

Monetising User Participation, Content and Expertise: Sources of Income for Indonesia's Digital News Media

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Abstract

The global news media industry is still looking for a sustainable business model. The digitalisation of the media has forced the global press industry to seek compensation for lost revenue traditionally derived from advertising. A similar phenomenon is also occurring in a Global South country, Indonesia. With many social media users and thousands of startups, the opportunity to benefit comes from two channels: monetising user participation and content. What is the current position of conglomerate and digitally native news media on the two options? How are websites and social media used by both media to support these two sources of income? The research applied two methods, website content analysis and social media analysis, to see revenue channels, web functions, user participation on the web, and social media functions. In addition, we interviewed eight informants from eight media. This research finds that digital news media conglomerates and Indonesian startups earn profits through similar channels, such as monetising user participation and content and their expertise. However, slightly different from established digital media, digital native media companies expand their revenue stream by monetising their expertise, for example, by offering market research and data analysis. Digital news media with a niche market of readers will most likely offer their expertise.

Keywords: *Media business model, digital news media, paywall, user participation, user-generated content.*

INTRODUCTION

Giant, global-level technology such as Google still benefits the most from the content created by the world's digital journalism because digital advertising revenue comes to Google mainly as a percentage (Alejandro, 2010; Pickard & Williams, 2014). Online advertising revenue in digital news media also does not have the same value as print or electronic news media advertising revenue. High views can be easy to achieve with specific tricks; thus, the numbers tend to be worthless. Moreover, digital news media compete fiercely at local, national, and global levels to earn elevated news (Olsen, Kammer & Solvoll, 2020).

The media adopt several solutions for this situation. *The first* is to increase the quality of the audience by expanding user participation, so even if the number of views is low, the media may become more valuable for advertisers (Olsen, Kammer & Solvoll, 2020). Currently, media companies treat users as consumers because they highly depend on advertisers and have no independence (Antonopoulos et al., 2020). It encourages some media companies to resort to the *second way*: applying paywalls. Some global media outlets are adopting various paid content models (paywalls) to increase revenue, although the paywall might restrict access to quality information needed for democracy (Franklin, 2014). *Third*, conglomerate digital news media companies can still finance established online journalism because of their substantial capital and portfolio (Krumsvik, 2012). Among the three options for gaining revenue above, how do national media in the South develop their sources of revenue: by charging fees for user participation or content? In addition, how are website participation and

social media managed to gain income?

Focusing on how media organisations tap their revenue can inform the interplays between the uses of websites and social media and explore how new sources of income will develop in the future. This paper aims to provide the current evolution of established and digital native media in Indonesia regarding their media business model.

Indonesia's online press industry consists of at least 43,000 news sites, although the Press Council of Indonesia verifies only 2,700 news portals, some of which are conglomerate media companies (AMSI, 2019). At the same time, the rest are digital native or startup news portals that proliferate in numbers due to intense competition between digital news media conglomerates and startups (Widodo, 2017). Free news is still the norm, but several media outlets have developed paid content. Indonesian digital news media are still looking for sustainable business models to generate user participation and content revenue. With the number of social media users in Indonesia amounting to 170 million among the total population of 274.9 million reported by Hootsuite.com (Stephanie, 2021), Indonesian digital news media also use social media to distribute their news, but to what extent is it related to media revenue?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I. Digital News Media Revenue

Digitalisation has changed the practice and business of journalism. The digitalisation of the press industry encourages industry players to review their business models. A business model is a company structure or pattern used to generate revenue (Hoegg, Martigoni, Meckel & Stanoeveska-Slabeva, 2006). The conventional media business model that relies on advertising revenue no longer produces maximum profits. Currently, the control of advertising revenue is in the hands of giant companies across the globe like Google and Facebook; thus, with competition between news portals in cyberspace, the norm of "online news can be read for free" was previously accepted is cancelled. Ironically, the value of online advertising revenue cannot replace the value of conventional advertising revenue (Chyi, 2012; Rußell et al., 2020).

Three elements determine digital news media innovation: the continuing tradition of quality news, the adoption of mobile technology that increases messages among youth and urban communities, and social and mobile media use for participation in report flows as citizen reporters (Pavlik, 2013). This idea shows that user participation in journalism is highly relevant, even more in the era of social media. Currently, the interaction of news producers with users occurs not through websites but is mediated by meso-spaces or social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Apple News, Instagram, and instant messages (Tenenboim & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2020; Almgren & Olsson, 2016). *The Guardian*, who once collaborated with Facebook, terminated the partnership because Facebook received more revenue (Fernández, 2013). Thus, we contextualise the form of user participation described by Masip and Suau (2014) on social media.

The profit-oriented media business compensates for the loss of advertisement income on the grip of the global technology giant by generating revenue from user participation or paywalls. Monetising user participation entails selling the user's relationship with the platform as a value proposition to advertisers. In monetising user participation, revenue is generated from advertisements and sponsored content through algorithmic or programmatic ad agencies (such as Google AdSense) or conventional intermediaries (advertising agencies). Meanwhile, content monetisation means the media charges users/readers for reading the

articles through paywalls such as pay-per-news or subscriptions. Apart from these two sources, other sources include e-commerce, donations and crowdfunding, government subsidies, private donations, consulting services, and event organisations. Media companies usually have more than one source of revenue. Traditional media in Spain have shown more diverse and innovative sources of income than startup media (Vara-Miguel et al., 2021). In the European Union, legacy media and startups have similar funding problems. Still, digital native media is more stable even though the profits are not high (Nicholls, Shabbir & Nielsen, 2016).

a) *Monetising User Participation*

User participation, sometimes called user involvement, is technically the interaction between users and digital objects through repository programs to co-determine the development of an information system (Hartson & Pyla, 2019; Clobridge, 2010). Philosophically, user participation is rooted in the debate on public participation in a democracy. Some scholars have explained several types of user participation (Nip, 2006; Domingo et al., 2008; Masip & Suau, 2014). The main idea of participation related to news is that users are involved in news production to assist people in functioning as political actors and not just as political consumers (Krumsvik, 2018). News media, an organisation that practices journalism, currently adopts digital technology to produce, deliver and exhibit journalistic products despite having complicated relationships with digital technology (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017; Franklin, 2014).

Journalists and global news organisations limit user participation to news readers and are reluctant to view users as active participants in news production (Lewis, Holton & Coddington, 2014). Therefore, many media are trapped in the race to attract views, but ironically, it has no impact on increasing revenue (Olsen, Kammer & Solvoll, 2020). For established digital media, the loss is compensable by financing from the holding company, which has substantial capital (Krumsvik, 2012). Startup digital news media must look for new sources of income through its innovations.

Digital journalism that implements open access to content relies heavily on advertising revenue. To obtain income from advertising, media companies must offer user engagement numbers to the potential advertiser. There are two intrinsic values of user engagement in digital news media. The first is *instrumental*, where the reach or breadth of the audience is the main target, and users are seen only as readers of news or seasonal visitors. The second is *substantive*, which is the depth of user interaction with the media, and the media treats the user as an active citizen and even part of the community (Lawrence, Radcliffe & Schmidt, 2018; Domingo et al., 2008). The implementation of the participation of digital news media users as reactive readers or active citizens (Domingo et al., 2008) depends on the applied business model.

The Guardian implements open journalism where users participate actively or substantively on the website and have free access to content. However, *The Guardian* compensates for its lost revenue by managing automotive classified ads, so its business model is considered unsustainable (Fernández, 2013). As many scholars have predicted, today, even *The Guardian* has implemented a paywall and donations for its journalism (Antonopoulos, 2020). Instead of reaching a mass audience, some media target a niche audience because demand and fulfilment are measurable, and revenue is more predictable than media with general content (Cook & Sirkkunen, 2013).

b) *Monetising the Content*

The monetisation of content by building a paywall allows the media to earn direct income without going through advertising intermediaries. The trend of implementing paywalls at the global level has evolved in several stages, and paywalls have been considered normal since 2011, when *The New York Times* implemented one of its own (Arrese, 2016). The trend on the part of media to earn an audience-based income is increasing globally compared with making revenue from advertising (Olsen, Kalsnes, & Barland, 2021).

A paywall is a barrier that can only be crossed by making payments to access online content or by subscribing to related news organisations (Pickard & Williams, 2014). There are many different types of paywalls, such as metered paywalls (only the first 10-20 articles are readable for free, the rest paid) and freemium (some articles free, some paid), along with complicated, fully paid models (Carson, 2015; Rußell et al., 2020). Another paywall business model is micropayments, where users pay the news at a low rate (such as a few cents or dollars) (Geidner & D'Arcy, 2015). According to Pickard (2014), paywalls can be the organisational solution if online news organisations aim to be profit-oriented. Currently, most print edition content providers usually provide online editions for free and monetise only through advertising, so the potential income through a paywall on the digital version compensates for lost revenue (Rußell et al., 2020).

Legacy news media often apply a paywall for their digital version with various considerations. Building a paywall and choosing the right type of paywall depends not only on news values but also on the position of the newspaper market. Premium paid content or subscriptions usually protect the most valuable content and require complex journalistic work (Sjøvaag, 2016). In Australia, business news portals implement a paywall for live news content and opinion (Myllylahti, 2017). In a bundling strategy, users subscribe to offline content while receiving free online content. It is doable with some requirements. First, the online content distribution costs are cheap. Next, offline channels generate high advertising revenue. Lastly, online versions of content do not threaten commercial partners (Pattabhiramaiah, Sriram, & Manchanda, 2018).

Regarding the paid model, there are two views among experts. Optimists do not necessarily view paywalls as a barrier to building and retaining large numbers of paid online customers, depending on the paywall model, general or specific content type, and the high and low value of the paid rates (Carson, 2015). People who read printed newspapers and young people understand that online news is like offline content, so they tend to be willing to pay (Fletcher & Nielsen, 2017). Marketing models that offer a mix of access to digital or online and conventional content for readers and advertisers are also more attractive to readers (Pattabhiramaiah, Sriram & Manchanda, 2018; Carson, 2015). Users who consider the news platform their favourite tend to be willing to pay (Sang, 2013). Quality content also encourages people to be willing to pay for online news content (Goyanes, 2015).

However, the pessimist sees the paywall as decreasing the number of readers who would not be interested in subscribing to online news content (Chyi, Lee, & Holton, 2016; Chyi, 2005). In addition, users tend to be willing to pay but only choose topics that align with their opinions (Geidner & D'arcy, 2015). A paywall is potentially ethically problematic because quality information will be enjoyed only by a select number of people (Papadopoulos et al., 2020). Maintaining participation and implementing a paywall model is not easy. Newslandry in India is an example in which the media implement a paywall after receiving many participants, but the commodification of users does not necessarily last (Girija, 2019).

II. *Digital Revenue Channels of News Media in Indonesia*

The press industry in Indonesia experiences the implications of mobile technology penetration and the dominance of global technology companies. Indonesian online journalism is in the multimedia and multiplatform phase. It is a period when they present news information through data, interactive visuals, and social media (Suciati & Puspita, 2019). This environmental change requires media companies in Indonesia to manage changes at the audience, content, and revenue channel levels (Pasandaran, 2018). Regarding revenue channels, the main challenge faced by platforms, whether Jakarta-based or local-based news media, is that they rely on user participation to create revenue (Maryani, Rahmawan & Karlinah, 2020; Widodo, 2017). Instead of a website, social media has become a tool for promoting news (Lestari et al., 2018; Kencana & Meisyanti, 2020; Yoedtadi, Ronda & Wahid, 2021) despite social media seems to bring enjoyment and hedonic features (Jaafar, Darmawan & Ariffin, 2018). In addition, users interact with each other and platforms on legacy media and Indonesian startups. Global technology companies such as Google have impacted the news economy, which makes users view and click on the goal of news uploaded by many news portals (Muslikhin & Rizkiansyah, 2021; Suciati & Fauziah, 2020). Search Engine Optimization (SEO) has become more than a marketing mechanism because the editorial division often uses SEO to search and decide on news topics (Prawira & Rizkiansyah, 2018).

Two trends in media ownership and the history of its establishment characterise the landscape of the Indonesian press industry. *First*, much conglomerate-owned digital news media is transitioning from fully conventional to digitally convergent technology. As predicted by Krumsvik (2012), Indonesian legacy journalism can still finance online journalism globally because of substantial conglomerate capital. Indonesia's legacy press industry now digitises content and business models (Kusuma, 2016; Ritonga & Nugroho, 2017; Pangaribuan & Irwansyah, 2019; Puspita & Suciati, 2020) by cross-publishing and partially maintaining conventional formats such as newspapers with source support from diverse incomes (Parahita, 2022; Ritonga & Nugroho, 2017). Pramudita, Yanuar and Hilman's (2019) observations on the electronic newspaper *Pikiran Rakyat* show that legacy media must switch to electronics to survive. Based on the Press Council data, most of the total media in Indonesia are located in Riau Province (12%), followed by Jakarta (11%) and East Java (9.7%) (Nurlatifah & Mutmainnah, 2021).

Another path legacy media, such as the Jawa Pos Group, is strengthening conglomerates by annexing legacy and local digital press (Lenggawa, 2019) and supporting local content (Anandya, Mutiara, & Priyonggo, 2020). Native advertising is a source of revenue for many legacy news media (Pasandaran, 2018). Combining conventional and digital income is practised by legacy media such as *The Jakarta Post*, which obtains income from advertising revenue, subscriptions, and YouTube and Google AdSense (Koswaraputra, Sinaga & Andati, 2019). *Tempo* and *Kompas* also apply a paywall for digital and print products. National digital news media such as *Tribunnews.com* can make money from their followers on social media (Muslikhin et al., 2020). However, the use of social media by local media in Indonesia has been minimal because it does not increase local media income (Maryani, Rahmawan & Karlinah, 2020).

The second trend is non-conglomerate ownership and growing purely in the digital realm. Some digital news media startups seem to be innovating user participation. Before 2010, the "I write, you read" tradition influenced the journalist–writer relationship in legacy media in Indonesia (Luik, 2008; Massey & Levy, 1999). Currently, attracting users' attention

and even involving users to produce content on the platform seems to be the new norm (Kencana & Meisyanti, 2020). Among the many startup media that developed after 2010 in Indonesia, some media provide platforms to distribute user-generated content, such as the Kumparan.com site, Brilio.net, and the news aggregator Baca (Widodo, 2017). Many startup media, such as TechniAsia and Hybrid.co.id, have also implemented paywalls. During the COVID-19 crisis, the Indonesian press industry experienced a shock because the revenue stream from advertising decreased (Parahita, 2021), but this might encourage the media in terms of sources of income.

METHOD

This research applies two qualitative methods: analysis of the websites and social media content and interviews with the members of the editorial/marketing and business division of observed media. Analysis of web texts and social media will look at user participation on websites, and social media in the press studied according to the participation category from Masip and Suau (2014). They identify three forms of participation: Selective, Participatory, and Productive. *The Selective* form means the form of involvement with the lowest engagement because of the lack of interaction between users and the medium (including journalists). *The Participatory* form has a high level of engagement between the user and the medium. In addition, this form also has the potential to create horizontal communication between users and journalists. *The Productive* form allows users to participate in creating news content. These classifications were applied to observe the user's involvement in the observed news websites. Some features included in each category are as follows:

- (1) Selective Engagement includes RSS, Newsletters, Customization, Contact with the Medium, and Contact with the Journalist;
- (2) Participatory Engagement includes news ratings, comments, reading more, reporting inappropriate comments, error notifications, answering comments, commenting op-eds, tools for sharing articles, forums, and a list of most viewed/commented/shared posts;
- (3) Productive Engagement includes readers sending news/pictures/videos/audio, letters to the editor, participation in interviews/sending questions, and a reader's blog.

We also observed the functions of the websites and social media for the news media. There are three functions of the news websites: selective-participatory, productive and indexing (to index news) and crossed the selective-participatory and productive functions with free/paid news status. Meanwhile, five social media functions include Directing Links to the News Portal, User Engagement (users interacting with the content, other users and the administrators/editorials, liking, saving content), As Homeless-Media and Space for User Generated Content. The social media observed here includes Facebook, where the news content is available in the form of audio-video, images), YouTube (in which all the news content is in the form of video), Instagram (in which the news content is available in the form of audio, video, and image). The purpose of the analysis of news web texts and social media is to see the trend of user participation in conglomerate media and digital native media on both websites and social media and to map sources of income in each media. While Table 1 presents the meaning of the codes for sources of income, website functions, and social media functions aspects, Tables 2 and 3 proportionally present the user participation features.

Table 1: The code and meaning for the sources of income, website function, and social media function sources of income

Code	Meaning
Sources of Income	
<i>Monetising the user</i>	
1	Display/Banner ad (direct)
2	Automated Web Ads (public display and programmatic ads)
3	Sponsorship
4	Sponsored Content/Advertorial
<i>Monetising the content</i>	
5	Subscription
6	Pay per view
7	Donation
<i>Monetising the expertise</i>	
8	Community school/training/engagement
9	Market research
10	Affiliate marketing
Website Function	
1.a	Free Content: Selective-participatory
1.b	Paid Content: Selective-participatory
1.c	Free Content: Productive
1.d	Paid Content: Productive
2	Indexing
Social Media Function	
1	Directing Link to News Portals
2	User Engagement (like, comment, share, follow, etc.)
3	As Homeless Media
4	Space for User Generated Content

We coded the sources of income, the content of the websites and social media to describe the qualitative information (on the website and social media functions). We classify the sources of income into three categories: monetising the user, the content and expertise. Monetising expertise is a term we encapsulate after observing and analysing the findings. We proportionally measured the sources of income and features of user participation used on the website. The numbers used in this research provide a precise analysis of the frequency, amount, or typicality of particular phenomena and complement the overall data collection instead of substituting the qualitative data (Maxwell, 2010).

We selected the media organisations from Alexa.com that enlisted 26 top local-ranking Indonesian news websites (September 15, 2021). We observed the selection based on the classification of established/conglomerated media and digitally-native media. We chose ten media organisations in each category. We present the data of this research in tabular form by summarising the sources of income, web functions, user participation, and social media functions.

In addition, the authors conducted interviews with the heads of the business and marketing division or the head of editors of several media. We select the interview participants based on established/online-born types of the media organisations they worked

for, the website and social media functions, and sources of income, as observed in the early phase of the research. Eight semi-structured interviews provide a deeper and more critical perspective for understanding the media's approach to involving their users and how their involvement is related to their sources of income. We focused the analysis on the different digital history and ownership models (established/conglomerate media and digital native media) to represent and develop a comparative perspective on the sources of income and user participation. We interviewed some informants from *Republika.id*, *Tempo.co*, *Kompas.id*, *Kompas.com*, and *Detik.com* for the conglomerated category. Meanwhile, we also picked *Narasi.tv*, *Tirto.id*, and *Dailysocial.id* for the digital-born category. The interviews were conducted through video calls and invited each media's editor-in-chief/business manager during the period end of August-September 2021.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Currently, the sources of income of conglomerate media and digital native or startup companies are similar. Overall, income origins have come from *monetising the user* through the display/banner advertisement for both media types. Banner advertisement enables the media to obtain income from advertisers without intermediaries. In addition, they also use automated ads on websites and social media to achieve income through intermediary digital programs, such as public display ads and programmatic ads. Lastly, cooperative sponsorship, holding activities and agreeing on the contra-achievements of each party and advertorials allow the digital news media to gain more revenue (for the full results, see Table 2 and Table 3, for the meaning of the codes, see Table 1).

Both media also maximise their Selective Participation features for the website and mostly use social media to support their paid/free website content. However, some digital native media have started to monetise their expertise by offering market research services. In the camp of legacy media, Metro TV News is the only news portal that uses its website as an indexing site. On the other side, Narasi TV is the only startup media that functions its website for indexing, and Tirto.id is the only one that functions as a participatory and selective website. Remotivi.id is very transparent, as evidenced by its annual report published to the general public.

a. Established Media: Retaining Income from Monetising the User Participation and Content

Based on our observation on the web, the revenue stream of the established digital media mainly comes from advertisers. Potential advertisers can directly contact the media to place their promotions on the banner of the websites. Another traditional method used in legacy media but applied to news websites is to earn income from joint activities with sponsors (advertising and sponsorship) and advertorials (advertising editorials). Indeed, established digital news media has conventionally applied the approach to monetise audience participation in their traditional platforms. However, they also use automated advertisements to adapt to the digital environment, for example, by adding Google AdSense.

Besides monetising user participation, Tempo.co and Republika.co.id conventionally apply subscriptions as income. Kompas.com, which the Kompas Gramedia Group conglomerate owns, directs subscriptions to premium content to Kompas.id, owned by the Kompas print version.

Table 2: Sources of income, website function, and social media of conglomerate digital news media/legacy

No.	Media	Sources of Income			Social Media Function	Website Function	User Participation Feature on the Website		
		Monetising the User	Monetising the Content	Monetising the Expertise			SEL.*	PAR.**	PROD.***
1	Kompas.com	1,2,3,4	-	8,10	1,2	1.a	0.67	0.58	0.57
2	Tribbunnews.com	1,2,4	-	9,10	1,2,3,4	1.c	0.5	0.58	0.43
3	Detik.com	1,2,3,4	7	10	1,2,3	1.c	0.5	0.67	0.57
4	Suara.com	1,2,4	-	10	1,2,3	1.c	0.83	0.41	0.71
5	Pikiran-rakyat.com	1,2,4	-	8,10	1,2,3,4	1.a	0.33	0.41	0
6	Liputan6.com	1,2,3,4	-	8,10	1,2,3	1.c	0.66	0.5	0.2
7	Republika.co.id	1,2,4	5,7	8,10	1,2,3	1.d	0.83	0.75	0.57
8	Tempo.co	2,3,4	5,7	8,10	1,2,3	1.d	0.66	0.66	0.42
9	MetroTV News	-	-	-	1,2,3	2	0.5	0.25	0
10	JPNN	2,4	7	9,10	1,2,3,4	1.a	0.5	0.58	0
TOTAL							6	5.4	3.6

* Selective feature's maximum score: 6
 ** Participatory feature's maximum score: 12
 *** Productive feature's maximum score: 7

In addition, many websites functioned as home pages for free content that invited user participation at the level of Productive Engagement (code 1.c.) (Table 2). Website is still the primary home for established digital news media to attract and gain users' attention. The websites also incorporate news/pictures/videos/audio, and other content the users produce. At the same time, social media becomes the bait for users to visit media websites and platforms for user-generated content. As the established media has a prominent place in the form of a website, the level of user visits to their websites is significant. Thus, the number of visits increases the intrinsic value of these sites. Some media have gone further in terms of attracting user participation by maximising websites to provide space for users to create their content (user-generated content), for example, Citizen 6 (Liputan 6), PasangMata (Detik.com), and Retizen (Republika).

Online established news media consist of two different, not fully integrated editorial teams. Outside of the so-called media, most established news sites implement free content for their users, so the primary sources of income are obtained from advertisers. Republika.co.id utilises participation to increase or create audience loyalty to the Republika brand by increasing engagement and forming a reader community (interview with Arys Hilman Nugraha, August 30, 2021). Similar to Republika.co.id, Tempo.co utilises participation as something that fosters engagement. The difference is that Tempo uses this engagement to lead the audience to a subscription (interview with Wahyu Dhyatmika, September 4, 2021).

Detik.com utilises audience participation to increase engagement and is the traffic which will later bid high prices to advertisers (interview with Karel Anderson, September 10, 2021). "Detik.com in the future will develop into an application beyond news media, but integrated into a digital lifestyle of our users," added Karel. Kompas.id also takes advantage of audience participation for traffic needs which will later be used for offers to advertisers. They gather data from the sign-in feature to perform targeted ads. Targeted ads are a form of advertising that utilises the user's or audience's channels for implementation, such as e-mail, notifications, and other personal channels (interview with Titus Kitot K, September 27, 2021).

Kompas.id has implemented a paywall since 2017 because, since then, it has been demonstrated that online content can also be an alternative source of revenue even though its ability to replace print media is still being questioned (interview with Titus Kitot K, September 27 2021). Similarly, Republika.id applies a paywall because producing content for the web requires a substantial amount of money (interview with Arys Hilman Nugraha, August 30, 2021). Tempo.co also applies a digital paywall for news content that discusses cases in more depth than articles categorised as free. Still, Tempo.co is also planning to install a paywall in Indonesiana.id (Tempo.co's UGC platform) and give writers a reward and status. Recognising works in these ways encourages more people to upload quality content (interview with Wahyu Dhyatmika, September 4, 2021). Unlike Kompas.id, Republika.id and Tempo.co above, Detik.com, which initially installed a paywall in 2016 on the Detik web portal, has cancelled this feature. Detik.com assumes that, currently, people are less willing to pay for online news content because of the rapid flow of information from different sources (interview with Karel Anderson, September 10, 2021).

On average, the ten media above have the same pattern in using their social media. Seven of the ten media above (Kompas.com, Tribunnews.com, Detik.com, Suara.com, Mind-rakyat.com, Liputan6.com, and JPNN) only use their social media to direct the users to visit news sites and increase engagement with users. Slightly different, Tempo.co and Metro

TVNews also use their social media to direct users to websites, engage users with the information (giving comments, liking, saving), and create a place for interaction between users and administrators/editorials. For its part, *Republika.co.id* always uses social media to increase engagement with users and uses some of its social media as homeless media. Homeless media refers to content on social media that is specifically designed for that social media and is not call-to-action/promotional content.

b. Online Start-Up Media: Monetising the Content and Expertise

Like the established media, startup/native media utilise user participation to value websites that become the leading platforms to distribute news (Table 3). Social media similarly supports the websites, but some digital native media use social media as the news platform. Nevertheless, there are more numbers of digital native media companies that monetise their expertise by offering market research than legacy media.

The difference in income sources between established and native digital media lies in the diversity of the sources. In the ten established media conglomerates observed, the only additional sources of income were from monetising the content by applying a paywall to lead users to subscribe (*Tempo.co*). Startup media explore new sources of income, monetising the user, content and expertise. Even in some media, income sources sometimes come from non-commercial institutions (like *Mongabay.id*). Startup media does not hesitate to maximise all possible revenues from monetising user participation, including utilising user data to provide market research services as done by *Katadata.id*, and *Techniasia.com*, as well as data they have collected through research and journalistic reporting. It leads them to optimise their resourcefulness by selling the data and expertise.

Efforts to generate income from user participation are also carried out on social media, a medium for news content. *Narasi.tv* gains income by renting out its YouTube channel to hold sponsored live activities (interview with Zen Rahmat Sugito, September 2, 2021). *Narasi.tv* realises that its audience is primarily young people who tend to choose social media as a place to find content instead of going directly to the official news website (interview with Zen Rahmat Sugito, September 2, 2021). Meanwhile, the website of *Narasi.tv* is used more as a platform for collecting and indexing any content created by *Narasi.tv* but is not the primary platform for distributing and exposing content.

Narasi.tv classifies its users and audiences into three types: passive users (users who enjoy only *Narasi.tv* content), User Generated Content (UGC) users (users who actively create content), and Professional Generated Content (PGC) creators (users who create professional content) (interview with Zen Rahmat Sugito, September 2, 2021). The goal of *Narasi.tv* is to increase the number of users creating content and participating in journalistic training programs. The user is entitled to earn usable points to improve their status (from passive user to UGC user and UGC user to PGC user). This user's content will later become part of the main content of *Narasi.tv*. By 2024, 80% of *Narasi.tv* content will come from users (interview with Zen Rahmat Sugito, September 2, 2021).

Tirto.id uses direct ads and provides a column for automated ads on its website as a source of income. The difference is that *Tirto.id* strictly limits automated ads (maximum of three) because automated ads can disturb readers when reading news. *Daily social.id* utilises sponsored research as a source of income, conducting yearly studies and offering a brand to sponsor the research (interview with Wiki Baskoro, September 25 2021).

Table 3: Sources of income, website function, and social media of natively digital news media/startups

No.	Media	Sources of Income			Social Media Function	Website Function	User Participation Feature on the Website		
		Monetising the User	Monetising the Content	Monetising the Expertise			SEL.*	PAR.**	PROD.***
1	Kumparan.com	1,2,3,4	5,7	8	1,2,3	1.d	0.67	0.7	0.29
2	Tirto.id	2,4	-	9,10	1,2,3,4	1.a	0.33	0.17	0
3	Narasi.tv	3,4	-	8	1,2,3,4	2	0.6	0.25	0.29
4	Katadata.id	1,2,3,4	5,6,7	8,9,10	1,2,3	1.b	0.67	0.25	0
5	IDNTimes.id	1,2,4	7	10	1,2	1.c	0.67	0.67	0.29
6	Goodnewsfromindonesia.id	2,3,4	-	8,10	1,2,3,4	1.c	0.67	0.67	0.29
7	Dailysocial.id	2,3,4	5,6	8,9,10	1,2,3	1.b	0.5	0.25	0
8	Mongabay.co.id	2	7	-	1,2,3,4	1.c	0.67	0.58	0.57
9	Remotivi.id	-	7	9	2,3	1.c	0.5	0.58	0.29
10	Kumparan.com	1,2,3,4	5,7	8	1,2,3	1.d	0.67	0.7	0.29
TOTAL							5.2	4	2.0

* Selective Features maximum score: 6

** Participatory Feature's maximum score: 12

*** Productive Feature's maximum score: 7

Katadata.id, Kumparan.com, and Daily social.id applies paywalls (paid content) and monetises content targeting specific users or niches. Katadata.id relies on the presentation of news accompanied by in-depth data or research results in text and visuals. Meanwhile, Kumparan.com presents news content accompanied by some nuanced content with young people. However, the three startups do not limit all of their content with a paywall but only some of it, considered premium (freemium). Finally, Dailysocial.id has content that discusses startups and technology. Dailysocial.id implemented a paywall in early 2020 because it thought that public spending would decrease because of the Covid-19 crisis and perhaps be used to subscribe to Dailysocial premium content (interview with Wiki Baskoro, September 25, 2021).

Because established media brands are identical to their respective content characteristics and are free to access, competing with their content is challenging for startup news media. Therefore, this natively digital or startup media carries out specific innovations. Kumparan.com and Goodnewsfromindonesia.id create collaborative platforms for their users. Tirto.id produces in-depth coverage. Narasi.tv uses social media as the main channel for news exhibitions. Dailysocial.id offers topic-specific content. Kumparan.com collaborates with other commercial applications.

The ten native digital media above use social media for various needs. The one who uses social media the most is Goodnewsfromindonesia.id, which uses its website for calls to action, increases user engagement and makes social media a place for interaction between the medium and users. The most different is Narasi.tv, which uses social media as homeless media, increasing engagement and creating a place for user-generated content. However, the ten media above all use social media as a medium to increase user engagement.

CONCLUSION

Generally, revenue is strategically obtained from monetising the user participation and content for both observed media: the established media and online-native media. The difference between the two lies in the innovation of online-native media that starts to monetise its expertise by providing services such as community training and market research. As for user participation, digital native news media develop community engagement on social media instead of the web and charge advertisers who receive attention from social media. While it is only Tempo.co which provides a paywall for their news, more online-native media such as Daily social, Kumparan.com, and Katadata.id also implement paywalls for its specific content and themes.

A further difference is that digitally native media tend to be more specific and topically focused in its content. Thus, they have distinctive expertise to be offered as an alternative to income revenue to the potential public. Therefore, it is worth noting that news organisations might be converged into other kinds of business in the future. This phenomenon raises classic questions about the fundamentals of journalism and news organisations in the digital era.

This research was conducted qualitatively with a limited number of informants and observed media, so the conclusions may not represent the general state of the Indonesian press industry. It also does not generate information on the proportion of real income from each monetising strategy. Nonetheless, the data of each media presented here can be a reference for research on the next Indonesian digital news media business model. Another limitation is that this research needs to analyse the content's character in each medium explicitly. Future studies on the business model of digital news media should interrogate the

type of content in each media and the implications for the business model, such as what content is worthy of being “paid” and “free” and how the revenue source might correlate to news quality and audience’s trust to the news brands.

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