



Unveiling Symbolic Violence in the Daily Practices of Journalists in Jakarta

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ABSTRACT

This research uncovers symbolic violence in the working practices of journalists in Jakarta. According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is violence that is invisible to the naked eye, operates with symbols, and is a form of domination from the powerful one to a dominated individual. The researcher argues that the practices in the media industry in Jakarta cannot be separated from the dominated and dominating parties; in this case, the journalists as a party dominated by media structures and source persons. This research uses a qualitative approach with a critical paradigm with a case study method on journalists in Jakarta. Researcher found the practices of symbolic violence that occurred in six journalists in Jakarta are by giving envelopes containing cash to the journalists for favorable coverage and by allowing them to get money from advertisements in exchange for their unpaid work. Researcher also found that they received luxury goods from one of the source persons who was considered to have contributed to the interests of the person. They do not realize and do not care that they are victims of symbolic violence. Those who are victims of symbolic violence are accused by habitus, economic capital, and cultural capital.

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INTRODUCTION

This research uncovers the practices of symbolic violence that happen to online media journalists in Jakarta, Indonesia. Symbolic violence, as stated by Pierre Bourdieu, is a form of hidden and socially legitimized power, which is often not realized by its victims. In the context of journalism in Jakarta, as the center of political and economic power, this practice can appear in the form of editorial pressure, disregard for journalist independence, and framing practices that benefit dominant groups. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyze the forms of symbolic violence experienced by online media journalists in Jakarta, and to understand how power works subtly but effectively through symbolic relations in the media space.

Symbolic violence, according to (Bourdieu, 2001) is violence that is produced, reproduced and considered legal through an immanent scheme in an individual's habitus. It is symbolic because the visible impact of its physical violence does not appear and the victim does not even feel that he has been dominated (Haryatmoko, 2007). Referring to the concept, the researcher argues that the practices that prevail in the media industry in Jakarta are inseparable from the dominated and dominating parties; in this case, journalists are under the structure of dominance where both media company and journalists are under the power of their sources.

Media companies in Indonesia can be categorized into conglomeration media and non-conglomeration media. The media conglomeration map in Indonesia includes Trans Corp (Trans7, Trans TV, Trans Vision, CNN, Detik.com); MNC Group (RCTI, MNC TV, GTV,

sindonews.com, okezone.com, RDI, Trijaya FM); Kompas Group (Kompas TV, Kompas.com, Tribunnews.com, Sonora); Emtek Group (SCTV, Indosiar, Liputan6.com, Elshinta). Meanwhile, non-conglomeration media cover Harian Ekonomi Neraca, Poskota, Majalah Sudut Pandang, Forumterkininews.id, koransatu.id, suarakarya.id, jakartanews.id, askara.co, genpi.co, ceknricek.com, and many other media in Jakarta (Press Council, 2023a).

Data from the Press Council shows that in 2023 Indonesia had a total of 1,793 media outlets that employed more than 235 thousand journalists (Muktiyo, 2023) and only 25,593 of them have been verified (Press Council, 2023b). Then in Jakarta, 115 online media outlets are verified by the Press Council. This aroused a phenomenon that unqualified journalists caused by a lot of problems in the media such as journalists' welfare, massive hoax news and enveloping journalism.

The absence of specific restrictions on being a journalist and the ease of setting up a media company in Indonesia with a capital of Rp 50,000,000 (Press Council, 2019) make it easy for everybody to become a media entrepreneur and find journalists to join them. This is not the case with judges, prosecutors and lawyers that must graduate from the school of law and doctors that must graduate from the school of medicine. Everybody can become a journalist.

The growing number of press companies also caused another problem including journalist's welfare. This is due to the absence of specifications to become a journalist, thus making a press company unprofessional. Press



professionalism must be supported by sound corporate management and the quality and responsibility of the journalists (Sulistyowati, 2004). The flourishing press industry is not in line with the improvement of journalists' welfare which eventually leads to the practices of symbolic violence.

Journalists' salaries in Indonesia range from Rp 2 million to Rp 8 million per month (Napitupulu, 2023). More miserably, some journalists are not paid a salary and must find ads for their media company to earn a living. A survey conducted by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) found that journalist's decent wage in 2023 was Rp 8.2 million (Ayyubi, 2023; Nur, 2023). The decent wage refers to Manpower Minister's Regulation No. 18/2020 on Amendment to Manpower Minister's Regulation No. 21/2021 on Decent Living Standards. Journalists are getting along with the unbalanced path between the high risk of job and the weak guarantee of welfare (Sinaga, 2023).

Almost none of press companies in Indonesia is transparent about their journalists' salaries. In the current era of media convergence, there is no hike in journalists' salary despite the increasing number of their jobs which cover various platforms (Tapsell, 2015). This is different from the United States of America where press companies are transparent about their journalists' salaries as reported by Victoria Walker, a journalist of The Points Guy. Victoria started her journalistic journey in 2019 by receiving a salary of US\$ 82,000 a year or around Rp 1.172 billion a year. The Points Guy also required recruited journalists to have at least five years of experience (Kristanto, 2022).

In general, startup journalists usually bow to wages and work facilities far from decent living standards. An empirical fact shows that some journalists work more than eight hours a day without overtime pay. In addition, they also do not receive occupational health and safety insurance benefits. In fact, journalists are prone to physical and symbolic violence. Long and flexible working hours should have made journalists eligible to get mental health and trauma recovery facilities (Napitupulu, 2023).

It is not rare to find that some journalists do not have homes until they enter retirement. If they have homes, they get them through financing bank loans. Some journalists also use motorcycles or public transportation modes in performing their journalistic duties. This is because their salary is small (or lower than the regional minimum wage (UMR) in several regions). Consequently, they are busy finding income other than salary such as asking for money or gifts from source persons. This is the other side of the violation of the journalistic code of ethics about which source persons often complain.

The profession of a journalist who is not paid a salary attracts many people. Referring to Article 14 on Standard Company issued by the Press Council, press company must pay its journalists and employees a salary which is minimally the same as provincial minimum wage at least 13 times a year. Article 15 on welfare also requires the press company to provide salary hike, bonuses, share ownership and net profit sharing as stipulated in the work contract. Article 16 specifies that press company shall be managed by economic principles so that the quality of the press company



and the welfare of its journalists will increasingly improve without ignoring its social obligation.

Studies on violence against journalists in Jakarta, Indonesia, generally focus on physical violence, direct threats, or criminalization against journalists. Some studies also highlight political and economic pressures that affect media independence. However, there are still few studies that specifically address symbolic violence in journalistic practices, especially in the context of online media in Jakarta. This symbolic violence is invisible, but it can affect the way journalists work, think and report on public issues. This research addresses the gap by exploring how power works through symbols like money, language, and institutional norms that shape journalistic practices in media spaces.

Journalists' low salary makes this profession attractive to jobseekers with low qualifications. In fact, this profession needs idealistic human resources with adequate skill, education and competence as a professional worker (Napitupulu, 2023; Wijaya, 2016). The number of graduates of communication science and journalistic studies who are willing to become a journalist also declines because of the journalists' salary which is not comparable to the risks of their job (Ern, 2010; Hidayat, 2017).

The journalists' low salary is a critical problem for the national press industry. This condition leads to various practices of symbolic violence against journalists both inside and outside the company where they are employed. The external practice of symbolic violence is between the journalists and source persons. In this context, this research aims to disclose the phenomenon.

METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative research aimed at describing and exploring a phenomenon (Creswell, 2023) with critical paradigm. The critical paradigm situates research in social justice issues and seeks to address the political, social and economic issues, which lead to social oppression, conflict, struggle, and power structures at whatever levels these might occur (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). In addition, qualitative research is also more holistic and involves the collection of rich data from various sources to obtain deeper interpretation. This research applied a case study method by collecting the data of this research through interviews and literature review. The interviews were conducted with six online media journalists in Jakarta, all of whom acted as key informants. The literature review was conducted to obtain supporting data through national and international journals, text books and mass media publications.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Symbolic Violence in the Working Practices of Journalists

As a sociologist, Bourdieu focuses on power and its concepts in the social field (Bourdieu, P & Wacquant, 1992), and one of them is the concept of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence constitutes a conceptual and theoretical bridge to understand the relationship of subordination, domination and exploitation affecting the dominated party; in this case the journalists were dominated by source persons and the company where they work. Bourdieu (2001) defined symbolic violence as violence that is produced, reproduced,

and considered legal through a scheme in an individual's habitus. Symbolic violence consists of four propositions related to pedagogy, authority, job and educational system (Lakomski, 1984).

The same condition forms and thus, they are harmonized objectively, function as a matrix of perceptions, thoughts and actions of all community members, or are inked in the form of disposition and can eventually persist for a long time after the social conditions of production disappear (Bourdieu, 2001). Hence, disposition (habitus) cannot be separated from the relation and structure of power producing it (Björkert, 2016). Bourdieu (1977) described habitus as disposition system (schemes of perceptions, thoughts and actions obtained and persisting for a long time).

Habitus in (Haryatmoko, 2016) is the result of skill serving as a practical action (without being realized) that is later translated into capability which appears to be natural and develops in certain social environment. In this context, journalists' habitus which is in a state of being socially dominated in an arena (a journalistic field) may undergo symbolic violence.

Bourdieu also introduced the concept of capital including economic capital and cultural capital. Bourdieu explained that the various types of capital have a great impact on creating social dynamics (Forsyth, 2023). In the Indonesian context, economic and cultural capital inequality also affects the dynamics of online media newsrooms (Santana, 2003).

Journalists working in media large ownership or certain political affiliations tend to have access to greater economic

capital, but this is often accompanied by limitations on editorial independence. On the other hand, journalists from alternative or independent media often have high cultural capital, such as critical knowledge or activism networks, but are economically limited which makes their bargaining position weaker. This is in line with Bourdieu's argument that economic capital is the root of other forms of capital and determines the position of social agents in the power structure.

Economic capital covers wealth and valuable assets, while cultural capital includes education, knowledge, and competence in the cultural field. Economic capital is the root of the model of other capital, and this capital is the most important capital to identify social agents in class hierarchy (Richardson, 1986).

According to (Richardson, 1986) cultural capital is created in relation to knowledge and skill obtained through habitus and social agent, thus creating cultural capital through politeness, ethics, vocabulary and accent. Cultural capital is united with an individual and is closely related to an individual's identity, linguistic skill and accent which show social backgrounds. In addition, the other cultural capital is institutionalized cultural capital such as educational degree. Indeed, an individual does not inherit his parents' educational degree. However, if he has qualified resources, he will have access to university education. This is very often transmitted into economic capital.

The other important concept from Bourdieu is doxa. Doxa is a set of rules, values, conventions and discourses that regulate an arena as a whole and have

influences since a long time (Bourdieu, 1996). The set of rules were born out of experience as a result of an individual's or a group's socialization in a social space through dialectic relations between the agent and structure (Zurmailis, 2017). Domination in the press industry in Jakarta is shaped through soft mechanism that makes the dominated party unaware of himself being trapped in a domination circle (Putu & Suyoga, 2021). Bourdieu also defined doxa as the dominant ruler's point of view that declares itself as a universal point of view.

Pierre Bourdieu is a figure who focused on social life over the span of his career. His concepts have heuristic and ontological values for everyone who wants to study a community, including the job world. According to Bourdieu, contemporary social hierarchy and social inequality as well as sufferings that are caused, produced and maintained are not because of physical power but are a form of symbolic domination. This also happens to the working practices of journalists in Indonesia.

Online media journalists in Jakarta are frequently found undergoing symbolic violence. The symbolic violence is reflected in the act of the media company issuing press cards to its journalists as a statement of a salary-free job, but they are required to find ads or partners to cooperate with their media company. Unfortunately, they accept the job without objection. Instead, in other several cases, journalists give a sum of money to editors to publish their news stories.

The utterance from the editor in chief *"I give you a press card but I cannot pay you a salary. Instead, you must find ads and we will divide the revenue into*

two" is a form of domination. In this context, language has power implication (Björkert, 2016). One journalist mentioned that he was often asked to change the angle of the news so as not to harm the shareholders. The journalists, who do not have a strong position economically or symbolically, tend to follow this pressure as part of their habitus in the newsroom.

Symbolic violence can happen through the process and practice of daily life. In the context of inter-personal violence, it frequently happens to the relations between source persons and journalists. Symbolic violence works in a way that journalists are not directly forced, but make adjustments due to unwritten norms legitimized by the media power structure.

Source persons often try to "hold" journalists through a certain strategy so that they feel indebted such as to those who have given them luxury gifts or helped their family's personal life which eventually leads to their dependence on such help. Informant 1 also admitted, *"Once I had no money to go to my hometown I asked for help to Mr. R. He gave me money. He is very good person"* (Informant 1).

"In my workplace, I am not paid a salary but I am advised to find ads or cooperation with source persons, companies or regional governments. If I successfully find ads, then those will usually be split 50%-50% with the office" (Informant 1).

The case that happened to informant 1 is an example of how a journalist falls victim to symbolic violence. He is required to find ads while covering an event. The ads may come

from a source person, private or government agency. He also asked for help to a source person including a sum of money to be able to go to his hometown. He did not realize that the assistance from the source person has the potential to disrupt his independence as a journalist sometime in the future. He works not only as a reporter but also as a marketer. However, he keeps doing the double jobs. In fact, he joyfully does the jobs without complaining to the company where he works.

In addition, from the interview done to the journalist, he actually has a high level of educational background, a graduate of institute of higher education. Unfortunately, because he needs an immediate job, he accepts the job as an unsalaried journalist. He also has to meet the other family members' needs. Since he has close relationship with the source person, he often asks for help to the source person.

Not only informant 1 but also informant 2 also experienced the same case where he was asked to find ads at the government agency where he covers news every day. Informant 2 said, *"I do not receive any salary from my office, but whenever I cover a news story, I usually receive an envelope of cash from the source person or government agency inviting me. Sometimes I give a half of it to the office but sometimes I do not if its amount is small"*.

Informant 2 graduated from senior high school and is married. He accepts the job because the money he receives from source persons can meet his daily cost of living. The practices are also inseparable from economic and cultural capital that the journalist owns. Economically, the journalist does not

receive salary from his office so that he has to find income from other sources. Moreover, he has to meet his wife's and children's needs.

On the cultural capital side, the absence of restrictions on the journalists' education makes everybody able to become a journalist. Instead of being unemployed, they are willing to not receive a salary. Journalism is a culture-producing institution. The primary cultural product is quality journalism, a public good with social values to support broad knowledge and a democratic community (Wilding et al., 2018).

On the educational side, the researcher further interviewed the journalists about their educational background. *"I am a senior high school graduate; Alhamdulillah I become a journalist. I can find here and there"*. (Informant 2). Informant 3 gave another answer, *"My office does not give a salary. If I get a lot of money, for instance, more than one news coverage I give part of it to the office. It is not much. But I divide it with the officer who types news in the office"* (informant 3).

Both informants 2 and 3 did not realize that they fall victim to symbolic violence from the company where they work. They also fall prey to their source persons, yet they did not realize the symbolic violence and received the money from the source persons with pleasure. This condition according to Bourdieu (2001) described such condition as insensible and invisible violence.

"My news coverage is at agency X. Whenever I finish the job, I receive an envelope of cash not from the source

person but from his coordinator” (Informant 4).

“There is an amount of money from Mr. Please receive it, and send it to the cameraman too!” (Informant 5).

The journalists only accepted what individuals, private or government agencies have done as news sources. They did not feel that the parties that serve as source persons have manipulated them. The symbolic principle is reflected in the ways of speaking, thinking, working and acting (Haryatmoko, 2007). The journalists also do similar ways because they see their environment every day.

They see senior journalists receiving an envelope of cash after covering news although the office bans them from receiving it and they can be under threat of layoff. In addition to seeing the practices in life daily life, they are also accustomed to reading news about the phenomenon. According to Bourdieu, the journalists’ habitus results from environmental internalization and influences their environment. In addition, the journalists’ poor knowledge of the practices as symbolic violence makes them occur frequently.

Informant 6 also replied, “I am a bachelor graduate, but I am continuing my study for master degree at a private campus. If I receive three invitations for news coverage a day, I can receive Rp 1 million from the parties inviting me. But I did not receive an invitation today so I did not get money at all”. The condition increasingly strengthens the assumption that symbolic violence happens to online media journalists in Jakarta, particularly those graduating from an institute of higher education.

Based on the informants’ answers above, the concept of habitus introduced by Bourdieu is inseparable from the arena (the *field*) because both of them assumed two-way relations: objective structures and habitus structures integrated to behavior (Krisdinanto, 2014). Habitus according to Bourdieu tries to explain the reasons behind individual’s action in the community that aligns with the existing scheme. In their journey of life, any individual has a set of internalized schemes through which they perceive, understand, appreciate and evaluate social reality (Harker, 1990).

A variety of schemes are covered in the habitus such as the concepts of space, time, good-bad, sick-healthy, profit-loss, useful-useless, up-down, right-wrong, front-back, respected-insulted. The schemas are connected in such a way to form cognitive structure that gives a frame of action to any individual in their daily activities with other individuals.

The journalists’ habitus of seeing and finding their seniors receiving luxury facilities because of their closed relationship with source persons including car, staying at hotel, free air ticket, dining at a prestigious restaurant and other facilities. These make them follow suit in their daily life. They are also inspired to get the same things in the same way as their seniors do.

“I got the car A from one of my acquaintances” (Informant 7). After making an inquiry into the origin of the car, the researcher found that it is a gift from one of the source persons that knows the journalist well. The journalist holds a high position in one of online media outlets, so he received the car from one of the source persons.

According to Bourdieu, habitus is a historical product that was shaped after humans were born and interacted with the community in a particular space and time (Adib, 2012; Harker, 1990). In his writings, Bourdieu also defended the dominated people, and emphasized much reproduction strategies so that they can be seen as victim of symbolic violence, violence in which the victim agrees to be a victim (Haryatmoko, 2016).

Besides habitus, the concepts of economic capital and cultural capital cannot be separated from one another. The fact that some journalists have senior high school background graduates, although some others graduated from university, coupled with limited job opportunities, makes them willing to become unsalaried journalists. They are even happy because they can get acquainted with several high-ranking officials. Despite not receiving salary, they earn money from their source persons or agencies inviting them for press conference and coffee break with the media. The other phenomena are an invitation to break the fast together and a holiday visit to a source person's residence. When there is no invitation for news coverage, they have no income on that day.

The phenomena that occur in the journalistic world align with Bourdieu's statement that the arena, network and social space where individuals live also determine their social life (Bourdieu, 1992; Wacquant, 2007). The theoretical framework of Bourdieu's research on symbolic violence highlights power relations built in the interaction between employees and dominating structure. According to (Bourdieu, 1998), the mistake occurs because the dominated group that receives power from the

dominant party considers it as legal so that they unconsciously get involved in oppressing themselves. This is what happens to online media journalists in Indonesia.

Bourdieu also introduced a concept of doxa that is defined as the truth of the dominant ruler. In this research, the media owner/management commits doxa to its journalists including issuing press cards to them. *"I allow you to join my media, I give you a press card but you have to find ads and make money for us, and then we share it,"* (Informant 6). The utterance is the media management's doxa addressed to the journalists. They are not able to reject it because they need a job.

The journalists are trapped in the ruler's doxa in their field of job. They take the ruler's view for granted and think it as their own view. They lost critical stand. At the end, they only serve the interests of source persons or agencies inviting them. In several cases, if a problem happens to a source person or agency that they know well, they are reluctant to report it for unpleasant reasons.

The symbolic violence that happens to journalists is the reality of the present press. According to Bourdieu, individual and collective reflexivity can only be achieved through intensive education that changes habitus in a long period of time (Dirk, 2020). This condition becomes the habitus although it cannot be avoided in the working practices of journalists. However, its impact can be practically restricted through press regulation and journalistic code of ethics to maintain the dignity of this profession.

Professional Ethic Standard and Press Regulation

It seems that the journalistic code of ethics as a collection of journalistic professional ethics is not strong enough to address the question of symbolic violence against the journalists in Jakarta. The journalistic code of ethics is aimed at making them responsible for their profession in finding and presenting information as a result of their news coverage. On the other hand, they under the principle of their work are also protected by Press Law No. 40/ 1999. In addition, there is also press company standard aimed including to function the press as the media of information, education, entertainment, social control and economic institution.

To face various cases in the field, it is important for every journalist to understand the journalistic code of ethics. Those who need adequate education and competence deserve decent salaries from their media company. A survey conducted by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) reported that a journalist's decent salary is Rp 8.299.229 for Jakarta (Napitupulu, 2023). However, in reality, the journalist's salary is far from the decent salary. There are still journalists that are not paid and do not receive health and labor insurance facilities. This leads to a phenomenon that they ask for wage/money/other kind to their source persons (depending their income on source persons).

When it comes to the symbolic violence against journalists, it is necessary to review the article 6 of the journalistic code of ethics stipulating that "Indonesian journalists neither abuse their profession nor take a bribe". Bribe is defined as anything received in the

form of money, material or facility from other party to influence independence (Press Council, 2019). When referring to the phenomenon of symbolic violence above, the journalists also violate the journalistic code of ethics. In practices, they are willing to receive an envelope of cash from a source person. If the envelope contains money in large amount, they will distribute it among their colleagues in the office. They think the money from source persons as normal without realizing that it may cause independence to vanish from interests.

On the other hand, the media companies where the journalists work also violate the Press Council's rules on Standard Press Company. Based on the Press Council's Regulation No. 03/Regulation-DP/X/2019 on Standard Press Company Chapter VI on Waging, Welfare and Protection, Article 14 on Waging, press companies must pay their journalists and employees a salary which is minimally the same as provincial minimum wage at least 13 times a year. Under Article 15 on Welfare, press companies can provide other welfare to their journalists and employees such as salary hike, bonus, share ownership, and/or shared net profit as laid down in the Joint Work Contract. Article 16 stipulates that press companies are managed in accordance with economic principles so that the quality of the press and the salaries of their journalists and employees will continue to improve without ignoring their social obligation.

Referring to the above regulations, symbolic violence that happens to journalists at media companies is violation of the regulations committed by the media industry. Unfortunately, the journalists that fall victim to the symbolic violence do not report or care about it

although they fall victim to it. Article 20 also increasingly strengthens the assumption that media companies violate the regulations in terms of journalists' right to healthcare and social security insurances. Based on the researcher's findings, many journalists have yet to get the right. They said they did not receive any salary, let alone BPJS healthcare and social security insurance.

The phenomenon of symbolic violence against journalists increasingly strengthens the assumption that they do not have the courage, are not aware, or do not care about their profession that is under the dominant structure. The journalistic profession should need idealistic, visionary and ethical individuals. Unfortunately, the journalists themselves are not aware of the phenomenon. As a regulation controller, the Press Council must stand firm in responding to the phenomenon. If there are facts pointing to such violation, the Press Council as a regulator must be present to impose sanctions on the media companies concerned, including revoking their verification status and shutting down them down.

The presence of the Press Council through the complaint and press ethic enforcement commission as a regulation-making unit is expected to help reduce the cases of symbolic violence against the journalists. In addition to the commission at the Press Council, it is not wrong for journalistic profession organizations in Indonesia such as the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), the Indonesian Television Journalists Association (IJTI), and the Indonesian Photo Journalists Association (PFI) to help address the issue in their capacity as an observer and supervisor to

report such violations. All these are merely aimed at maintaining the dignity of the Indonesian press that functions as social control and improves journalists' professionalism.

CONCLUSION

These findings above reinforce Bourdieu's theory on the practice of symbolic violence in online media in Jakarta, that power often works through structures that appear neutral but are full of interests. This research reveals that in the context of online media in Jakarta, economic capital remains the main determinant in the distribution of symbolic power. In the future, there needs to be an effort to strengthen the symbolic position of journalists through increased cultural capital and more assertive advocacy for press freedom.

The concepts of habitus, doxa and capital also cannot be separated from the existing practices of symbolic violence, where journalists' habitus shows as one of the factors causing the symbolic violence to happen to them. Doxa becomes the truth of its media structure. The symbolic violence that continues to happen tends to be invisible to the regulatory body and supervisor, thereby slowing down the transformation of quality journalism.

When the existing regulation does not operate, it will be a mere regulation and will not change the situation. Therefore, it is important for journalists to realize that they have fallen victim to symbolic violence. The victims are also expected to have the courage to report what has happened to them so that the quality of the press will be getting better. They need to realize that they have noble profession and perform the people's

mandate to report the truth so that they will no longer fall victim to the domination of media companies and source persons.

Social change in the national press industry can be made if they have habitus and capital and are able to put both of them in an accurate context in their arena. This means that they must realize that in several arenas they fall victim to symbolic violence. The ability to place themselves is important for them to maintain the independence and quality of the Indonesian press.

Furthermore, there are some recommendations based on the findings above. For the journalists and media, it is necessary to conduct regular training to increase critical awareness of symbolic violence that are often hidden in daily work practices. For professional organizations and the Press Council, it is necessary to expand monitoring of symbolic violence practices in newsroom and in the field, and also to provide a safe reporting space for journalists who experience symbolic violence. This change can also happen if the journalists do not serve as a “slave” of the social system encircling them. As Bourdieu explained, humans are not merely the product of the system encircling them but creatures capable of making improvement, and thus better social change can happen.

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

I certify that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal, or other relationships with other people or organizations related to the material discussed in the manuscript.

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