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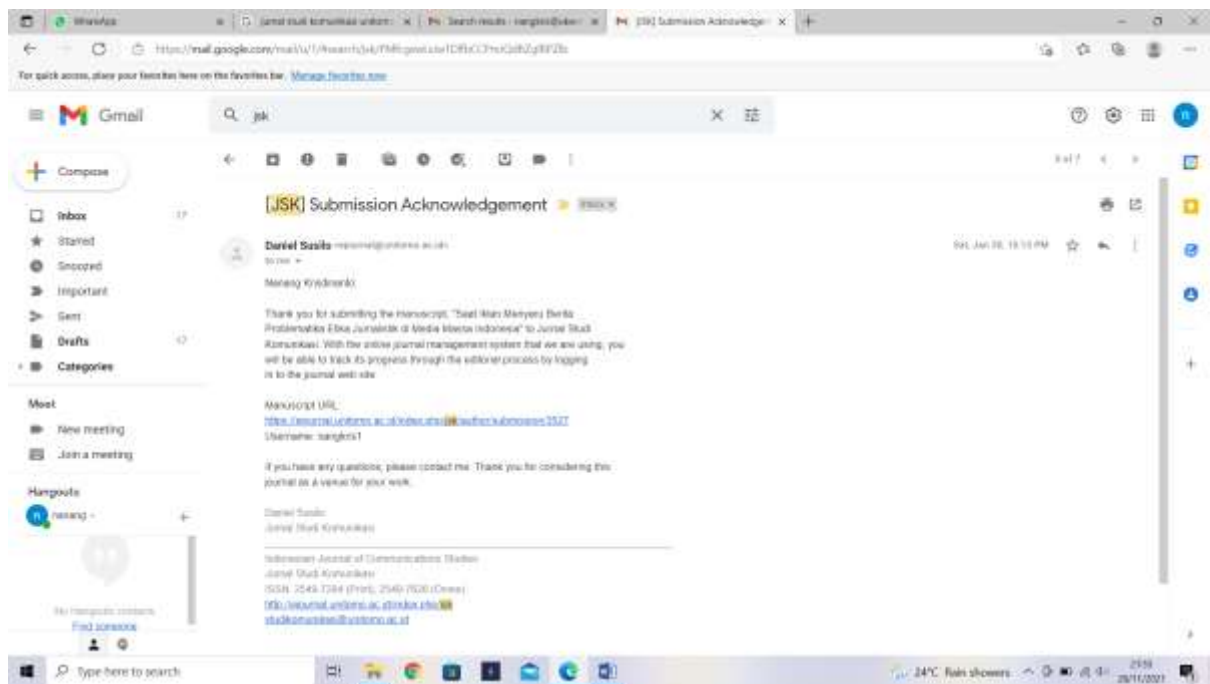
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When Advertisements Disguised as News: The Problem of Journalistic Ethics in Indonesian Mass Media

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Abstract The practice of obscuring news and advertising is still a problem in the Indonesian mass media. This research aims to unravel journalistic ethics problems, especially those related to advertorials (types of advertisements that are delivered in an editorial style). The clear separation between news and advertisements is one of the two pillars of journalistic ethics, apart from the separation between facts and opinions to maintain journalistic independence. The research approach used is qualitative-descriptive, with data collection techniques through interviews (to journalists), observation and document searches. The results showed that most of the printed mass media studied tended to blur the boundaries between news and advertisements through various means, such as removing or shortening advertorial information.

Keywords: advertorial; journalistic ethics; news; journalist

INTRODUCTION

This study starts from two premises about journalistic and advertorial ethics (one of the advertising variants). The dynamics between these two things often give rise to complex problems in journalistic practice. Conceptually, refer to Iggers (1999), journalistic ethics rests on two pillars—first, the separation of facts and opinions. Second, the separation between news and business prevents advertisers or the economic interests of the mass media itself from interfering with news as a responsibility to the public. This second thing is often associated with the issue of journalistic independence.

Traditionally, according to Conill (2016), journalistic ideals have aimed at keeping editorial lines independent of commercial influences. This has been historically known as the separation of church and state. The decline of sales and advertising revenues has spurred news organisations to find alternative income sources, often deriving in commercial pressures that challenge how journalists experience the sense of autonomy. The increasing blurring of boundaries between the commercial and professional logics of journalism could have serious implications for the normative and performative role of journalists.

Therefore, refer to Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) and Hanitzsch et.al. (2019) to maintain the independence of journalistic practices from the pressures of profit-oriented business, journalists are protected by an ethical concept that is often referred to as a firewall. With the journalistic fire fence, editorial and business are strictly separated, not to be surpassed for any reason. In other words, journalistic ethics provides an apparent line to distinguish news and advertising material. This boundary line is crucial in journalistic practice because it reflects journalists' professional autonomy in carrying out journalistic practices.

The conception's called the fire fence raises severe problems in journalistic practice because it is then closely linked with advertorials that many journalistic academics call a reputation for fraud. This topic has only recently been recognised due to the proliferation of advertising and mass media.

Advertorials were originally advertisements in print which were displayed in an editorial style. In subsequent developments, advertorials are also used by other media, both electronic media (radio and television) and online media. (Rayner et al., 2004) (Stephen and Patra, 2015). Advertisers like advertorials for two reasons. First, they are usually cheaper than the earlier types of advertising, namely display ads. Second, which then raises a problem, advertorials can be disguised or disguised as if they are news, and this has the potential to crash journalistic ethics. For example, through an advertorial, a particular business can be described as carrying out certain activities. With the feature of writing features, the business or the inauguration can be presented by highlighting certain advantages or testimonials from customers or business partners. Advertisers cannot obtain this from conventional advertising (display).

Several studies in several countries, such as that conducted by Duffy & Cheng (2020) in the United States, Van Cayseele & Vanormelingen (2019) in Belgium, or Ameer (2017) in Iraq, show ethical problems related to advertising and editorial issues. The editorial and commercial functions are depicted as always in conflict, even though they always try to be separated. The contradiction between journalistic autonomy (ethically driven) and business interests (economically driven) has become daily journalistic practice. The closer relationship between editorial and advertising aspects results in the emergence of

psychological discomfort for journalists in carrying out journalistic practices and places them in a position under pressure from the media companies they work for. Advertorials are also very popular because of conventional advertising methods' waning effectiveness, usually done through display advertisements that readers can quickly identify as advertisements (Muela-Molina et al., 2016). This is the leading reason advertisers need new, more cryptic methods and promotional techniques capable of camouflaging the message. Since their appearance, advertorials have sparked anxiety about their ability to bypass journalistic fireplaces. (Franklin & Murphy, 1998) for example, mentioning advertorials disguised as news, ads suggest a claim to the truth because they are associated with news. Thus, advertorials were created to deceive readers, and risk misleading readers because they feel they are reading the news (both straight news and features) rather than reading advertisements.

In their research in India, Stephen and Patra (2015) stated that readers (consumers of advertised goods) prefer advertorials more than advertisements (displays). The most significant advantage of using advertorials is the added factor of trustworthiness from readers. In 1991, still referring to Stephen and Patra, Kotler predicted the increasing importance of advertorial positions because consumers trusted editorial (news) scripts more than advertisements. Since then, advertorials have become the mainstay of Integrated Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) practices and have become the most developed marketing tool besides advertising.

The most beneficial aspect of advertorials is that they can increase the trustworthiness of the advertised product. (M Schudson, 1984) even asserts, "If an item appears as news, it has a legitimacy that advertising does not have." (If an ad looks like news, then it has the legitimacy that the ad does not have). Many studies show that traditional advertising (display advertising) has lower credibility than advertorials.

That is why Stephen and Patra (2015) call advertorials a communication tool with a reputation for fraud. Because of the reputation of fraud, as part of criticism, protecting the interests or rights of readers, and - most importantly - enforcing the barrier between news and advertising (between editorial and business), professional journalists and advertising institutions in the U.S., Europe, and several other countries compile and develop guidelines/codes of ethics to regulate this, both applicable in the context of journalism and advertising. The guideline contains the obligation to label or certain facial features in the advertorial loading, but all publishers are not obeyed because they do not have the power to enforce it legally. Even if followed, (Kim et al., 2001)

This is where journalistic ethics arise, especially regarding the blurring of boundaries between news and advertising. One of the very nature of advertorials is to blur the line between news and advertising. Moreover, in most cases, publishers tend to omit sure signs that should

exist to distinguish between advertorials and news. The signs are usually in the form of type and size of letters (which are different from the type of news fonts), the advertiser's company logo, a thin line inscribed between the advertorial and the news, the style of the face, or the advertorial or advertisement label clearly at the top or under the advertorial.

Several studies have shown how this separation between news and advertising is a crucial problem in many countries. Research by Ikonen et al. (2017) and Artemas et al. (2018) in the United States, for example, describes how the code of ethics that regulates the relationship between news and advertising is formulated. However, in journalistic practices and daily business practices, it is still violated. At some point, business and editorial staff in the U.S. media are simultaneously engaged in negotiations to carry out the construction and reconstruction of norms that separate editorial and advertising/business functions. From this, it can be seen how journalistic ethics that ensure journalistic autonomy are frequently under pressure and continuously trying to be negotiated or compromised with economic / business interests.

This research focuses on advertorial problems related to the second pillar of journalistic ethics, namely the separation of business news (newsroom and business room). In the Indonesian context, this research's focus is relatively rarely touched, or no research is considered significant. Journalistic practise research still focuses more on the first pillar (separation of facts and opinions) or research that uses a cultural perspective (which looks at how journalistic practices are carried out concerning cultural factors) or political economy (which sees how journalistic practices are carried out under various controls, Economic and political power. This trend can be seen in the research of Dhakidae (1992), Manzella (2000), Budianto & Mabroer (2000), Eriyanto (2002), SK (2003), Ishadi (2002), Romano & Seinor (2005), Hanitzsch (2005), J. Steele (2010); J. E. Steele (2005), Manan & Danayanti (2012), (Sudibyo & Patria, 2013), Tapsell (2012), Armando (2014), Carpenter & Sosale (2019), Winarnita et al.(2020), and Simorangkir (2020).

In several countries, research that focuses on this advertorial phenomenon is starting to be carried out, for example, Kim et al. (2001), Eckman and Lindlof (2003), Erjavec-Kovacic (2010), Baerug and Loit (2011), Stephen and Patra (2015), Attasran et al. (2015), Molina et al. (2016), Li et al. (2019), as well as Wilson and Baack (2019). This means that the problematic mixing of journalistic and business practices has become a phenomenon that theoretically has implications for violating journalistic ethics, which impacts journalistic independence. Moreover, recently, much of the advertising spending for mainstream mass media has shifted to social media. At this point, advertorials that have a reputation for fraud and camouflage become a new alternative for the mainstream mass media to gain profits. In other words,

In Indonesia, what is also a problem is a journalistic code of ethics which is a reference for Indonesian journalists - both those formulated

by the Indonesian Journalists Association (*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia* -PWI) and the Independent Journalists Alliance (*Aliansi Jurnalis Independen*-AJI) - still not explicitly regulating this issue. It is different from professional journalist organisations in other countries, such as the United States, which have formulated strict rules regarding the boundary line between news and advertorials. In Indonesia, the journalistic code of ethics still looks more focused on regulating the first pillar of journalistic ethics, namely the separation of facts and opinions.

That is one reason that the practice of blurring the boundaries between advertorials and news is a problem in Indonesia. In the context of print media, for example, the practice of blurring occurs in various ways. Some did not add the adverb "advertorial," but replaced it with the abbreviation "adv" at the end of the writing.

Sometimes, the word "adv" is replaced with an asterisk (*) code. The "adv" or star sign is then assumed to be an advertorial marker, which is likely not understood by the public because it is only an agreement within the media concerned. In other words, blurring the boundaries between advertorials and news is a common practice in print media today.

At this point, this research becomes essential because it wants to unravel how the practice of obfuscation (or deception/camouflage) operates in the mass media in Indonesia. To limit the scope, this research was conducted on several print media in Surabaya to get an idea of the extent to which practices threaten journalistic independence as part of protecting the public interest.

METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative-descriptive approach that places the researcher as a critical instrument. Data is generated through interviews, observations and documents, which are then analysed inductively (Lune & Berg, 2017). This research was conducted in Surabaya considering its position as the second-largest city in Indonesia with the largest number and types of media after Jakarta, as seen in the Table 1.

TABLE 1. Mass Media in Surabaya

National Television	12
Local Television	14
Local Radio	63
Newspaper	17
Magazine	18
Tabloid	19

This figure excludes the print media published with an irregular frequency and online media which in the post-New Order era appeared like mushrooms in the rainy season.

The resource persons for the research were print media journalists, either in positions as reporters or editors. The selected journalists came from significant print media in Surabaya, namely Harian Kompas, Jawa Pos, Surya, Radar Surabaya, Bhirawa, Memorandum, Duta Masyarakat, and Radar Jember a subsidiary of Jawa Pos in Surabaya.

The research subject is determined by choosing purposive with specific considerations with the following conditions: 1) experiencing an event that is a phenomenon related to research; 2) able to retell the events they experienced; 3) willing to be the subject of research. (Creswell, 1998) With ethical considerations, the names of informants are conveyed in the form of initials, following in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Research Informant

Informant Initial	Newspaper
NWD	Jawa Pos
S.H. MB ASP	Kompas
FAE	Surya
L.N.	Radar Surabaya
MA	Bhirawa
DHA BDM	Memorandum
C.B.	Radar Jember
YN	Duta Masyarakat

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

When the Advert the News

An incident occurred several years ago (2012) in the Jawa Pos editorial office. Based on the narrative of NWD, a Jawa Pos journalist, on that day a "news" appeared accompanied by a photo of the Presidential Special Staff for Development and Regional Autonomy, Heru Lelono. At that time, the President of the Republic of Indonesia was Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The advertorial contains the views concerned (Heru Lelono) regarding the current political and economic conditions at that time.

Unfortunately, NWD admits that it forgot the details of the advertorial installation. He only remembers the possibility between 2012 and 2013, with the date and month no longer remembered. He only confirmed that the advertorial appeared more than once appeared before the 2014 Presidential Election and contained relevant views on

various matters. Jawa Pos itself also does not have a printed edition archive so that efforts to trace the document of this article cannot be carried out, while digital archives in the form of pdf files can only be traced within the past three months.

At first glance, the half-page column looked like news. However, it turned out that the editorial staff checked it, the material was not news but an advertorial written by a copywriter (a particular writer in Jawa Pos who was in charge of writing advertorial material). In the afternoon, in a leadership meeting attended by all departments (including advertisements), this material became a severe discussion. The main problem is that the advertorial's presentation or format is too similar to news stories. There is no sign or ad code or advertorial in the material, or at least limit it with a thin line and a title that begins with the word "Communications" as is usually the case with Jawa Pos making advertorials.

"The material is too similar to the editorial's writing so that the editors themselves cannot distinguish. As a note and evaluation, we read the advertorial in turn with the speaker so that all rooms and all people can hear, including commercial friends. Today there are advertisements for this, and so on. We also convey written notes to advertise partners. " (NWD, Jawa Pos journalist, November, 21st, 2020).

A similar incident, based on interviews with researchers, has also occurred in a newspaper of the same class as Kompas, related to one of its columns published every Friday, Kompas Klass. Based on the narrative of SH, a journalist from Kompas, this rubric has been published since 2004, is managed by the business department, and contains texts written by outside authors. Kompas Klass was created to attract the potential for advertising premium products. At the beginning of its publication, Kompas Klass was considered too similar to an editorial production rubric. Even though it includes an advertisement sign at the bottom, Kompas Klass is designed to be too similar to the editorial team and uses a similar font used by editors. Complaints and pros and cons also often emerge from internal circles, especially from editors.

"Since its publication, many have asked about Kompas Klass, both from internal and external circles. Often, outsiders ask, whose product is Kompas Klass? News or advertising? The journalism we have developed, Kompas journalism is journalism, one of which is committed not to confuse editorial affairs with business, news with advertisements. We are very strongly committed to maintaining the barrier between the editorial field and the business. Editors often complain at joint meetings, if Kompas Klass appears in a format that is too similar to the editorial staff. Nevertheless, now it has subsided because the rubric has been understood together

as an advertorial. " (SH, a journalist from Kompas, September, 15th, 2020).

The problems facing Kompas and Jawa Pos above are complications of the emergence of a relatively new phenomenon in the world of advertising (advertising), especially in the print media, namely advertorials. Today, however, the line is not the only one seen as a sacred dividing separating advertising and news. In addition to thin lines, there are still types of letters and code in the form of advertising or advertorial writing (can be at the end of the script or on top of the script). As the thin line, letter type and script code are also a problem in newspapers, even for letters like Kompas and Jawa Pos.

In the matter of discipline in using advertorial codes, Kompas is indeed disciplined, and editors tend to be tough on this matter. MB, a journalist from Kompas when interviewed, said:

"There must be an advertorial writing. There must be. If there is not, it can't. If there is no advertorial article, we can argue about that for a week. The leader can be reviled. " (MB, a journalist from Kompas, September, 17th, 2020).

Despite the advantages provided by using ad codes, often problems occur in Kompas. The layout and style of the advertisement section are handled by the section that creates the advertising. The advertisement copy also features fonts that are identical to or are the same as those used by the editor.

"I dare say, currently Kompas is the only newspaper in Indonesia with the most discipline in separating advertising and news. This is Kompas journalism. In Kompas, the advertising division is afraid of the editorial team, and the editorial position is strong. That is, what is dominant is the position of wanting to defend the fire fence. Nevertheless, indeed in advertorial writing, sometimes there are problems with the type of letters. Sometimes ad sections are of a similar type. So if that happens, the editorial team always protests. Editorial complaints to advertisements are usually always related to this matter. " (MB, a journalist from Kompas, September, 17th, 2020).

These events reflect what is meant (Franklin & Murphy, 1998) about the manipulative advertorial, suggesting a truth claim because it is associated with news. Advertisers want to use an editorial-like presentation format to trick readers and ask the newspaper ad department to write and design it just like editors design news. This can be seen as one of the most severe attack forms against journalism's firebird.

The Kompas Klass rubric case is only one form of attack on the journalistic fire fence at Kompas. Attacks from inside the newspaper itself to knock down the journalistic barrier have been running for a long time, going on and on and on.

"In the past, the writing of the ad code as above, now it is below. The reason for the advertisement was that the client wanted it to be written there. In the past, the script type was very similar to the editorial staff, only with different spacing. Editors have protested, very often. Why is this, why is that? Continued complaints. When there was the Kompas Klass case, at that time we complained. The editorial team asked for it to be stopped, but it was still published even though the frequency was reduced. So the point is, the advertising mix never stops. They will keep trying. " (ASP, a journalist from Kompas, September, 17th, 2020).

The problem then is, if a newspaper as big as Kompas continues to be attacked to tear down the journalistic fence, what about other newspapers that are not as big as Kompas? Jawa Pos alone seems unable to get out of the pressure of the advertisers or advertisers. Jawa Pos appears to be a compromise on advertorial matters. For example, this daily does not use ad code or advertorials explicitly, but implicitly gives it a rubric title starting with the word "Communication" or "Info" followed by a word that reflects the advertorial's content. Then various names emerged which were then understood internally as advertorials, such as Business Communication, Educational Communication, Legislative Communication, Government Communication, etc. This title appears in capital letters, usually in blue, and placed on the advertorial script. However, Jawa Pos also opens space for other titles according to client requests, such as Jalin Kesra (a full-page advertorial that once appeared routinely by the East Java Provincial Government), Banyuwangi Festival (owned by the Banyuwangi Regency Government), PP Properti (owned by one of the developers), etc. In Jawa Pos, advertorials are carried out by a division called the Kreatorial Division, and the product is internally referred to as creator advertising.

The use of the word "Communication" can be seen from two sides. From the Jawa Pos side, the word is a sign that the text is an advertorial. However, on the other hand, ethically, the use of the word can be seen as an effort to disguise advertisements so that readers perceive them as news. Moreover, if the selected font type is the same as the type of font used in the news, as shown in the example below.

In the context of journalistic fire fencing, the use of the word "advertisement" or "advertorial" is something that cannot be negotiated as a dividing mark between news and advertisements. In the matter of using type letters, Jawa Pos still tends to be inconsistent. In one publication, these inconsistencies are often found,

In cases like this, the one who determines is the advertiser. The use of advertorial typeface or title fully follows the advertiser's wishes, and the Jawa Pos editorial team responds unlike the response from Kompas editorial, which tends to be harsh.

"One of the considerations is the advertiser. They, huge advertisers, usually do not want any ad descriptions. We cannot force it, even though the idea is that. The advertising department is worried that they will switch to another newspaper. Because of that, we then gave a special code, yes with the word Communication. What is clear, when you are reading editorial friends, you must know whether this is an advertisement or not. Here we are always in the process, even though we know this is an industry, but our fellow editors still care. Moreover, those who do advertorials are not editorial friends. The advertising department has its photographer, the layout, the writer himself." (NWD, Jawa Pos journalist, November, 21st, 2020).

Document searches and interviews with journalists from various newspapers in Surabaya or those based in Surabaya show similar data. Apart from Kompas, the format of writing in almost all newspapers in Surabaya indicates the vital interest or intervention of advertisers and describes the violation of journalistic fire fencing. This is also reflected in the involvement of journalists in the practice of advertorial writing. In brief, these data show strong indications of deliberately disguising advertorials so that readers can understand them as news. This can be seen in the following table.

TABLE III
EDITORIAL POLICY ON ADVERTORIAL

NEWSPAPER	WRITING FORMAT	AUTHOR
COMPASS	<p>There is ad code at the end of the article.</p> <p>Different fonts and layouts with news.</p> <p>Was given the title of a rubric that impresses the news.</p>	Copy writer
JAVA POS	<p>There is no ad code, but it is marked with a line and a column title starting with the word "Communication" according to the advertiser's wishes</p> <p>Font choices and layout are inconsistent, sometimes the same,</p>	Copy writer

	<p>sometimes different from the news.</p> <p>Creating "creative ads" with a presentation style similar to light news.</p>	
SUN	<p>No ad code.</p> <p>The writing code can be negotiated with the advertiser, usually given the code * or adv without or by adding the code of the reporter who got the transaction and writing it down.</p> <p>To disguise it was given the rubric title "Infotorial."</p>	<p>Journalist</p> <p>Copy writer</p>
MEMORANDUM	<p>No ad code.</p> <p>Given a code *, or adding the code of the reporter who got the transaction and who wrote it down.</p> <p>The form, layout, or typeface is up to the reporter and advertiser.</p>	<p>Journalist</p>
RADAR SURABAYA	<p>No ad code</p> <p>Code the reporter who obtained the transaction and writes it down.</p> <p>News-like layout, typeface, and placement.</p> <p>Format can be made creatively according to client wishes.</p>	<p>Journalist</p> <p>Copy writer</p>
JEMBER RADAR	<p>No ad code</p> <p>Code the reporter who obtained the transaction and writes it down.</p> <p>News-like layout, typeface, and placement.</p> <p>Creating a special advertorial program with coverage, writing, and placement equal to news.</p>	<p>Journalist</p> <p>Copy writer</p>
AMBASSADORS OF THE COMMUNITY	<p>No ad code.</p> <p>Is given a code for the reporter who got the transaction and writes it down.</p>	<p>Journalist</p>

	News-like layout, typeface, and placement.	
BHIRAWA	No ad code Given the code "adv". News-like layout, typeface, and placement.	Journalist

Source: *processed from interviewees*

From the table above, it can be seen that the trend of advertorial writing done by the newspapers under study. All of them, except Kompas, did not affix the ad / advertorial code as a marker so that readers recognise the text as advertorial, not as news. To camouflage, most newspapers use the code adv (abbreviation or rather the disguise of the advertorial) or bintang (*) for their advertorial text, which is sometimes followed by the code of the reporter who got the advertorial transaction (if the newspaper allows journalists to join in looking for the ad) or writes it down.

The problem is, there are no rules or ethical guidelines in Indonesia that specifically regulate this, so that each newspaper (media) can interpret these boundaries according to their respective interests and conditions. Meanwhile, a number of other countries, such as the United States, already have guidelines or regulations published by both the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) and the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME). The guidelines for editors and publishers that they publish strictly regulate the relationship between editors (editors) and advertisers. This organisation, to quote (McChesney, 2004), basically formed to strengthen the separation between editorial and business (which is metaphorized as the separation of church and state) as well as to protect the purity of journalistic practices from business or advertising interests.

In matters of layout, design, and choice of letters (typography), for example, based on ASNE rules, it must be clearly distinguished from the layout, design or normal typography of the editorial staff. When an advertisement appears on a page containing editorial content, the two must also be clearly distinguished, including by adding the words "ad, advertorial" or "promotion" placed horizontally or directly above the ad with the size and thickness of the letters at least equal to editor used. (Bivins, 2004).

The non-use of ad code and the use of the same typography in advertorial texts are also the product of pressure from advertisers who do not want their readers to perceive their ads as advertisements. Advertisers tend not to want ad code or advertorials to appear in their script, while editors also don't want ads that are openly recognised as news. In other words, in determining the ad code, there is a struggle

within the editorial staff regarding journalistic independence and the desire of advertorial advertisers. At this point, the use of adv or star code can be seen as a compromise product between advertisers and editors, who on the one hand want to maintain their independence but on the other hand feel they have no choice but to accommodate the client's desire to remove ad code.

"The solution is the adv or star code. This is also a safety valve so that those who get advertisements are safe, so that they are transparent, are recognised as legitimate by internally. We also need to play pretty ha-ha..." (FAE, journalist Surya, November, 11th, 2020).

"Adv code is to give a signal to office management. So if there is an adv, later there will be the bill itself. Clients usually don't want an ad to be written directly, so just give the adv code. So it's like news, but it's actually advertising. (MA, journalist Bhirawa, September, 10th, 2020).

"Memorandum uses star code, sometimes adv. But more often use a star that is given a slash, then there is my code. That's a sign from the office that I got an ad. (DHA, Memorandum reporter, November, 9th, 2020).

From the aforementioned statements, it can be seen that the choice of using star and adv codes is not at all related to the interests of the public or readers. The use of the code is more intended for internal purposes (so that it is recognised as part of a financial transaction). That's why, in certain cases, when an advertiser doesn't even want to be tagged with an adv or star code, the newspaper in question often doesn't mind.

"There are some who do not want this sign because they are still considered too promotional. Yes, we're fine. After all, there is a count. The important thing is, the ad order comes in first. So it depends on them whether they want to be given an adv code or not. " (LN, Advertorial Manager, former journalist for Radar Surabaya, November, 2nd, 2020).

This explicit rejection of the use of ad code confirms a number of studies in various countries which state that the use of editorial styles with advertorial formats is indeed more effective than advertising (display). In their research which took place in India, Stephen and Patra (2015) stated that readers (consumers of advertised goods) actually prefer advertorials more than advertisements (displays). The biggest advantage of using advertorials is the added factor of trust from readers, as has been written by (M Schudson, 1984) that: "when something appears in the form of news, it has a legitimacy that adverts never have." But on the other hand, a number of studies have found that such

distinguishing signs are not effective enough to make readers aware of the difference between news and advertising.

Research(Kim et al., 2001)for example, finding, the response of readers to advertorials that were tagged and not turned out to be not much different. In other words, readers still have difficulty identifying advertorial differences with news stories with or without distinguishing signs. Even though they both perceive it as advertising (not news), most of them still fail to remember the existence of these advertorial signs. The research also indicates that advertorial format advertisements are indeed successful in fooling readers, and failing to alert readers to advertorial "basic character".

Because Accordingly, Stephen and Patra pointed to advertorials as communication instruments that have a reputation for fraud. Because of this reputation of fraud, professional journalist and advertising agencies in the U.S., Europe and a number of other countries have compiled and developed guidelines / codes of ethics to regulate this, both applicable in the context of journalism and advertising. In the U.S., the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) compiled a series of guides in 1989 and later updated them to regulate online media. The guideline contains the obligation to label or certain facial features in the advertorial loading, but in fact all publishers are not obeyed because they do not have legal force of force. If followed, advertorial labels are usually placed and written in a very vague and not attracting attention.(Kim et al., 2001).

A number of international organisations also see the practice of blurring the boundaries of news and advertising as unacceptable. For example, the International Chamber of Commerce Code of Advertising Practice, which in 1997 required clear identification of advertisements so that they could be quickly recognised as advertisements. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) also has a code of conduct which regulates this issue. The problem is that the code of conduct does not contain clear and direct guidelines for differentiating news from advertising, although they also release a number of resolutions regarding "pressure to integrate advertising and commercial purposes into editorial work." In the context of television, regulations were also released by the European Convention on Transfrontier Television (2002) and the Directive of the European Parliament (2007).(Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2010).

That of interest is Slovenia.(Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2010)noted, mixing up advertisements and news in Slovenia is not only seen as a practice that goes against the code of ethics, both in the context of journalism and advertising. In this country located in eastern Europe, the mixing of news and advertising is not only an ethical question, it is a legal issue. The law regulating the mass media (Mass Media Law) in Slovenia considers this practice to be illegal, and it is strictly enforced compared to other countries. Apart from that, the code of ethics compiled by the Slovenian Association of Journalists (2002) and the

Slovenian Advertising Chamber (1999) also shows how these affairs are trying to be regulated and controlled.

That is why, referring to the description above, the use of ad code explicitly can invalidate the legitimacy factor, such as what Schudson calls or additional trustworthiness as emphasised by Stephen and Patra. This argument also explains why all the newspapers studied (except Kompas) tend to use advertorial designs that are similar to news produced by editors. This is usually seen from the choice of typeface and layout style. This was stated by one of the speakers:

"When I got an advertorial from the East Java Provincial Government, they asked for a special column. I got a half page contract. So the shape is us, the layout, the face, it's us. But they ask it to look like news, because they also don't want the readers to think about advertising. " (DHA, Memorandum reporter, November, 9th, 2020).

Which is also interesting is the struggle in the newspaper to decide who does the task of finding and writing advertorials. Somewhat different from the matter of code and advertorial design (with only Kompas being disciplined separating them), in the matter of writing advertorial manuscripts it is not only Kompas that clearly separates them. Jawa Pos also appeared orderly by submitting the writing of the manuscript to a copy writer (who was a director and was specially educated to handle advertorials). Jawa Pos journalists are prohibited from writing advertorials, along with the prohibition of journalists from seeking advertisements (both displays and advertorials).

However, this strict rule in Jawa Pos does not apply to its subsidiaries under the Radar Group. Parallel to being allowed (even encouraged) to participate in looking for advertisements, the practice of writing advertorial scripts among journalists in the Radar Group is also considered normal and acceptable.

"At Radar Jember now, besides having an advertising section, there are also journalists who are specially assigned to help the advertising division. There is a phenomenon in Radar Jember, namely marketing being educated or trained in writing advertorials. There are several marketers who can write, but not many. There are also those who ask for help writing advertorials to reporters. I just have to talk to the chief editor, who are the journalists who can help. Last year, there was a kid in advertising marketing who was clever, with good writing that beat journalists, we finally pulled it to the editor. For a while, he focused on advertorials. So when there is an event with potential advertorial, he will come. " (CB, journalist for Radar Jember, September, 20th, 2020).

"Usually they can write (advertisements). But sometimes there are requests, please write the reporters later. So those who write journalists

will be claimed for advertisements. " (L.N., Radar Surabaya Advertorial Manager, former journalist, September, 25th, 2020).

By looking at what happened with Kompas, Jawa Pos, and the Radar Group, it can be seen that there is a gradation in the level of compromise related to advertorial writing. Kompas and Jawa Pos reject the practice of advertorial writing by journalists, while other newspapers appear to be compromising. Not only the Radar Group, Surya Daily, which is a subsidiary of Kompas also took a compromise path; open space for journalists to participate in writing advertorials (including searching) even though they have their own copy writer who is in charge of writing advertorials.

"The advertising department has a copy writer, but journalists can also be asked to write. But more often than not, journalists. Informants also prefer journalists who write because their writing can be in a news style. Not just writing, those who don't take photos of journalists, the ones who designed the layout are the editorial team. " (FAE, journalist Surya, November. 11th, 2020).

In newspapers such as Bhirawa and Duta Masyarakat, advertorial writing is almost always done by journalists. Moreover, there are more advertisements (both displays and advertorials) that are obtained by journalists so that their execution (including writing advertorial scripts) is also carried out by journalists.

"Journalists who write. First we interview the advertiser, what do they want? Then we write. Will be corrected by the client, is it appropriate or not? If so, we will load it immediately. " (MA, journalist Bhirawa, September, 10th, 2020).

The implications of this kind of practice, refer(McChesney, 2004), is the emergence of a very crucial problem because the wishes or needs of advertisers can change the content of mass media dramatically. As a result, the public interest that should appear in the media must face control or filter from advertisers. In other words, news that reflects the public interest must be compromised or often sacrificed if it conflicts with the interests of the advertiser. McChesney writes:

"Advertisers as a rule do not wish to associated with controversial social or political topics. Even slight opposition by an audience is enough to keep most advertisers away from such content. "

"Advertisers don't want to be linked to controversial social or political topics. Just a little bit of opposition from an audience is enough to keep most advertisers away from the material. "

Traditionally, news and advertising functions are expected to be separate because advertisements can threaten journalists' objectivity to remain objective. This concept of objectivity, refers (Michael Schudson, 2011), has been considered the "emblem of American journalism." This emblem is the ideal assumption of journalists as conveying neutral messages to the audience. Therefore, the barrier between the news and advertising departments must be maintained to maintain the integrity of the news and avoid conflict with journalistic values or norms.

But the media business (including newspapers), again quoted (Eckman & Lindlof, 2003), is no longer a black and white world. Currently, the newspaper business (print media) is facing a significant decline in circulation and profits (due to the presence of electronic media, internet media including social media). This phenomenon is then responded to by a content and promotion strategy that plays in the "gray" area between newsroom and business. Advertorial is one strategy to play in the "gray" area.

Advertorial practice, still refers (Eckman & Lindlof, 2003), also triggered internal conflicts within the media organisation between the editorial department and the business. The conflict arises constantly regarding decisions to publish news and journalistic autonomy. The study of advertorials is crucial because of its current very significant role in shaping the organisational culture and targets of the news industry. In newspapers in many countries, the boundaries between the editorial department and business are blurred. Editorial and business personnel are now used to sitting together discussing solutions to various business problems.

Blurring Page Sales with 'Smart Reporting'

In addition to the practice of blurring news and advertorials, the data findings in this study also indicate the practice of selling news or pages for the sake of certain images or business. Based on document searches, researchers found a case that occurred in the Jawa Pos subsidiary, namely Radar Jember and Memorandum.

Although Jawa Pos does not practice journalism like this, a number of subsidiaries do, such as Radar Jember and Memorandum. Radar Jember has carried out this practice until now, even seeing it as an effective marketing strategy to boost circulation and advertising. This newspaper has a special column, Creative School, with an area of one F.C. page (full color) which is offered to schools in Jember Regency (from pre-school to high school) in exchange for purchasing a newspaper of at least one thousand copies.

SMPN 6 Jember and SMPN 11 Jember have used this news program. News about SMPN 6 Jember appeared in the 25 January 2016 edition page 12. In one full page of F.C., SMPN 6 Jember was written in four news stories, eight photos, plus graphics about school profiles and achievements, which, although very promotional, were still written as news. with a journalistic writing style. The news headlines were very

positive, such as "SMPN 6 Jember, Towards the School of Arts and Sports; Many Graduates Enter Favorite Schools; Many Generate Professional Models; " and "Cooperate with Suryanaga-Smash Jember." A similar style of reporting and writing was also carried out for SMPN 11 Jember, it also appeared on the same page and area in the February 1, 2016. The following is the news in question.

This program rests on journalist networks and lobbies. The bidding process, coverage, writing, and distribution to schools are all carried out by journalists. In return, journalists enjoy the price difference set by management. The official price for a copy of Radar Jember is Rp. 6,000, but specifically for this program it costs Rp. 5,000. This means that journalists get a commission of Rp. 1,000.00 per copy. With a minimum purchase of 1,000 copies, this means that journalists will pocket a minimum of IDR 1 million per contract with the school.

"Not bad, right? Reporters who cover, write, and distribute. How the newspaper gets to the client is the reporter's business. It is written in the form of a news story plus a photo on a special one-page color page. It's not an advertorial, it's news. Lay out style, typeface, all yes the same as regular news made even more selling. What distinguishes the header of the page is that it is somewhat promotional. In fact, advertising friends have also criticised this. Usually one page can sell for a minimum of Rp. 11 million, how come it's cheap? That's why we pack it up as if it's news, with journalistic standards still being used starting from the angle, how to write it and so on. The client is also happy because it is not written as an advertorial, because it impresses the reporters' coverage with objective journalistic standards. " (CB, Director of Radar Jember, September, 20th, 2020).

Creative School is not the only column or page packaged for sale to others. The important point of the idea lies in opening the possibility for anyone to receive a portion of positive news, regardless of the frequency, extent or amount of news, with a choice of angle or a controlled writing method, as long as the person concerned is willing to tie a sales agreement. That is, Creative School is just one rubric or page created for that. Columns or pages with other names can easily be created to suit client needs.

Whereas in the Memorandum, this practice usually occurs through granting authority to regional bureau offices to manage their own pages with a target of monthly advertising and circulation revenue. Under this model, regional bureau offices are responsible not only for news supply, but also advertising revenue and circulation. Since the agency office does not have a marketing or advertising staff (account executive), it is journalists who do it. To meet advertising and circulation targets, bureau offices usually bind official contracts or MoUs (memoranda of understanding), especially with local government agencies, such as district / city governments, police stations, prosecutors, or certain

agencies. The MoU contains an agreement to provide periodic news slots at a certain rate.

"In local news listings, there is usually advertorial information, for example, half a page. I think it's a news ad. If it can be called news, the news is cangkeman news; Police check senpi, police safety exam, that's all. But the packaging is real news, not like advertorials or advertisements. But the editorial listing is listed as an advertorial. This is a sign to make it a priority to enter the page. I have calculations, only with this cooperation, per year the bureau can profit even without incidental advertisements such as the moments of the media anniversary, city anniversary, Eid al-Fitr, new year, independence day, and so on. Relying on these five moments alone, advertisements are released, it could be that a week the plot of pages runs out without news. Full of all. For the regions, it can close a year's business operations in the region concerned. " (BDM, Memorandum editor, November, 2nd, 2020)

"It can be through the MoU, it can also be retail, loose news. This depends on our approach with policy-making officials. If it fits, we know their need to be told that their division is successful, then we will. Better to play pretty like this, bright. " (DHA, Memorandum reporter, November, 9th, 2020).

This research found that this kind of practice was often found in bureau offices or regional representatives. In a number of newspapers, representative offices or bureaus in the regions are not only burdened with news targets, but also business targets (advertising development and circulation). To meet these targets, they usually approach certain agencies (usually government, police, prosecutors, DPRD, political parties, BUMN / BUMD, political parties, or private companies) using networks owned by journalists.

Based on interview data, it can be seen that the "harvest period" of this practice generally occurs during the general election period (both for regional and legislative heads). Again, newspaper publishers usually approach candidates using journalists. Not only to advertise or advertorial, but also to bind news contracts. This model has been very popular lately (especially after the 1998 reform), especially since the General Election Commission (KPU) has taken over campaign activities through advertising in print and electronic media. Through KPU Regulation No. 7 of 2015, the KPU has implemented candidate advertisements in print and electronic media, facilitated by funds from the regional budget. Candidates may no longer advertise themselves in the mass media as before. This regulation automatically reduces the income of the mass media and advertising agencies, because for them the election moment is seen as a kind of "harvest" period. This model of selling pages or news prevents candidates from controlling the KPU,

because material about candidates does not appear in display ad or advertorial formats but in news formats.

Generally, this kind of practice is also carried out through a contract agreement (memorandum of understanding, MoU) with a medium term (in a matter of months) or long (usually per year) with election candidates. This bond will bind newspapers - which will be part of the editorial task - to plan, report, edit, and publish positive news about clients, and put the news together with other journalistic reports without distinction at all. . A case like this was found by researchers at Duta Masyarakat and Surya.

"When I was the managing editor, there were pilkada crowds, yes, we helped the regions maximise their potential. We sell pages, given the title The Democratic Party or something, the news is to facilitate or promote prospective candidates. Not advertorials, but pages or news. Then we offer the page or story to the candidate as part of the branding. Usually use Mou, pay so or buy such a newspaper, then the Ambassador will write such news with such an area. So the contents of the election page are mostly the results of the MoU, but sometimes some are not. If there are two candidates, then there is only one contract, the other must still be loaded for balance. The term is cool cover both side. " (YN, Duta Masyarakat reporter, September, 17th, 2020).

That to be an "anomaly" in the tendency of this practice is Surya. FAE, a journalist for Surya, said that he had practiced this practice during the 2013 East Java Governor Election and the 2015 Surabaya Pilwali. In the 2013 Pilgub, Surya tied a contract with one of the candidates. This election was followed by the pair Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf, Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Herman Sumawiredja, Bambang DH-Said Abdullah, and Eggi Sudjana-Muhammad Sihat. Meanwhile, in the 2015 Pilwali, Surya tied the knot with all candidates, namely Tri Rismaharini-Wisnu Sakti Buana and Rasiyo-Lucy Kurniasari.

"Contracts like this usually receive cash. The money is put in a plastic bag haha... So at that time I went back to the office with two ireng plastic bags, fill in the money. This was the first time I wanted to buy a pocket money and a plastic bag haha... But from Mrs. Risma I didn't get much, because their funds were not big. The big one from Mr. Rasiyo. The writing is even good, in the news Surya only writes about the superior programs of each candidate. So it is not too conflicted, there are only two candidates. What's exciting is that the East Java Pilgub, especially when Pakde Karwo and Khofifah fought after the 2008 Pilgub. Surya's position is that we don't participate in the news.*black campaign* to avoid conflict. " (FAE, journalist Surya, November 11th, 2020).

This data is important because it can be seen as a very compromising response from a newspaper. In this sense, pursuing advertising and advertorials at the expense of editorial content no longer seems significant. The case of Radar Jember shows that news is no longer treated as a commodity to sell other commodities. In the hands

of Radar Jember, news is a commodity that can be sold just as newspapers sell advertising columns or pages. As the issue of journalists' involvement in looking for advertisements, this phenomenon is rarely detected in the journalistic experience of Western countries. McChesney (2004) considered creating news to hook advertisements as an attack on journalism's fire fence, let alone selling news or pages directly such as selling advertising columns or pages.

Schudson (2003) notes, this practice has also occurred in the U.S. As one implication of the commercialisation and corporatisation of the media world, many press companies recruit business executives to manage their newspapers. In 1995, an executive with experience in food packaging, Mark Willes, was recruited to become the Chief Executive of the Los Angeles Times (L.A. Times). Openly, Willes stated that he would tear down the dividing fence that borders the editorial side and the business side (journalistic fire fence), if necessary with a basoka (rocket with short-range targets). Willes also campaigned for the need for editors to be involved in formulating marketing strategies with advertising managers and circulation managers, as well as developing projects aimed at pursuing profits, not for journalistic purposes.

This controversy stems from the L.A. Times deal with the Staples Corporation. The LA Times has agreed to publish a special edition dedicated to welcoming the opening of the building. As compensation, the L.A. Times and the Staples Center will share the profits earned from advertising sales. Few people inside the L.A. Times knew the deals management and marketing had negotiated. Journalists know nothing, and consider it "business as usual." But the L.A. Times had to bear the consequences when this transaction was leaked to the public. "Heroic" resistance ensued. Journalists question, how can readers believe that the L.A. Times does balanced reporting on corporations with which it has business relations? Next, over 300 LA Times reporters signed a petition demanding the publisher apologise and promise never to do it again. Not only that, the L.A. Times even published an article with a length of 30 thousand words written by media critic, David Shaw, entitled Crossing the Lines. In his writing, Shaw sees this scandal as the tip of the iceberg of ethical ignorance that threatens journalistic quality, integrity and reputation. (Basen, 2012).

This case of selling pages or news can be seen as a direct attack on journalistic ethics. Referring to Altschull (1990), ethics is basically a formation of values and moral principles about right and wrong. Meanwhile, Altschull conceptualised journalistic ethics as a service to humanity rather than the pursuit of the journalist's own goals. However, Altschull also admits that what journalists believe to be ethical acts will influence media content.

This is what explains the actions of Radar Jember and Memorandum, which in the context of journalistic ethics can be seen as journalistic practices that pursue the economic interests of journalists or newspapers themselves (without taking into account the right and wrong

aspects) than the interests of many people. At this point, the journalistic practice is carried out in a very extreme way by crashing into the journalistic fire fence; selling news is like selling advertising columns. Or in other words, treating news is like treating advertisements.

This case also reflects the emergence of a new pattern of press publishing in maximising revenue by utilising news operations. At a certain point, advertorials - even though they have the advantage of being able to blur the boundaries between news and advertisements - are considered no longer able to meet the needs of advertisers who want their products or interests to be truly broadcast in the form of news. That is why what happened was not just selling advertorials, but had gone further: selling pages or selling news as seen in the case of Indopos. Advertisers' products or interests are no longer disguised as through advertorials, but are treated exactly like news.

This phenomenon can be seen as a sign of the emergence of a time when advertorials - which were already so manipulative - were no longer deemed sufficient to pursue profit. No longer disguising advertisements as news through advertorial scripts, newspapers are now selling news directly without needing to disguise advertising messages through advertorials. This also confirms what was written (M Schudson, 1984) that: "when something appears in the form of news, it has a legitimacy that adverts never have."

Theoretically, this phenomenon reinforces the assumptions of the media's political economy perspective, which always see news as a commodity and place journalists as "puppets" of media owners. Journalists are always seen as being in the midst of tension between the interests (both economic and political) of media owners and the ideological interests of journalism oriented towards the public interest. This political economy tradition also underlines the acceleration factor of market and technology, which then by McChesney (2004) is seen as triggering the transformation of capitalism into the media world, leading to media conglomeration or concentration of media ownership.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the practice of obfuscating news with advertisements (through advertorials) has become quite prevalent in the mass media in Indonesia, at least in the mass media (newspapers) studied. In the interests of the economy, in general the mass media managers tend to be permissive (compromise) towards this obfuscation, and even tend to consciously make the reputation of advertorial fraud / camouflage as a means of seeking economic benefits. Almost all of the newspapers studied demonstrated this trend in various ways. This research also demonstrates a practice that goes far beyond simply ignoring news and advertising boundaries, namely selling pages under the pretext of smart reporting.

At a macro level, this phenomenon shows how the second pillar of journalistic ethics (namely the separation of news and advertisements, or the separation of newsletters and business rooms) is a crucial problem in journalistic practice in Indonesia. Moreover, this issue is not strictly regulated in the journalistic code of ethics formulated by various professional journalist organisations and the mass media in Indonesia. Journalistic fire fences, a concept envisioned as a clear barrier between the newsroom and the business room, are not strong enough to withstand this practice of obscurity. In the end, a situation like this hypothetically will also have an impact on journalistic independence, which should be positioned as a protective fortress for the public interest.

Several things are essential to note in future research on this issue. It is first related to the type of mass media. Although hypothetically, the same phenomenon is very likely to occur in other types of mass media such as television, radio, or the internet (online media), it is still important to conduct studies or research to determine the extent of the problem issues of journalistic ethics. It is second related to journalists' daily journalistic practices when faced with the tension between the economic interests of their own media organisations and journalistic ethics that guide their professional behaviour. The complexity of journalistic practice related to this problem is fascinating to explore further because it is related to various issues, such as journalistic independence, public interest, or even the future of journalism in Indonesia.

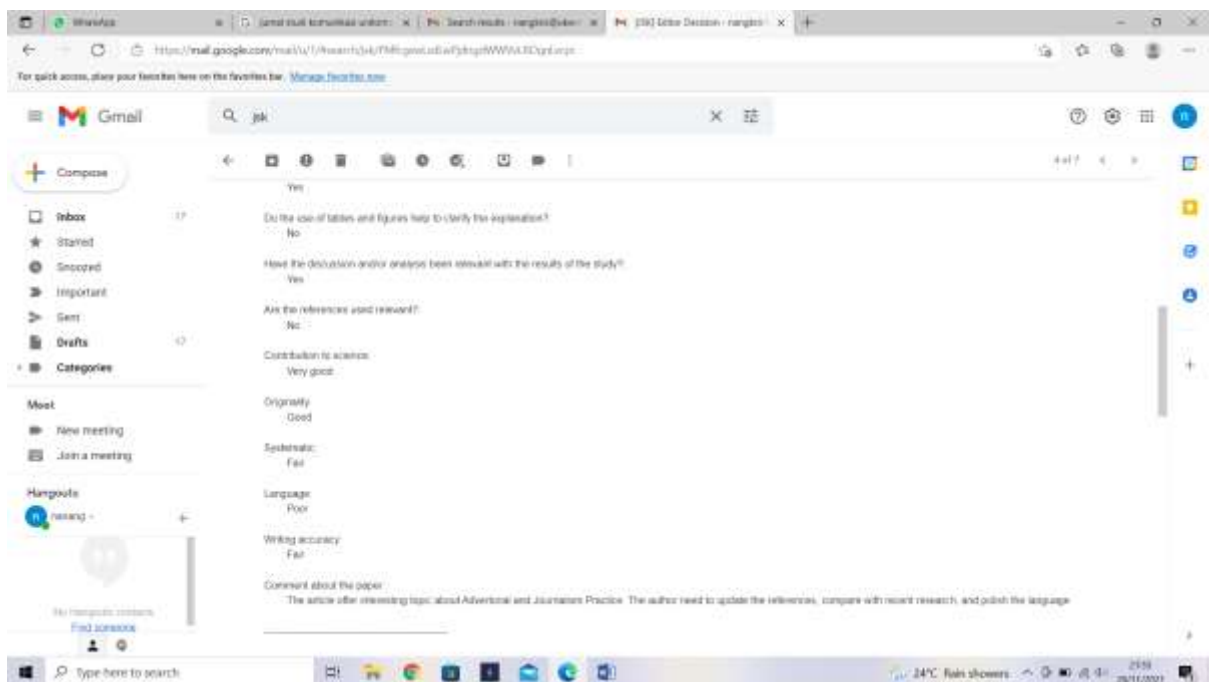
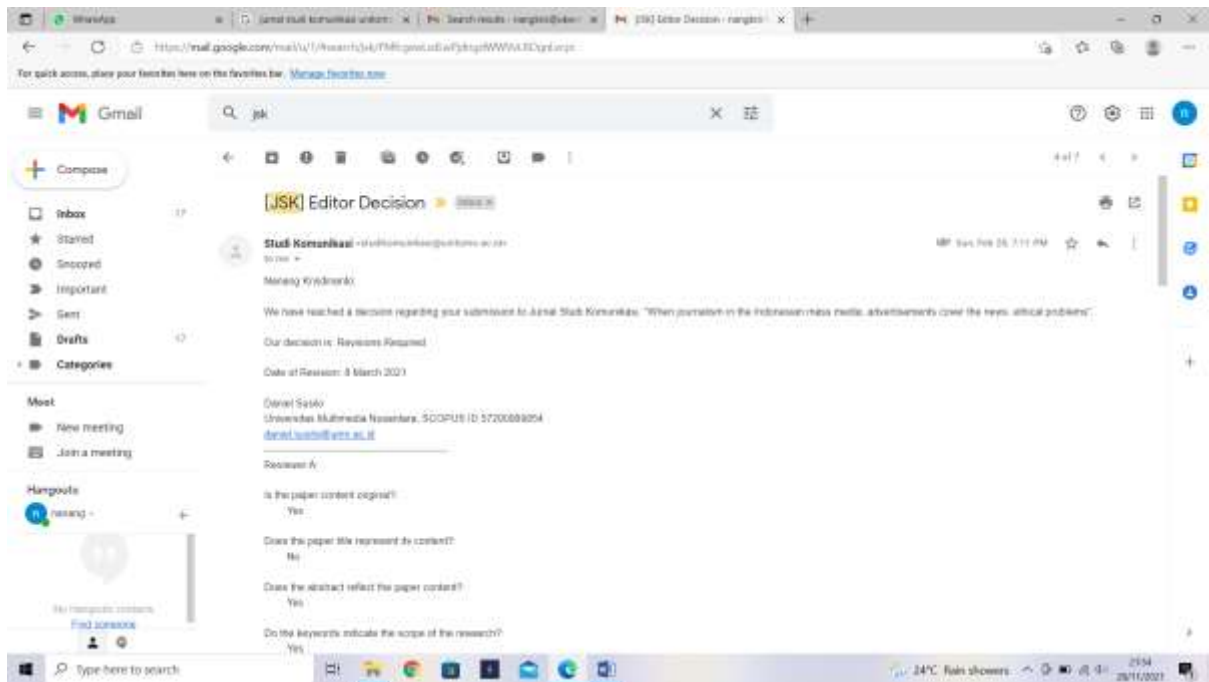
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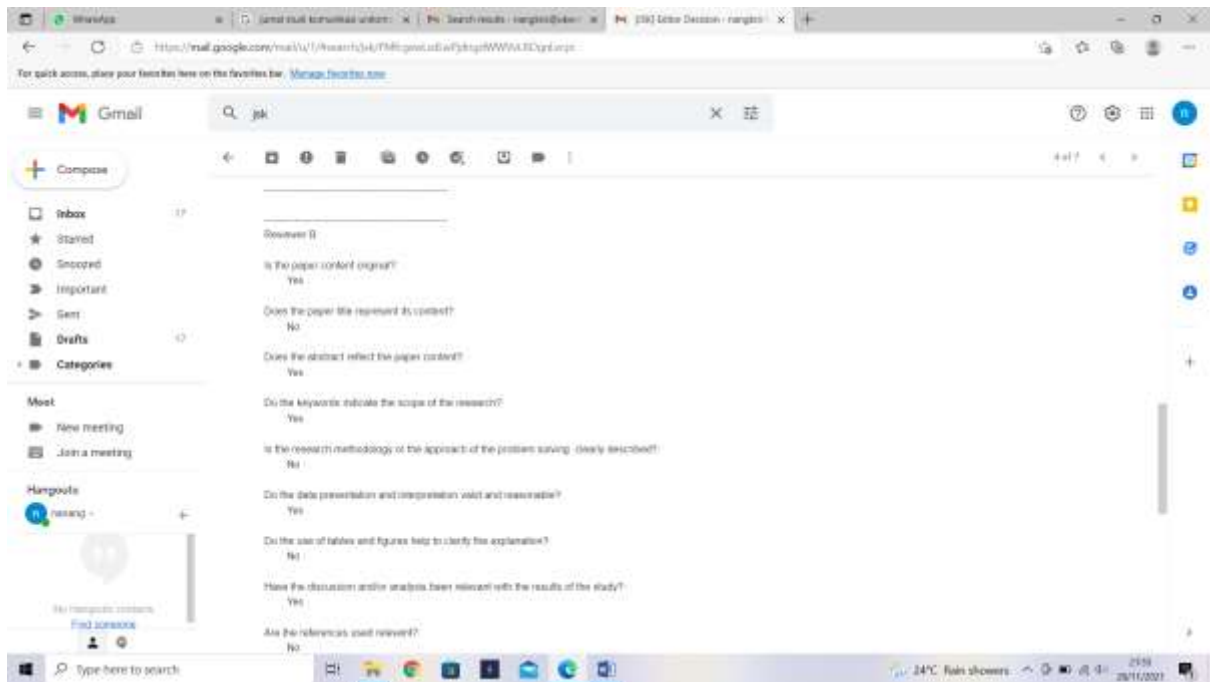
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**2. Bukti Konfirmasi Review
dan Hasil Review
(28 Februari 2021)**





**3. Bukti Konfirmasi Submit Revisi,
Respon kepada Reviewer,
dan Artikel yang Diresubmit
(8 Maret 2021)**

Respon terhadap reviewer

No.	Bagian	Catatan Reviewer	Perbaiki Penulis
1.	Daftar Pustaka	Artikel ini menawarkan topik menarik tentang iklan dan praktik jurnalistik. Namun penulis perlu memperbarui referensi.	Sudah dilakukan dengan menambahkan sejumlah rujukan jurnal dengan waktu terbit 10 tahun terakhir.
2.	Diskusi	Perkuat analisis dengan membandingkan hasil temuan dengan penelitian-penelitian lain sejenisnya.	Sudah dilakukan dengan menampilkan sejumlah riset tentang iklan dan jurnalisme di beberapa negara dan Indonesia di bagian diskusi.
3.	Kesimpulan	Diminta hanya menampilkan poin-poin penting temuan tanpa perlu menjelaskan ulang. Perlu juga ditambahkan rekomendasi penelitian.	Sudah dilakukan dengan menghilangkan uraian penjelasan dan menambahkan rekomendasi.
4.	Metode	Penulis belum menunjukkan langkah-langkah pencarian data dan pertimbangan pemilihan narasumber .	Sudah diperbaiki dengan menjelaskan langkah-langkah koleksi data di lapangan dan alasan pemilihan narasumber dari kalangan jurnalis.
5.	Pendahuluan	Argumen sudah diuraikan dengan baik dan tujuan penelitian terbaca dengan jelas, tetapi penulis perlu menegaskan state of the art riset ini, kontribusi penelitian pada kajian jurnalisme atau komunikasi, dan distingsi penelitian dari penelitian lain.	Sudah diperbaiki dengan mempertegas state of the art penelitian dengan cara menampilkan lebih banyak riset-riset terdahulu, dan menonjolkan perbedaan penelitian ini dengan yang sebelumnya. Kontribusi penelitian pada kajian komunikasi juga sudah ditambahkan, dan keunikan penelitian ini dibandingkan dengan penelitian lain sebelumnya.
6.	Abstrak	Elemen temuan diselaraskan dengan kesimpulan.	Sudah dilakukan.
7.	Bahasa	Perbaiki penggunaan bahasa Inggris, disesuaikan dengan tata bahasa baku dan pastikan penggunaan istilah-istilah khas dalam bahasa Inggris agar maknanya sesuai dengan yang dimaksud.	Sudah dilakukan dengan pengecekan kembali tata bahasa.

Bukti artikel yang diresubmit

When journalism in the Indonesian mass media, advertisements cover the news: ethical problems

How to Cite This Article:

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When Advertisement Disguised as News: The Problem of Journalistic Ethics in Indonesian Mass Media

Abstract This research aims to unravel the problems of journalistic ethics in Indonesia, especially related to obscuring news and advertisements in the print mass media through advertorials (advertisements delivered in an editorial style). The clear separation between news and advertisements is one of the two pillars of journalistic ethics, apart from the separation between facts and opinions to maintain journalistic independence. The research approach used is qualitative-descriptive, with data collection techniques through interviews (to journalists), observation and document searches. The results showed that most of the printed mass media studied tended to blur the boundaries between news and advertisements through various means, such as removing or shortening advertorial information.

Keywords: advertorial; journalistic ethics; news; journalist

INTRODUCTION

This study starts from two premises about journalistic and advertorial ethics (one of the advertising variants). The dynamics between these two things often give rise to complex problems in journalistic practice. Conceptually, journalistic ethics rests on two pillars—first, the separation of facts and opinions. Second, the separation between news and business prevents advertisers or the economic interests of the mass media itself from interfering with news

as a responsibility to the public. This second thing is often associated with the issue of journalistic independence. (Iggers, 1999)

Therefore, Refer to (Kovach, 2001) to maintain the independence of journalistic practices from the pressures of profit-oriented business, journalists are protected by an ethical concept that is often referred to as a firewall. With the journalistic fire fence, editorial and business are strictly separated, not to be surpassed for any reason. In other words, journalistic ethics provides an apparent line to distinguish news and advertising material.

The conception that Kovach and Rosenstiel called the fire fence raises severe problems in journalistic practice because it is then closely linked with advertorials that many journalistic academics call a reputation for fraud. This topic has only recently been recognised due to the proliferation of advertising and mass media.

Advertorials were originally advertisements in print which were displayed in an editorial style. In subsequent developments, advertorials are also used by other media, both electronic media (radio and television) and online media. (Rayner et al., 2004)(Stephen and Patra, 2015). Advertisers like advertorials for two reasons. First, they are usually cheaper than the earlier types of advertising, namely display ads. Second, which then raises a problem, advertorials can be disguised or disguised as if they are news, and this has the potential to crash journalistic ethics. For example, through an advertorial, a particular business can be described as carrying out certain activities. With the feature of writing features, the business or the inauguration can be presented by highlighting certain advantages, or testimonials from customers or business partners. Advertisers cannot obtain this from conventional advertising (display).

Advertorials are also very popular because of conventional advertising methods' waning effectiveness, usually done through display advertisements that readers can quickly identify as advertisements (Muela-Molina et al., 2016). This is the leading reason advertisers need new, more cryptic methods and promotional techniques capable of camouflaging the message. Since their appearance, advertorials have sparked anxiety about their ability to bypass journalistic fireplaces. (Franklin & Murphy, 1998)for example, mentioning advertorials disguised as news, ads suggest a claim to the truth because they are associated with news. Thus, advertorials were created to deceive readers, and risk misleading readers because they feel they are reading the news (both straight news and features) rather than reading advertisements.

In their research in India, Stephen and Patra (2015) stated that readers (consumers of advertised goods) prefer advertorials more than advertisements (displays). The most significant advantage of using advertorials is the added factor of trustworthiness from readers. In 1991, still referring to Stephen and Patra, Kotler predicted the increasing importance of advertorial positions because consumers trusted editorial

(news) scripts more than advertisements. Since then, advertorials have become the mainstay of Integrated Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) practices and have become the most developed marketing tool besides advertising.

The most beneficial aspect of advertorials is that they can increase the trustworthiness of the advertised product. (M Schudson, 1984) even asserts, "If an item appears as news, it has a legitimacy that advertising does not have." (If an ad looks like news, then it has the legitimacy that the ad does not have). Many studies show that traditional advertising (display advertising) has lower credibility than advertorials.

That is why Stephen and Patra (2015) call advertorials a communication tool with a reputation for fraud. Because of the reputation of fraud, as part of criticism, protecting the interests or rights of readers, and - most importantly - enforcing the barrier between news and advertising (between editorial and business), professional journalists and advertising institutions in the US, Europe, and several other countries compile and develop guidelines/codes of ethics to regulate this, both applicable in the context of journalism and advertising. The guideline contains the obligation to label or certain facial features in the advertorial loading, but all publishers are not obeyed because they do not have the power to enforce it legally. Even if followed, (Kim et al., 2001)

This is where journalistic ethics arise, especially regarding the blurring of boundaries between news and advertising. One of the very nature of advertorials is to blur the line between news and advertising. Moreover, in most cases, publishers tend to omit sure signs that should exist to distinguish between advertorials and news. The signs are usually in the form of type and size of letters (which are different from the type of news fonts), the advertiser's company logo, a thin line inscribed between the advertorial and the news, the style of the face, or the advertorial or advertisement label clearly at the top or under the advertorial.

This research focuses on advertorial problems related to the second pillar of journalistic ethics, namely the separation of business news (newsroom and business room). In the Indonesian context, this research's focus is relatively rarely touched, or no research is considered significant. Journalistic practise research still focuses more on the first pillar (separation of facts and opinions) or research that uses a cultural perspective (which looks at how journalistic practices are carried out concerning cultural factors) or political economy (which sees how journalistic practices are carried out under various controls, Economic and political power. This trend can be seen in the research of Dhakidae (1992), Manzella (2000), Budianto & Mabroer (2000), Eriyanto (2002), SK (2003), Ishadi (2002), Romano & Seinor (2005), Hanitzsch (2005), J. Steele (2010); J. E. Steele (2005), Manan & Danayanti (2012), (Sudibyo & Patria, 2013), Tapsell (2012), Armando (2014), Carpenter & Sosale (2019), Winarnita et al.(2020), and Simorangkir (2020).

In several countries, research that focuses on this advertorial phenomenon is starting to be carried out, for example, Kim et al. (2001), Eckman and Lindlof (2003), Erjavec-Kovacic (2010), Baerug and Loit (2011), Stephen and Patra (2015), Attasran et al. (2015), Molina et al. (2016), Li et al. (2019), as well as Wilson and Baack (2019). This means that the problematic mixing of journalistic and business practices has become a phenomenon that theoretically has implications for violating journalistic ethics, which impacts journalistic independence. Moreover, recently, much of the advertising spending for mainstream mass media has shifted to social media. At this point, advertorials that have a reputation for fraud and camouflage become a new alternative for the mainstream mass media to gain profits. In other words,

In Indonesia, what is also a problem is a journalistic code of ethics which is a reference for Indonesian journalists - both those formulated by the Indonesian Journalists Association (*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia* -PWI) and the Independent Journalists Alliance (*Aliansi Jurnalis Independen-AJI*) - still not explicitly regulating this issue. It is different from professional journalist organisations in other countries, such as the United States, which have formulated strict rules regarding the boundary line between news and advertorials. In Indonesia, the journalistic code of ethics still looks more focused on regulating the first pillar of journalistic ethics, namely the separation of facts and opinions.

That is one reason that the practice of blurring the boundaries between advertorials and news is a problem in Indonesia. In the context of print media, for example, the practice of blurring occurs in various ways. Some did not add the adverb "advertorial," but replaced it with the abbreviation "adv" at the end of the writing.

Sometimes, the word "adv" is replaced with an asterisk (*) code. The "adv" or star sign is then assumed to be an advertorial marker, which is likely not understood by the public because it is only an agreement within the media concerned. In other words, blurring the boundaries between advertorials and news is a common practice in print media today.

At this point, this research becomes essential because it wants to unravel how the practice of obfuscation (or deception/camouflage) operates in the mass media in Indonesia. To limit the scope, this research was conducted on several print media in Surabaya to get an idea of the extent to which practices threaten journalistic independence as part of protecting the public interest.

METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative-descriptive approach that places the researcher as a critical instrument. (Sugiono, 2010) Data is generated through interviews, observations and documents, which are then analysed inductively. This research was conducted in Surabaya considering its position as the second-largest city in Indonesia with the

largest number and types of media after Jakarta. Currently, Surabaya has 26 television stations (12 national broadcasts and 14 local broadcasts), 63 local broadcast radios, 17 daily newspapers (both published in Surabaya and local editions of newspapers published in Jakarta), 18 magazines, 19 tabloids, and several online news agencies. This figure excludes the print media published with an irregular frequency and online media which in the post-New Order era appeared like mushrooms in the rainy season.

The resource persons for the research were print media journalists, either in positions as reporters or editors. The selected journalists came from significant print media in Surabaya, namely Harian Kompas, Jawa Pos, Surya, Radar Surabaya, Bhirawa, Memorandum, and Radar Jember a subsidiary of Jawa Pos in Surabaya. The research subject is determined by choosing purposive with specific considerations with the following conditions: 1) experiencing an event that is a phenomenon related to research; 2) able to retell the events they experienced; 3) willing to be the subject of research. (Creswell, 1998) With ethical considerations, the names of informants are conveyed in the form of initials.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

When the Adverts the News

An incident occurred several years ago (2012) in the Jawa Pos editorial office. Based on the narrative of NWD, a Jawa Pos journalist, on that day a "news" appeared accompanied by a photo of the Presidential Special Staff for Development and Regional Autonomy, Heru Lelono. At that time, the President of the Republic of Indonesia was Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The advertorial contains the views concerned (Heru Lelono) regarding the current political and economic conditions at that time.

Unfortunately, NWD admits that it forgot the details of the advertorial installation. He only remembers the possibility between 2012 and 2013, with the date and month no longer remembered. He only confirmed that the advertorial appeared more than once appeared before the 2014 Presidential Election and contained relevant views on various matters. Jawa Pos itself also does not have a printed edition archive so that efforts to trace the document of this article cannot be carried out, while digital archives in the form of pdf files can only be traced within the past three months.

At first glance, the half-page column looked like news. However, it turned out that the editorial staff checked it, the material was not news but an advertorial written by a copywriter (a particular writer in Jawa Pos who was in charge of writing advertorial material). In the afternoon, in a leadership meeting attended by all departments (including advertisements), this material became a severe discussion. The main problem is that the advertorial's presentation or format is too similar to

news stories. There is no sign or ad code or advertorial in the material, or at least limit it with a thin line and a title that begins with the word "Communications" as is usually the case with Jawa Pos making advertorials.

"The material is too similar to the editorial's writing so that the editors themselves cannot distinguish. As a note and evaluation, we read the advertorial in turn with the speaker so that all rooms and all people can hear, including commercial friends. Today there are advertisements for this, and so on. We also convey written notes to advertise partners. " (NWD, Jawa Pos journalist).

A similar incident, based on interviews with researchers, has also occurred in a newspaper of the same class as Kompas, related to one of its columns published every Friday, Kompas Klass. Based on the narrative of SH, a journalist from Kompas, this rubric has been published since 2004, is managed by the business department, and contains texts written by outside authors. Kompas Klass was created to attract the potential for advertising premium products. At the beginning of its publication, Kompas Klass was considered too similar to an editorial production rubric. Even though it includes an advertisement sign at the bottom, Kompas Klass is designed to be too similar to the editorial team and uses a similar font used by editors. Complaints and pros and cons also often emerge from internal circles, especially from editors.

"Since its publication, many have asked about Kompas Klass, both from internal and external circles. Often, outsiders ask, whose product is Kompas Klass? News or advertising? The journalism we have developed, Kompas journalism is journalism, one of which is committed not to confuse editorial affairs with business, news with advertisements. We are very strongly committed to maintaining the barrier between the editorial field and the business. Editors often complain at joint meetings, if Kompas Klass appears in a format that is too similar to the editorial staff. Nevertheless, now it has subsided because the rubric has been understood together as an advertorial. " (SH, a journalist from Kompas).

The problems facing Kompas and Jawa Pos above are complications of the emergence of a relatively new phenomenon in the world of advertising (advertising), especially in the print media, namely advertorials. Today, however, the line is not the only one seen as a sacred dividing separating advertising and news. In addition to thin lines, there are still types of letters and code in the form of advertising or advertorial writing (can be at the end of the script or on top of the script). As the thin line, letter type and script code are also a problem in newspapers, even for letters like Kompas and Jawa Pos.

In the matter of discipline in using advertorial codes, Kompas is indeed disciplined, and editors tend to be tough on this matter. MB, a journalist from Kompas when interviewed, said:

"There must be an advertorial writing. There must be. If there is not, it can't. If there is no advertorial article, we can argue about that for a week. The leader can be reviled. " (MB, a journalist from Kompas).

Despite the advantages provided by using ad codes, often problems occur in Kompas. The layout and style of the advertisement section are handled by the section that creates the advertising. The advertisement copy also features fonts that are identical to or are the same as those used by the editor.

"I dare say, currently Kompas is the only newspaper in Indonesia with the most discipline in separating advertising and news. This is Kompas journalism. In Kompas, the advertising division is afraid of the editorial team, and the editorial position is strong. That is, what is dominant is the position of wanting to defend the fire fence. Nevertheless, indeed in advertorial writing, sometimes there are problems with the type of letters. Sometimes ad sections are of a similar type. So if that happens, the editorial team always protests. Editorial complaints to advertisements are usually always related to this matter. " (MB, a journalist from Kompas).

These events reflect what is meant (Franklin & Murphy, 1998) about the manipulative advertorial, suggesting a truth claim because it is associated with news. Advertisers want to use an editorial-like presentation format to trick readers and ask the newspaper ad department to write and design it just like editors design news. This can be seen as one of the most severe attack forms against journalism's firebird.

The Kompas Klass rubric case is only one form of attack on the journalistic fire fence at Kompas. Attacks from inside the newspaper itself to knock down the journalistic barrier have been running for a long time, going on and on and on.

"In the past, the writing of the ad code as above, now it is below. The reason for the advertisement was that the client wanted it to be written there. In the past, the script type was very similar to the editorial staff, only with different spacing. Editors have protested, very often. Why is this, why is that? Continued complaints. When there was the Kompas Klass case, at that time we complained. The editorial team asked for it to be stopped, but it was still published even though the frequency was reduced. So

the point is, the advertising mix never stops. They will keep trying.
" (ASP, a journalist from Kompas).

The problem then is, if a newspaper as big as Kompas continues to be attacked to tear down the journalistic fence, what about other newspapers that are not as big as Kompas? Jawa Pos alone seems unable to get out of the pressure of the advertisers or advertisers. Jawa Pos appears to be a compromise on advertorial matters. For example, this daily does not use ad code or advertorials explicitly, but implicitly gives it a rubric title starting with the word "Communication" or "Info" followed by a word that reflects the advertorial's content. Then various names emerged which were then understood internally as advertorials, such as Business Communication, Educational Communication, Legislative Communication, Government Communication, etc. This title appears in capital letters, usually in blue, and placed on the advertorial script. However, Jawa Pos also opens space for other titles according to client requests, such as Jalin Kesra (a full-page advertorial that once appeared routinely by the East Java Provincial Government), Banyuwangi Festival (owned by the Banyuwangi Regency Government), PP Properti (owned by one of the developers), etc. In Jawa Pos, advertorials are carried out by a division called the Kreatorial Division, and the product is internally referred to as creator advertising.

The use of the word "Communication" can be seen from two sides. From the Jawa Pos side, the word is a sign that the text is an advertorial. However, on the other hand, ethically, the use of the word can be seen as an effort to disguise advertisements so that readers perceive them as news. Moreover, if the selected font type is the same as the type of font used in the news, as shown in the example below.

In the context of journalistic fire fencing, the use of the word "advertisement" or "advertorial" is something that cannot be negotiated as a dividing mark between news and advertisements. In the matter of using type letters, Jawa Pos still tends to be inconsistent. In one publication, these inconsistencies are often found,

In cases like this, the one who determines is the advertiser. The use of advertorial typeface or title fully follows the advertiser's wishes, and the Jawa Pos editorial team responds unlike the response from Kompas editorial, which tends to be harsh.

"One of the considerations is the advertiser. They, huge advertisers, usually do not want any ad descriptions. We cannot force it, even though the idea is that. The advertising department is worried that they will switch to another newspaper. Because of that, we then gave a special code, yes with the word Communication. What is clear, when you are reading editorial friends, you must know whether this is an advertisement or not. Here we are always in the process, even though we know this is an industry, but our fellow editors still care.

Moreover, those who do advertorials are not editorial friends. The advertising department has its photographer, the layout, the writer himself." (NWD, Jawa Pos journalist).

Document searches and interviews with journalists from various newspapers in Surabaya or those based in Surabaya show similar data. Apart from Kompas, the format of writing in almost all newspapers in Surabaya indicates the vital interest or intervention of advertisers and describes the violation of journalistic fire fencing. This is also reflected in the involvement of journalists in the practice of advertorial writing. In brief, these data show strong indications of deliberately disguising advertorials so that readers can understand them as news. This can be seen in the following table.

TABLE IV.1
EDITORIAL POLICY ON ADVERTORIAL

NEWSPAPER	WRITING FORMAT	AUTHOR
COMPASS	<p>There is ad code at the end of the article.</p> <p>Different fonts and layouts with news.</p> <p>Was given the title of a rubric that impresses the news.</p>	Copy writer
JAVA POS	<p>There is no ad code, but it is marked with a line and a column title starting with the word "Communication" according to the advertiser's wishes</p> <p>Font choices and layout are inconsistent, sometimes the same, sometimes different from the news.</p> <p>Creating "creative ads" with a presentation style similar to light news.</p>	Copy writer
SUN	<p>No ad code.</p> <p>The writing code can be negotiated with the advertiser, usually given the code * or adv without or by</p>	<p>Journalist</p> <p>Copy writer</p>

	<p>adding the code of the reporter who got the transaction and writing it down.</p> <p>To disguise it was given the rubric title "Infotorial."</p>	
MEMORANDUM	<p>No ad code.</p> <p>Given a code *, or adding the code of the reporter who got the transaction and who wrote it down.</p> <p>The form, layout, or typeface is up to the reporter and advertiser.</p>	Journalist
RADAR SURABAYA	<p>No ad code</p> <p>Code the reporter who obtained the transaction and writes it down.</p> <p>News-like layout, typeface, and placement.</p> <p>Format can be made creatively according to client wishes.</p>	Journalist Copy writer
JEMBER RADAR	<p>No ad code</p> <p>Code the reporter who obtained the transaction and writes it down.</p> <p>News-like layout, typeface, and placement.</p> <p>Creating a special advertorial program with coverage, writing, and placement equal to news.</p>	Journalist Copy writer
AMBASSADORS OF THE COMMUNITY	<p>No ad code.</p> <p>Is given a code for the reporter who got the transaction and writes it down.</p> <p>News-like layout, typeface, and placement.</p>	Journalist
BHIRAWA	<p>No ad code</p> <p>Given the code "adv".</p> <p>News-like layout, typeface, and placement.</p>	Journalist

Source: processed from interviewees

From the table above, it can be seen that the trend of advertorial writing done by the newspapers under study. All of them, except Kompas, did not affix the ad / advertorial code as a marker so that readers recognise the text as advertorial, not as news. To camouflage, most newspapers use the code adv (abbreviation or rather the disguise of the advertorial) or bintang (*) for their advertorial text, which is sometimes followed by the code of the reporter who got the advertorial transaction (if the newspaper allows journalists to join in looking for the ad) or writes it down.

The problem is, there are no rules or ethical guidelines in Indonesia that specifically regulate this, so that each newspaper (media) can interpret these boundaries according to their respective interests and conditions. Meanwhile, a number of other countries, such as the United States, already have guidelines or regulations published by both the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) and the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME). The guidelines for editors and publishers that they publish strictly regulate the relationship between editors (editors) and advertisers. This organisation, to quote (McChesney, 2004), basically formed to strengthen the separation between editorial and business (which is metaphorized as the separation of church and state) as well as to protect the purity of journalistic practices from business or advertising interests.

In matters of layout, design, and choice of letters (typography), for example, based on ASNE rules, it must be clearly distinguished from the layout, design or normal typography of the editorial staff. When an advertisement appears on a page containing editorial content, the two must also be clearly distinguished, including by adding the words "ad, advertorial" or "promotion" placed horizontally or directly above the ad with the size and thickness of the letters at least equal to editor used. (Bivins, 2004).

The non-use of ad code and the use of the same typography in advertorial texts are also the product of pressure from advertisers who do not want their readers to perceive their ads as advertisements. Advertisers tend not to want ad code or advertorials to appear in their script, while editors also don't want ads that are openly recognised as news. In other words, in determining the ad code, there is a struggle within the editorial staff regarding journalistic independence and the desire of advertorial advertisers. At this point, the use of adv or star code can be seen as a compromise product between advertisers and editors, who on the one hand want to maintain their independence but on the other hand feel they have no choice but to accommodate the client's desire to remove ad code.

"The solution is the adv or star code. This is also a safety valve so that those who get advertisements are safe, so that they are transparent,

are recognised as legitimate by internally. We also need to play pretty ha-ha..." (FAE, journalist Surya).

"Adv code is to give a signal to office management. So if there is an adv, later there will be the bill itself. Clients usually don't want an ad to be written directly, so just give the adv code. So it's like news, but it's actually advertising. (MA, journalist Bhirawa).

"Memorandum uses star code, sometimes adv. But more often use a star that is given a slash, then there is my code. That's a sign from the office that I got an ad. (DHA, Memorandum reporter).

From the aforementioned statements, it can be seen that the choice of using star and adv codes is not at all related to the interests of the public or readers. The use of the code is more intended for internal purposes (so that it is recognised as part of a financial transaction). That's why, in certain cases, when an advertiser doesn't even want to be tagged with an adv or star code, the newspaper in question often doesn't mind.

"There are some who do not want this sign because they are still considered too promotional. Yes, we're fine. After all, there is a count. The important thing is, the ad order comes in first. So it depends on them whether they want to be given an adv code or not. " (LN, Advertorial Manager, former journalist for Radar Surabaya).

This explicit rejection of the use of ad code confirms a number of studies in various countries which state that the use of editorial styles with advertorial formats is indeed more effective than advertising (display). In their research which took place in India, Stephen and Patra (2015) stated that readers (consumers of advertised goods) actually prefer advertorials more than advertisements (displays). The biggest advantage of using advertorials is the added factor of trust from readers, as has been written by (M Schudson, 1984) that: "when something appears in the form of news, it has a legitimacy that adverts never have." But on the other hand, a number of studies have found that such distinguishing signs are not effective enough to make readers aware of the difference between news and advertising.

Research (Kim et al., 2001) for example, finding, the response of readers to advertorials that were tagged and not turned out to be not much different. In other words, readers still have difficulty identifying advertorial differences with news stories with or without distinguishing signs. Even though they both perceive it as advertising (not news), most of them still fail to remember the existence of these advertorial signs. The research also indicates that advertorial format advertisements are indeed successful in fooling readers, and failing to alert readers to advertorial "basic character".

Because Accordingly, Stephen and Patra pointed to advertorials as communication instruments that have a reputation for fraud. Because of this reputation of fraud, professional journalist and advertising agencies in the US, Europe and a number of other countries have compiled and developed guidelines / codes of ethics to regulate this, both applicable in the context of journalism and advertising. In the US, the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) compiled a series of guides in 1989 and later updated them to regulate online media. The guideline contains the obligation to label or certain facial features in the advertorial loading, but in fact all publishers are not obeyed because they do not have legal force of force. If followed, advertorial labels are usually placed and written in a very vague and not attracting attention.(Kim et al., 2001).

A number of international organisations also see the practice of blurring the boundaries of news and advertising as unacceptable. For example, the International Chamber of Commerce Code of Advertising Practice, which in 1997 required clear identification of advertisements so that they could be quickly recognised as advertisements. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) also has a code of conduct which regulates this issue. The problem is that the code of conduct does not contain clear and direct guidelines for differentiating news from advertising, although they also release a number of resolutions regarding "pressure to integrate advertising and commercial purposes into editorial work." In the context of television, regulations were also released by the European Convention on Transfrontier Television (2002) and the Directive of the European Parliament (2007).(Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2010).

That of interest is Slovenia.(Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2010)noted, mixing up advertisements and news in Slovenia is not only seen as a practice that goes against the code of ethics, both in the context of journalism and advertising. In this country located in eastern Europe, the mixing of news and advertising is not only an ethical question, it is a legal issue. The law regulating the mass media (Mass Media Law) in Slovenia considers this practice to be illegal, and it is strictly enforced compared to other countries. Apart from that, the code of ethics compiled by the Slovenian Association of Journalists (2002) and the Slovenian Advertising Chamber (1999) also shows how these affairs are trying to be regulated and controlled.

That is why, referring to the description above, the use of ad code explicitly can invalidate the legitimacy factor, such as what Schudson calls or additional trustworthiness as emphasised by Stephen and Patra. This argument also explains why all the newspapers studied (except Kompas) tend to use advertorial designs that are similar to news produced by editors. This is usually seen from the choice of typeface and layout style. This was stated by one of the speakers:

"When I got an advertorial from the East Java Provincial Government, they asked for a special column. I got a half page contract. So the shape is us, the layout, the face, it's us. But they ask it to look like news, because they also don't want the readers to think about advertising. " (DHA, Memorandum reporter).

Which is also interesting is the struggle in the newspaper to decide who does the task of finding and writing advertorials. Somewhat different from the matter of code and advertorial design (with only Kompas being disciplined separating them), in the matter of writing advertorial manuscripts it is not only Kompas that clearly separates them. Jawa Pos also appeared orderly by submitting the writing of the manuscript to a copy writer (who was a director and was specially educated to handle advertorials). Jawa Pos journalists are prohibited from writing advertorials, along with the prohibition of journalists from seeking advertisements (both displays and advertorials).

However, this strict rule in Jawa Pos does not apply to its subsidiaries under the Radar Group. Parallel to being allowed (even encouraged) to participate in looking for advertisements, the practice of writing advertorial scripts among journalists in the Radar Group is also considered normal and acceptable.

"At Radar Jember now, besides having an advertising section, there are also journalists who are specially assigned to help the advertising division. There is a phenomenon in Radar Jember, namely marketing being educated or trained in writing advertorials. There are several marketers who can write, but not many. There are also those who ask for help writing advertorials to reporters. I just have to talk to the chief editor, who are the journalists who can help. Last year, there was a kid in advertising marketing who was clever, with good writing that beat journalists, we finally pulled it to the editor. For a while, he focused on advertorials. So when there is an event with potential advertorial, he will come. " (CB, journalist for Radar Jember).

"Usually they can write (advertisements). But sometimes there are requests, please write the reporters later. So those who write journalists will be claimed for advertisements. " (LN, Radar Surabaya Advertorial Manager, former journalist).

By looking at what happened with Kompas, Jawa Pos, and the Radar Group, it can be seen that there is a gradation in the level of compromise related to advertorial writing. Kompas and Jawa Pos reject the practice of advertorial writing by journalists, while other newspapers appear to be compromising. Not only the Radar Group, Surya Daily, which is a subsidiary of Kompas also took a compromise path; open space for journalists to participate in writing advertorials (including

searching) even though they have their own copy writer who is in charge of writing advertorials.

"The advertising department has a copy writer, but journalists can also be asked to write. But more often than not, journalists. Informants also prefer journalists who write because their writing can be in a news style. Not just writing, those who don't take photos of journalists, the ones who designed the layout are the editorial team. " (FAE, journalist Surya).

In newspapers such as Bhirawa and Duta Masyarakat, advertorial writing is almost always done by journalists. Moreover, there are more advertisements (both displays and advertorials) that are obtained by journalists so that their execution (including writing advertorial scripts) is also carried out by journalists.

"Journalists who write. First we interview the advertiser, what do they want? Then we write. Will be corrected by the client, is it appropriate or not? If so, we will load it immediately. " (MA, journalist Bhirawa).

The implications of this kind of practice, refer(McChesney, 2004), is the emergence of a very crucial problem because the wishes or needs of advertisers can change the content of mass media dramatically. As a result, the public interest that should appear in the media must face control or filter from advertisers. In other words, news that reflects the public interest must be compromised or often sacrificed if it conflicts with the interests of the advertiser. McChesney writes:

"Advertisers as a rule do not wish to associated with controversial social or political topics. Even slight opposition by an audience is enough to keep most advertisers away from such content. "

"Advertisers don't want to be linked to controversial social or political topics. Just a little bit of opposition from an audience is enough to keep most advertisers away from the material. "

Traditionally, news and advertising functions are expected to be separate because advertisements can threaten journalists' objectivity to remain objective. This concept of objectivity, refers(Michael Schudson, 2011), has been considered the "emblem of American journalism." This emblem is the ideal assumption of journalists as conveying neutral messages to the audience. Therefore, the barrier between the news and advertising departments must be maintained to maintain the integrity of the news and avoid conflict with journalistic values or norms.

But the media business (including newspapers), again quoted(Eckman & Lindlof, 2003), is no longer a black and white world. Currently, the newspaper business (print media) is facing a significant

decline in circulation and profits (due to the presence of electronic media, internet media including social media). This phenomenon is then responded to by a content and promotion strategy that plays in the "gray" area between newsroom and business. Advertorial is one strategy to play in the "gray" area.

Advertorial practice, still refers (Eckman & Lindlof, 2003), also triggered internal conflicts within the media organisation between the editorial department and the business. The conflict arises constantly regarding decisions to publish news and journalistic autonomy. The study of advertorials is crucial because of its current very significant role in shaping the organisational culture and targets of the news industry. In newspapers in many countries, the boundaries between the editorial department and business are blurred. Editorial and business personnel are now used to sitting together discussing solutions to various business problems.

Blurring Page Sales with 'Smart Reporting'

In addition to the practice of blurring news and advertorials, the data findings in this study also indicate the practice of selling news or pages for the sake of certain images or business. Based on document searches, researchers found a case that occurred in the Jawa Pos subsidiary, namely Radar Jember and Memorandum.

Although Jawa Pos does not practice journalism like this, a number of subsidiaries do, such as Radar Jember and Memorandum. Radar Jember has carried out this practice until now, even seeing it as an effective marketing strategy to boost circulation and advertising. This newspaper has a special column, Creative School, with an area of one FC page (full color) which is offered to schools in Jember Regency (from pre-school to high school) in exchange for purchasing a newspaper of at least one thousand copies.

SMPN 6 Jember and SMPN 11 Jember have used this news program. News about SMPN 6 Jember appeared in the 25 January 2016 edition page 12. In one full page of FC, SMPN 6 Jember was written in four news stories, eight photos, plus graphics about school profiles and achievements, which, although very promotional, were still written as news, with a journalistic writing style. The news headlines were very positive, such as "SMPN 6 Jember, Towards the School of Arts and Sports; Many Graduates Enter Favorite Schools; Many Generate Professional Models; " and "Cooperate with Suryanaga-Smash Jember." A similar style of reporting and writing was also carried out for SMPN 11 Jember, it also appeared on the same page and area in the February 1, 2016. The following is the news in question.

This program rests on journalist networks and lobbies. The bidding process, coverage, writing, and distribution to schools are all carried out by journalists. In return, journalists enjoy the price difference set by management. The official price for a copy of Radar Jember is Rp. 6,000, but specifically for this program it costs Rp. 5,000. This means that

journalists get a commission of Rp. 1,000.00 per copy. With a minimum purchase of 1,000 copies, this means that journalists will pocket a minimum of IDR 1 million per contract with the school.

"Not bad, right? Reporters who cover, write, and distribute. How the newspaper gets to the client is the reporter's business. It is written in the form of a news story plus a photo on a special one-page color page. It's not an advertorial, it's news. Lay out style, typeface, all yes the same as regular news made even more selling. What distinguishes the header of the page is that it is somewhat promotional. In fact, advertising friends have also criticised this. Usually one page can sell for a minimum of Rp. 11 million, how come it's cheap? That's why we pack it up as if it's news, with journalistic standards still being used starting from the angle, how to write it and so on. The client is also happy because it is not written as an advertorial, because it impresses the reporters' coverage with objective journalistic standards. " (CB, Director of Radar Jember).

Creative School is not the only column or page packaged for sale to others. The important point of the idea lies in opening the possibility for anyone to receive a portion of positive news, regardless of the frequency, extent or amount of news, with a choice of angle or a controlled writing method, as long as the person concerned is willing to tie a sales agreement. That is, *Creative School* is just one rubric or page created for that. Columns or pages with other names can easily be created to suit client needs.

Whereas in the Memorandum, this practice usually occurs through granting authority to regional bureau offices to manage their own pages with a target of monthly advertising and circulation revenue. Under this model, regional bureau offices are responsible not only for news supply, but also advertising revenue and circulation. Since the agency office does not have a marketing or advertising staff (account executive), it is journalists who do it. To meet advertising and circulation targets, bureau offices usually bind official contracts or MoUs (memoranda of understanding), especially with local government agencies, such as district / city governments, police stations, prosecutors, or certain agencies. The MoU contains an agreement to provide periodic news slots at a certain rate.

"In local news listings, there is usually advertorial information, for example, half a page. I think it's a news ad. If it can be called news, the news is cangkeman news; Police check senpi, police safety exam, that's all. But the packaging is real news, not like advertorials or advertisements. But the editorial listing is listed as an advertorial. This is a sign to make it a priority to enter the page. I have calculations, only with this cooperation, per year the bureau can profit even without incidental advertisements such as the moments of the media

anniversary, city anniversary, Eid al-Fitr, new year, independence day, and so on. Relying on these five moments alone, advertisements are released, it could be that a week the plot of pages runs out without news. Full of all. For the regions, it can close a year's business operations in the region concerned. " (BDM,

"It can be through the MoU, it can also be retail, loose news. This depends on our approach with policy-making officials. If it fits, we know their need to be told that their division is successful, then we will. Better to play pretty like this, bright. " (DHA, Memorandum reporter).

This research found that this kind of practice was often found in bureau offices or regional representatives. In a number of newspapers, representative offices or bureaus in the regions are not only burdened with news targets, but also business targets (advertising development and circulation). To meet these targets, they usually approach certain agencies (usually government, police, prosecutors, DPRD, political parties, BUMN / BUMD, political parties, or private companies) using networks owned by journalists.

Based on interview data, it can be seen that the "harvest period" of this practice generally occurs during the general election period (both for regional and legislative heads). Again, newspaper publishers usually approach candidates using journalists. Not only to advertise or advertorial, but also to bind news contracts. This model has been very popular lately (especially after the 1998 reform), especially since the General Election Commission (KPU) has taken over campaign activities through advertising in print and electronic media. Through KPU Regulation No. 7 of 2015, the KPU has implemented candidate advertisements in print and electronic media, facilitated by funds from the regional budget. Candidates may no longer advertise themselves in the mass media as before. This regulation automatically reduces the income of the mass media and advertising agencies, because for them the election moment is seen as a kind of "harvest" period. This model of selling pages or news prevents candidates from controlling the KPU, because material about candidates does not appear in display ad or advertorial formats but in news formats.

Generally, this kind of practice is also carried out through a contract agreement (memorandum of understanding, MoU) with a medium term (in a matter of months) or long (usually per year) with election candidates. This bond will bind newspapers - which will be part of the editorial task - to plan, report, edit, and publish positive news about clients, and put the news together with other journalistic reports without distinction at all. . A case like this was found by researchers at Duta Masyarakat and Surya.

"When I was the managing editor, there were pilkada crowds, yes, we helped the regions maximise their potential. We sell pages, given the title The

Democratic Party or something, the news is to facilitate or promote prospective candidates. Not advertorials, but pages or news. Then we offer the page or story to the candidate as part of the branding. Usually use Mou, pay so or buy such a newspaper, then the Ambassador will write such news with such an area. So the contents of the election page are mostly the results of the MoU, but sometimes some are not. If there are two candidates, then there is only one contract, the other must still be loaded for balance. The term is cool cover both side. " (YN, Public Ambassador reporter).

That to be an "anomaly" in the tendency of this practice is Surya. FAE, a journalist for Surya, said that he had practiced this practice during the 2013 East Java Governor Election and the 2015 Surabaya Pilwali. In the 2013 Pilgub, Surya tied a contract with one of the candidates. This election was followed by the pair Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf, Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Herman Sumawiredja, Bambang DH-Said Abdullah, and Eggi Sudjana-Muhammad Sihat. Meanwhile, in the 2015 Pilwali, Surya tied the knot with all candidates, namely Tri Rismaharini-Wisnu Sakti Buana and Rasiyo-Lucy Kurniasari.

"Contracts like this usually receive cash. The money is put in a plastic bag haha... So at that time I went back to the office with two ireng plastic bags, fill in the money. This was the first time I wanted to buy a pocket money and a plastic bag haha... But from Mrs. Risma I didn't get much, because their funds were not big. The big one from Mr. Rasiyo. The writing is even good, in the news Surya only writes about the superior programs of each candidate. So it is not too conflicted, there are only two candidates. What's exciting is that the East Java Pilgub, especially when Pakde Karwo and Khofifah fought after the 2008 Pilgub. Surya's position is that we don't participate in the news.*black campaign* to avoid conflict. " (FAE, journalist Surya).

This data is important because it can be seen as a very compromising response from a newspaper. In this sense, pursuing advertising and advertorials at the expense of editorial content no longer seems significant. The case of Radar Jember shows that news is no longer treated as a commodity to sell other commodities. In the hands of Radar Jember, news is a commodity that can be sold just as newspapers sell advertising columns or pages. As the issue of journalists' involvement in looking for advertisements, this phenomenon is rarely detected in the journalistic experience of Western countries. McChesney (2004) considered creating news to hook advertisements as an attack on journalism's fire fence, let alone selling news or pages directly such as selling advertising columns or pages.

Schudson (2003) notes, this practice has also occurred in the US. As one implication of the commercialisation and corporatisation of the media world, many press companies recruit business executives to manage their newspapers. In 1995, an executive with experience in food packaging, Mark Willes, was recruited to become the Chief Executive of the Los Angeles Times (LA Times). Openly, Willes stated that he would tear down the dividing fence that borders the editorial side and the

business side (journalistic fire fence), if necessary with a basoka (rocket with short-range targets). Willes also campaigned for the need for editors to be involved in formulating marketing strategies with advertising managers and circulation managers, as well as developing projects aimed at pursuing profits, not for journalistic purposes.

This controversy stems from the LA Times deal with the Staples Corporation. The LA Times has agreed to publish a special edition dedicated to welcoming the opening of the building. As compensation, the LA Times and the Staples Center will share the profits earned from advertising sales. Few people inside the LA Times knew the deals management and marketing had negotiated. Journalists know nothing, and consider it "business as usual." But the LA Times had to bear the consequences when this transaction was leaked to the public. "Heroic" resistance ensued. Journalists question, how can readers believe that the LA Times does balanced reporting on corporations with which it has business relations? Next, over 300 LA Times reporters signed a petition demanding the publisher apologise and promise never to do it again. Not only that, the LA Times even published an article with a length of 30 thousand words written by media critic, David Shaw, entitled Crossing the Lines. In his writing, Shaw sees this scandal as the tip of the iceberg of ethical ignorance that threatens journalistic quality, integrity and reputation. (Basen, 2012).

This case of selling pages or news can be seen as a direct attack on journalistic ethics. Referring to Altschull (1990), ethics is basically a formation of values and moral principles about right and wrong. Meanwhile, Altschull conceptualised journalistic ethics as a service to humanity rather than the pursuit of the journalist's own goals. However, Altschull also admits that what journalists believe to be ethical acts will influence media content.

This is what explains the actions of Radar Jember and Memorandum, which in the context of journalistic ethics can be seen as journalistic practices that pursue the economic interests of journalists or newspapers themselves (without taking into account the right and wrong aspects) than the interests of many people. At this point, the journalistic practice is carried out in a very extreme way by crashing into the journalistic fire fence; selling news is like selling advertising columns. Or in other words, treating news is like treating advertisements.

This case also reflects the emergence of a new pattern of press publishing in maximising revenue by utilising news operations. At a certain point, advertorials - even though they have the advantage of being able to blur the boundaries between news and advertisements - are considered no longer able to meet the needs of advertisers who want their products or interests to be truly broadcast in the form of news. That is why what happened was not just selling advertorials, but had gone further: selling pages or selling news as seen in the case of Indopos. Advertisers' products or interests are no longer disguised as through advertorials, but are treated exactly like news.

This phenomenon can be seen as a sign of the emergence of a time when advertorials - which were already so manipulative - were no longer deemed sufficient to pursue profit. No longer disguising advertisements as news through advertorial scripts, newspapers are now selling news directly without needing to disguise advertising messages through advertorials. This also confirms what was written (M Schudson, 1984) that: "when something appears in the form of news, it has a legitimacy that adverts never have."

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the practice of obfuscating news with advertisements (through advertorials) has become quite prevalent in the mass media in Indonesia, at least in the mass media (newspapers) studied. In the interests of the economy, in general the mass media managers tend to be permissive (compromise) towards this obfuscation, and even tend to consciously make the reputation of advertorial fraud / camouflage as a means of seeking economic benefits. Almost all of the newspapers studied demonstrated this trend in various ways. This research also demonstrates a practice that goes far beyond simply ignoring news and advertising boundaries, namely selling pages under the pretext of smart reporting.

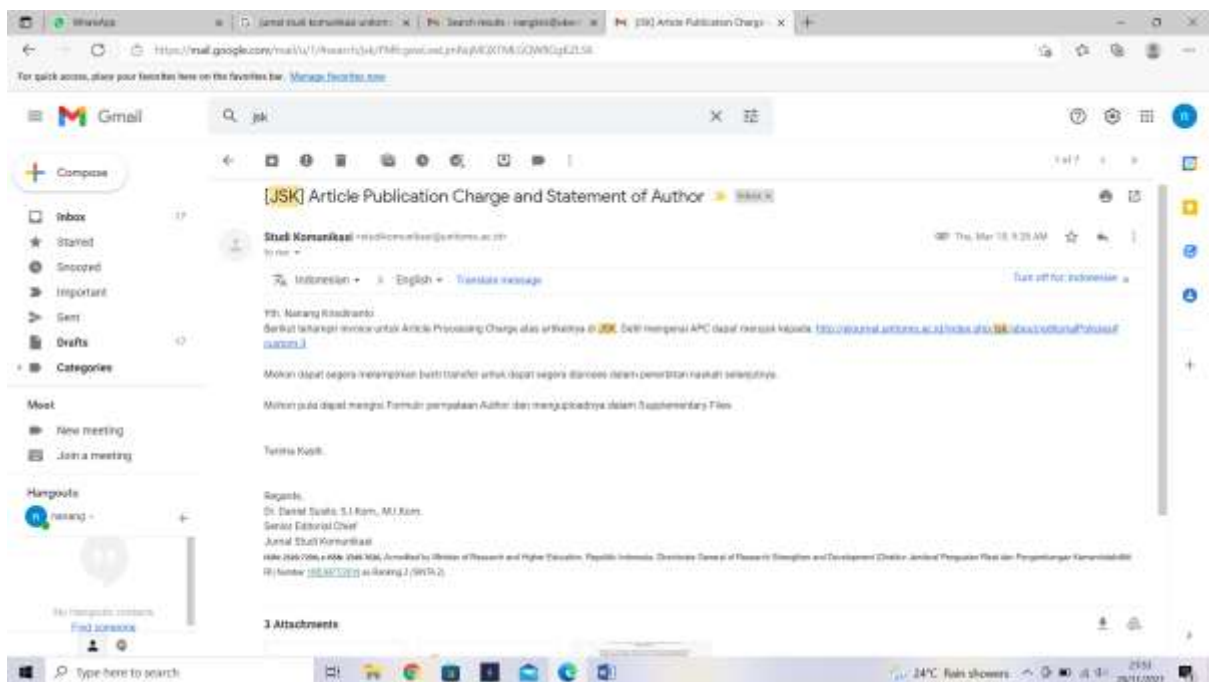
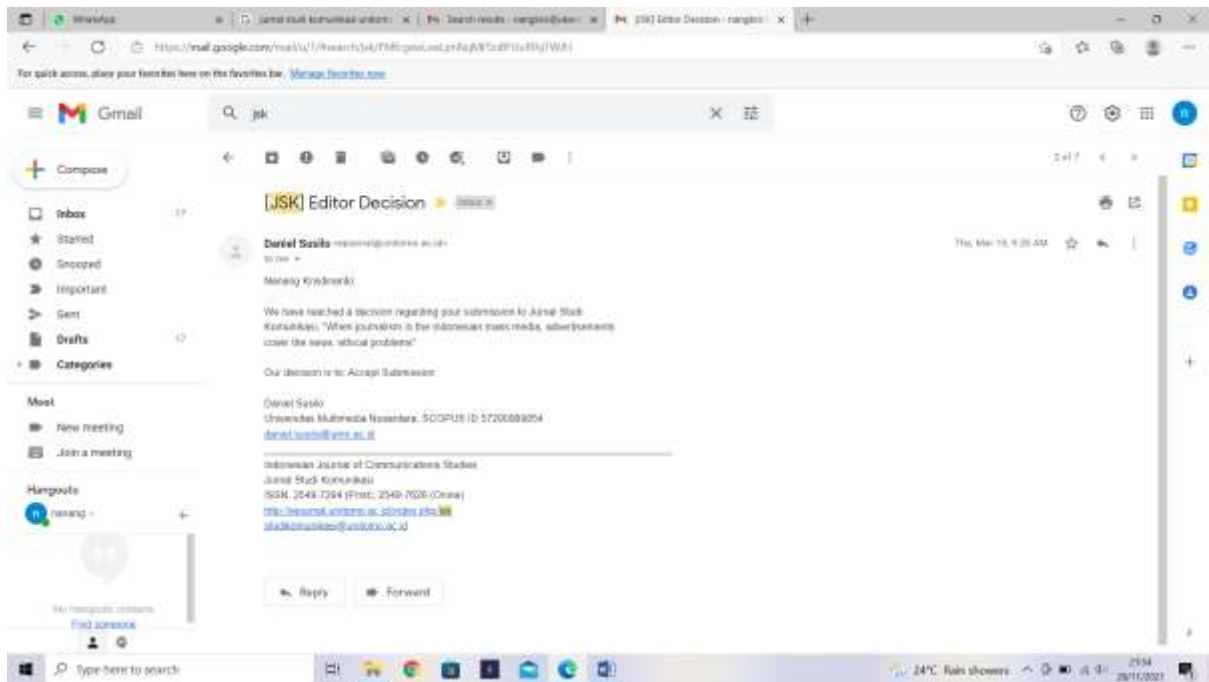
At a macro level, this phenomenon shows how the second pillar of journalistic ethics (namely the separation of news and advertisements, or the separation of newsletters and business rooms) is a crucial problem in journalistic practice in Indonesia. Moreover, this issue is not strictly regulated in the journalistic code of ethics formulated by various professional journalist organisations and the mass media in Indonesia. Journalistic fire fences, a concept envisioned as a clear barrier between the newsroom and the business room, are not strong enough to withstand this practice of obscurity. In the end, a situation like this hypothetically will also have an impact on journalistic independence, which should be positioned as a protective fortress for the public interest.

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ABSTRACT

The practice of obscuring news and advertising is still a problem in the Indonesian mass media. This research aimed to unravel journalistic ethics problems, especially those related to advertorials (advertisements delivered in an editorial style). The clear separation between news and advertisements is one of the two pillars of journalistic ethics, apart from separating facts and opinions to maintain journalistic independence. The research approach used was qualitative-descriptive, with data collection techniques through interviews (to journalists), observation and document searches. The results showed that most of the printed mass media studied

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