Tribunnews.com* journalists and readers is the uses and gratification model. In this model, readers will actively seek the required information provided by the media to get satisfaction (West, & Turner, 2019). For the satisfaction of readers, *Tribunnews.com* must provide various kinds and a lot of information. The goal is, when the audience is looking for the information needed, they will get it on *Tribunnews.com*.

Control through social media is also carried out for the distribution of news produced by *Tribunnews.com*. This method is done because social media has become a channel for readers to access news sourced from cyber media (Newman et al., 2020). For this reason, journalists must understand the behaviour of social media users when distributing news to social media so that the results are satisfactory (Bossio, 2017). Such knowledge includes when readers use social media a lot, or social media prime time, where each social media platform is different. IG prime time is 11 am to 1 pm and 7 - 9 pm. Meanwhile, the prime time for FB is at 1 and 4 in the afternoon (Ferreira, 2021).

There is prime time on Instagram. 7 am to 10 am. Every hour, everyone must share two Instagram stories and one uploaded a video. During prime time, it should be more specific to posting. Apart from 7 to 10 am, prime time in IG is four in the afternoon to seven in the evening (Informant CA).

From the data on the Social Blade, from 27 December 2020 to 12 January 2021, for example, an average of 24 *Tribunnews.com* news was shared with the IG @*Tribunnews* account which is the official account of *Tribunnews.com* (Social Blade, n.d., retrieved data in January 2021). Besides on IG, news from *Tribunnews.com* was also shared on Facebook and Twitter. The profile of *Tribunnews.com* readers who access news from FB is 32.94%, Twitter is 19.14%, and Instagram is 1.50% (Similarweb, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that *Tribunnews.com* has applied the four principles of McJournalism in its management of news. The application of the efficiency principle is carried out in seven forms. First, the headline uses clickbait as a strategy to capture the reader's interest. *Tribunnews.com* uses seven forms of clickbait in its news headlines, namely exaggeration, teasing, inflammatory, formatting, graphic, bait-and-switch, and ambiguity. The wrong clickbait form was not to be used as it was against journalistic norms in serving the truth and facts. Second, make a bombastic, provocative, and long headline. Third, put interesting photos in each news. Fourth, one paragraph on *Tribunnews.com* contains one sentence and the distance between the paragraphs is tenuous or not tight. Fifth, the distribution of news through social media. Sixth, forming a network or networks as a means of distributing content.

The principle of calculation is carried out by producing as much news as possible. In one day, 700 to a thousand articles were produced. Also, news that is produced is the one that is currently viral or which is being sought after by many readers. *Tribunnews.com* also reproduces news stories that have high human interest value and can be shared on social media.

The predictability principle is applied by naming and displaying websites that belong to members of a uniformed network with the same design. The only difference lies in the location where the cyber media is published. Also, the format of writing is uniformed on all network member websites.

The principle of control is applied by utilising communication technologies such as smartphones, search engines, and social media analytics programmes in the process of journalistic work when producing news. By utilizing this communication technology, journalists at *Tribunnews.com* are required to become super journalists who can do many tasks and have many abilities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article is part of research on the Interaction of Cyber Media and Social Media in Indonesia: Political Economy Study of *Tribunnews.com*, which is a doctoral study at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, Padjadjaran University, Bandung-Indonesia.

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