

Shifting Journalistic Values of Cyber Media in the Social Media Era

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Article

Submitted: 09-05-2025

Reviewed: 18-12-2025

Accepted: 20-06-2026

Published: 24-06-2026

DOI:

10.32509/wacana.v25i1.5382



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Volume : 25
No. : 1
Month : June
Year : 2026
Page : 249-262

Abstract

The presence of social media has transformed the journalistic workflow in Indonesia, from planning, production, to news distribution. This research aims to uncover the dynamics of shifting journalistic values in the working practices of Indonesian cyber media as they interact with social media, through a case study of Tribunnews.com. The research uses a qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm and a descriptive qualitative method. The theoretical framework used is market-driven journalism, professional-driven journalism, and the theory of social responsibility media. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 13 informants from various editorial levels to obtain a comprehensive understanding of journalistic practices in the newsroom. Data analysis was conducted using Creswell's qualitative analysis stages. The research results show that social media encourages tension between market orientation and professional values in journalistic practice. On one hand, virality, trending topics, and traffic potential increasingly influence the determination of news value and coverage priorities. On the other hand, Tribunnews.com strengthens various professional mechanisms to maintain journalistic quality, such as enhancing verification standards, developing fact-checking units, implementing stricter editorial oversight, and respecting intellectual property rights. These findings indicate that the shift in journalistic values is not a replacement of professional values by market logic, but rather an ongoing negotiation between algorithmic demands, audience interests, and social media responsibilities within the digital ecosystem.

Keywords: cyber media; social media; journalism; journalistic values; news

Abstrak

Kehadiran media sosial telah mengubah proses kerja jurnalistik di Indonesia, mulai dari perencanaan, produksi, hingga distribusi berita. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap dinamika pergeseran nilai-nilai jurnalisisme dalam praktik kerja media siber di Indonesia saat berinteraksi dengan media sosial melalui studi kasus Tribunnews.com. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruktivis dan metode kualitatif deskriptif. Kerangka teoretis yang digunakan adalah market-driven journalism, professional-driven journalism, dan teori tanggung jawab sosial media. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan 13 informan yang berasal dari berbagai level redaksi untuk memperoleh pemahaman yang komprehensif mengenai praktik jurnalistik di ruang redaksi. Analisis data dilakukan menggunakan tahapan analisis kualitatif yang dikembangkan oleh Creswell. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa media sosial mendorong munculnya ketegangan antara orientasi pasar dan nilai-nilai profesional dalam praktik jurnalistik. Di satu sisi, viralitas, topik yang sedang tren, dan potensi trafik semakin memengaruhi penentuan nilai berita serta prioritas liputan. Di sisi lain, Tribunnews.com memperkuat berbagai mekanisme profesional untuk menjaga kualitas jurnalistik, seperti peningkatan standar verifikasi, pengembangan unit cek fakta, pengawasan editorial yang lebih ketat, serta penghormatan terhadap hak kekayaan intelektual. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa pergeseran nilai jurnalistik yang terjadi bukanlah penggantian nilai profesional oleh logika pasar, melainkan proses negosiasi yang terus berlangsung antara tuntutan algoritma, kepentingan audiens, dan tanggung jawab media sosial dalam ekosistem digital.

Kata Kunci: cyber media; berita; media sosial; jurnalistik; nilai-nilai jurnalisisme

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to reveal shifts in journalistic values within the workflow of cyber media journalism in Indonesia as it interacts with social media. Experts state that social media has changed the patterns of journalistic work across the planning, production, and distribution stages of news (Adornato, 2021; Bossio, 2017; Diekerhof, 2021; Spyridou et al., 2016). Nikos Smyrniaios in Muslikhin et al. (2021) states that social media is a friend and enemy for cyber media, so that there is cooperation, or cooperation and competition. Social media is a competitor to cyber media, so it is competition, but at the same time, it is our friends, so that cooperation occurs (Smyrniaios, 2015). Cyber media cooperate with social media by using it as a source of information in the production process (Kristina & Setiawan, 2021) and for news distribution (Karunianingsih, 2021; Bail et al., 2021). At the same time, social media is a competitor because it is, in essence, a media company that profits from the commodification of information (Sudiby, 2021). In this study, cyber media is defined as any form of media that operates through the internet, engages in journalistic activities, and complies with the requirements of the Press Law and the Standards for Press Companies as established by the Indonesian Press Council (Pers, 2024).

Studies on cyber media and social media have been conducted by previous researchers. Research by Heise et al. (2019), Zakaria and Razak (2018), Jukes (2018), and Ferruci (2018) concludes that cyber media use social media content to produce news. Brandtzæg et al. (2017) studied journalists and social media users regarding online fact-checking and verification services. Bhandari (2018) examines the effects of social media cues and newspaper website names on readers' perceptions of online media. Chan (2017) examines the potential of alternative and social media to influence the identity, efficacy, and anger of pro-democracy protest movements in Hong Kong. Yanfang (2017) examines the evolution of the collaborative model between journalists and editors within newsroom organizations. Lee et al (2017) investigated the effects of news consumption through social media and news information overload on perceptions of journalistic norms and practices. Subandi and Sadono (2018) researched commodification, spatialization, and structuration in new media through LINE Webtoon. (Ngoc, 2022) examined how social media has transformed journalism by enabling two-way communication between journalists and readers. Jain and Meena (2024) stated that social media has had a significant impact on journalism by altering the roles, techniques, and interactions between reporters and audiences, thereby raising challenges related to journalistic ethics and integrity (Jain & Meena, 2024).

This study is urgent in its aim to complement and expand upon the findings of previous research. The difference between this research and previous research lies in its focus. This study focuses on shifts in journalistic values in the practice of cyber media journalism in Indonesia as it interacts with social media. This research is novel compared to previous research, which focused on the use of social media in the journalistic work process and its impact on readers and journalists.

McManus (1994) classifies journalism into two poles, namely market-driven journalism and professional-driven journalism. Market-driven journalism is a market-controlled journalistic practice that assesses whether an event will be covered as news for publication. Professional control journalism is a journalistic practice guided by journalistic values in determining the suitability of an event for news coverage. The most prominent practice of cyber media journalism in Indonesia today is market-controlled journalism. Cyber media prefers to produce news that will generate high traffic because it drives programmatic advertising, the main source of income (Muslikhin, 2021).

Professional control journalism is a journalistic practice that bases work processes on communication ethics and journalism norms. Communication ethics is a set of moral principles that guide journalistic practitioners in carrying out their professional duties and obligations. Ethics requires journalists to be aware of basic principles and values, as well as their obligations to themselves, others, and society (Hayatmoko, 2007). The foundation used by cyber media journalists in Indonesia is the Journalistic Code of Ethics and the guidelines for Cyber Media Reporting (Pers, 2024).

This professional control of journalism aligns with the theory of social media responsibility, whose main proposition, as described by McQuail (2016), is as follows: First, the media has a responsibility to society, and media ownership is a public trust. Second, the news media must be honest, accurate, balanced, objective, and relevant. Third, the media must be free to self-regulate. Fourth, the media must follow an approved code of ethics and professional conduct. Fifth, in certain situations, the government may need to intervene to protect the public interest.

Kovach and Rosenstiel (2021) argue that there are nine elements of journalism that serve as a guide for journalists in the practice of professional control journalism. First, journalism's first obligation is to the truth. Second, journalism's first loyalty is to citizens. Third, the essence of journalism is the discipline of verification. Fourth, practitioners must maintain independence from news sources. Fifth, journalism must act as a monitor of power. Sixth, journalism must provide a public forum for citizen criticism and support. Seventh, journalism must strive to make things important, interesting, and relevant. Eighth, journalism must keep the news comprehensive and proportional. Ninth, practitioners should be allowed to follow their conscience.

Journalists, when writing news, need news sources. Journalists, when searching for news sources, must pay attention to the credibility and level of trust of those sources so that the information produced can be trusted (Slavík et al., 2025). Journalists must confirm and verify their news sources (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2021). The provision of paying attention to the credibility of the news source has become a journalistic code of ethics that must be carried out by every journalist in their journalistic practice (Pers, 2024)

Another benchmark for journalists in making news is news value. Harcup and O'Neill (2016) stated that news value is a set of requirements that an event, issue, or story must meet to be selected as news. News value can be grouped into two perspectives, namely the perspective of the editor or journalist and the perspective of the audience or reader (Temmerman; Mast, 2021). Editor's perspective is the determination of the value of a story whose size is based on the intuitive assumptions of the editor or journalist. Harcup and O'Neill (2016) recorded fifteen news values from the editor's perspective used by the media to assess news worthiness, namely exclusivity, bad news, conflict, surprise, audio-visuals, shareability, entertainment, drama, follow-up, the power elite, relevance, magnitude, celebrity, good news, and the news organization's agenda. One of the news values, according to Harcup and O'Neil, is shareability, namely the ability of news to be shared on social media and be attractive to social media users.

The benchmark of news value from the audience perspective is information that is widely sought or read by the audience, as reflected on social media and websites. Website analytics programs such as Google Trends and Google Analytics, and social media analytics programs such as CrowdTangle and Twitter trending, are used to identify the most-searched and most-read information. The news value of this audience perspective has grown in digital journalism since the advent of web and social media analytics programs (Tandoc Jr., Cheng, & Maitra, 2021).

Tandoc et al. (2021) explained that web and social media analysis programs are used by journalists for a number of purposes, namely: first, the results of web or social media analysis serve as the basis for the editor's selection of topics to be reported on. Second, the results of web analysis are used to determine what news or issues should be followed by news developments. Editors make news and issues that are widely discussed on social media, much sought after by readers, and will continue to be produced. On the other hand, if the news or issue is not widely sought after by readers, it will not become a trending topic, and the news development will not be followed. Third, the results of web analysis affect news script writing or image selection. Journalists must pay attention to the use of keywords or key words in writing news. The title and content of the news must have the same keywords. Keywords are words used by the audience when searching for news or information through search engines. The use of keywords is intended so that when readers search for news by entering keywords, the results will appear on the first page of Google search results, increasing the likelihood of reading and leading to increased website traffic. The four results of web analysis are used to assess

the website's performance and will be used by all sections in the newsroom to evaluate it (Tandoc Jr., Cheng, & Maitra, 2021).

The Google Analytics website analysis program, for example, will show page views, traffic, audience demographics, and most-read content, as well as the actual number of readers accessing the website. The use of this web analysis has given rise to what is called Google-controlled journalism, namely, how Google programs, such as Google Trends and the Google Search Engine, have influenced journalists in making news (Muslikhin & Rizkiansyah, 2021). In the era of social media, cyber media content is influenced by a number of factors, such as virality, traffic, and search engine optimization (SEO) (Lopezosa et al., 2021). These factors are related to the need for cyber media to keep up with the number of readers or visitors, which, in turn, has implications for the journalistic process, including the application of journalistic norms.

The research question is how journalistic values are shifting within the workflow of cyber media journalism in Indonesia as it interacts with social media.

METHOD

The study used a qualitative approach within a constructivist paradigm (Lincoln et al., 2018) to interpret how shifts in journalistic values occur in the work processes of cyber media journalism in Indonesia as it interacts with social media. The subject of this research is Tribunnews.com, which operates 52 news websites across Indonesia's provincial capitals and several major cities. Tribunnews.com was chosen as the research object because it is one of the cyber media with the largest audience reach in Indonesia and consistently ranks at the top of the national news site rankings. In addition to having a large number of readers, Tribunnews.com manages a network of 52 regional news portals spread across various regions of Indonesia, enabling the production and distribution of news on a national scale (Tapsell, 2017). The business model orientated towards digital platforms, dependence on audience traffic metrics, and the intensive use of social media as a source, distribution channel, and means of interaction with the audience make Tribunnews.com a relevant case for examining changes in journalistic values in the social media era. The research method used is descriptive qualitative because it aims to examine, in depth and thoroughly, the shifts in journalistic values at Tribunnews.com when interacting with social media (Bungin, 2020; Tracy, 2020). Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 13 informants, ranging from the editor-in-chief to reporters, as shown in Table 1 below. Interviews were conducted face-to-face and online via Zoom, while maintaining health protocols, and were recorded.

Table 1. Research Informants

| Informant | Information |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| DD | Editor in Chief |
| FM | News Director |
| YS | General Manager Content |
| VS | General Manager |
| YT | Deputy General Manager |
| KS | Internal Ombudsman |
| SA | Content Manager |
| MY | Content Video Manager |
| DA | Editor |
| PR | Uploader |
| IH | Reporter |
| IS | Reporter |
| EK | Repoter/Cek Fakta |

Source: Data Processed by the Researcher, 2022

The data analysis technique follows the stages of qualitative data analysis developed by Creswell & Creswell (2018), which begins with the researcher preparing all primary data, both the results of interviews with informants and observations in the newsroom related to the shift in journalism values at Tribunnews.com when interacting with social media in the journalistic work process. The next step is that the researcher reads all the data, both interview data and newsroom documents such as the newsroom SOP and news article examples about the shift in journalism values in the journalistic work process in the newsroom, followed by coding all the data related to the shift in journalism values. After coding, the researcher describes in detail the codes developed and presents the full results of the data analysis on the shift in journalism values at Tribunnews.com. The final step is to interpret the data on the shift in journalistic values within the journalistic work process when Tribunnews.com utilizes social media. Interpretation concerns whether the research results align with the existing literature or contradict prior findings. To ensure the validity of the data, this study employs the validation strategies proposed by Creswell (2018), namely source triangulation, member checking, and rich and thick description. Triangulation is achieved by comparing interview results from informants with different backgrounds. Member checking is carried out by asking several informants to review the summary of the interview results. Meanwhile, detailed descriptions explain the research context in depth. The reliability of the research is maintained through an audit trail that documents the entire research process, from data collection and interview transcription to coding and drawing conclusions. This documentation allows the research process to be traced and evaluated systematically.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Virality and Trending as New News Value*

Social media has added to the list of news values considered by the cyber media editor at Tribunnews.com when determining which news to produce. The news value of the editor's perspective is still used to determine whether an information item or event is newsworthy. However, in the era of social media, the news value of the audience's perspective is also used to determine which information or events will be made news. Information that is viral on social media, becomes a trending topic, and is sought after by many audiences, becomes a new news value used by cyber media in producing news.

"We have tools; there is Google Analytics, there is Twitter trending, and YouTube trending. We use the trend as a reference. So there are two ways: first, we will continue to use the editorial policy; second, we will use user needs, as reflected in social media trends, as a reference for producing content. And that changes the journalistic paradigm in a big way," (YS informant)

The decision of Tribunnews.com editors, as disclosed by informant YS, shows that editorial authority is increasingly influenced by audience preferences reflected in Google Trends, Google Analytics, and social media trending topics. As a result, news values are no longer determined solely by professional editorial judgment but also by platform metrics and audience attention. This condition creates tensions between journalistic ideals and business interests that prioritize traffic and visibility, while requiring journalists to adapt their news selection practices to the logic of digital platforms. These findings are consistent with Tandoc Jr. et al. (2021). The use of social media monitoring tools has therefore become essential for media organizations adapting to Industry 4.0 and digital disruption (Schwab & Davis, 2018; Haryatmoko, 2020)

The practice of producing news content based on viral and trending topics signals a paradigm shift in newsroom decision-making at platforms such as Tribunnews.com. Rather than adhering strictly to the editorial judgment and professional ethics characteristic of professional-driven journalism, news selection is increasingly driven by metrics such as popularity, audience engagement, and digital virality, reflecting a market-driven journalism model. In this context, the content strategy is not necessarily guided by journalistic norms of the public interest but by market logic and audience demand,

particularly through trends that surface on social media. This market-oriented approach has significant implications for the editorial autonomy of mainstream media. The role of journalists as primary gatekeepers is being diluted by audience behavior in digital spaces, which now participates in setting the agenda through likes, shares, and comment algorithms. This phenomenon represents a decentralization of gatekeeping authority, where editorial judgment is often subordinated to audience preferences and platform algorithms.

B. Preferences for Engaging News with High Traffic Potential

Cyber media, including *Tribunnews.com*, face the challenge of producing news that is interesting for the audience to read, which will have implications for increased traffic. The higher the traffic, the more advertising revenue there will be. On the other hand, as a press company, *Tribunnews.com* must also produce important news to carry out its function as the fourth pillar of democracy, namely maintaining the state order if the other three pillars, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary, are weak or not functioning (Syah, 2014). In fact, one of the nine elements of journalism is trying to make things important, interesting, and relevant (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2021).

Informant YS revealed that important news concerns the lives of many people, the dynamics of the country's political economy, and corruption by state officials. But often, important news is less attractive to readers than celebrity news. Important news is often uninteresting, but interesting news is sometimes unimportant.

"Now, it's like the arrest of the Regent of Kudus by the KPK. Lost with the news that artist Nikita Mirzani was arrested. That exclamation. Readers want that. We like it or not, we have to follow it there," (YS informant).

Informant YS revealed that *Tribunnews* formed a special team to produce interesting news sourced from social media, with news value based on virality and trending topics. News related to artists and other famous people, such as celebrity divorces, celebrity weddings, and allegations of celebrity infidelity, always attracts readers' attention. In the latest case, the wedding and wedding party of singer Ahmad Dhani's child were read more by the audience than political news.

The perspective of informant YS reveals a persistent tension in journalistic work processes between journalistic ideals and market demands within the digital media ecosystem. Normatively, online media are expected to report on matters of public interest. However, due to audience behavior shaped by algorithmic logic and entertainment preferences, the news delivered to readers often becomes sensational and celebrity-oriented. This aligns with the theory of market-driven journalism, which posits that media content is increasingly shaped by market demand and audience preferences rather than by professional editorial judgment (McManus, 1994).

In this context, *Tribunnews.com* faces a difficult challenge: balancing the maintenance of public trust through substantively important reporting with the pursuit of audience reach to sustain the company's economic viability. Informant YS's statement underscores that editorial decisions today are heavily influenced by real-time data on reader engagement, ultimately pushing the newsroom to foreground popular news—even when it has limited public informational value. This reality challenges the ideals of professional-driven journalism.

The situation faced by *Tribunnews.com* is also related to the social responsibility theory of the press, which asserts that the media have an obligation to educate the public, foster democratic discourse, and act in the public interest (Vaca-Bacqueiro, 2018). Operating within a commercial media environment, *Tribunnews.com* is nonetheless expected to maintain ethical standards, present accurate information, and resist full subordination to viral trends or market-driven logic. The shift in editorial focus from important public issues to celebrity content illustrates how social responsibility is often marginalized under pressure from audience metrics, search engine optimization (SEO), and the viral logic of social media platforms.

C. Enhancement of Verification Standards Since 2018 and the Establishment of a Fact-Checking Unit in The News Room

Research informants admitted that, at the beginning, Tribunnews.com was a follower on social media in its news presentation. Any information that is viral and trending on social media is immediately written into the news, in need of confirmation and verification. The goal is to catch up in speed in order to compete with other cyber media. The informant was of the opinion that if information on social media had to be confirmed first, it would delay publishing it on the website.

The decision to prioritize speed aligns with the characteristics of cyber media, as revealed by Mike Ward (2002), as quoted by Romli (2018): immediacy or speed in conveying information to readers, which is an advantage of cyber media compared to other media. After the viral information is broadcast, the editor will confirm by sending a coverage team to the location of the viral event or by contacting the account owner who uploaded it on social media. Comments or responses from readers in the comments column are also considered for the confirmation process. The confirmation results were then reported in the news and broadcast on Tribunnews.com. The stages of the process of curating information on social media into news that prioritizes speed are shown in Diagram 1 below.

Process of Curating Social Media Information into News Without Verification and Confirmation



Figure 1. The Process of Curating Social Media Information into News without Verification and Confirmation. Source: Processed by the Researcher from the research data, 2022.

Tribunnews.com carried out journalistic work without confirmation and verification from its inception in 2010 until 2017. Tribunnews.com editors began to change the journalistic work process in early 2018, namely by verifying and confirming social media information that will be made news. The change was prompted by the Tribunnews.com editors' recognition of the need to adhere to journalistic norms, namely the Journalistic Code of Ethics (KEJ) and the Cyber Media Reporting Guidelines (PMS). This awareness arises from readers' demands; as a press company, cyber media must prioritize journalistic norms in its work processes.

"But today he was in the spotlight. So it actually seems that digital mass media is still messed up here. Confirmation is an issue. Confirmation versus speed- that's an issue. Accuracy is also another issue. Credibility, this is also an issue," (DD informant).

These changes ultimately changed the process of curating social media information into news on Tribunnews.com, as shown in diagram 2 below.

The Process of Curating News Sourced from Social Media with Verification and Confirmation

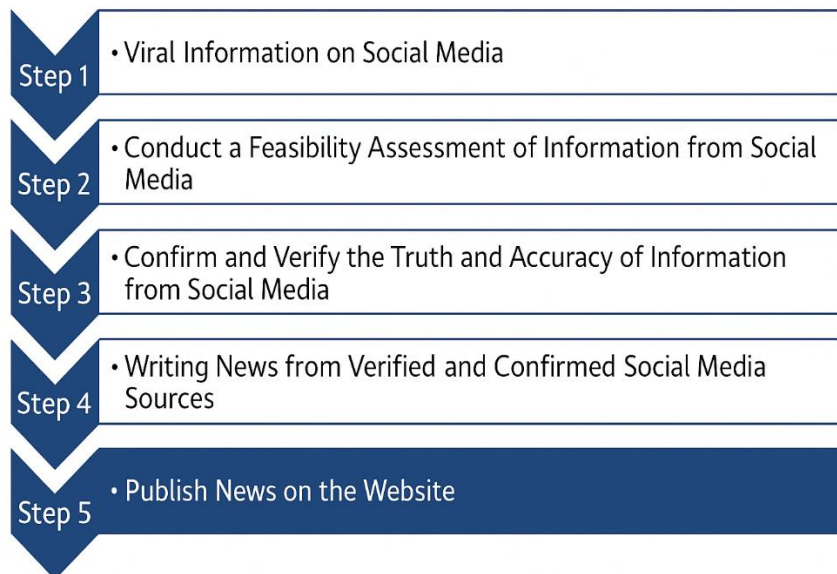


Figure 2. The process of curating news sourced from social media involves verification and confirmation.
 Source: Processed by the Researcher from the research data, 2022

The journalistic work process used by Tribunnews.com on social media aligns with the ideas of Lia-Paschalia Spyridou and Andreas Veglis (Spyridou & Veglis, 2016). Lia and Andreas explained that journalists go through five stages in their work process when using the internet, including social media as a news source. The five stages are information acquisition, information validation, information processing, information presentation and dissemination, and, lastly, information curation. Information acquisition is the process of finding sources that will be used as news material on the internet and social media. The source or material that will be used as news is then validated to determine its accuracy. After being validated, it is processed or written as news, which is then presented and disseminated as a publication on cyber media. The information curation stage is disseminating information published in cyber media to official social media. The goal is for readers to be more involved in the conversation about the information. The journalist’s work process can be illustrated in Diagram 3 below.



Figure 3. Stages of a journalist's work process
 Source: Lia-Paschalia Spyridou and Andreas Veglis (2016).

The implementation of verification and confirmation when curating information from social media led the Tribunnews.com editors to form a six-member Fact Check team in the newsroom. Fact Check team members are trained to verify and ensure the accuracy of information circulating on social media, which will be used as the initial source of news. The tasks of the Fact Check team are as follows:

First, check or confirm the truth of the information circulating on social media, which will be used as the initial source of news.

Second, after the account owner is contacted, the Fact Check Team conducts interviews to gather material for news coverage. The Fact Check Team also contacted resource persons regarding the contents of social media uploads that will be written as news. Third, writing news sourced from social media that has been confirmed and verified. The written news is then checked by the editor before being published on the website.

The process of confirming and verifying information from social media is carried out in various ways. First, text-based uploads, such as on Twitter, are checked by copying the upload and running it through Google search to determine whether the information is old or new. Second, contact the owner of the social media account whose content will be used as a news source. This method is used to verify the account's authenticity and the content's accuracy and to request permission to use the content on the account as a news source. Requests for permission are made by sending a letter or by contacting the account owner directly via social media.

Below is an image of an application for permission from the owner of a social media account, the content of which will be used as a news source by Tribunnews.com.

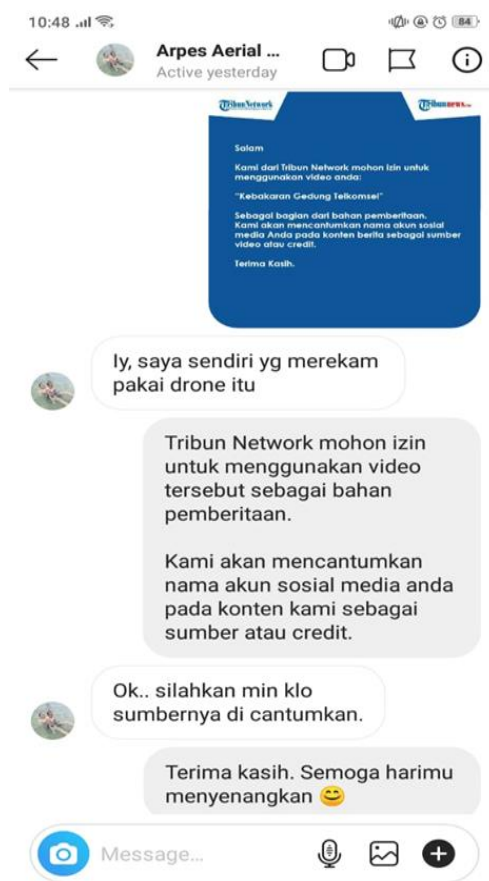


Figure 4: Example of the verification process, confirmation, and permission request from the social media account owner to be used as a news source. Source: Processed by the researcher from the research data, 2022.

The Fact Check Team does not verify the authenticity of social media accounts when information intended for news comes from a social media account verified by a social media service provider. Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook award blue ticks to verified accounts, indicating the

account is genuine. YouTube assigns the verified badge a white check mark in the circle or small box next to the account name for verified accounts (Google, 2021).

The decision of Tribunnews.com demonstrates the role of the media as an authenticator of information by confirming and verifying information circulating on social media before processing it into news. This practice reinforces the function of journalism as an institution that verifies and validates information for the public amidst the overwhelming flow of digital information (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2010). This role is carried out because information circulating on social media is not necessarily true, so it is the duty of the press to clarify and explain it to prevent people from consuming misinformation or hoaxes. The role of an authenticator is a tangible expression of the press's function as a medium of information and education, as mandated by the Press Law. The changes made by Tribunnews.com, from initially ignoring to implementing verification and confirmation in the journalistic process, constitute a form of professional control in journalism (McManus, 1994) and the implementation of social media responsibility (McQuail, 2011).

D. Internal Ombudsman and Super Admin Monitor News

In 2018, Tribunnews.com editors formed an internal ombudsman and news supervisor, dubbed the Super Admin, to keep the journalistic work process guided by journalistic values. The Ombudsman, in the organizational structure, is under the newspaper's director, one of whose duties is to oversee the news produced by members of the Tribun Network. The Super Admin is not a formal organization within the Tribun Network structure, such as an ombudsman, but rather a special team with the authority to monitor and supervise content and take action against content considered problematic in terms of journalistic norms and other legal rules.

The difference between the Ombudsman and the Super Admin lies in their authority. The Ombudsman's authority is limited to providing recommendations to cyber media leaders regarding network members, without taking action, while the Super Admin's authority is to take action on news considered problematic in terms of journalistic norms. The Ombudsman and Super Admin personnel are senior journalists for Tribun Network. The Ombudsman has five personnel members: one chairman and four members. There are four Super Admin personnel, one of whom is from the ombudsman.

The purpose of the establishment of the two institutions is to improve the quality of journalists who are members of the Tribun Network and maintain quality content, meet standards, and in accordance with journalistic norms, namely the Journalistic Code of Ethics (KEJ) and the Cyber Media Reporting Guidelines (PMS). The news monitoring process is carried out at random by both the Ombudsman and the Super Admin. In addition to monitoring, the Ombudsman and Super Admin also receive complaints about problematic news from the audience and other editorial members.

E. Respecting IPR for Photojournalism

The social media content used by Tribunnews.com as news sources includes text, photos, and videos. Among these three types of content, the use of photos is often a source of debate, especially regarding ownership and the reuse of content that has circulated in the digital space. Although regulations in Indonesia allow the media to use published content with proper attribution, this practice still presents ethical challenges in journalistic work. One of the cases that once drew attention was a lawsuit filed by a photographer against Tribunnews.com for using a photo that had previously been published by another media outlet. Although the lawsuit was ultimately dismissed by the court (Raharjo, 2019; JakTV, 2019), the case served as an important lesson for newsrooms in managing content sourced from the internet and social media.

Research findings indicate that the presence of social media not only changes the way journalists obtain information but also encourages a shift in how they view the use of digital content. If previously published content in the public domain was often considered reusable as long as the source was cited, editorial teams now increasingly emphasize the importance of obtaining permission, conducting verification, and respecting content owners. This change indicates a shift in values within

digital journalism practices, from merely utilizing available content to striving to build more ethical relationships with sources and content creators.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the presence of social media has driven a shift in journalistic values in the work practices of Tribunnews.com. This shift is marked by the growing importance of virality, trending topics, and audience engagement in agenda-setting and news production. Social media no longer serves only as a source of information but also influences editorial decision-making through various indicators of popularity and audience response. However, the research findings indicate that the shift in journalistic values should not be interpreted as a loss of professionalism. Amid the strengthening market logic and pressure to generate traffic, Tribunnews.com has instead developed various mechanisms to maintain professional standards, including strengthening verification and confirmation processes, forming a Fact Check team, oversight by internal Ombudsman and Super Admin, as well as implementing stricter practices in the use of social media content and respect for intellectual property rights. Thus, the shift in journalistic values in the social media era does not take the form of replacing professional values with market orientation, but rather through a continuous negotiation between market-driven and professional-driven journalism. On one hand, newsrooms are required to respond to the logic of platforms, algorithms, and audience preferences to remain competitive in the digital media ecosystem. On the other hand, the media still strives to uphold fundamental journalistic principles such as accuracy, verification, accountability, and social responsibility. These findings indicate that the transformation of digital journalism in Indonesia is taking place through efforts to balance the interests of media businesses and a commitment to journalistic professionalism. This research is limited to one media organization, so the results do not yet represent the condition of all cyber media in Indonesia. Further research can examine media with different business models, ownership structures, and editorial cultures to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics among market logic, digital platforms, and journalistic professional values.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The researcher would like to thank the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology for funding research through the Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant scheme. The authors also thank the Bina Nusantara University Foundation for providing scholarships to researchers during their doctoral studies in Communication Studies at Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia.

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