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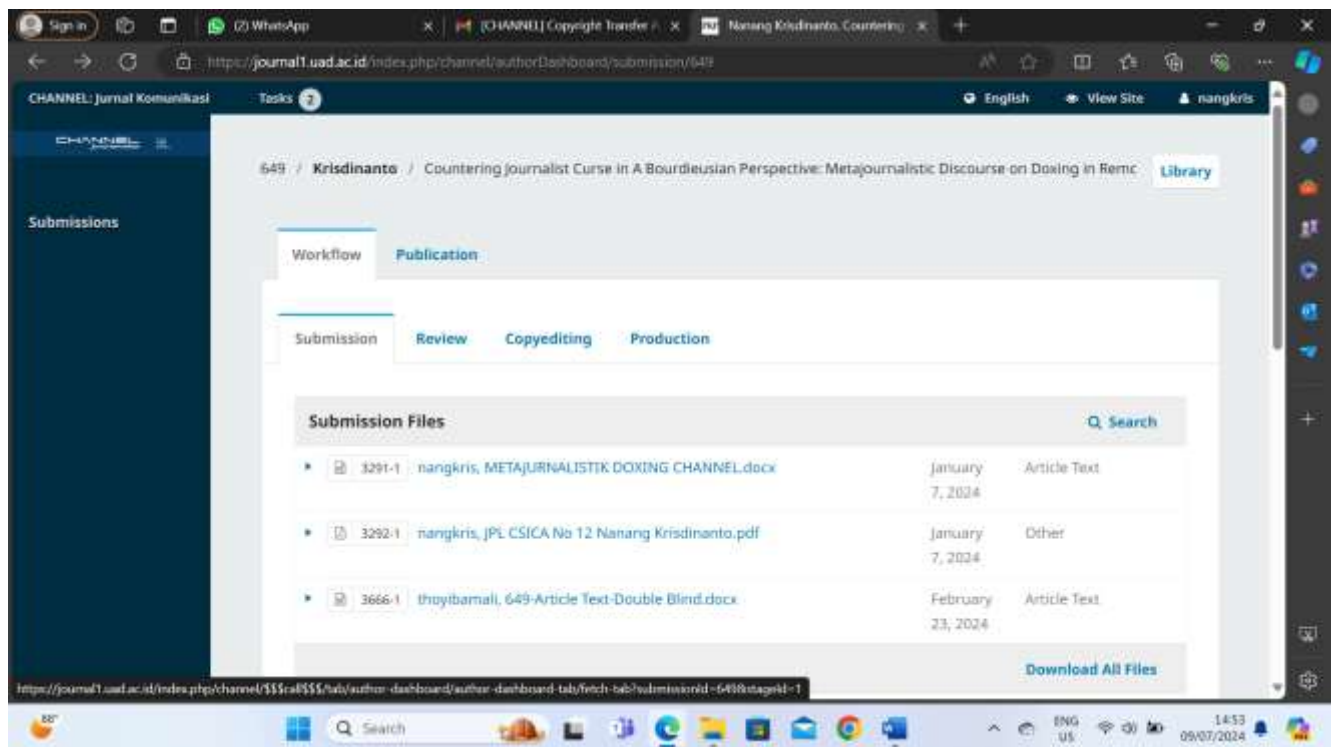
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Metajournalistic Discourse on Doxing through the Bourdieusian Lens: Countering the 'Structural Curse' of Indonesian Journalists

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT (10PT)

This research is based on the phenomenon of a shift in the pattern of attacks on the independence and freedom of journalists from physical attacks to attacks that are mediatized by digital media (digital attacks), in this case, doxing. This research focuses on a metajournalistic discourse study on doxing. The aim is to describe how doxing presents a struggle among journalists to define journalism and carry out journalistic practices that are considered autonomous. Using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, metajournalistic discourse studies outline how journalists understand and define journalism, or their own industry and profession, in the midst of stressful situations. The method used is qualitative text analysis using data sources from metajournalistic discourse documents, which are texts written by journalists about their own industry and published on Remotivi's website. The research highlights two important findings that seem contradictory. First, doxing is seen as a product of double pressures from the political and economic fields on the journalistic field, which makes the journalistic field experience a situation of 'high degree of heteronomy'. Second, there is resistance to doxing at the discourse level, which is carried out by journalists by defining journalism that is considered ideal or journalism that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This resistance is possible because these journalists have habits and journalistic capital that tend to be autonomous.

Introduction

This research stems from the phenomenon of a shift in the pattern of attacks on the independence and freedom of journalists from physical attacks to attacks that are mediatized by digital media (digital attacks). In the last few years, a number of reports or surveys have mentioned a significant increase in the number of digital attacks against journalists. In a global context, the increase in the number of digital attacks (harassment of journalists facilitated by digital platforms) in various countries has been documented through a number of studies and reports by international organizations (Hiltunen, 2019; Jamil, 2020; Mong, 2019; Orgeret & Tayeebwa, 2020; Waisbord, 2020). In general, targeted journalists usually fall into certain categories according to their social identity (race, gender, religion, ethnicity, etc.), the type of news they write, and the news organization they work for (Waisbord, 2020).

These digital attacks are identified as a major problem for journalists, triggering threats of violence or physical harm to journalists or their families. However, there are no exact figures on the number of digital attacks because only a small percentage of journalists report them to management, authorities, or press organizations. They only report and take precautions when a digital attack is felt to be followed by a physical attack (Westcott, 2019). In a number of studies, these digital attacks are often referred to as digital harassment, mob censorship, or digital vigilantism, which are aimed at disciplining, silencing, and threatening

the safety and speech rights of journalists (Favarel-Garrigues, Tanner, & Trottier, 2020; Trottier, 2020; Waisbord, 2020). These actions occur on the basis of three factors: the relatively easy access of citizens to journalists through digital platforms; the rise of a hateful trolling culture; and the demonization of the press by populism (Waisbord, 2020).

In Indonesia, referring to a number of reports from several organizations such as Remotivi, Alliance of Independent Journalists, the Press Legal Aid Institute, or SAFENet (Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network), they also mentioned the rise of digital attacks on Indonesian journalists in the last three years (Banimal, Juniarto, & Ningtyas, 2020; Marsiela et al., 2022; Putri & Heychael, 2020; Wahyudin, 2022). The SAFEnet report states that this digital attack is a new model of threat against journalists, and its frequency has increased in the last three years. From 2017 to 2020, SAFENet noted a constant increase in digital attacks (Banimal et al., 2020).

SAFENet reports that a commonly reported digital attack is doxing, which is the practice of stealing and releasing personal information to the public by a third party for the purpose of embarrassing, threatening, intimidating, or punishing an identified individual. Doxing can happen to anyone, from well-known public figures to ordinary people (Douglas, 2016; Li, 2018). Doxing is also often a tool of cyberstalking, as the information shared causes the target to feel fear (Citron, 2014).

In many cases, doxing often extends to the identity of the victim's relatives, colleagues, organizations, or friends, resulting in public harassment or humiliation, threats, identity theft, and disclosure of personal lifestyles. Doxing is also not a random act, as the perpetrators target victims by collecting basic information, such as name, gender, religion, address, family members, email address, username, social media account, and so on. Doxing is therefore related to two other digital activities, namely disinformation (mainly through false or misleading information or content) or fake news, and the systematic use of trolling, which involves flooding online spaces with provocative posts (Hansen & Lim, 2019).

Quoting (Douglas, 2016), there are three types of doxing: deanonymization, targeting, and delegitimization. Deanonymization means the disclosure of any kind of identifying knowledge about a person on the internet; targeting refers to the disclosure of information that results in the target being able to trace his physical whereabouts; and delegitimization means the disclosure of information aimed at damaging the credibility, reputation, or character of the targeted individual. The problem of doxing is potentially experienced by all journalists, especially investigative journalists who work with sensitive data, and opens up space for trolling, which is often organized using anonymous accounts or bot accounts (Phillips, 2012).

A report by the Legal Aid Institute for the Press shows similar symptoms to those presented by SAFENet. Throughout 2021, for example, the Legal Aid Institute for the Press recorded six reports of digital attacks against journalists and the media (Wahyudin, 2022). A significant figure emerged from a Remotivi survey conducted in July 2020 among 110 respondents among journalists. The findings of this survey showed that one in four journalists (21.8%) who were respondents admitted to having been the target of digital attacks. This figure is higher than SAFEnet's findings in 2019 and was updated in June 2020. The forms of digital attacks experienced include social media accounts being flooded with negative comments, threats, data or information theft that is spread to the internet, social media accounts or emails being hacked and used by others, chat applications or emails being spied on and their contents spreading to the internet, and trolling that aims to humiliate and anger the target (Putri & Heychael, 2020).

The Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists report in 2018 called this digital attack a new type in the repertoire of the Indonesian press and predicted that it would continue to occur in the future (Manan, 2018). Meanwhile, the latest report for 2022 shows that digital attacks in 2022 reached 15 cases out of 67 overall attacks and were aimed at communication platforms owned by journalists, such as WhatsApp, email, Facebook, and Instagram (Marsiela et al., 2022).

In the context of research, attention to the issue of violence against journalists has mostly focused on threats or physical attacks, such as murder, coverage restrictions,

physical violence, lawsuits, or destruction of media offices. The actors of violence are still dominant among the police, government officials, military officers, members of the council, communities, mass organizations, or anonymous (Alhakim, 2022; Masduki, 2017; Nuraryo, 2020). However, since the mid-2010s, along with the development of digital communication technology, research has begun to emerge that focuses on digital attacks or doxing against journalists (Muhammad, 2021; Ng & Haryanto, 2022; Sari, 2021). These studies describe journalists' experiences or responses to digital attacks or doxing analyzed in the context of political economy, violations of journalistic independence, or journalists' freedom of speech. Reports by the Press Legal Aid Institute, SAFENet, and the Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists also outline qualitative data related to journalists' experiences associated with democracy and the need for cybersecurity literacy for journalists.

Meanwhile, this research has a different focus from previous research. This research is a metajournalistic discourse study that does not only aim to unravel the struggles or complexities caused by doxing practices affecting journalists in Indonesia. More than that, this research also looks at how journalists understand journalism and their own profession amidst the pressure of doxing. In other words, this research unravels how doxing colors the dynamics or struggles of journalists in understanding journalism and the profession they live in.

Metajournalistic discourse is a study that has recently begun to be frequently conducted to understand not only how journalists view themselves but also how society views the journalism industry. This study, which has not been widely used in journalism research in Indonesia, places journalists as the "primary definers of journalism" through the metajournalistic discourse documents they produce, including to define journalistic norms and practices that are considered appropriate and inappropriate (Carlson, 2016). Metajournalistic discourse is used to understand the dynamics of journalists in constructing professional boundaries and norms (Johnson, Thomas, & Fuzy, 2021); it is related to how journalists tell stories about their own field practices, and these stories help shape the journalistic world they inhabit (Perreault, Perreault, & Maares, 2021).

As journalism is a socially constructed profession, one way to understand its definition, practice, and ethics is to examine the discourses published by its actors regarding the industry itself. As the "primary definers of journalism", journalists produce metajournalistic discourse to explain normative practices to those inside and outside the field (Carlson, 2016). This metajournalistic discourse shows that the way journalists practice journalism amidst various pressures cannot be separated from the way they imagine journalism, and the discourse about journalism has an impact on how journalism is understood and practiced (Carlson, 2014).

Regarding the rampant practice of doxing in journalism, this research sees it as a variable or factor that intervenes in journalistic practice and creates its own problems or struggles among journalists trying to carry out their profession. One way to unravel this struggle is to use metajournalistic discourse as a tool of analysis. Referring to (Ferrucci, 2021), a metajournalistic discourse study is a textual analysis of metajournalistic discourse documents that can be found on various sites, including institutionalized publications such as journalism reviews, news and opinion columns, and news analysis programs on various internet-based outlets ranging from professional news organizations to individual blogs and social media (Carlson, 2014). This metajournalistic discourse can also take the form of journalists' coverage of their own industry, ombudsmen commenting on journalism, or media outlets reporting on the journalism industry (Carlson, 2016; De Maeyer & Holton, 2016; Ferrucci, 2018).

The analysis was conducted on metajournalistic discourse documents in the form of scripts or texts of Indonesian journalists published on the Remotivi website (remotivi.or.id). Remotivi is a media monitoring organization established in Jakarta in 2010 and is part of citizen participation in responding to post-New Order media industry practices that are increasingly commercial and pay less attention to public responsibility (Ulfah, 2021). The metajournalistic discourse document under study is aired on the Di Balik Layar channel, which is dedicated to journalists who want to talk or articulate their thoughts or feelings

about various issues in journalism. This document can be seen as a window into what journalists think about various journalism problems, including doxing.

The theoretical perspective used is the theory of the journalistic field developed by Pierre Bourdieu and scholars who develop Bourdieu's thoughts on journalism. With its distinctive theoretical orientation, Bourdieu's thinking is able to unravel the struggles and problems of doxing in the Indonesian journalistic field and place them in various contexts. For example, doxing is seen as pressure from other fields (political and economic fields), which in Bourdieu's perspective are assumed to always try to control the dynamics of the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 2004). Journalists are also envisioned as actors who are structurally "condemned" to produce news under political and/or economic constraints (Champagne & Marchetti, 2005). In Bourdieu's perspective, journalists are assumed to be standing in the middle of a tension or push-pull between the pole of autonomy (which is oriented towards the public interest) and the pole of heteronomy (which is oriented towards interests outside journalism, including profit) (Champagne, 2006). At this point, Bourdieu's key concepts such as journalistic field, journalistic capital, and journalistic habitus can be used as tools of analysis to unravel the struggles of journalists who are victims of doxing and their surrounding contexts.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach that places the researcher as the key instrument (Lune, H. & Berg, 2017) and uses metajournalistic discourse method which provides an overview of how actors in the journalism industry discursively shape the boundaries of their profession (Vos & Singer, 2016), including when in contact with doxing practices or pressure on their professional journalistic practices. Through this analysis, researchers can describe the figurative world created by journalists in metajournalistic discourse documents and the ideological and cultural assumptions that surround them (Johnson, Bent, & Dade, 2020). Data were taken from metajournalistic discourse documents in the form of journalist scripts published on the Behind the Scenes channel on the Remotivi website. This channel is provided by Remotivi as a space for journalists to take a break from their daily professional routines. Journalists can share their experiences, feelings, reflections, or self-criticism on journalism, including the phenomenon of doxing and various pressures on professional journalistic practices, in the form of articles.

The data collection for this metajournalistic discourse document took place in two steps. First, manually trace all the articles in the Behind the Scenes channel by reading them one by one. Since the channel appeared in 2017 until 2023, researchers have found 48 documents. Second, we purposefully selected documents for analysis based on themes related to the experience of being a victim of doxing or pressure on professional journalistic practices. From this step, 11 documents were found for analysis.

The data were analyzed qualitatively by grouping the metajournalistic discourses that appeared in each document into certain themes. This grouping or data reduction is carried out by referring to the key concepts developed by Bourdieu and then interpreting them. Interpretation focused on several things, namely the experience of the author, the use of language, word choice, sentence structure, or metaphors, which are considered to reflect the discursive strategies developed by the author and illustrate how they construct meaning (Vos & Craft, 2017). This mode of analysis allows researchers to parse or describe the discourse that journalists develop in defining, understanding, or setting the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable journalism practices in the midst of stressful situations such as doxing.

Findings and Discussion

Bourdieu's theoretical formulation of journalism stems from the assumption that journalism is a part or sub-arena of a larger field, namely the field of cultural production. Bourdieu positions the journalistic field based on its relationship with the political and economic field (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). Meanwhile, journalistic practices are seen as practices carried out by actors (journalists) in the journalistic field and are formed based on the journalistic habitus and journalistic capital owned by the actors (Krisdinanto, 2023b). This journalistic capital and habitus determine the way journalists define journalism and carry out journalistic practices, especially when there is pressure from the economic and political fields that seek to constantly control the journalistic field. At this point, doxing is seen as a form of pressure on the journalistic field that comes from the political and economic fields.

The findings of this study are presented in two parts. The first section outlines the journalistic capital and habitus of the journalists whose documents were studied. This is related to several factors such as welfare, educational background, or certain achievements in the journalistic arena, or what Bourdieu calls trajectories. Second, it describes the struggles of journalists who are victims of doxing through the documents studied and places doxing in the framework of the relationship between the journalistic field and the political and economic fields. In addition, it also outlines the resistance that journalists face through efforts to define and practice journalism that is considered ideal and closer to the pole of autonomy.

A. Journalistic Capital and Habitus: 'A Cry for Help'

Bourdieu's conception of capital differs from that of the Marxian tradition, which refers to economic control. Bourdieu's formulation refers more to cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu does not only talk about economic capital, which refers to financial resources, but also social capital, which refers to networks or individual relationships with other parties who have power. Meanwhile, cultural capital is related to the ownership of certain skills, dispositions, or knowledge. Implicitly, this capital implies a learning process, not a gift (Haryatmoko, 2003). Meanwhile, symbolic capital is connected to consecration (honor), prestige, or certain fame (Bourdieu, 1993). In this theoretical scheme, the accumulation and configuration of capital owned by actors (in this research, journalists) determine their position in the journalistic field. The accumulation and configuration of capital ownership determine the freedom of actors to define and carry out their journalistic practices in the journalistic field (Krisdinanto, 2014).

In a Bourdieusian perspective, journalistic capital is seen as symbolic capital in the journalistic field. This journalistic capital, for example, can be seen in the media that houses journalists. Media headquartered in Jakarta are considered more prestigious than those based in the regions. Certain media that have a high readership, viewer ratings, or subscribers are considered more valuable than those with a low readership. Journalists who often receive awards (both formally and informally) are considered more calculated, and so on. Journalistic capital can also take the form of colleague recognition, which implies respect or a certain position in the journalistic hierarchy (Willig, 2012).

The research findings show a certain pattern in the accumulation and configuration of capital among the journalists whose metajournalistic discourse documents were studied. Beyond economic capital, they have adequate social capital, cultural capital, and journalistic capital. Referring to the attribution in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied, these journalists come from reputable universities, such as Islamic Indonesia University, Jember State University, Universitas of Indonesia, or Media Nusantara University. Some work in media with good journalistic reputations, such as Tirto.id or Liputan6.com; they have received the Hassan Wirajuda Protection of Indonesian Citizens Award from Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi; they become book authors or consultants; and some even travel around Indonesia to become resource persons for journalistic discussions. In Bourdieusian language, these journalists actually have an accumulation of journalistic capital that makes them have a specific consecration (Bourdieu, 1993).

But on the other hand, their position in the journalistic field also seems marginal for two reasons. First, their position in the editorial structure. Most of them are regional reporters, correspondents, or freelance reporters, which is the lowest position in the editorial structure. The second is related to the ownership of economic capital, which Bourdieu (1986) sees as the capital that is most easily converted into other types of capital and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights. These journalists have low economic capital, which is reflected in their narratives regarding their own profession, income, future, and bribery culture.

When writing his own attribution, one journalist wrote: "Studying while working odd jobs in order to live as imagined and expected" (Yurin, 2020). Yurin, the journalist's name, wrote two articles in Remotivi entitled "Am I the Only One Sick of Bribery Culture?" and "Lazy to Report, Just Copy-paste." The titles and attributions indicate the bitterness of the profession, especially in relation to welfare and the future. Yurin shared her anxiety about the future of herself and her family. With a low income (only Rp. 15,000.00 per news article) and without any other benefits, she feels that this profession is not promising. What Yurin experienced, as various studies have shown, is a reflection of the general condition of journalists in various regions in Indonesia since long ago (Manan, 2011, 2013; Purnomo, 2018; Samsuri & Winarto, 2015).

This is what Yurin considers to be the root of the development of the bribery culture, which is a "tradition" of giving money from sources to journalists. This habit, which is actually bribery or even extortion, has long been a problem for Indonesian journalism because it has a serious impact on the independence of journalists and the objectivity of reporting (Komala, 2018; Nugroho & Santos, 2001; Prasetyo, 2018; Purnomo, 2018; Susanti, 2018). In his article, Yurin expresses her anger at this "tradition" that he considers damaging journalism. He writes:

> "...they argued that bribery was acceptable. I, overwhelmed by the dissent, swore before regretting it. I'm sorry, but people like you, maybe even me, should not be part of journalism (Yurin, 2019)."

In addition to low wage standards, journalists are also fearful of the future. Journalists are seen as a profession that is unable to guarantee a future. Almost all of the documents analyzed give this picture.

> "The salary is dependent on the writing that is published. A month usually earns IDR 500,000 to IDR 1.5 million. It's very small. But I have no choice. This profession has sunk deep into my soul, and I really enjoy it. If so, how can I rely on being a journalist to provide for my family? I'm 35 years old, have a wife, and a child. We live in a subsidized house with monthly installments of Rp 1 million for 15 years. That installment is past due if I rely solely on my income as a freelance writer who is paid per article. My partner also has to work (Rusdianto, 2021)."

The overall data shows that journalists have the same capital ownership accumulation and configuration. On the one hand, they are able to accumulate social, cultural, and symbolic (journalistic) capital. But on the other hand, they fail to convert these capitals into economic value. In a Bourdieusian context, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (including journalistic capital) can actually be converted into economic capital and vice versa (Bourdieu, 1993). However, economic capital is recognized as the capital that is most easily converted into other capitals. This makes the position of these journalists not autonomous in the journalistic field, and they have difficulty carrying out journalistic practices according to the definition they believe in. As Bourdieu (1998) wrote, an integral part of journalistic capital is how journalists see their own social role. As stated in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied, journalists still believe that independence is the most important basis for journalistic practice and can be upheld if they are free from economic problems and future guarantees.

Almost all of the document titles reflect this belief, such as "Am I the Only One Sick of Bribery I Culture?; Being an Online Journalist Must Master Kage Bunshin to Meet News Quotas; Lazy to Report on Your Own, Just Copy-paste; Behind the Fragrance of Meikarta News; Correspondents and Freelance Writers are not Prosperous at All, or "Environmental Issues do not Sell in the Media; Traffic and Production Patterns are the Causes". These titles illustrate the strong belief in journalistic practices based on the journalistic code of ethics, even though in daily practice pressures from the political and economic fields come knocking.

The metajournalistic discourse documents also suggests that journalists have a journalistic habitus that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This journalistic habitus (along with journalistic capital), following the Bourdieusian way of thinking, shapes the journalistic practices that journalists carry out in the journalistic field. Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as the cognitive structure used by actors in living social life (Bourdieu, 1984). Meanwhile, journalistic habitus is seen as a cognitive structure used by journalists to respond to and understand the journalistic practices. The cognitive structure can be seen as a reflection of the objective structure that guides journalistic practice, such as the journalistic code of ethics, the rules of professional organizations, and so on.

In Bourdieusian journalistic studies, journalistic habitus can vary, for example, based on position and journalistic genre. Reporters and editors, for example, do not have the same journalistic habits because their positions or responsibilities in the newsroom are also different. Reporters tend not to have considerations outside of journalism, while editors tend to be more careful and take into account other aspects outside of journalism (Schultz, 2007). Online media journalists (whose documents are the subject of this study) tend to work faster, less deeply, place less importance on accuracy, prioritize quantity, and use a sensational or clickbait writing style. This is in contrast to investigative journalists, who tend to be more concerned with depth than speed and are more analytical and calm.

This is where their struggles are apparent. In the midst of limited capital ownership, they still believe in the ideal definition of journalism but do not have enough capital to carry it out consistently. Quoting Turnbull et.al., 2019), individuals who carry out their social practices with more capital are more likely to obtain certain social benefits. The absence of economic capital makes it difficult for journalists to act autonomously. If formulated in a metaphorical sentence, the capital ownership structure of these journalists suggests a "cry for help" condition for Indonesian journalists who, to borrow Champagne & Marchetti's (2005) term, are structurally "condemned" to carry out journalistic practices under various restrictions. This condition also determines their response or form of struggle when they receive digital attacks in the form of doxing.

B. Doxing as the Dual Pressures of the Political and Economic Fields

In Bourdieu's thesis, the journalistic field is declared to be dependent on external forces, especially the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 2004). In the context of field theory, according to Vos et.al. (2019), social space is always shaped by a series of forces called endogenous and exogenous forces. So is the journalistic field, which is shaped by the interaction between autonomous poles within itself (endogenous) and economic and political poles (exogenous) that come from outside itself. The discourse that emerges in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied illustrates the heavy pressure of the economic and political fields on the journalistic field. This pressure shapes the way journalists define journalism and negotiate or compromise their journalistic practices.

This can be seen from the experience of being a victim of doxing recorded in the documents written by Lexander (2020) and Widhana (2019). In one news moment, Lexander (a sports reporter at an online media outlet) received massive digital persecution or doxing from netizens. Initially, the editor asked him to write about the issue of match-fixing or the Indonesian football mafia. The source was the Instagram post of a well-known football figure, who in his caption revealed the characteristics of the team suspected of being involved in the match-fixing scandal, namely the status of a famous club, the owner's position in the federation, and winning the title. After adding additional data, Lexander

uploaded the news to the content management system (CMS), complete with an embed (link) to the football figure's Instagram post.

The news went viral. The editor was happy that Lexander was able to "fry" the issue in an interesting way and get high traffic. The problem was that Lexander received digital persecution on his social media accounts, both through direct messages (DM) and comments. Day by day, the persecution grew, even spilling over to Line.

> "Netizens considered my article a hoax, just accusing without clear evidence. I am confused. Why is there suddenly a lot of criticism from netizens? The number of incoming DMs has increased. Some of the content is no longer criticism. Some went so far as to criticize, saying, Just gang up on them, beat them up, beat them, kill them.' I immediately deleted my personal Line and Instagram accounts for my safety (Lexander, 2020)."

To a lesser extent, similar pressures are recorded in the documents of Widhana, an in-depth reporting journalist from Tirto.id. When asked to write a report on religious and belief minority groups, she did so with an open mind to encourage the fulfillment of their rights by the state. Widhana writes:

> "Both Penghayat Kapribaden (the name of the group) and other religious and belief minorities do not have the same access as the majority religious believers. Their voices are rarely heard. Their position is passive toward the government. They are isolated. They are victims of legal, economic, and political discrimination. They live like second-class citizens (Widhana, 2019).

Widhana also expressed his anxiety when asked to make this report because he knew this theme was vulnerable for journalists. But he still did it because of the principle of professionalism as a journalist. That's why he titled his document with a hyperbolic sentence: "Writing about them is like pointing a gun at your own forehead." The title suggests that there are limits that the author exceeds and risks. In one section, he also writes:

> "So what was the response when my reportage aired? The group I wrote about thanked me because they felt heard. Meanwhile, netizens and some of my close colleagues protested. I can only realize that there is internal diversity in any religion (Widhana, 2019)."

What happened to Lexander and Widhana, citing Douglas (2016), can be categorized as deanonymization doxing, targeting doxing, and delegitimization doxing. Deanonymization means the disclosure of any kind of identifying knowledge about a person on the internet; targeting refers to the disclosure of information that results in the target's physical whereabouts being traced; and delegitimization means the disclosure of information that aims to damage the credibility, reputation, or character of the targeted individual.The problem of doxing is potentially experienced by all digital journalists, especially investigative journalists who work with sensitive data. A document written by Putri & Heychael (2020) illustrates the concern that digital attacks on journalists continue to increase, including those in the form of trolling, which is the deliberate violation of social norms and provoking others for their own amusement and is often organized using anonymous accounts or bot accounts (Phillips, 2012).

> "This is a new model of threats against journalists. Are journalists ready to face new challenges that threaten the independence of the press and their personal safety? Remember the story of the detik.com journalist who was targeted by government

supporters because of a story he wrote? Personal data was shared on social media with the aim of bringing down his reputation (doxing). Isal's case is one of many digital attacks targeting journalists. The forms of digital attacks they experience include accounts flooded with negative and threatening comments, data and information theft that is spread to the internet, social media and email accounts hacked and used by others, and chat and email applications spied on and their contents spread to the internet (Putri & Heychael, 2020)."

Lexander and Widhana's experience reflects that there are various restrictions or pressures from outside the journalistic field that always try to determine journalistic practice, namely the political and economic fields. The pressures of the political field (stemming from the use of certain mass or political power) and the economic arena (stemming from traffic orientation) have the aim of pushing journalistic practice away from its autonomous pole and following the laws or rules that apply in the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 2004). Journalists are even pressured to comply with the laws and rules of these two fields through doxing, a phenomenon that is said to be a "ghost" on the internet. Doxing is the practice of releasing personal information to the public by a third party for the purpose of shaming, threatening, intimidating, or punishing the identified individual. Doxing can happen to anyone, from well-known public figures to ordinary people (Douglas, 2016). Doxing is also often a tool of cyberstalking, as the information shared causes the target to feel fear (Citron, 2014).

In Bourdieu's perspective, the doxing practices recorded in the documents above can be read as a form of pressure coming from the political and economic arenas. Doxing is a product of pressure from the political field (through the use of political resources in the form of verbal violence and trolling for political interests through the digital medium) and also pressure from the economic field because the news written is a product of orientation towards traffic, page views, speed, plagiarism, and advertisements (related to the issue of journalistic firewalls). The sentence "managed to fry the news so that it gets high traffic or goes viral" delivered by the editor reflects the laws that apply in the profit-oriented economic field, or what (Bourdieu, 1998) calls commercialization. This means that journalists are always placed in a situation to carry out journalistic practices (from choosing news angles to writing) with an orientation towards traffic or viral logic, which in turn will generate profits in the form of advertisements. This makes journalists "forced" to write news with sensational and clickbait language styles that tend to manipulate readers' curiosity (Dvarkin, 2016; Krisdinanto, 2023a).

Many of the documents studied record journalists' experiences and reflections on this commercialization pressure. McManus (2009) and McChesney (2004) have mentioned the connotation of corruption in this term because it can be interpreted as prioritizing profits and sacrificing journalistic quality. This commercialization has indeed entered the journalistic arena, as the transformation of capitalism in the world of profit-driven mass media is widespread (Benson, 2006).On the other hand, the documents studied also illustrate the anxiety surrounding the issue of traffic or commercialization. Before the development of digital technology, the measure of news readability was audience rating, which was then converted into profit-making advertisements. In the digital era, a new benchmark emerged called traffic or click rate (Zhou, 2022). This traffic pressure is recorded in the metajournalistic documents studied, whether it is related to the issue of clickbait, plagiarism (copy and paste), speed vs. accuracy of reporting, or the target number of news stories per day. Journalists complained about the company's over-accommodation of advertisers and over-focus on keywords, trending topics, page views, or as much traffic as possible. This pressure also makes some important issues, such as the environment, not get enough attention.

Bourdieu called this phenomenon the marginalization of the autonomy pole in the journalistic field. The documents illustrate the laws of the journalistic field mentioned by Bourdieu, that the journalistic arena is under constant pressure from the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). In the current condition, the newsroom has been

internalized by the logic of traffic analytics that determines how the newsroom shapes news content, creates social media engagement, determines keywords, and others. This reflects the strong orientation of newsroom operations to traffic and advertisers (Bazaco et.al., 2019; Neheli, 2018). This is what Bourdieusians (scholars who develop Bourdieu's conception) call double dependency, that the journalistic field is in a condition of double dependence on the market (economic field) and political power (political field); or strictly controlled by the political situation and the organized economy. Journalism is also described as trapped in the middle of the narrative of press freedom and market law, and bound by the logic of production that emphasizes speed and intense competition (Champagne, 2005).

Interestingly, the document not only illustrates the double pressure on the journalistic field but also shows symptoms of resistance to get out or fight the pressure. What is meant by resistance is when actors (journalists) make movements to approach the pole of autonomy and move away from the pole of heteronomy in the journalistic field. In Bourdieu's perspective, the space for resistance is indeed described as open by taking into account the habitus and journalistic capital owned by journalist actors (Champagne, 2005, 2006). As seen in the documents studied, journalists try to define journalism through their own experiences when they are the target of doxing. Despite being under constant pressure, journalists are seen trying to fight for and maintain the definition of journalism that they consider ideal.

> "Do I also use any means to get traffic? No, I don't. There are many ways to get traffic without sacrificing information (Mahbub, 2018)."

> "I want to write news that I can be proud of, and that can happen when I have time to study the issue deeper and verify it (Gaizka, 2019)."

In the context of metajournalistic discourse, the narratives written by journalists about the world of their profession in these documents can be understood as discourse practices (Ferrucci, 2021). From discourse practice, it can be traced how journalists respond to pressure, and it will shape the way they define journalism. At this point, Bourdieu's perspective presents an interesting or more comprehensive picture. On the one hand, Bourdieu's perspective understands the journalistic arena as an arena that is marginalized by the political and economic fields. On the other hand, Bourdieu's perspective opens space for journalists to resist or escape the "curse of pressure" by considering their journalistic capital and habitus.

In the context of this study, the habitus and journalistic capital of the journalists whose documents were studied did make it possible for them to resist this doxing. Although their economic capital is relatively low (as seen from the level of welfare they have), their journalistic capital and habitus actually seem to push their position closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic arena by maintaining the definition of journalism that is considered ideal. In other words, this resistance can be read as an act of agency by journalists to resist the control of the structure of the journalistic field by the political or economic fields.

This is where the theoretical perspective developed by Bourdieu is interesting. The concept of habitus and journalistic capital opens a space for analysis that is free from the reductionist trap that oversimplifies social phenomena such as doxing only as a product of the opposition between the arena structure and journalists' agency (Schultz, 2007; Willig, 2012). In the context of metajournalistic discourse studies, referring to Carlson (2016), journalism is a socially constructed profession, and examining the discourse produced by its actors related to their own industry is one way to understand it. In relation to this study, Bourdieu's perspective allows researchers to understand the practice of doxing as a product of structure (reflected in the unequal relations between the journalistic field and the political/economic fields) but also as a reflection of journalists' agency (reflected in their resistance) by trying to define journalism that is considered ideal.

CONCLUSION

By analyzing Indonesian journalists' metajournalistic discourse documents through Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, this study underlines two important findings that seem contradictory. First, doxing is seen as a product of double pressure from the political and economic fields on the journalistic field. This double pressure makes the journalistic field experience a situation called "high degree of heteronomy," a situation characterized by journalistic practices that are closer to norms or laws coming from other field (political and economic fields).

Secondly, the analyzed documents also illustrate the existence of resistance to doxing at the discourse level, which is carried out by journalists through efforts to define journalism that is considered ideal or journalism that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This resistance is possible because these journalists have journalistic habitus and journalistic capital that tend to be autonomous.

In the context of developing journalism studies, because it uses metajournalistic discourse documents as data sources (textual analysis), this research has not reached the depth of journalistic practices carried out by journalists in the newsroom and in the field. In fact, in a stressful journalistic arena, there will always be different ethical problems with every issue or event. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct research using field methods such as phenomenology, case studies, or ethnography in order to obtain a more complete and detailed picture of this problem. (*)
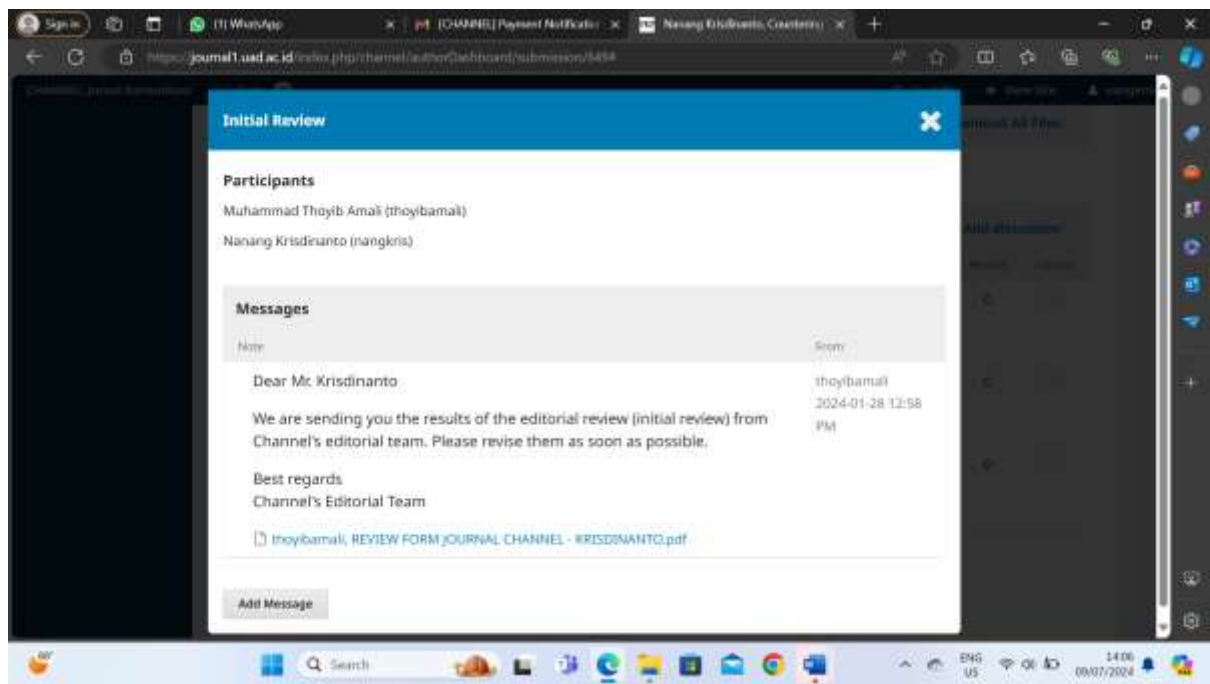
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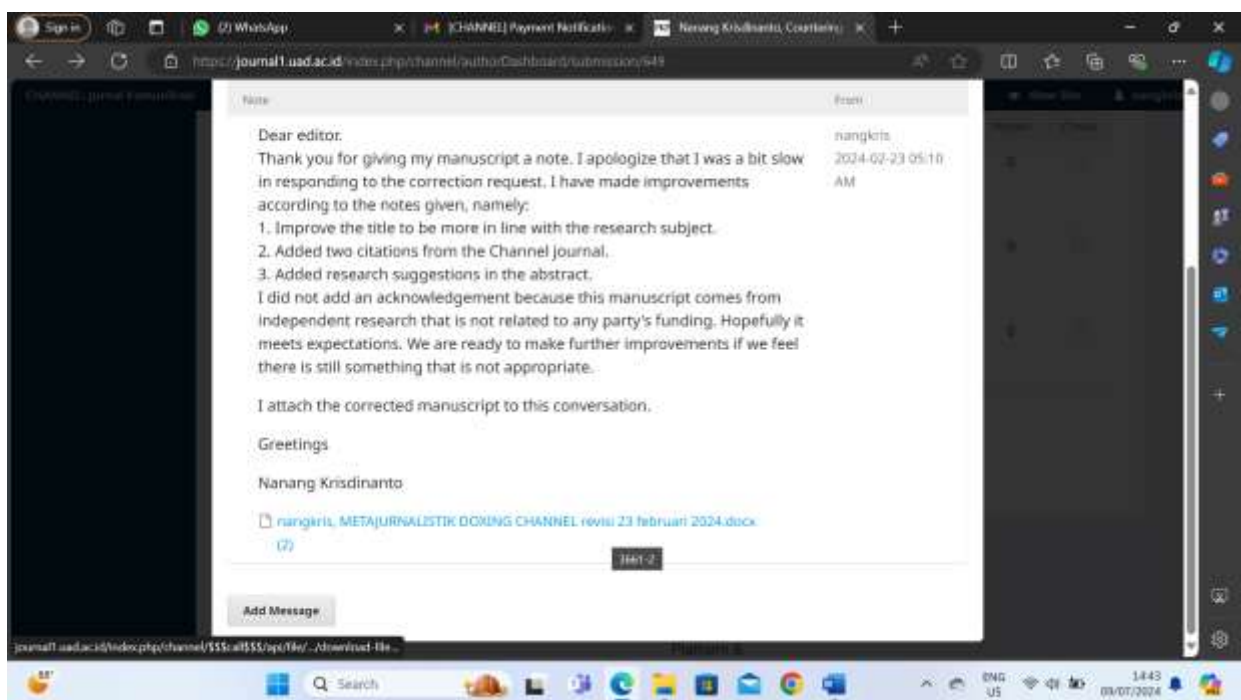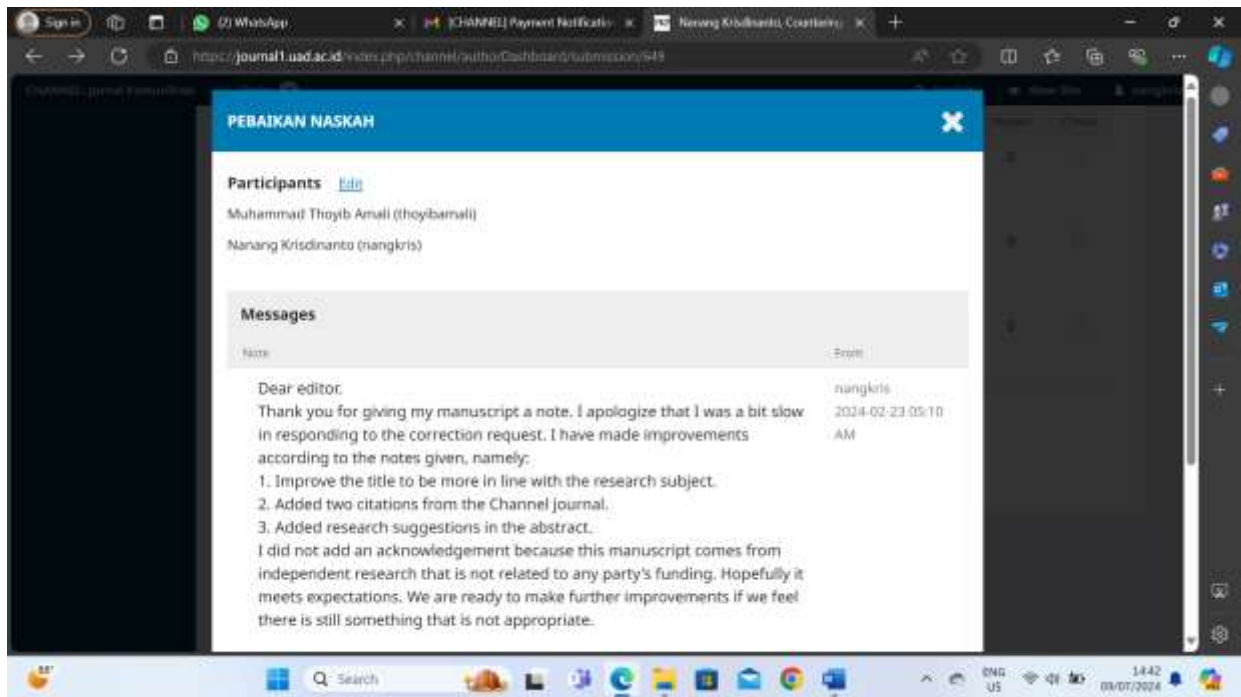
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2. Bukti Konfirmasi Review

dan Hasil Review Pertama

(28 Januari 2024)

Initial Review

Participants

Muhammad Thoyib Amali (thoyibamali)

Nanang Krisdinanto (nangkris)

Messages

Note	From
Dear Mr. Krisdinanto	thoyibamali
	2024-01-28 12:58
We are sending you the results of the editorial review (initial review) from Channel's editorial team. Please revise them as soon as possible.	PM
Best regards Channel's Editorial Team	
thoyibamali, REVIEW FORM JOURNAL CHANNEL - KRISDINANTO.pdf	

Add Message

3. Bukti Konfirmasi Submit Revisi Pertama,

Respon kepada Reviewer,

dan Artikel yang Diresubmit

(23 Februari 2024)

Bukti naskah yang diresubmit

Countering Journalist Curse in A Bourdieusian Perspective: Metajournalistic Discourse on Doxing at Remotivi

ABSTRACT (10PT)

This research is based on the phenomenon of a shift in the pattern of attacks on the independence and freedom of journalists from physical attacks to attacks that are mediatized by digital media (digital attacks), in this case, doxing. This research focuses on a metajournalistic discourse study on doxing. The aim is to describe how doxing presents a struggle among journalists to define journalism and carry out journalistic practices that are considered autonomous. Using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, metajournalistic discourse studies outline how journalists understand and define journalism, or their own industry and profession, in the midst of stressful situations. The method used is qualitative text analysis using data sources from metajournalistic discourse documents, which are texts written by journalists about their own industry and published on Remotivi's website. The research highlights two important findings that seem contradictory. First, doxing is seen as a product of double pressures from the political and economic fields on the journalistic field, which makes the journalistic field experience a situation of 'high degree of heteronomy'. Second, there is resistance to doxing at the discourse level, which is carried out by journalists by defining journalism that is considered ideal or journalism that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This resistance is possible because these journalists have habits and journalistic capital that tend to be autonomous. This research can be used as a starting point for future research to better understand the sociological aspects of the journalist profession, which is assumed to experience various pressures from its internal and external environment.

Introduction

This research stems from the phenomenon of a shift in the pattern of attacks on the independence and freedom of journalists from physical attacks to attacks that are mediatized by digital media (digital attacks). In the last few years, a number of reports or surveys have mentioned a significant increase in the number of digital attacks against journalists. In a global context, the increase in the number of digital attacks (harassment of journalists facilitated by digital platforms) in various countries has been documented through a number of studies and reports by international organizations (Hiltunen, 2019; Jamil, 2020; Mong, 2019; Orgeret & Tayeebwa, 2020; Waisbord, 2020). In general, targeted journalists usually fall into certain categories according to their social identity (race, gender, religion, ethnicity, etc.), the type of news they write, and the news organization they work for (Waisbord, 2020).

These digital attacks are identified as a major problem for journalists, triggering threats of violence or physical harm to journalists or their families. However, there are no exact figures on the number of digital attacks because only a small percentage of journalists report them to management, authorities, or press organizations. They only report and take precautions when a digital attack is felt to be followed by a physical attack (Westcott, 2019). In a number of studies, these digital attacks are often referred to as digital harassment, mob censorship, or digital vigilantism, which are aimed at disciplining, silencing, and threatening the safety jand speech rights of journalists (Favarel-Garrigues, Tanner, & Trottier, 2020; Trottier, 2020; Waisbord, 2020). These actions occur on the basis of three factors: the

relatively easy access of citizens to journalists through digital platforms; the rise of a hateful trolling culture; and the demonization of the press by populism (Waisbord, 2020).

In Indonesia, referring to a number of reports from several organizations such as Remotivi, Alliance of Independent Journalists, the Press Legal Aid Institute, or SAFENet (Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network), they also mentioned the rise of digital attacks on Indonesian journalists in the last three years (Banimal, Juniarto, & Ningtyas, 2020; Marsiela et al., 2022; Putri & Heychael, 2020; Wahyudin, 2022). The SAFEnet report states that this digital attack is a new model of threat against journalists, and its frequency has increased in the last three years. From 2017 to 2020, SAFENet noted a constant increase in digital attacks (Banimal et al., 2020).

SAFENet reports that a commonly reported digital attack is doxing, which is the practice of stealing and releasing personal information to the public by a third party for the purpose of embarrassing, threatening, intimidating, or punishing an identified individual. Doxing can happen to anyone, from well-known public figures to ordinary people (Douglas, 2016; Li, 2018). Doxing is also often a tool of cyberstalking, as the information shared causes the target to feel fear (Citron, 2014).

In many cases, doxing often extends to the identity of the victim's relatives, colleagues, organizations, or friends, resulting in public harassment or humiliation, threats, identity theft, and disclosure of personal lifestyles. Doxing is also not a random act, as the perpetrators target victims by collecting basic information, such as name, gender, religion, address, family members, email address, username, social media account, and so on. Doxing is therefore related to two other digital activities, namely disinformation (mainly through false or misleading information or content) or fake news, and the systematic use of trolling, which involves flooding online spaces with provocative posts (Hansen & Lim, 2019).

Quoting (Douglas, 2016), there are three types of doxing: deanonymization, targeting, and delegitimization. Deanonymization means the disclosure of any kind of identifying knowledge about a person on the internet; targeting refers to the disclosure of information that results in the target being able to trace his physical whereabouts; and delegitimization means the disclosure of information aimed at damaging the credibility, reputation, or character of the targeted individual. The problem of doxing is potentially experienced by all journalists, especially investigative journalists who work with sensitive data, and opens up space for trolling, which is often organized using anonymous accounts or bot accounts (Phillips, 2012).

A report by the Legal Aid Institute for the Press shows similar symptoms to those presented by SAFENet. Throughout 2021, for example, the Legal Aid Institute for the Press recorded six reports of digital attacks against journalists and the media (Wahyudin, 2022). A significant figure emerged from a Remotivi survey conducted in July 2020 among 110 respondents among journalists. The findings of this survey showed that one in four journalists (21.8%) who were respondents admitted to having been the target of digital attacks. This figure is higher than SAFEnet's findings in 2019 and was updated in June 2020. The forms of digital attacks experienced include social media accounts being flooded with negative comments, threats, data or information theft that is spread to the internet, social media accounts or emails being hacked and used by others, chat applications or emails being spied on and their contents spreading to the internet, and trolling that aims to humiliate and anger the target (Putri & Heychael, 2020).

The Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists report in 2018 called this digital attack a new type in the repertoire of the Indonesian press and predicted that it would continue to occur in the future (Manan, 2018). Meanwhile, the latest report for 2022 shows that digital attacks in 2022 reached 15 cases out of 67 overall attacks and were aimed at communication platforms owned by journalists, such as WhatsApp, email, Facebook, and Instagram (Marsiela et al., 2022).

In the context of research, attention to the issue of violence against journalists has mostly focused on threats or physical attacks, such as murder, coverage restrictions, physical violence, lawsuits, or destruction of media offices. The actors of violence are still dominant among the police, government officials, military officers, members of the council,

communities, mass organizations, or anonymous (Alhakim, 2022; Masduki, 2017; Nuraryo, 2020). However, since the mid-2010s, along with the development of digital communication technology, research has begun to emerge that focuses on digital attacks or doxing against journalists (Muhammad, 2021; Ng & Haryanto, 2022; Sari, 2021). These studies describe journalists' experiences or responses to digital attacks or doxing analyzed in the context of political economy, violations of journalistic independence, or journalists' freedom of speech. Reports by the Press Legal Aid Institute, SAFENet, and the Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists also outline qualitative data related to journalists' experiences associated with democracy and the need for cybersecurity literacy for journalists.

Meanwhile, this research has a different focus from previous research. This research is a metajournalistic discourse study that does not only aim to unravel the struggles or complexities caused by doxing practices affecting journalists in Indonesia. More than that, this research also looks at how journalists understand journalism and their own profession amidst the pressure of doxing. In other words, this research unravels how doxing colors the dynamics or struggles of journalists in understanding journalism and the profession they live in.

Metajournalistic discourse is a study that has recently begun to be frequently conducted to understand not only how journalists view themselves but also how society views the journalism industry. This study, which has not been widely used in journalism research in Indonesia, places journalists as the "primary definers of journalism" through the metajournalistic discourse documents they produce, including to define journalistic norms and practices that are considered appropriate and inappropriate (Carlson, 2016). Metajournalistic discourse is used to understand the dynamics of journalists in constructing professional boundaries and norms (Johnson, Thomas, & Fuzy, 2021); it is related to how journalists tell stories about their own field practices, and these stories help shape the journalistic world they inhabit (Perreault, Perreault, & Maares, 2021).

As journalism is a socially constructed profession, one way to understand its definition, practice, and ethics is to examine the discourses published by its actors regarding the industry itself. As the "primary definers of journalism", journalists produce metajournalistic discourse to explain normative practices to those inside and outside the field (Carlson, 2016). This metajournalistic discourse shows that the way journalists practice journalism amidst various pressures cannot be separated from the way they imagine journalism, and the discourse about journalism has an impact on how journalism is understood and practiced (Carlson, 2014).

Regarding the rampant practice of doxing in journalism, this research sees it as a variable or factor that intervenes in journalistic practice and creates its own problems or struggles among journalists trying to carry out their profession. One way to unravel this struggle is to use metajournalistic discourse as a tool of analysis. Referring to (Ferrucci, 2021), a metajournalistic discourse study is a textual analysis of metajournalistic discourse documents that can be found on various sites, including institutionalized publications such as journalism reviews, news and opinion columns, and news analysis programs on various internet-based outlets ranging from professional news organizations to individual blogs and social media (Carlson, 2014). This metajournalistic discourse can also take the form of journalists' coverage of their own industry, ombudsmen commenting on journalism, or media outlets reporting on the journalism industry (Carlson, 2016; De Maeyer & Holton, 2016; Ferrucci, 2018).

The analysis was conducted on metajournalistic discourse documents in the form of scripts or texts of Indonesian journalists published on the Remotivi website (remotivi.or.id). Remotivi is a media monitoring organization established in Jakarta in 2010 and is part of citizen participation in responding to post-New Order media industry practices that are increasingly commercial and pay less attention to public responsibility (Ulfah, 2021). The metajournalistic discourse document under study is aired on the Di Balik Layar channel, which is dedicated to journalists who want to talk or articulate their thoughts or feelings about various issues in journalism. This document can be seen as a window into what journalists think about various journalism problems, including doxing.

The theoretical perspective used is the theory of the journalistic field developed by Pierre Bourdieu and scholars who develop Bourdieu's thoughts on journalism. With its distinctive theoretical orientation, Bourdieu's thinking is able to unravel the struggles and problems of doxing in the Indonesian journalistic field and place them in various contexts. For example, doxing is seen as pressure from other fields (political and economic fields), which in Bourdieu's perspective are assumed to always try to control the dynamics of the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 2004). Journalists are also envisioned as actors who are structurally "condemned" to produce news under political and/or economic constraints (Champagne & Marchetti, 2005). In Bourdieu's perspective, journalists are assumed to be standing in the middle of a tension or push-pull between the pole of autonomy (which is oriented towards the public interest) and the pole of heteronomy (which is oriented towards interests outside journalism, including profit) (Champagne, 2006). At this point, Bourdieu's key concepts such as journalistic field, journalistic capital, and journalistic habitus can be used as tools of analysis to unravel the struggles of journalists who are victims of doxing and their surrounding contexts.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach that places the researcher as the key instrument (Lune, H. & Berg, 2017) and uses metajournalistic discourse method which provides an overview of how actors in the journalism industry discursively shape the boundaries of their profession (Vos & Singer, 2016), including when in contact with doxing practices or pressure on their professional journalistic practices. Through this analysis, researchers can describe the figurative world created by journalists in metajournalistic discourse documents and the ideological and cultural assumptions that surround them (Johnson, Bent, & Dade, 2020). Data were taken from metajournalistic discourse documents in the form of journalist scripts published on the Behind the Scenes channel on the Remotivi website. This channel is provided by Remotivi as a space for journalists to take a break from their daily professional routines. Journalists can share their experiences, feelings, reflections, or self-criticism on journalism, including the phenomenon of doxing and various pressures on professional journalistic practices, in the form of articles.

The data collection for this metajournalistic discourse document took place in two steps. First, manually trace all the articles in the Behind the Scenes channel by reading them one by one. Since the channel appeared in 2017 until 2023, researchers have found 48 documents. Second, we purposefully selected documents for analysis based on themes related to the experience of being a victim of doxing or pressure on professional journalistic practices. From this step, 11 documents were found for analysis.

The data were analyzed qualitatively by grouping the metajournalistic discourses that appeared in each document into certain themes. This grouping or data reduction is carried out by referring to the key concepts developed by Bourdieu and then interpreting them. Interpretation focused on several things, namely the experience of the author, the use of language, word choice, sentence structure, or metaphors, which are considered to reflect the discursive strategies developed by the author and illustrate how they construct meaning (Vos & Craft, 2017). This mode of analysis allows researchers to parse or describe the discourse that journalists develop in defining, understanding, or setting the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable journalism practices in the midst of stressful situations such as doxing.

Findings and Discussion

Bourdieu's theoretical formulation of journalism stems from the assumption that journalism is a part or sub-arena of a larger field, namely the field of cultural production.

Bourdieu positions the journalistic field based on its relationship with the political and economic field (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). Meanwhile, journalistic practices are seen as practices carried out by actors (journalists) in the journalistic field and are formed based on the journalistic habitus and journalistic capital owned by the actors (Krisdinanto, 2023b). This journalistic capital and habitus determine the way journalists define journalism and carry out journalistic practices, especially when there is pressure from the economic and political fields that seek to constantly control the journalistic field. At this point, doxing is seen as a form of pressure on the journalistic field that comes from the political and economic fields.

The findings of this study are presented in two parts. The first section outlines the journalistic capital and habitus of the journalists whose documents were studied. This is related to several factors such as welfare, educational background, or certain achievements in the journalistic arena, or what Bourdieu calls trajectories. Second, it describes the struggles of journalists who are victims of doxing through the documents studied and places doxing in the framework of the relationship between the journalistic field and the political and economic fields. In addition, it also outlines the resistance that journalists face through efforts to define and practice journalism that is considered ideal and closer to the pole of autonomy.

A. Journalistic Capital and Habitus: 'A Cry for Help'

Bourdieu's conception of capital differs from that of the Marxian tradition, which refers to economic control. Bourdieu's formulation refers more to cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu does not only talk about economic capital, which refers to financial resources, but also social capital, which refers to networks or individual relationships with other parties who have power. Meanwhile, cultural capital is related to the ownership of certain skills, dispositions, or knowledge. Implicitly, this capital implies a learning process, not a gift (Haryatmoko, 2003). Meanwhile, symbolic capital is connected to consecration (honor), prestige, or certain fame (Bourdieu, 1993). In this theoretical scheme, the accumulation and configuration of capital owned by actors (in this research, journalists) determine their position in the journalistic field. The accumulation and configuration of capital ownership determine the freedom of actors to define and carry out their journalistic practices in the journalistic field (Krisdinanto, 2014).

In a Bourdieusian perspective, journalistic capital is seen as symbolic capital in the journalistic field. This journalistic capital, for example, can be seen in the media that houses journalists. Media headquartered in Jakarta are considered more prestigious than those based in the regions. Certain media that have a high readership, viewer ratings, or subscribers are considered more valuable than those with a low readership. Journalists who often receive awards (both formally and informally) are considered more calculated, and so on. Journalistic capital can also take the form of colleague recognition, which implies respect or a certain position in the journalistic hierarchy (Willig, 2012).

The research findings show a certain pattern in the accumulation and configuration of capital among the journalists whose metajournalistic discourse documents were studied. Beyond economic capital, they have adequate social capital, cultural capital, and journalistic capital. Referring to the attribution in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied, these journalists come from reputable universities, such as Islamic Indonesia University, Jember State University, Universitas of Indonesia, or Media Nusantara University. Some work in media with good journalistic reputations, such as Tirto.id or Liputan6.com; they have received the Hassan Wirajuda Protection of Indonesian Citizens Award from Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi; they become book authors or consultants; and some even travel around Indonesia to become resource persons for journalistic discussions. In Bourdieusian language, these journalists actually have an accumulation of journalistic capital that makes them have a specific consecration (Bourdieu, 1993).

But on the other hand, their position in the journalistic field also seems marginal for two reasons. First, their position in the editorial structure. Most of them are regional reporters, correspondents, or freelance reporters, which is the lowest position in the editorial

structure. The second is related to the ownership of economic capital, which Bourdieu (1986) sees as the capital that is most easily converted into other types of capital and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights. These journalists have low economic capital, which is reflected in their narratives regarding their own profession, income, future, and bribery culture.

When writing his own attribution, one journalist wrote: "Studying while working odd jobs in order to live as imagined and expected" (Yurin, 2020). Yurin, the journalist's name, wrote two articles in Remotivi entitled "Am I the Only One Sick of Bribery Culture?" and "Lazy to Report, Just Copy-paste." The titles and attributions indicate the bitterness of the profession, especially in relation to welfare and the future. Yurin shared her anxiety about the future of herself and her family. With a low income (only Rp. 15,000.00 per news article) and without any other benefits, she feels that this profession is not promising. What Yurin experienced, as various studies have shown, is a reflection of the general condition of journalists in various regions in Indonesia since long ago (Manan, 2011, 2013; Purnomo, 2018; Samsuri & Winarto, 2015).

This is what Yurin considers to be the root of the development of the bribery culture, which is a "tradition" of giving money from sources to journalists. This habit, which is actually bribery or even extortion, has long been a problem for Indonesian journalism because it has a serious impact on the independence of journalists and the objectivity of reporting (Komala, 2018; Nugroho & Santos, 2001; Prasetyo, 2018; Purnomo, 2018; Susanti, 2018). In his article, Yurin expresses her anger at this "tradition" that he considers damaging journalism. He writes:

> "...they argued that bribery was acceptable. I, overwhelmed by the dissent, swore before regretting it. I'm sorry, but people like you, maybe even me, should not be part of journalism (Yurin, 2019)."

In addition to low wage standards, journalists are also fearful of the future. Journalists are seen as a profession that is unable to guarantee a future. Almost all of the documents analyzed give this picture.

> "The salary is dependent on the writing that is published. A month usually earns IDR 500,000 to IDR 1.5 million. It's very small. But I have no choice. This profession has sunk deep into my soul, and I really enjoy it. If so, how can I rely on being a journalist to provide for my family? I'm 35 years old, have a wife, and a child. We live in a subsidized house with monthly installments of Rp 1 million for 15 years. That installment is past due if I rely solely on my income as a freelance writer who is paid per article. My partner also has to work (Rusdianto, 2021)."

The overall data shows that journalists have the same capital ownership accumulation and configuration. On the one hand, they are able to accumulate social, cultural, and symbolic (journalistic) capital. But on the other hand, they fail to convert these capitals into economic value. In a Bourdieusian context, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (including journalistic capital) can actually be converted into economic capital and vice versa (Bourdieu, 1993). However, economic capital is recognized as the capital that is most easily converted into other capitals. This makes the position of these journalists not autonomous in the journalistic field, and they have difficulty carrying out journalistic practices according to the definition they believe in. As Bourdieu (1998) wrote, an integral part of journalistic capital is how journalists see their own social role. As stated in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied, journalists still believe that independence is the most important basis for journalistic practice and can be upheld if they are free from economic problems and future guarantees.

Almost all of the document titles reflect this belief, such as "Am I the Only One Sick of Bribery I Culture?; Being an Online Journalist Must Master Kage Bunshin to Meet News Quotas; Lazy to Report on Your Own, Just Copy-paste; Behind the Fragrance of Meikarta

News; Correspondents and Freelance Writers are not Prosperous at All, or "Environmental Issues do not Sell in the Media; Traffic and Production Patterns are the Causes". These titles illustrate the strong belief in journalistic practices based on the journalistic code of ethics, even though in daily practice pressures from the political and economic fields come knocking.

The metajournalistic discourse documents also suggests that journalists have a journalistic habitus that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This journalistic habitus (along with journalistic capital), following the Bourdieusian way of thinking, shapes the journalistic practices that journalists carry out in the journalistic field. Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as the cognitive structure used by actors in living social life (Bourdieu, 1984). Meanwhile, journalistic habitus is seen as a cognitive structure used by journalists to respond to and understand the journalistic practices. The cognitive structure can be seen as a reflection of the objective structure that guides journalistic practice, such as the journalistic code of ethics, the rules of professional organizations, and so on.

In Bourdieusian journalistic studies, journalistic habitus can vary, for example, based on position and journalistic genre. Reporters and editors, for example, do not have the same journalistic habits because their positions or responsibilities in the newsroom are also different. Reporters tend not to have considerations outside of journalism, while editors tend to be more careful and take into account other aspects outside of journalism (Schultz, 2007). Online media journalists (whose documents are the subject of this study) tend to work faster, less deeply, place less importance on accuracy, prioritize quantity, and use a sensational or clickbait writing style. This is in contrast to investigative journalists, who tend to be more concerned with depth than speed and are more analytical and calm.

This is where their struggles are apparent. In the midst of limited capital ownership, they still believe in the ideal definition of journalism but do not have enough capital to carry it out consistently. Quoting Turnbull et.al., 2019), individuals who carry out their social practices with more capital are more likely to obtain certain social benefits. The absence of economic capital makes it difficult for journalists to act autonomously. If formulated in a metaphorical sentence, the capital ownership structure of these journalists suggests a "cry for help" condition for Indonesian journalists who, to borrow Champagne & Marchetti's (2005) term, are structurally "condemned" to carry out journalistic practices under various restrictions. This condition also determines their response or form of struggle when they receive digital attacks in the form of doxing.

B. Doxing as the Dual Pressures of the Political and Economic Fields

In Bourdieu's thesis, the journalistic field is declared to be dependent on external forces, especially the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 2004). In the context of field theory, according to Vos et.al. (2019), social space is always shaped by a series of forces called endogenous and exogenous forces. So is the journalistic field, which is shaped by the interaction between autonomous poles within itself (endogenous) and economic and political poles (exogenous) that come from outside itself. The discourse that emerges in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied illustrates the heavy pressure of the economic and political fields on the journalistic field. This pressure shapes the way journalists define journalism and negotiate or compromise their journalistic practices.

This can be seen from the experience of being a victim of doxing recorded in the documents written by Lexander (2020) and Widhana (2019). In one news moment, Lexander (a sports reporter at an online media outlet) received massive digital persecution or doxing from netizens. Initially, the editor asked him to write about the issue of match-fixing or the Indonesian football mafia. The source was the Instagram post of a well-known football figure, who in his caption revealed the characteristics of the team suspected of being involved in the match-fixing scandal, namely the status of a famous club, the owner's position in the federation, and winning the title. After adding additional data, Lexander uploaded the news to the content management system (CMS), complete with an embed (link) to the football figure's Instagram post.

The news went viral. The editor was happy that Lexander was able to "fry" the issue in an interesting way and get high traffic. The problem was that Lexander received digital persecution on his social media accounts, both through direct messages (DM) and comments. Day by day, the persecution grew, even spilling over to Line.

"Netizens considered my article a hoax, just accusing without clear evidence. I am confused. Why is there suddenly a lot of criticism from netizens? The number of incoming DMs has increased. Some of the content is no longer criticism. Some went so far as to criticize, saying, Just gang up on them, beat them up, beat them, kill them.' I immediately deleted my personal Line and Instagram accounts for my safety (Lexander, 2020)."

To a lesser extent, similar pressures are recorded in the documents of Widhana, an in-depth reporting journalist from Tirto.id. When asked to write a report on religious and belief minority groups, she did so with an open mind to encourage the fulfillment of their rights by the state. Widhana writes:

"Both Penghayat Kapribaden (the name of the group) and other religious and belief minorities do not have the same access as the majority religious believers. Their voices are rarely heard. Their position is passive toward the government. They are isolated. They are victims of legal, economic, and political discrimination. They live like second-class citizens (Widhana, 2019)."

Widhana also expressed his anxiety when asked to make this report because he knew this theme was vulnerable for journalists. But he still did it because of the principle of professionalism as a journalist. That's why he titled his document with a hyperbolic sentence: "Writing about them is like pointing a gun at your own forehead." The title suggests that there are limits that the author exceeds and risks. In one section, he also writes:

"So what was the response when my reportage aired? The group I wrote about thanked me because they felt heard. Meanwhile, netizens and some of my close colleagues protested. I can only realize that there is internal diversity in any religion (Widhana, 2019)."

What happened to Lexander and Widhana, citing Douglas (2016), can be categorized as deanonymization doxing, targeting doxing, and delegitimization doxing. Deanonymization means the disclosure of any kind of identifying knowledge about a person on the internet; targeting refers to the disclosure of information that results in the target's physical whereabouts being traced; and delegitimization means the disclosure of information that aims to damage the credibility, reputation, or character of the targeted individual.The problem of doxing is potentially experienced by all digital journalists, especially investigative journalists who work with sensitive data. A document written by Putri & Heychael (2020) illustrates the concern that digital attacks on journalists continue to increase, including those in the form of trolling, which is the deliberate violation of social norms and provoking others for their own amusement and is often organized using anonymous accounts or bot accounts (Phillips, 2012).

"This is a new model of threats against journalists. Are journalists ready to face new challenges that threaten the independence of the press and their personal safety? Remember the story of the detik.com journalist who was targeted by government supporters because of a story he wrote? Personal data was shared on social media with the aim of bringing down his reputation (doxing). Isal's case is one of many digital attacks targeting journalists. The forms of digital attacks they experience

include accounts flooded with negative and threatening comments, data and information theft that is spread to the internet, social media and email accounts hacked and used by others, and chat and email applications spied on and their contents spread to the internet (Putri & Heychael, 2020)."

Lexander and Widhana's experience reflects that there are various restrictions or pressures from outside the journalistic field that always try to determine journalistic practice, namely the political and economic fields. The pressures of the political field (stemming from the use of certain mass or political power) and the economic arena (stemming from traffic orientation) have the aim of pushing journalistic practice away from its autonomous pole and following the laws or rules that apply in the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 2004). Journalists are even pressured to comply with the laws and rules of these two fields through doxing, a phenomenon that is said to be a "ghost" on the internet. Doxing is the practice of releasing personal information to the public by a third party for the purpose of shaming, threatening, intimidating, or punishing the identified individual. Doxing can happen to anyone, from well-known public figures to ordinary people (Douglas, 2016). Doxing is also often a tool of cyberstalking, as the information shared causes the target to feel fear (Citron, 2014).

In Bourdieu's perspective, the doxing practices recorded in the documents above can be read as a form of pressure coming from the political and economic arenas. Doxing is a product of pressure from the political field (through the use of political resources in the form of verbal violence and trolling for political interests through the digital medium) and also pressure from the economic field because the news written is a product of orientation towards traffic, page views, speed, plagiarism, and advertisements (related to the issue of journalistic firewalls). The sentence "managed to fry the news so that it gets high traffic or goes viral" delivered by the editor reflects the laws that apply in the profit-oriented economic field, or what (Bourdieu, 1998) calls commercialization. This means that journalists are always placed in a situation to carry out journalistic practices (from choosing news angles to writing) with an orientation towards traffic or viral logic, which in turn will generate profits in the form of advertisements. This makes journalists "forced" to write news with sensational and clickbait language styles that tend to manipulate readers' curiosity (Dvarkin, 2016; Krisdinanto, 2023a).

Many of the documents studied record journalists' experiences and reflections on this commercialization pressure. McManus (2009) and McChesney (2004) have mentioned the connotation of corruption in this term because it can be interpreted as prioritizing profits and sacrificing journalistic quality. This commercialization has indeed entered the journalistic arena, as the transformation of capitalism in the world of profit-driven mass media is widespread (Benson, 2006).On the other hand, the documents studied also illustrate the anxiety surrounding the issue of traffic or commercialization. Before the development of digital technology, the measure of news readability was audience rating, which was then converted into profit-making advertisements. In the digital era, a new benchmark emerged called traffic or click rate (Zhou, 2022). This traffic pressure is recorded in the metajournalistic documents studied, whether it is related to the issue of clickbait, plagiarism (copy and paste), speed vs. accuracy of reporting, or the target number of news stories per day. Journalists complained about the company's over-accommodation of advertisers and over-focus on keywords, trending topics, page views, or as much traffic as possible. This pressure also makes some important issues, such as the environment, not get enough attention.

Bourdieu called this phenomenon the marginalization of the autonomy pole in the journalistic field. The documents illustrate the laws of the journalistic field mentioned by Bourdieu, that the journalistic arena is under constant pressure from the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). In the current condition, the newsroom has been internalized by the logic of traffic analytics that determines how the newsroom shapes news content, creates social media engagement, determines keywords, and others. This reflects the strong orientation of newsroom operations to traffic and advertisers (Bazaco et.al., 2019;

Neheli, 2018; Lestari, 2017; Yesicha, 2019). This is what Bourdieusians (scholars who develop Bourdieu's conception) call double dependency, that the journalistic field is in a condition of double dependence on the market (economic field) and political power (political field); or strictly controlled by the political situation and the organized economy. Journalism is also described as trapped in the middle of the narrative of press freedom and market law, and bound by the logic of production that emphasizes speed and intense competition (Champagne, 2005).

Interestingly, the document not only illustrates the double pressure on the journalistic field but also shows symptoms of resistance to get out or fight the pressure. What is meant by resistance is when actors (journalists) make movements to approach the pole of autonomy and move away from the pole of heteronomy in the journalistic field. In Bourdieu's perspective, the space for resistance is indeed described as open by taking into account the habitus and journalistic capital owned by journalist actors (Champagne, 2005, 2006). As seen in the documents studied, journalists try to define journalism through their own experiences when they are the target of doxing. Despite being under constant pressure, journalists are seen trying to fight for and maintain the definition of journalism that they consider ideal.

> "Do I also use any means to get traffic? No, I don't. There are many ways to get traffic without sacrificing information (Mahbub, 2018)."

> "I want to write news that I can be proud of, and that can happen when I have time to study the issue deeper and verify it (Gaizka, 2019)."

In the context of metajournalistic discourse, the narratives written by journalists about the world of their profession in these documents can be understood as discourse practices (Ferrucci, 2021). From discourse practice, it can be traced how journalists respond to pressure, and it will shape the way they define journalism. At this point, Bourdieu's perspective presents an interesting or more comprehensive picture. On the one hand, Bourdieu's perspective understands the journalistic arena as an arena that is marginalized by the political and economic fields. On the other hand, Bourdieu's perspective opens space for journalists to resist or escape the "curse of pressure" by considering their journalistic capital and habitus.

In the context of this study, the habitus and journalistic capital of the journalists whose documents were studied did make it possible for them to resist this doxing. Although their economic capital is relatively low (as seen from the level of welfare they have), their journalistic capital and habitus actually seem to push their position closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic arena by maintaining the definition of journalism that is considered ideal. In other words, this resistance can be read as an act of agency by journalists to resist the control of the structure of the journalistic field by the political or economic fields.

This is where the theoretical perspective developed by Bourdieu is interesting. The concept of habitus and journalistic capital opens a space for analysis that is free from the reductionist trap that oversimplifies social phenomena such as doxing only as a product of the opposition between the arena structure and journalists' agency (Schultz, 2007; Willig, 2012). In the context of metajournalistic discourse studies, referring to Carlson (2016), journalism is a socially constructed profession, and examining the discourse produced by its actors related to their own industry is one way to understand it. In relation to this study, Bourdieu's perspective allows researchers to understand the practice of doxing as a product of structure (reflected in the unequal relations between the journalistic field and the political/economic fields) but also as a reflection of journalists' agency (reflected in their resistance) by trying to define journalism that is considered ideal.

CONCLUSION

By analyzing Indonesian journalists' metajournalistic discourse documents through Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, this study underlines two important findings that seem contradictory. First, doxing is seen as a product of double pressure from the political and economic fields on the journalistic field. This double pressure makes the journalistic field experience a situation called "high degree of heteronomy," a situation characterized by journalistic practices that are closer to norms or laws coming from other field (political and economic fields).

Secondly, the analyzed documents also illustrate the existence of resistance to doxing at the discourse level, which is carried out by journalists through efforts to define journalism that is considered ideal or journalism that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This resistance is possible because these journalists have journalistic habitus and journalistic capital that tend to be autonomous.

In the context of developing journalism studies, because it uses metajournalistic discourse documents as data sources (textual analysis), this research has not reached the depth of journalistic practices carried out by journalists in the newsroom and in the field. In fact, in a stressful journalistic arena, there will always be different ethical problems with every issue or event. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct research using field methods such as phenomenology, case studies, or ethnography in order to obtain a more complete and detailed picture of this problem. (*)
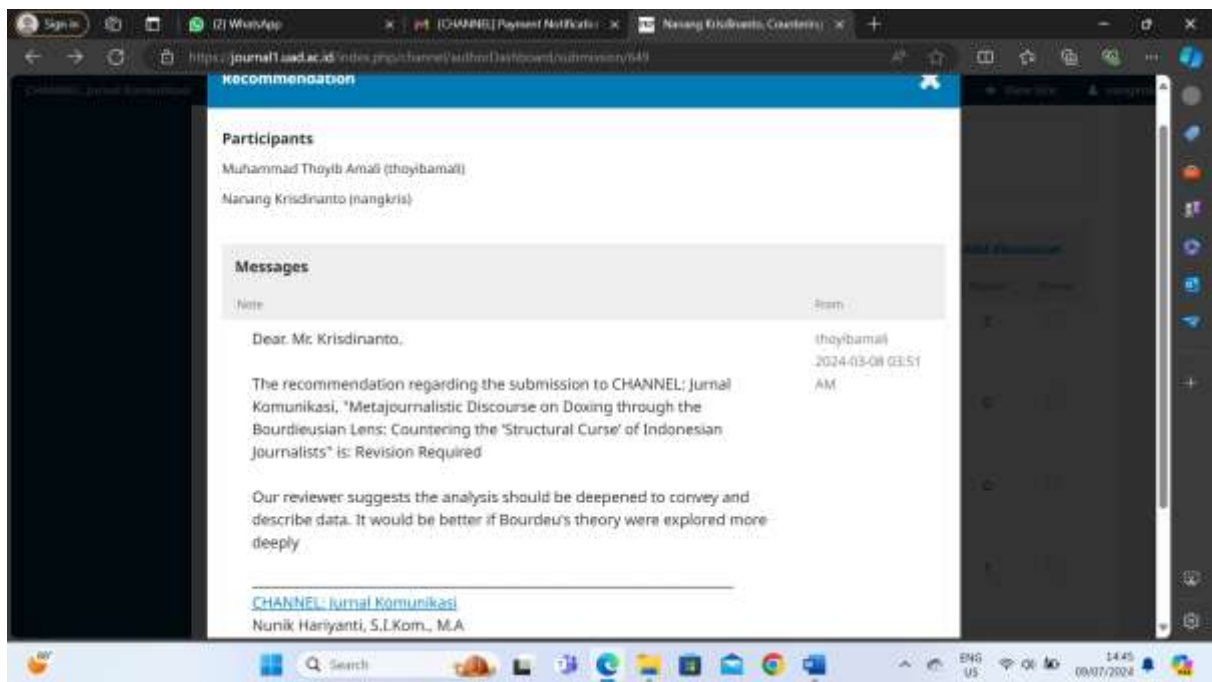
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4. Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review kedua (8 Maret 2024)

5. Bukti konfirmasi submit revisi kedua,

respon kepada reviewer,

dan artikel yang diresubmit

(8 Maret 2024)
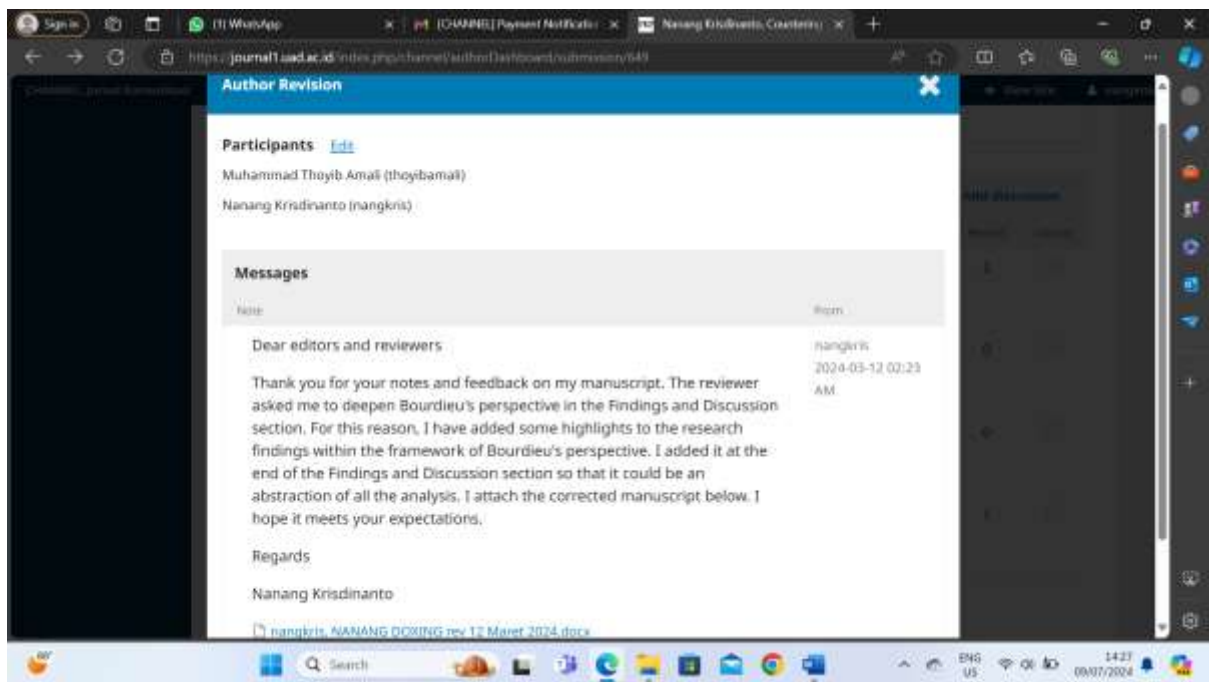
Respon terhadap reviewer

[REVIEW FORM JOURNAL CHANNEL*](#)

Filled in by journal
admin

No.	Completeness	Admin	
		Yes	No
	Article's title: Metajournalistic Discourse on Doxing through the Bourdieusian Lens: Countering the 'Structural Curse' of Indonesian Journalists		
1	Following Channel's template	✓	
2	Title	✓	
3	Author's name	✓	
4	Affiliation	✓	
5	Email address	✓	
6	ABSTRACT:		
	Aim	✓	
	Method	✓	
	Result	✓	
	Suggestion		✓
			Penulis

No.			
			telah menambahkan saran.
	Maks 250 words in English	✓	
	Keyword (maks. 3-5 words)	✓	
7	INTRODUCTION	✓	
8	METHOD	✓	
9	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	✓	
10	CONCLUSION	✓	
	Conclusion and Suggestion	✓	
11	ACKNOWLEDGMENT		✓ Penulis memang tidak menggunakan acknowlegment
12	REFERENCES		
	a) Min 30 references	✓	
	b) Cite 2 Channel's article		✓ Penulis telah menambahkan dua referensi dari jurnal Channel
	c) Cite 2 Scopus's article	✓	
	d) >= 80% primary references (journal and books) in last 10 years	✓	
	e) using *reference manager* (mis. Mendeley, EndNote, Zotero)	✓	
13	Article no longer than 5000-7000 words include table and figure, but not include REFERENCE	✓	
14	Plagiarism not longer than ≤ 20%		

PREVIEW SHEET BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD

No.	LIST	COMMENTS
1	Any media problems in the introduction (issues on media and digital media?	Yes

3	Does the research focus include:
	  • Media studies
	  • Media digital
		Media studies (Yes)
		Media digital (Yes)

4	Is the problem formulation directed by contradictions, inconsistencies, or knowledge gaps based on a review of previous research results (state of the art) related to concepts media studies and media digital?	Yes
5	Does the research methodology contain a description of how the research was conducted, including the object/subject under study, sample selection technique (quantitative method) or informant determination (qualitative method), data collection instruments used, data collection technique carried out, and data analysis technique?	Yes
6	Are the title, abstracts, and keywords, appropriate and reflect the issue of media studies and digital?	Yes, but the gives the impression that this phenomenon is discussed in a general and comprehensive manner even though there is a focus on BTS content on Remotivi. Please consider changing the title of this manuscript so that it is more related to the method and object under study. Respon: Penulis telah mengubah fenomena naskah secara lebih spesifik dan menonjolkan subjek penelitian, yaitu naskah mrtajurnalistik yang ada di laman Remotivi. Dengan demikian, subjek dan objek penelitian lebih selaras dengan metode. Judul juga telah disesuaikan.
7	Are the results and discussion section well explained?	Yes, but please consider putting a more informative figure or table to explain or show the results. Respon: Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian analisis isi kualitatif yang lebih bertumpu pada narasi, sehingga table atau gambar relative tidak diperlukan.

8	Does the conclusion have both theoretical and practical implications?	Yes

Editor's Comments:
- Please use "*" on the corresponding author.
- Aim, method, result and suggestion in abstrack should be clear and written in order.

Bukti naskah yang diresubmit

Countering Journalist Curse in A Bourdieusian Perspective: Metajournalistic Discourse on Doxing at Remotivi

ABSTRACT (10PT)

This research is based on the phenomenon of a shift in the pattern of attacks on the independence and freedom of journalists from physical attacks to attacks that are mediatized by digital media (digital attacks), in this case, doxing. This research focuses on a metajournalistic discourse study on doxing. The aim is to describe how doxing presents a struggle among journalists to define journalism and carry out journalistic practices that are considered autonomous. Using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, metajournalistic discourse studies outline how journalists understand and define journalism, or their own industry and profession, in the midst of stressful situations. The method used is qualitative text analysis using data sources from metajournalistic discourse documents, which are texts written by journalists about their own industry and published on Remotivi's website. The research highlights two important findings that seem contradictory. First, doxing is seen as a product of double pressures from the political and economic fields on the journalistic field, which makes the journalistic field experience a situation of 'high degree of heteronomy'. Second, there is resistance to doxing at the discourse level, which is carried out by journalists by defining journalism that is considered ideal or journalism that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This resistance is possible because these journalists have habits and journalistic capital that tend to be autonomous. This research can be used as a starting point for future research to better understand the sociological aspects of the journalist profession, which is assumed to experience various pressures from its internal and external environment.

Introduction

This research stems from the phenomenon of a shift in the pattern of attacks on the independence and freedom of journalists from physical attacks to attacks that are mediatized by digital media (digital attacks). In the last few years, a number of reports or surveys have mentioned a significant increase in the number of digital attacks against journalists. In a global context, the increase in the number of digital attacks (harassment of journalists facilitated by digital platforms) in various countries has been documented through a number of studies and reports by international organizations (Hiltunen, 2019; Jamil, 2020; Mong, 2019; Orgeret & Tayeebwa, 2020; Waisbord, 2020). In general, targeted journalists usually fall into certain categories according to their social identity (race, gender, religion, ethnicity, etc.), the type of news they write, and the news organization they work for (Waisbord, 2020).

These digital attacks are identified as a major problem for journalists, triggering threats of violence or physical harm to journalists or their families. However, there are no exact figures on the number of digital attacks because only a small percentage of journalists report them to management, authorities, or press organizations. They only report and take precautions when a digital attack is felt to be followed by a physical attack (Westcott, 2019). In a number of studies, these digital attacks are often referred to as digital harassment, mob censorship, or digital vigilantism, which are aimed at disciplining, silencing, and threatening the safety ,and speech rights of journalists (Favarel-Garrigues, Tanner, & Trottier, 2020; Trottier, 2020; Waisbord, 2020). These actions occur on the basis of three factors: the

relatively easy access of citizens to journalists through digital platforms; the rise of a hateful trolling culture; and the demonization of the press by populism (Waisbord, 2020).

In Indonesia, referring to a number of reports from several organizations such as Remotivi, Alliance of Independent Journalists, the Press Legal Aid Institute, or SAFENet (Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network), they also mentioned the rise of digital attacks on Indonesian journalists in the last three years (Banimal, Juniarto, & Ningtyas, 2020; Marsiela et al., 2022; Putri & Heychael, 2020; Wahyudin, 2022). The SAFEnet report states that this digital attack is a new model of threat against journalists, and its frequency has increased in the last three years. From 2017 to 2020, SAFENet noted a constant increase in digital attacks (Banimal et al., 2020).

SAFENet reports that a commonly reported digital attack is doxing, which is the practice of stealing and releasing personal information to the public by a third party for the purpose of embarrassing, threatening, intimidating, or punishing an identified individual. Doxing can happen to anyone, from well-known public figures to ordinary people (Douglas, 2016; Li, 2018). Doxing is also often a tool of cyberstalking, as the information shared causes the target to feel fear (Citron, 2014).

In many cases, doxing often extends to the identity of the victim's relatives, colleagues, organizations, or friends, resulting in public harassment or humiliation, threats, identity theft, and disclosure of personal lifestyles. Doxing is also not a random act, as the perpetrators target victims by collecting basic information, such as name, gender, religion, address, family members, email address, username, social media account, and so on. Doxing is therefore related to two other digital activities, namely disinformation (mainly through false or misleading information or content) or fake news, and the systematic use of trolling, which involves flooding online spaces with provocative posts (Hansen & Lim, 2019).

Quoting (Douglas, 2016), there are three types of doxing: deanonymization, targeting, and delegitimization. Deanonymization means the disclosure of any kind of identifying knowledge about a person on the internet; targeting refers to the disclosure of information that results in the target being able to trace his physical whereabouts; and delegitimization means the disclosure of information aimed at damaging the credibility, reputation, or character of the targeted individual. The problem of doxing is potentially experienced by all journalists, especially investigative journalists who work with sensitive data, and opens up space for trolling, which is often organized using anonymous accounts or bot accounts (Phillips, 2012).

A report by the Legal Aid Institute for the Press shows similar symptoms to those presented by SAFENet. Throughout 2021, for example, the Legal Aid Institute for the Press recorded six reports of digital attacks against journalists and the media (Wahyudin, 2022). A significant figure emerged from a Remotivi survey conducted in July 2020 among 110 respondents among journalists. The findings of this survey showed that one in four journalists (21.8%) who were respondents admitted to having been the target of digital attacks. This figure is higher than SAFEnet's findings in 2019 and was updated in June 2020. The forms of digital attacks experienced include social media accounts being flooded with negative comments, threats, data or information theft that is spread to the internet, social media accounts or emails being hacked and used by others, chat applications or emails being spied on and their contents spreading to the internet, and trolling that aims to humiliate and anger the target (Putri & Heychael, 2020).

The Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists report in 2018 called this digital attack a new type in the repertoire of the Indonesian press and predicted that it would continue to occur in the future (Manan, 2018). Meanwhile, the latest report for 2022 shows that digital attacks in 2022 reached 15 cases out of 67 overall attacks and were aimed at communication platforms owned by journalists, such as WhatsApp, email, Facebook, and Instagram (Marsiela et al., 2022).

In the context of research, attention to the issue of violence against journalists has mostly focused on threats or physical attacks, such as murder, coverage restrictions, physical violence, lawsuits, or destruction of media offices. The actors of violence are still dominant among the police, government officials, military officers, members of the council,

communities, mass organizations, or anonymous (Alhakim, 2022; Masduki, 2017; Nuraryo, 2020). However, since the mid-2010s, along with the development of digital communication technology, research has begun to emerge that focuses on digital attacks or doxing against journalists (Muhammad, 2021; Ng & Haryanto, 2022; Sari, 2021). These studies describe journalists' experiences or responses to digital attacks or doxing analyzed in the context of political economy, violations of journalistic independence, or journalists' freedom of speech. Reports by the Press Legal Aid Institute, SAFENet, and the Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists also outline qualitative data related to journalists' experiences associated with democracy and the need for cybersecurity literacy for journalists.

Meanwhile, this research has a different focus from previous research. This research is a metajournalistic discourse study that does not only aim to unravel the struggles or complexities caused by doxing practices affecting journalists in Indonesia. More than that, this research also looks at how journalists understand journalism and their own profession amidst the pressure of doxing. In other words, this research unravels how doxing colors the dynamics or struggles of journalists in understanding journalism and the profession they live in.

Metajournalistic discourse is a study that has recently begun to be frequently conducted to understand not only how journalists view themselves but also how society views the journalism industry. This study, which has not been widely used in journalism research in Indonesia, places journalists as the "primary definers of journalism" through the metajournalistic discourse documents they produce, including to define journalistic norms and practices that are considered appropriate and inappropriate (Carlson, 2016). Metajournalistic discourse is used to understand the dynamics of journalists in constructing professional boundaries and norms (Johnson, Thomas, & Fuzy, 2021); it is related to how journalists tell stories about their own field practices, and these stories help shape the journalistic world they inhabit (Perreault, Perreault, & Maares, 2021).

As journalism is a socially constructed profession, one way to understand its definition, practice, and ethics is to examine the discourses published by its actors regarding the industry itself. As the "primary definers of journalism", journalists produce metajournalistic discourse to explain normative practices to those inside and outside the field (Carlson, 2016). This metajournalistic discourse shows that the way journalists practice journalism amidst various pressures cannot be separated from the way they imagine journalism, and the discourse about journalism has an impact on how journalism is understood and practiced (Carlson, 2014).

Regarding the rampant practice of doxing in journalism, this research sees it as a variable or factor that intervenes in journalistic practice and creates its own problems or struggles among journalists trying to carry out their profession. One way to unravel this struggle is to use metajournalistic discourse as a tool of analysis. Referring to (Ferrucci, 2021), a metajournalistic discourse study is a textual analysis of metajournalistic discourse documents that can be found on various sites, including institutionalized publications such as journalism reviews, news and opinion columns, and news analysis programs on various internet-based outlets ranging from professional news organizations to individual blogs and social media (Carlson, 2014). This metajournalistic discourse can also take the form of journalists' coverage of their own industry, ombudsmen commenting on journalism, or media outlets reporting on the journalism industry (Carlson, 2016; De Maeyer & Holton, 2016; Ferrucci, 2018).

The analysis was conducted on metajournalistic discourse documents in the form of scripts or texts of Indonesian journalists published on the Remotivi website (remotivi.or.id). Remotivi is a media monitoring organization established in Jakarta in 2010 and is part of citizen participation in responding to post-New Order media industry practices that are increasingly commercial and pay less attention to public responsibility (Ulfah, 2021). The metajournalistic discourse document under study is aired on the Di Balik Layar channel, which is dedicated to journalists who want to talk or articulate their thoughts or feelings about various issues in journalism. This document can be seen as a window into what journalists think about various journalism problems, including doxing.

The theoretical perspective used is the theory of the journalistic field developed by Pierre Bourdieu and scholars who develop Bourdieu's thoughts on journalism. With its distinctive theoretical orientation, Bourdieu's thinking is able to unravel the struggles and problems of doxing in the Indonesian journalistic field and place them in various contexts. For example, doxing is seen as pressure from other fields (political and economic fields), which in Bourdieu's perspective are assumed to always try to control the dynamics of the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 2004). Journalists are also envisioned as actors who are structurally "condemned" to produce news under political and/or economic constraints (Champagne & Marchetti, 2005). In Bourdieu's perspective, journalists are assumed to be standing in the middle of a tension or push-pull between the pole of autonomy (which is oriented towards the public interest) and the pole of heteronomy (which is oriented towards interests outside journalism, including profit) (Champagne, 2006). At this point, Bourdieu's key concepts such as journalistic field, journalistic capital, and journalistic habitus can be used as tools of analysis to unravel the struggles of journalists who are victims of doxing and their surrounding contexts.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach that places the researcher as the key instrument (Lune, H. & Berg, 2017) and uses metajournalistic discourse method which provides an overview of how actors in the journalism industry discursively shape the boundaries of their profession (Vos & Singer, 2016), including when in contact with doxing practices or pressure on their professional journalistic practices. Through this analysis, researchers can describe the figurative world created by journalists in metajournalistic discourse documents and the ideological and cultural assumptions that surround them (Johnson, Bent, & Dade, 2020). Data were taken from metajournalistic discourse documents in the form of journalist scripts published on the Behind the Scenes channel on the Remotivi website. This channel is provided by Remotivi as a space for journalists to take a break from their daily professional routines. Journalists can share their experiences, feelings, reflections, or self-criticism on journalism, including the phenomenon of doxing and various pressures on professional journalistic practices, in the form of articles.

The data collection for this metajournalistic discourse document took place in two steps. First, manually trace all the articles in the Behind the Scenes channel by reading them one by one. Since the channel appeared in 2017 until 2023, researchers have found 48 documents. Second, we purposefully selected documents for analysis based on themes related to the experience of being a victim of doxing or pressure on professional journalistic practices. From this step, 11 documents were found for analysis.

The data were analyzed qualitatively by grouping the metajournalistic discourses that appeared in each document into certain themes. This grouping or data reduction is carried out by referring to the key concepts developed by Bourdieu and then interpreting them. Interpretation focused on several things, namely the experience of the author, the use of language, word choice, sentence structure, or metaphors, which are considered to reflect the discursive strategies developed by the author and illustrate how they construct meaning (Vos & Craft, 2017). This mode of analysis allows researchers to parse or describe the discourse that journalists develop in defining, understanding, or setting the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable journalism practices in the midst of stressful situations such as doxing.

Findings and Discussion

Bourdieu's theoretical formulation of journalism stems from the assumption that journalism is a part or sub-arena of a larger field, namely the field of cultural production. Bourdieu positions the journalistic field based on its relationship with the political and economic field (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). Meanwhile, journalistic practices are seen as practices carried out by actors (journalists) in the journalistic field and are formed based on

the journalistic habitus and journalistic capital owned by the actors (Krisdinanto, 2023b). This journalistic capital and habitus determine the way journalists define journalism and carry out journalistic practices, especially when there is pressure from the economic and political fields that seek to constantly control the journalistic field. At this point, doxing is seen as a form of pressure on the journalistic field that comes from the political and economic fields.

The findings of this study are presented in two parts. The first section outlines the journalistic capital and habitus of the journalists whose documents were studied. This is related to several factors such as welfare, educational background, or certain achievements in the journalistic arena, or what Bourdieu calls trajectories. Second, it describes the struggles of journalists who are victims of doxing through the documents studied and places doxing in the framework of the relationship between the journalistic field and the political and economic fields. In addition, it also outlines the resistance that journalists face through efforts to define and practice journalism that is considered ideal and closer to the pole of autonomy.

A. Journalistic Capital and Habitus: 'A Cry for Help'

Bourdieu's conception of capital differs from that of the Marxian tradition, which refers to economic control. Bourdieu's formulation refers more to cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu does not only talk about economic capital, which refers to financial resources, but also social capital, which refers to networks or individual relationships with other parties who have power. Meanwhile, cultural capital is related to the ownership of certain skills, dispositions, or knowledge. Implicitly, this capital implies a learning process, not a gift (Haryatmoko, 2003). Meanwhile, symbolic capital is connected to consecration (honor), prestige, or certain fame (Bourdieu, 1993). In this theoretical scheme, the accumulation and configuration of capital owned by actors (in this research, journalists) determine their position in the journalistic field. The accumulation and configuration of capital ownership determine the freedom of actors to define and carry out their journalistic practices in the journalistic field (Krisdinanto, 2014).

In a Bourdieusian perspective, journalistic capital is seen as symbolic capital in the journalistic field. This journalistic capital, for example, can be seen in the media that houses journalists. Media headquartered in Jakarta are considered more prestigious than those based in the regions. Certain media that have a high readership, viewer ratings, or subscribers are considered more valuable than those with a low readership. Journalists who often receive awards (both formally and informally) are considered more calculated, and so on. Journalistic capital can also take the form of colleague recognition, which implies respect or a certain position in the journalistic hierarchy (Willig, 2012).

The research findings show a certain pattern in the accumulation and configuration of capital among the journalists whose metajournalistic discourse documents were studied. Beyond economic capital, they have adequate social capital, cultural capital, and journalistic capital. Referring to the attribution in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied, these journalists come from reputable universities, such as Islamic Indonesia University, Jember State University, Universitas of Indonesia, or Media Nusantara University. Some work in media with good journalistic reputations, such as Tirto.id or Liputan6.com; they have received the Hassan Wirajuda Protection of Indonesian Citizens Award from Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi; they become book authors or consultants; and some even travel around Indonesia to become resource persons for journalistic discussions. In Bourdieusian language, these journalists actually have an accumulation of journalistic capital that makes them have a specific consecration (Bourdieu, 1993).

But on the other hand, their position in the journalistic field also seems marginal for two reasons. First, their position in the editorial structure. Most of them are regional reporters, correspondents, or freelance reporters, which is the lowest position in the editorial structure. The second is related to the ownership of economic capital, which Bourdieu (1986) sees as the capital that is most easily converted into other types of capital and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights. These journalists have low economic

capital, which is reflected in their narratives regarding their own profession, income, future, and bribery culture.

When writing his own attribution, one journalist wrote: "Studying while working odd jobs in order to live as imagined and expected" (Yurin, 2020). Yurin, the journalist's name, wrote two articles in Remotivi entitled "Am I the Only One Sick of Bribery Culture?" and "Lazy to Report, Just Copy-paste." The titles and attributions indicate the bitterness of the profession, especially in relation to welfare and the future. Yurin shared her anxiety about the future of herself and her family. With a low income (only Rp. 15,000.00 per news article) and without any other benefits, she feels that this profession is not promising. What Yurin experienced, as various studies have shown, is a reflection of the general condition of journalists in various regions in Indonesia since long ago (Manan, 2011, 2013; Purnomo, 2018; Samsuri & Winarto, 2015).

This is what Yurin considers to be the root of the development of the bribery culture, which is a "tradition" of giving money from sources to journalists. This habit, which is actually bribery or even extortion, has long been a problem for Indonesian journalism because it has a serious impact on the independence of journalists and the objectivity of reporting (Komala, 2018; Nugroho & Santos, 2001; Prasetyo, 2018; Purnomo, 2018; Susanti, 2018). In his article, Yurin expresses her anger at this "tradition" that he considers damaging journalism. He writes:

> "...they argued that bribery was acceptable. I, overwhelmed by the dissent, swore before regretting it. I'm sorry, but people like you, maybe even me, should not be part of journalism (Yurin, 2019)."

In addition to low wage standards, journalists are also fearful of the future. Journalists are seen as a profession that is unable to guarantee a future. Almost all of the documents analyzed give this picture.

> "The salary is dependent on the writing that is published. A month usually earns IDR 500,000 to IDR 1.5 million. It's very small. But I have no choice. This profession has sunk deep into my soul, and I really enjoy it. If so, how can I rely on being a journalist to provide for my family? I'm 35 years old, have a wife, and a child. We live in a subsidized house with monthly installments of Rp 1 million for 15 years. That installment is past due if I rely solely on my income as a freelance writer who is paid per article. My partner also has to work (Rusdianto, 2021)."

The overall data shows that journalists have the same capital ownership accumulation and configuration. On the one hand, they are able to accumulate social, cultural, and symbolic (journalistic) capital. But on the other hand, they fail to convert these capitals into economic value. In a Bourdieusian context, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (including journalistic capital) can actually be converted into economic capital and vice versa (Bourdieu, 1993). However, economic capital is recognized as the capital that is most easily converted into other capitals. This makes the position of these journalists not autonomous in the journalistic field, and they have difficulty carrying out journalistic practices according to the definition they believe in. As Bourdieu (1998) wrote, an integral part of journalistic capital is how journalists see their own social role. As stated in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied, journalists still believe that independence is the most important basis for journalistic practice and can be upheld if they are free from economic problems and future guarantees.

Almost all of the document titles reflect this belief, such as "Am I the Only One Sick of Bribery I Culture?; Being an Online Journalist Must Master Kage Bunshin to Meet News Quotas; Lazy to Report on Your Own, Just Copy-paste; Behind the Fragrance of Meikarta News; Correspondents and Freelance Writers are not Prosperous at All, or "Environmental Issues do not Sell in the Media; Traffic and Production Patterns are the Causes". These titles illustrate the strong belief in journalistic practices based on the journalistic code of

ethics, even though in daily practice pressures from the political and economic fields come knocking.

The metajournalistic discourse documents also suggests that journalists have a journalistic habitus that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This journalistic habitus (along with journalistic capital), following the Bourdieusian way of thinking, shapes the journalistic practices that journalists carry out in the journalistic field. Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as the cognitive structure used by actors in living social life (Bourdieu, 1984). Meanwhile, journalistic habitus is seen as a cognitive structure used by journalists to respond to and understand the journalistic practices. The cognitive structure can be seen as a reflection of the objective structure that guides journalistic practice, such as the journalistic code of ethics, the rules of professional organizations, and so on.

In Bourdieusian journalistic studies, journalistic habitus can vary, for example, based on position and journalistic genre. Reporters and editors, for example, do not have the same journalistic habits because their positions or responsibilities in the newsroom are also different. Reporters tend not to have considerations outside of journalism, while editors tend to be more careful and take into account other aspects outside of journalism (Schultz, 2007). Online media journalists (whose documents are the subject of this study) tend to work faster, less deeply, place less importance on accuracy, prioritize quantity, and use a sensational or clickbait writing style. This is in contrast to investigative journalists, who tend to be more concerned with depth than speed and are more analytical and calm.

This is where their struggles are apparent. In the midst of limited capital ownership, they still believe in the ideal definition of journalism but do not have enough capital to carry it out consistently. Quoting Turnbull et.al., 2019), individuals who carry out their social practices with more capital are more likely to obtain certain social benefits. The absence of economic capital makes it difficult for journalists to act autonomously. If formulated in a metaphorical sentence, the capital ownership structure of these journalists suggests a "cry for help" condition for Indonesian journalists who, to borrow Champagne & Marchetti's (2005) term, are structurally "condemned" to carry out journalistic practices under various restrictions. This condition also determines their response or form of struggle when they receive digital attacks in the form of doxing.

B. Doxing as the Dual Pressures of the Political and Economic Fields

In Bourdieu's thesis, the journalistic field is declared to be dependent on external forces, especially the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 2004). In the context of field theory, according to Vos et.al. (2019), social space is always shaped by a series of forces called endogenous and exogenous forces. So is the journalistic field, which is shaped by the interaction between autonomous poles within itself (endogenous) and economic and political poles (exogenous) that come from outside itself. The discourse that emerges in the metajournalistic discourse documents studied illustrates the heavy pressure of the economic and political fields on the journalistic field. This pressure shapes the way journalists define journalism and negotiate or compromise their journalistic practices.

This can be seen from the experience of being a victim of doxing recorded in the documents written by Lexander (2020) and Widhana (2019). In one news moment, Lexander (a sports reporter at an online media outlet) received massive digital persecution or doxing from netizens. Initially, the editor asked him to write about the issue of match-fixing or the Indonesian football mafia. The source was the Instagram post of a well-known football figure, who in his caption revealed the characteristics of the team suspected of being involved in the match-fixing scandal, namely the status of a famous club, the owner's position in the federation, and winning the title. After adding additional data, Lexander uploaded the news to the content management system (CMS), complete with an embed (link) to the football figure's Instagram post.

The news went viral. The editor was happy that Lexander was able to "fry" the issue in an interesting way and get high traffic. The problem was that Lexander received digital

persecution on his social media accounts, both through direct messages (DM) and comments. Day by day, the persecution grew, even spilling over to Line.

"Netizens considered my article a hoax, just accusing without clear evidence. I am confused. Why is there suddenly a lot of criticism from netizens? The number of incoming DMs has increased. Some of the content is no longer criticism. Some went so far as to criticize, saying, Just gang up on them, beat them up, beat them, kill them.' I immediately deleted my personal Line and Instagram accounts for my safety (Lexander, 2020)."

To a lesser extent, similar pressures are recorded in the documents of Widhana, an in-depth reporting journalist from Tirto.id. When asked to write a report on religious and belief minority groups, she did so with an open mind to encourage the fulfillment of their rights by the state. Widhana writes:

"Both Penghayat Kapribaden (the name of the group) and other religious and belief minorities do not have the same access as the majority religious believers. Their voices are rarely heard. Their position is passive toward the government. They are isolated. They are victims of legal, economic, and political discrimination. They live like second-class citizens (Widhana, 2019).

Widhana also expressed his anxiety when asked to make this report because he knew this theme was vulnerable for journalists. But he still did it because of the principle of professionalism as a journalist. That's why he titled his document with a hyperbolic sentence: "Writing about them is like pointing a gun at your own forehead." The title suggests that there are limits that the author exceeds and risks. In one section, he also writes:

"So what was the response when my reportage aired? The group I wrote about thanked me because they felt heard. Meanwhile, netizens and some of my close colleagues protested. I can only realize that there is internal diversity in any religion (Widhana, 2019)."

What happened to Lexander and Widhana, citing Douglas (2016), can be categorized as deanonymization doxing, targeting doxing, and delegitimization doxing. Deanonymization means the disclosure of any kind of identifying knowledge about a person on the internet; targeting refers to the disclosure of information that results in the target's physical whereabouts being traced; and delegitimization means the disclosure of information that aims to damage the credibility, reputation, or character of the targeted individual.The problem of doxing is potentially experienced by all digital journalists, especially investigative journalists who work with sensitive data. A document written by Putri & Heychael (2020) illustrates the concern that digital attacks on journalists continue to increase, including those in the form of trolling, which is the deliberate violation of social norms and provoking others for their own amusement and is often organized using anonymous accounts or bot accounts (Phillips, 2012).

"This is a new model of threats against journalists. Are journalists ready to face new challenges that threaten the independence of the press and their personal safety? Remember the story of the detik.com journalist who was targeted by government supporters because of a story he wrote? Personal data was shared on social media with the aim of bringing down his reputation (doxing). Isal's case is one of many digital attacks targeting journalists. The forms of digital attacks they experience include accounts flooded with negative and threatening comments, data and information theft that is spread to the internet, social media and email accounts

hacked and used by others, and chat and email applications spied on and their contents spread to the internet (Putri & Heychael, 2020)."

Lexander and Widhana's experience reflects that there are various restrictions or pressures from outside the journalistic field that always try to determine journalistic practice, namely the political and economic fields. The pressures of the political field (stemming from the use of certain mass or political power) and the economic arena (stemming from traffic orientation) have the aim of pushing journalistic practice away from its autonomous pole and following the laws or rules that apply in the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 2004). Journalists are even pressured to comply with the laws and rules of these two fields through doxing, a phenomenon that is said to be a "ghost" on the internet. Doxing is the practice of releasing personal information to the public by a third party for the purpose of shaming, threatening, intimidating, or punishing the identified individual. Doxing can happen to anyone, from well-known public figures to ordinary people (Douglas, 2016). Doxing is also often a tool of cyberstalking, as the information shared causes the target to feel fear (Citron, 2014).

In Bourdieu's perspective, the doxing practices recorded in the documents above can be read as a form of pressure coming from the political and economic arenas. Doxing is a product of pressure from the political field (through the use of political resources in the form of verbal violence and trolling for political interests through the digital medium) and also pressure from the economic field because the news written is a product of orientation towards traffic, page views, speed, plagiarism, and advertisements (related to the issue of journalistic firewalls). The sentence "managed to fry the news so that it gets high traffic or goes viral" delivered by the editor reflects the laws that apply in the profit-oriented economic field, or what (Bourdieu, 1998) calls commercialization. This means that journalists are always placed in a situation to carry out journalistic practices (from choosing news angles to writing) with an orientation towards traffic or viral logic, which in turn will generate profits in the form of advertisements. This makes journalists "forced" to write news with sensational and clickbait language styles that tend to manipulate readers' curiosity (Dvarkin, 2016; Krisdinanto, 2023a).

Many of the documents studied record journalists' experiences and reflections on this commercialization pressure. McManus (2009) and McChesney (2004) have mentioned the connotation of corruption in this term because it can be interpreted as prioritizing profits and sacrificing journalistic quality. This commercialization has indeed entered the journalistic arena, as the transformation of capitalism in the world of profit-driven mass media is widespread (Benson, 2006).On the other hand, the documents studied also illustrate the anxiety surrounding the issue of traffic or commercialization. Before the development of digital technology, the measure of news readability was audience rating, which was then converted into profit-making advertisements. In the digital era, a new benchmark emerged called traffic or click rate (Zhou, 2022). This traffic pressure is recorded in the metajournalistic documents studied, whether it is related to the issue of clickbait, plagiarism (copy and paste), speed vs. accuracy of reporting, or the target number of news stories per day. Journalists complained about the company's over-accommodation of advertisers and over-focus on keywords, trending topics, page views, or as much traffic as possible. This pressure also makes some important issues, such as the environment, not get enough attention.

Bourdieu called this phenomenon the marginalization of the autonomy pole in the journalistic field. The documents illustrate the laws of the journalistic field mentioned by Bourdieu, that the journalistic arena is under constant pressure from the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). In the current condition, the newsroom has been internalized by the logic of traffic analytics that determines how the newsroom shapes news content, creates social media engagement, determines keywords, and others. This reflects the strong orientation of newsroom operations to traffic and advertisers (Bazaco et.al., 2019; Neheli, 2018; Lestari, 2017; Yesicha, 2019). This is what Bourdieusians (scholars who develop Bourdieu's conception) call double dependency, that the journalistic field is in a

condition of double dependence on the market (economic field) and political power (political field); or strictly controlled by the political situation and the organized economy. Journalism is also described as trapped in the middle of the narrative of press freedom and market law, and bound by the logic of production that emphasizes speed and intense competition (Champagne, 2005).

Interestingly, the document not only illustrates the double pressure on the journalistic field but also shows symptoms of resistance to get out or fight the pressure. What is meant by resistance is when actors (journalists) make movements to approach the pole of autonomy and move away from the pole of heteronomy in the journalistic field. In Bourdieu's perspective, the space for resistance is indeed described as open by taking into account the habitus and journalistic capital owned by journalist actors (Champagne, 2005, 2006). As seen in the documents studied, journalists try to define journalism through their own experiences when they are the target of doxing. Despite being under constant pressure, journalists are seen trying to fight for and maintain the definition of journalism that they consider ideal.

"Do I also use any means to get traffic? No, I don't. There are many ways to get traffic without sacrificing information (Mahbub, 2018)."

"I want to write news that I can be proud of, and that can happen when I have time to study the issue deeper and verify it (Gaizka, 2019)."

In the context of metajournalistic discourse, the narratives written by journalists about the world of their profession in these documents can be understood as discourse practices (Ferrucci, 2021). From discourse practice, it can be traced how journalists respond to pressure, and it will shape the way they define journalism. At this point, Bourdieu's perspective presents an interesting or more comprehensive picture. On the one hand, Bourdieu's perspective understands the journalistic arena as an arena that is marginalized by the political and economic fields. On the other hand, Bourdieu's perspective opens space for journalists to resist or escape the "curse of pressure" by considering their journalistic capital and habitus.

In the context of this study, the habitus and journalistic capital of the journalists whose documents were studied did make it possible for them to resist this doxing. Although their economic capital is relatively low (as seen from the level of welfare they have), their journalistic capital and habitus actually seem to push their position closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic arena by maintaining the definition of journalism that is considered ideal. In other words, this resistance can be read as an act of agency by journalists to resist the control of the structure of the journalistic field by the political or economic fields.

This is where the theoretical perspective developed by Bourdieu is interesting. The concept of habitus and journalistic capital opens a space for analysis that is free from the reductionist trap that oversimplifies social phenomena such as doxing only as a product of the opposition between the arena structure and journalists' agency (Schultz, 2007; Willig, 2012). In the context of metajournalistic discourse studies, referring to Carlson (2016), journalism is a socially constructed profession, and examining the discourse produced by its actors related to their own industry is one way to understand it. In relation to this study, Bourdieu's perspective allows researchers to understand the practice of doxing as a product of structure (reflected in the unequal relations between the journalistic field and the political/economic fields) but also as a reflection of journalists' agency (reflected in their resistance) by trying to define journalism that is considered ideal.

The use of Bourdieusian's key concepts in this research shows that journalistic practice (which Bourdieu sees as always under various pressures) is a product of both the journalistic habitus and journalistic capital of journalists in a journalistic arena (which is constantly under pressure from other arenas). One of Bourdieu's most important arguments is that journalistic practice implies the struggle of journalists to mediate or even resist the

pressure of structures that seek to restrain or control them. The dynamics of this struggle (which are connected to the journalistic habitus and journalistic capital of each journalist) are the focus of analysis from a Bourdieusian perspective.

This is the interesting theoretical orientation of Bourdieusian. The concepts of journalistic habitus and journalistic capital (which are imagined to be attached to journalistic practice actors) allow researchers to see individual journalists as a transformative force in the journalistic arena. Ownership or configuration of certain journalistic habits and accumulation or configuration of certain journalistic capital allow individual journalists to resist moving away from the heteronomy pole. Conversely, the absence of journalistic habitus or journalistic capital will assumptively make journalists unable to act autonomously and only carry out journalistic practices according to the structure that surrounds them.

CONCLUSION

By analyzing Indonesian journalists' metajournalistic discourse documents through Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, this study underlines two important findings that seem contradictory. First, doxing is seen as a product of double pressure from the political and economic fields on the journalistic field. This double pressure makes the journalistic field experience a situation called "high degree of heteronomy," a situation characterized by journalistic practices that are closer to norms or laws coming from other field (political and economic fields).

Secondly, the analyzed documents also illustrate the existence of resistance to doxing at the discourse level, which is carried out by journalists through efforts to define journalism that is considered ideal or journalism that is closer to the pole of autonomy in the journalistic field. This resistance is possible because these journalists have journalistic habitus and journalistic capital that tend to be autonomous.

In the context of developing journalism studies, because it uses metajournalistic discourse documents as data sources (textual analysis), this research has not reached the depth of journalistic practices carried out by journalists in the newsroom and in the field. In fact, in a stressful journalistic arena, there will always be different ethical problems with every issue or event. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct research using field methods such as phenomenology, case studies, or ethnography in order to obtain a more complete and detailed picture of this problem. (*)

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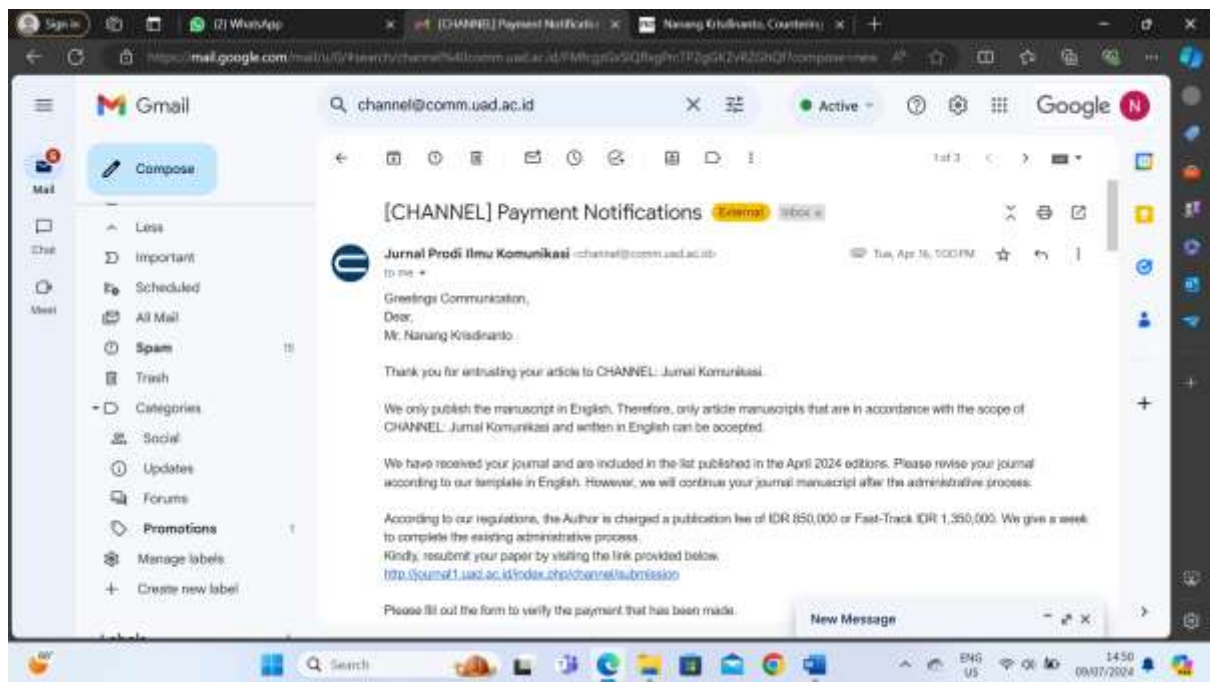Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field on Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

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