Media Bureaucracy and Citizen Journalism: Challenges for Mass Media Reporting Practices in Indonesia

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Abstract

The emergence of citizen journalism in a news story has its own dilemma. On the one hand, citizen journalism presents a news story on an event quickly, naturally, and without intervention from any party. But on the other hand, citizen journalism also has the potential to deliver fake news (hoaxes) and news that does not pay attention to journalistic rules and codes of ethics. This dilemma actually poses its own challenges for the mass media to accommodate citizen journalism reporting into a rigid and hierarchical media bureaucracy. This study aims to find out how the bureaucracy of reporting in the mass media and its relation to the concept of citizen journalism. The method used in this study is a qualitative research method using the classical organizational communication theory by Max Weber, namely bureaucracy. Informants consist of editors-in-chief, editors, journalists, and public relations selected from several mass media representing print media (Pikiran Rakyat), electronic media (MNC News and RRI), and online media (Kumparan and Mojok). The results of this study show that bureaucracy is absolutely needed in all forms of reporting, both through conventional mass media and citizen journalism. Pikiran Rakyat, MNC News, and RRI make information from citizen journalism as initial information which is then processed through bureaucratic procedures such as verification, confirmation, and follow-up to be used as news material. Meanwhile, Kumparan and Mojok provide space for citizen journalism through several channels while still following the prevailing media bureaucracy. This is done in maintaining the validity of news by paying attention to journalistic rules and codes of ethics.

Keywords: bureaucracy, journalism, mass media, citizen journalism.

INTRODUCTION

The role of the mass media in the news process is growing rapidly. Since the advent of information technology, the internet, and digitalization, mass media that was originally conventional – such as print and electronic media – has transformed into an online media that can be accessed at any time. The news of an event spreads so quickly without knowing time and space (Darmanto & Delliana, 2017). On the other hand, the need for the public to get information can be fulfilled quickly without having to wait a long time.

Mass media is indeed developing in a more modern direction. However, in the technicality of reporting an event, the mass media still has to follow a series of established procedures, stages, flows, and rules. An event that will be reported to the public must go through a series of hierarchical procedures such as searching for news in the field, writing news,

editing news manuscripts, and approval from certain parties before the news is aired and disseminated. This kind of process is what is meant by bureaucracy in the mass media. On the one hand, the application of bureaucracy to mass media like this greatly affects the speed of news delivery to the public (Ekwunife et al., 2021). A news story must go through a series of hierarchical procedures before it is delivered to the public and this obviously requires a short time lag. Thus, the news that reaches the public is not up-to-date anymore. On the other hand, the application of bureaucracy to the mass media is indeed important to do so that a news story can be accounted for its truth, have conformity with facts on the ground, and meet journalistic rules and codes of ethics.

But recently a new phenomenon has emerged in the world of journalism and mass media, namely citizen journalism. In this concept, an event can be reported and widely disseminated by anyone, without having to be reported by professional mass media journalists (Muhtadi, 2016) and without going through hierarchical procedures and flows. In other words, citizen journalism is not tied to bureaucracy in the mass media as it should be.

On the one hand, the concept of citizen journalism is actually profitable. Besides being able to provide speed in delivering news of an event, this concept also benefits professional mass media because it can get news sources without having to spend a large amount of effort, time, and cost. But on the other hand, this concept of citizen journalism is also harmful. These "amateur" journalists have the potential to spread hoax news (Sari & Paramita, 2018) or report on a message without paying attention to journalistic rules and codes of ethics.

The emergence of citizen journalism in the news is a challenge for professional mass media. Both are like two sides of a coin that have their own advantages and disadvantages. Citizen journalism is considered to be able to outperform the weaknesses of the mass media in terms of the speed of reporting an event to the public. On the contrary, the mass media has a certain bureaucracy that maintains the quality of a news story consistently and this is not owned by citizen journalism. If the two concepts are able to collaborate, then the reporting of an event can be carried out quickly, accurately, naturally, and still maintain journalistic rules and codes of ethics.

In organizational communication theory, bureaucracy is one of the classic types of organizational communication that is widely applied in various communities, companies and institutions. Linguistically, the term bureaucracy comes from two syllables, namely "bureau" and "creatine". Bureau comes from French which means office or writing desk while Creatine comes from Greek which means to organize. This term bureaucracy refers to the systematics of work activities that are regulated and ruled by an office through administrative activities (Ngadisah, 2015). The concept of bureaucracy created by Max Weber is often associated with the system of government organizations, when in reality this concept of bureaucracy is also often found in non-governmental organizational systems such as organizations in the mass media.

According to experts, bureaucracy is defined as a system of control in organizations designed on the basis of rational and systematic rules, and aims to coordinate and direct the work activities of individuals in the framework of solving large-scale administrative tasks (Setiawan, 1998).

Although bureaucracy is often identified with an old, complicated, convoluted, and rigid process, its presence in modern society is impossible to avoid. Bureaucracy is very bound by regulations and aims for a job to be done in an organized manner and done together. In the context of mass media, the bureaucracy regulates a series of procedures and stages that must be passed before a news story is delivered to the public. Everything is done systematically and well organized by competent Human Resources in their respective fields.

According to Max Weber, bureaucracy has the following characteristics: (1) an organization carries out its work impersonally, (2) a clear hierarchy of positions, (3) the functions of the position are clearly determined, (4) the position is appointed under a contract, (5) the position is elected based on professional qualifications, (6) the salary is determined according to the rules, (7) a members of the organization work according to their main job, (8) get a career path, (9) a position placement based on competence, (10) lead to a uniform system of discipline and control (Ngadisah, 2015). The characteristics revealed by Max Weber are in accordance with the conditions of mass media organizations in Indonesia.

In terms, media has the meaning of being a carrier of something. Something that can be a message, information, or anything that is considered important to convey. Thus, the mass media is an organization that has a focus on presenting news to the public. There are so many types of mass media that are commonly used, among which are print media such as newspapers and magazines, electronic media such as television and radio, and the latter are online media such as websites, blogs, or news portals.

In the context of bureaucracy, the mass media has a certain organizational structure based on the job title and work performed. A job, be it on a small or large scale, is divided into areas within that organizational structure (Yuniningsih, 2019). In addition, in presenting a news to the public, it must also go through a series of systematic and rigid procedures, stages, flows, and rules.

Its rigid and hierarchical nature makes news that will be conveyed to the community experience a time lag (Ekwunife et al., 2021). This happens because there is a tiered and hierarchical examination of a news story so that the news conveyed to the public is true, unbiased and multi perceptual, and meets journalistic rules and codes of ethics.

The problem of time lags in delivering news to the public is not experienced by news from citizen journalism. Citizen journalism is an activity where the role of journalists or journalistic activities can be carried out by ordinary people. Activities to collect information, write news, edit, and disseminate it can be done alone without bureaucracy, procedures, and binding rules. How to spread it can be through a personal blog (Yustitia,

2010) or send it to certain mass media and then the editor decides whether the news is worth airing or not.

Actually, the role and function of citizen journalism is the same as the role and function of journalism in general, namely as a source of information, entertainment, social control, and agents of change. However, it seems that there is a noticeable difference between the two, both in terms of status and technical work. Professional journalists work in a particular mass media, earn wages, and are required to produce reliable, accurate, and accountable news (Kusnadi & Priono, 2010). Meanwhile, citizen journalism emphasizes the speed of access to news without paying attention to journalistic accuracy and code of ethics.

The basic principles of citizen journalism are as follows: (1) the journalists are readers, the public, or anyone who has information on something, (2) anyone can provide comments, corrections, clarifications on published news, (3) non-profit oriented, (4) dominated by online media, (5) have a community that often does gatherings, (6) there is no competition between journalists, (7) there is no difference between professional or amateur journalists, (8) there is no strict selection of news, (9) professionally managed and there are also amateurs, (10) readers can directly interact with the author through the comments column or e-mail (Kusnadi & Priono, 2010).

Conditions like this can give rise to the potential for hoax news, defamation, slander, and unpleasant acts. This is because citizen journalism does not get official knowledge and education as well as professional journalists in the mass media (Ningsih, 2015).

There are quite a lot of studies that discuss the problems between mass media and their relation to citizen journalism. One of them is a study conducted by Aryo Subarkah Eddyono, Faruk HT, and Budi Irawanto which was published in the Journal of Kajian Journalisme Volume 03 Number 01 of 2019. The research entitled "Menyoroti Jurnalisme Warga: Lintasan Sejarah, Konflik Kepentingan, dan Keterkaitannya dengan Jurnalisme Profesional" discusses the beginning of the emergence of the concept of citizen journalism and its background for the emergence of citizen journalism. The results of the study revealed that citizen journalism emerged as a form of protest against professional mass media that is more market-oriented, political interests, and the interests of the mass media itself (Eddyono et al., 2019).

Another research was conducted by Kusnadi and Mochamad Priono who took the research title "Citizen Journalism Indonesia: Suatu Wujud Dari Demokratisasi di Indonesia". The research, which was published at the 2010 FISIP-UT National Seminar, discusses the convergence between citizen journalism and the existing mass media bureaucracy. This convergence will actually give birth to a new concept of reporting in mass media. On the other hand, the study also discusses the importance of legal protection for citizen journalism. It is based on equal rights in the world of journalism, regardless of whether a person is a professional journalist or citizen journalism (Kusnadi & Priono, 2010).

The similarity between these studies and this research is the topic and subject of the selected research, namely mass media and citizen journalism. While the difference lies in the object of study. Previous studies have a tendency to dispute the role of mass media with citizen journalism, while this research focuses on the bureaucracy of mass media in reporting and its relation to citizen journalism. That is, there is a form of collaboration between citizen journalism and the mass media that has an impact on the bureaucracy in the mass media.

This research focuses on bureaucracy in the mass media and its relation to citizen journalism. The formulation of the problem in this study is: (1) how is the bureaucratic process in the mass media in delivering news to the public? (2) how does the mass media respond to the presence of citizen journalism? From the formulation of this problem, the purpose of this study is to find out how the bureaucratic process of mass media in delivering news to the public and how the mass media responds to the presence of citizen journalism.

METHOD

In this study, researchers used descriptive research methods with a qualitative approach. Qualitative research methods are research that aims to understand phenomena about what is experienced by the research subject such as behavior, perception, actions, and others. The phenomenon is deciphered holistically and descriptively in the form of words and language by utilizing various natural methods (Moleong, 2017). In the context of analysis, qualitative research methods are inductive and place more emphasis on depth of meaning than generalization. Thus, researchers must have broad theoretical and insightful provisions, so as to be able to ask, analyze, photograph, and construct the object under study to be clearer and more meaningful.

The subject of the study is several mass media in Indonesia consisting of print media, electronic media – both television and radio, and online media. The print media is represented by Pikiran Rakyat, one of the largest newspapers in Jawa Barat. Electronic media is represented by MNC News as a television channel and RRI as a radio channel. Online media is represented by Kumparan and Mojok as one of the online media with a fairly large number of online readers in Indonesia.

In collecting research data, researchers conducted interviews, observations, and documentation collection for several informants who were considered competent and able to describe and explain the bureaucratic process in the mass media and their responses to the presence of citizen journalism in the news (Moleong, 2014). Researchers consider that competent informants are mass media crews consisting of journalists, editors, editors, and editors-in-chief. In addition to knowing the ins and outs of mass media organizations and bureaucracy in news delivery, they also often come into direct contact with news stories born from citizen journalism.

Researchers conducted semi-structured interviews with several media crews – be it print media, electronic media, or online media – with varying levels of office. The interview was officially conducted intensively in the range of November 9 to November 30, 2022 through

telephone conversations, audio recordings, chats on the WhatsApp application, and also email.

The study involved seven people selected by researchers to be research informants. The informants in this study were editors-in-chief, editors, journalists, and Public Relations who came from several mass media representing print media (Pikiran Rakyat), electronic media (MNC News and RRI), and online media (Kumparan and Mojok). A list of names of research informants by media origin, position, and domicile can be seen in Table 1 below.

No	Informant's Name	Media	Position	Domicile
1.	Qyanthara Alqarana	Kumparan	Public Relations	Jakarta
2.	Agung Purwandono	Mojok	Editor-in-chief	Jogja
3.	Hazmirullah	Pikiran Rakyat	Editor-in-chief	Bandung
4.	Purnawan S. Adi	Mojok	Managing editor	Jogja
5.	Intan Ekapratiwi	Mojok	Editor	Jogja
6.	Arif Budianto	MNC News	Journalist	Bandung
7.	Wildan	RRI	Journalist	Bandung

Table 1. List of names of research informants

Source: Personal data (2022)

The reason for the selection of the media and the seven informants is that researchers often interact with them in their daily work. This certainly makes it easier for researchers to conduct research. Some of them have more than one informant in the same mass media, namely Mojok, because the researcher wants to get the depth of information about the object under study. As for the Kumparan media, they only get access to information through Public Relations as an intermediary between researchers and media crews. However, this does not reduce their competence in providing the information needed in this study.

In addition to conducting interviews with some of the media crews in question, researchers also made observations and collected documentation from various sources owned by the mass media. Some of them are news content, types of news rubrics, and also the organizational structure of the mass media. The observation and collection of this documentation is limited to the time of the study, during November 2022. This is based on the consideration that the information obtained in this study is up-to-date.

In addition to collecting data sourced from primary data, researchers also use some secondary data that can later corroborate previously obtained primary data (Arikunto, 2013). The secondary data is obtained through the website and content of the mass media. In addition, literature studies are also carried out through various national and international books and journal articles related to bureaucracy in the mass media and citizen journalism. The collected data is then analyzed descriptively to obtain a comprehensive picture of bureaucracy in the mass media and also the role of citizen journalism in reporting. In addition, researchers also triangulated data as a comparison to strengthen the information and analysis results in this study (Moleong, 2017).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Media Bureaucracy in Reporting

From the interview results, information was obtained that all mass media, both print media, electronic media, and online media, have their own procedures in delivering news to the public. This procedure includes news search activities in the field of news preparation by journalists, editing by editors, approval by editors, and finally airing in the mass media. For more details, the flow of news in each of these mass media can be explained as follows.

"Usually every night we have a meeting to discuss the projected coverage of tomorrow, especially for the news on the front page. From there, journalists report to the field and the results are deposited into the editors of each rubric via e-mail. At the same time, the layout section makes every page of the newspaper dummy. That dummy will be filled by editors based on news sent by journalists in the field. Once complete, the dummy is sent to the managing editor to check the spelling, dating, and suitability of the news content with the title. After being checked by the managing editor, the dummy is printed hard-copy to be re-examined in its entirety, both in terms of content, layout, and printout. After that, the file is sent to the printing department to be printed in the form of a newspaper" (Hazmirullah, personal communication, November 19, 2022).

Thus, the flow of news in the print media which in this case is represented by the Pikiran Rakyat can be described as follows.

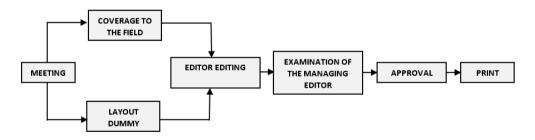


Figure 1. The flow of news in the Pikiran Rakyat Source: Pikiran Rakyat (2022)

Meanwhile, the flow of news in electronic media (television), which in this case is represented by MNC News, is as follows.

"Journalists make projections of issues or reporting agendas, then report them to the reporting coordinator. Journalists report according to plan/projections. Issues can develop in the field, according to the updated and most interesting information. Reporters write news, now a lot of it is done in the field through mobile phones and send it to the editor's email. Editors make news selections and select the best angle. If feasible, then edited into news projections. The edited news, reported to Pemred Editor in chief for di-acc. If it is acceded, then the news is directly published" (Arif Budianto, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

Thus, the flow of news in electronic media (television) in MNC News can be described as follows.

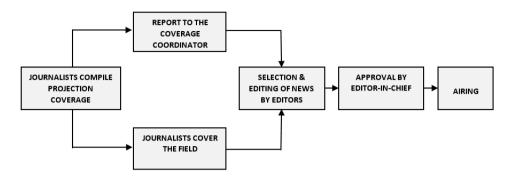


Figure 2. Flow of news in MNC News Source: MNC News (2022)

Another electronic media, namely radio, which in this case is represented by RRI has the following news flow.

"In the early stages, we had discussions with the editors to determine what news would be covered. It's all based on emerging issues in society, the agenda of state officials like the Governor or Mayor, and other things. Once decided, journalists move into the field and compile news content, be it in the form of text or audio recordings. The news content is sent to the editor and selected by the editor. If it has been approved by the editor, then the news content is broadcast by the broadcaster through the radio channel" (Wildan, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

From this explanation, the flow of news in the RRI electronic (radio) media can be described as follows.

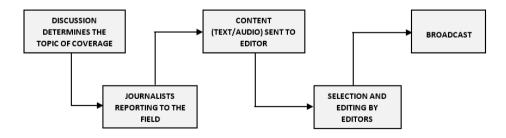


Figure 3. News flow at RRI Source: RRI (2022)

Finally, the flow of news in the online media, which in this case is represented by Mojok, is as follows.

"There are two rubrics in Mojok related to news, namely Susul and Kilas. For the Susul rubric, usually contributors will send in advance ideas or proposals for topics to be covered, for example, what is the topic, what is the reason for choosing the topic, who are the sources, and so on. If we think it's suitable, then we ask the news coverage to go into editing and then go live. As for Kilas, usually contributors will send the full news directly via email. Then we select it and if it is feasible and fits the Mojok genre, we will proceed to the editing and approval process for airing" (Agung Purwandono, personal communication, on November 14, 2022).

Thus, the flow of reporting on online media can be described as follows.

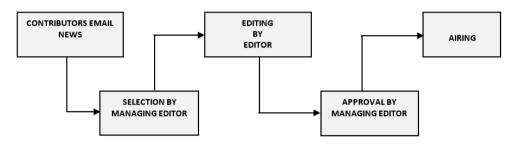


Figure 4. News flow in Mojok Source: Mojok (2022)

The results of the interview show that all types of mass media, such as print media, electronic media, and online media have certain procedures in delivering news to the public. Although each has different procedures, in essence, the news has undergone a tiered examination ranging from coverage in the field to the news being broadcast and consumed by the public. This is done so that the public does not only get news that can be accounted for for its truth based on existing facts, but also by paying attention to journalistic rules and ethics.

Mass Media's View of Citizen Journalism

The presence of citizen journalism that is considered capable of producing fast, up-to-date, and natural news does not attach importance to procedures and flows as applied to mass media in general. In fact, some of them do not pay attention to journalistic rules and codes of ethics.

"Actually, we welcome the concept of citizen journalism. So far, citizen journalism has meant that everyone/society can produce news. However, this has the potential to be overblown. However, journalism entrusts the observance of a code of ethics and most crucially the discipline of verification. In some cases, citizen journalism makes a news story without proper verification discipline" (Hazmirullah, personal communication, November 19, 2022).

On the one hand, the presence of citizen journalism is indeed needed by mass media journalists in finding news sources. However, this needs to be checked and checked and verified the veracity of the news source because it can potentially lead to the spread of hoax news.

"As a journalist, information from the public is needed. In fact, it spearheads our information. But don't let the information made by the community contain fake news or hoaxes" (Arif Budianto, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

"Citizen journalism is actually good. But news sourced from citizen journalism should not be swallowed raw and need to be verified for the veracity of the information. If the news is true, it means that it can enrich news coverage and can be used as a source of information for other mass media journalists. But if the news turns out to be a hoax, this is precisely what is dangerous" (Wildan, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

In terms of usefulness, citizen journalism is considered capable of answering the challenges of the times in the fast-paced flow of information. In addition, citizen journalism is also a medium to educate the public in terms of making news and spreading it.

"I just agree (with citizen journalism). The problem is that (it) keeps up with the fast-paced developments of today's times. So there is nothing wrong if the source of the news comes from the public. The bottom line is from society to society" (Intan Ekapratiwi, personal communication, November 11, 2022).

Citizen journalism is also considered to be able to reduce production costs in reporting because the source of information is obtained directly from the public who are at the scene of an event.

"Citizen journalism is very good. Good in the sense of news production in the mass media. With this concept, the mass media can get news content whose production costs are relatively cheap because the source of information is obtained from the public directly. On the other hand, the existence of citizen journalism is a space for the community to channel their works, especially those related to news" (Agung Purwandono, personal communication, November 14, 2022).

Mass Media Bureaucracy in Citizen Journalism Reporting

Although some informants doubt the quality of news sourced from citizen journalism, it cannot be denied that citizen journalism can be empowered as a source of information in reporting in the mass media. To answer this challenge, some mass media such as Kumparan and Mojok provide space for the public to deliver a news story with the concept of citizen journalism. Of course, the information and news conveyed have passed the procedures, rules, and flow that have been set by the mass media.

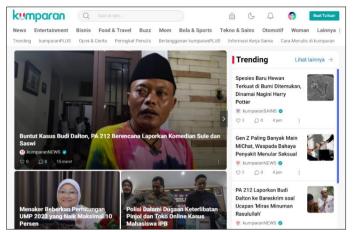


Figure 5. Online media display of Kumparan Source: Portal news Kumparan on https://kumparan.com/

On the Kumparan online media portal, the space given to the public in running citizen journalism is in the rubric of Opinions and Stories (*Kumparan*, 2022). People can create a personal account on the portal and write opinions or stories in the form of news, entertainment, food and travel, automotive, business, and so on. The news that is made can also be equipped with photos or illustrative images that are clearly sourced. In practice, news that has been submitted by the public is not immediately aired at that time, but must go through a moderation process by the editors of the Kumparan. It was from this process that a news story was selected. If the news is true, both in content and technical writing, then the news will be broadcast. On the other hand, if it turns out that the news contains things that violate journalistic rules and codes of ethics, such as violence, pornography, offending racist/discrimination, or product promotion, then the news manuscript will be rejected.

The same is the case with Mojok. As one of the online media that has a fairly large fan base in Indonesia, Mojok provides space for the public to display their writings in the form of news coverage. One of the rubrics that accommodates news coverage is Susul and Kilas.

"Of course, we accommodate the news of citizen journalism in Mojok. We have a coverage rubric, which is Susul and Kilas. Both take the form of news wrapped in features, in depth interviews, or investigations. In addition, there is also a Terminal channel which is a UGC (User Generated Content) platform. Although this Terminal channel does not adopt a reportage style, the content departs from the experience of the author" (Agung Purwandono, personal communication, November 14, 2022).



Figure 6. Mojok online media display Source: Portal Mojok in https://mojok.co/

On the Mojok portal, there are 3 channels that provide space for the public to convey information, be it in the form of news coverage (hard news and soft news), opinions, and so on. The three canals are Susul, Kilas, and Terminal (*Mojok*, 2022). Terminal channels tend to contain opinions related to issues that develop in society. Meanwhile, the Susul and Kilas channels are more about news coverage. How to send news on the Mojok portal is fairly easy. People do not need to create an account like on Kumparan, but simply send news through the Send Articles menu on the portal or via email. If indeed the news submitted is suitable and in accordance with the considerations of Mojok editors, then the news – after going through the editing process – will be aired on the Mojok portal.

As for other mass media such as Pikiran Rakyat, MNC News, and RRI, they have not accommodated the concept of citizen journalism in their respective channels. However, the three mass media make news stories born from citizen journalism as preliminary information in producing a news story.

"For print (media), we don't accommodate citizen journalism. That is, all news production is done by our journalists, not others. We use news stories born from citizen journalism as an initial source of information that will need to be verified, reconfirmed, and followed up by our journalists to report immediately" (Hazmirullah, personal communication, November 19, 2022).

"There is no involvement for citizen journalism because until now we have not or have not produced content sourced from the community" (Arif Budianto, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

"In certain cases, for example, the fire incident in Gedebage (Bandung) yesterday, our journalists reported to the location based on reports from the community. So, the information or news born from citizen journalism we re-verify. If it is true, then it is our journalists who come down to cover. The point is still that citizen journalism is still needed as preliminary information in reporting an event" (Wildan, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

This shows that the existence of citizen journalism in the news cannot be eliminated. All mass media interviewed tend to agree with the existence of citizen journalism. Some mass media such as Pikiran Rakyat, MNC News, and RRI make news from citizen journalism as preliminary information in reporting an event. Meanwhile, other mass media such as Kumparan and Mojok actually give space to citizen journalism while still following certain procedures.

"It takes hard work to make everyone able to become citizen journalism. It is worth emphasizing the importance of understanding the journalistic code of ethics, especially in terms of information verification. Don't let personal emotions overwhelm the point of view of the news" (Hazmirullah, personal communication, November 19, 2022).

"It is necessary to (provide) education so that citizen journalism is for informative purposes, not (personal) content needs " (Arif Budianto, personal communication, November 10, 2022).

In practical terms, strong efforts are needed in building the role of citizen journalism in the dissemination of information and mass media reporting. For this reason, it is necessary to educate the public regarding journalistic rules and codes of ethics through counseling, coaching, or socialization. In this way, it is not impossible that conventional mass media such as print media, electronic media, and online media will synergize in providing news of an event quickly, accurately, and usefully for the community.

DISCUSSION

The flow and procedures of reporting applied in the mass media, be it print media, electronic media, or online media, show that the mass media applies a certain bureaucracy. This bureaucracy occurs because the mass media, whatever its form, has a hierarchical organizational structure with a clear division of tasks and work. Each of the jobs is managed by competent people and experts in their field. For example, journalists — who spearhead the search for news sources — are specifically tasked with finding, writing, and reporting on an event to make news. Meanwhile, editors have a different role, namely checking, processing, and correcting news from the field submitted by journalists. In the upstream part of the flow and procedure of this news is the approval of the managing editor or editor-in-chief. This field of work is responsible for all news published in the mass media.

The process fits the concept of legitimacy elaborated by Max Weber into eight propositions on the drafting of a system of legal authority in the bureaucracy. One of them is that the tasks in the bureaucratic system are distinguished according to function and each of them is equipped with conditions of authority and sanctions. In this classic organizational theory by Max Weber, a bureaucracy allows arrangements, regulations, and decision-making to be carried out separately. This is to avoid the occurrence of decision subjectivity and supervision in one hand. The same is true of the news process in the mass media. A news story must be conveyed objectively and transparently to the public. News is made not

based on the subjectivity of journalists, editors, or even managing editors, but is made based on the objectivity of decisions in the mass media (Ngadisah, 2015).

With a mass media bureaucracy like this, a news story undergoes a tiered examination before it is spread to the public. This bureaucratic process can cause a news story — even if it is a long and rigid process — to be delivered to the public responsibly, avoid hoaxes, and follow journalistic rules and codes of ethics. But on the other hand, the mass media still wants that an event can be made into news in a fast and up-to-date time.

The presence of the concept of citizen journalism is actually able to solve this problem. As previously outlined, citizen journalism is able to deliver news quickly, up-to-date, and as it is. This is the reason that the mass media still approves of the presence of citizen journalism as the initial information of a news story. Even though in the process, information sourced from citizen journalism must still follow a series of procedures and bureaucracy that apply in the mass media.

If in previous studies many have revealed comparisons and even conflicts between mass media and citizen journalism, then this research actually provides some interesting notes. One of them is that the mass media can actually collaborate with citizen journalism in terms of reporting. This can certainly be realized with several conditions, depending on the mass media. Thus, the right of the public to obtain information and news that is fast, accurate, and accountable for its truth.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study show that bureaucracy is absolutely necessary in conventional mass media reporting, such as print media, electronic media, and online media. Similarly, in the concept of citizen journalism, bureaucracy is still needed to produce news that is fast, accurate, and useful to society. Citizen journalism is indeed very much needed by conventional mass media, especially in terms of the speed of obtaining news sources. Some mass media use citizen journalism as initial information which is then processed through bureaucratic procedures such as verification, reconfirmation, and then follow-up in news coverage. Some other mass media provide space for citizen journalism in conveying information or news while still following the bureaucracy that applies to the mass media.

Research related to bureaucracy in mass media and citizen journalism takes the point of view of the mass media. Different results may be obtained if they take the point of view of the public as newsreaders or even as citizen journalism itself. For this reason, it is hoped that there will be further research that discusses bureaucracy in the mass media and citizen journalism from the perspective of the general public.

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