



## Clickbait Journalism: Media Logics in Journalism Practices on Online Media

Moch Fakhruroji<sup>1\*</sup>, Cecep Suryana<sup>2</sup> & Aep Wahyudin<sup>3</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung, Indonesia

\* [moch.fakhruroji@uinsgd.ac.id](mailto:moch.fakhruroji@uinsgd.ac.id)

### ABSTRACT

This article will examine the practice of clickbait journalism, which is increasingly common in news titles in online media, through the lens of Altheide and Snow's media logic. Due to social distancing policies during the pandemic, this article employs the library research method by collecting materials and references online by observing several clickbait news titles on [Tribunnews.com](http://tribunnews.com). Trends can be identified based on data analysis, such as exaggeration, graphics or titles containing obscene, disturbing/disgusting, or shady material, bait-and-switch, and ambiguous or confusing and tend to grab readers' interest. Nevertheless, although this practice has been criticized as a mere business, this article argues that this practice does not always represent the poor credibility of online media since this practice is not only caused by the technical logic of online media but also caused by the changing behavior of the readers which is more increasingly digitalized.

**Keywords:** clickbait journalism, new media, online media, media logics, page view.

## INTRODUCTION

The internet has had an impact on almost all aspects of life (Campbell, 2007; Fakhruroji, 2021a, 2021b), even in the context of mass media (Moon & Hadley, 2014). The emergence of the internet has created a threat of its own to print media, which were once considered to be mainstream media in satisfying the public's information needs. The fact that various print media outlets have ceased to exist only serves to confirm this. On the other hand, people's increased reliance on digital technology encourages them to consume more information through online media, providing various conveniences. The popularity of online media, which is sometimes even greater than that of print media, has forced media companies to digitalize. In contrast, others choose to converge while retaining their print media image. All of these examples demonstrate how the internet, in addition to making information more accessible, poses a challenge to long-established media industry players.

Online media is considered a type of computer-mediated communication, which is the practice of communicating enabled by computer devices interconnected in a particular network. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is defined in this context as the integration of daily life and computer technology. Additionally, Wood & Smith (2005: 4) emphasize how CMC looks at a variety of human behaviors while transferring information through machines.

Some experts contend that these various communication contexts represent not only a new mode of communication but also a revolution in social organization, as illustrated by the emergence of "virtual communities" that are becoming more common in the internet context and have the potential to overtake more traditional communities with a geographic base. It is therefore not surprising that Wood and Smith (2005) presumed the CMC study area not only explored communication technology and its development but also studied the phenomenon of technology intermingling in everyday life which Silverstone & Hirsch (2005) called a 'domestication'.

According to Wood & Smith (2005: 40), the internet has represented a new form of mass media. They believe that traditional mass media, such as newspapers and television, have expanded the one-to-many relationship between producers and audiences. As a result of its evolution, the study of communication has positioned the internet as a new media, more than just a mass media, albeit with different more specialized characteristics. Individuals' involvement alongside these new forms of media is not only in terms of interaction, meaning receiving and delivering messages, but also in terms of using and even living in the media environment itself, which is increasingly computer-supported.

In general, new media can be identified by distinguishing between digital communication media, which are relatively new, and analog communication

media, which are quite old (Fakhruroji, 2017). According to Castells (2009), this distinction has become one of the most frequently discussed subjects in the discipline of media studies, at least because the term “newness” of computer-based technology has become a source of contention in the discussion over the continuity of analog and digital media.

Simply put, new media is a product of mediated communication technology via and using digital computers. Before the 1980s, the majority of media was in the form of print and analog formats such as newspapers, television, cinema, and radio. But now we have the radio, television, and digital cinema, and even printing techniques have evolved in digital technology, such as software to edit images and other features. As a result, the digital notion is generally identical with some general qualities such as being easy to manipulate, networked, dense, short, and impartial (Gane & Beer, 2008: 7).

In other words, digitalization arose from the coding process so that no essential distinction exists between text, images, or even sound. As a result, digital media is referred to as impartial media. As a result, understanding how digital media works, which is based on binary codes that translate user commands, is one of the most important aspects of understanding it. Thus, new media is essentially the emergence of a new culture in human life, namely a media culture distinguished by advanced technology that allows communication activities to become more interactive.

In practice, online media can be defined as media that presents online journalistic activities, specifically “*reporting of facts or events generated and transmitted via internet platforms*” (Romli, 2012: 30). However, online media is more than just migrating journalism activities online; it is also linked to various new change tendencies that distinguish it from traditional media. Online media is born as something new based on the ideas and characteristics of new digital media; new norms, new ways of working, new processes, and other new things. The digital and impartial character of online media as a new media has resulted in a new pattern in the distribution of news—more commonly referred to as content—that is not constrained by geography and time.

In addition to removing these barriers, several other changes in the operation of internet media are visible. At first glance, online media offers the greatest opportunity for virtually anyone to create content on the internet so that they are no longer regarded as audiences but as users who occasionally play the role of information producers. On the other hand, online media is expected to continue to serve as mass media, providing the community with information, education, entertainment, and social control. As a result, in the face of the internet's generally more open and fluid features, in which every user can equally generate content, online media must maintain its credibility.

Theoretically, media credibility is commonly linked with the fulfillment of the standards for the actuality and accuracy of information. With the rise of fast and open competition, internet media likewise adheres to the notion of immediacy or freshness. This is demonstrated by the fact that every online media outlet is constantly competing to post an event as soon as possible, often ignoring basic standards of journalism practice. This immediacy has the potential to impair the quality and credibility of online media content. Whereas the accuracy of every news item broadcast is a crucial component of a media being considered reputable and trusted. This explains why much news in online media is frequently damaged by hoaxes, which has ramifications for public disinformation.

This occurrence is related to another journalistic principle, namely objectivity. The presentation of news in a correct, balanced, and impartial manner demonstrates the objectivity of a news report. The truth dimension is one of the indicators employed in this concept, which gauges the extent to which the facts given are genuine or dependable, as well as the relevance of the facts reported to journalistic standards (Richardson, 2008). Furthermore, objectivity is linked to fairness, in which journalists do not mix opinions, dramatize events, and deliver news with names that correspond to the content of the news. Meanwhile, the balance in the presentation of news is another factor.

In other words, the open way of operating the internet has implied the emergence of various risks to a media's credibility with various actions that are contrary to the code of ethics and basic principles of journalism that must be defended in a situation where people are vulnerable to receiving information that is not credible and unverified, one of which is demonstrated by the widespread practice of clickbait journalism, which is the focus of the study in this paper.

The immediacy of online media has resulted in new rivalry in the media industry. Furthermore, the technological features of online media have a significant impact, one of which corresponds to the business aspect of mass media, namely the transformation of readership into page views, which is done by clicking a news link. The necessity of page views, therefore, pushes media business participants to process information content to be more intriguing, sometimes even provocative, so that readers click on the news. This is what gave rise to the practice known as clickbait, which is the practice of journalism that encourages potential readers to click on some news links, which some perceive as a challenge to the professionalism and quality of journalism in online media.

According to some experts, the clickbait phenomenon is akin to yellow journalism in that it stresses sensation above substance. According to Ankesh Anand, the phenomena of the internet journalism sensation is today mirrored in news titles that pique people's interest and seduce them, particularly common people (Yamlean, 2019). It is crucial to note, however, that the clickbait phenomenon is not just prevalent in Indonesia, but also in a worldwide setting,

and that it is prompted by the phenomenon of media digitalization, which forces media outlets to understand how to generate traffic from the news content they produce. Users' news click activity will also be measured, which will have financial ramifications.

Titles that are identical to clickbait, as they are called, are intended to attract readers. Clickbait often has no word completion, uses direct/invitation words, provocative words, hyperbole/bombastic words, tense language, unclear language, and unresolved pronouns (Chen et al., 2015). Unsurprisingly, clickbait is a new form of tabloid journalism, also known as yellow journalism, namely journalism activities that prioritize sensation and scandal as news commodities, and which have long been viewed as interfering with professional journalism because they spread unverified rumors. It is called a tabloid as it is a word that represents three things at once: the format of the size of the newspaper, the periodization of publications, and the appearance of sensational, interesting, and distinctive style and content (Wasserman, 2010).

Clickbait journalism is also considered an exploitation of the human cognitive side, which is commonly referred to as the *curiosity gap*, or the existence of a knowledge gap that has effects on emotional matters (Chakraborty et al., 2016). These clickbait journalism titles intend to elicit emotional responses so that it is clear that readers who click on the story are readers who want to gratify their emotional side. Another feature of clickbait news is the use of figures and lists to stimulate the reader's interest. This practice is called "*listicles*" (a combination of "list" and "articles"). Listicles are mostly made with the assumption that the public wants concise information and does not need to think much (Dodson, 2016). While Biyani et al., (2016) outline some of the recognizable tendencies of clickbait-sounding titles, namely; *exaggeration*, *teasing*, *inflammatory*, *formatting* (using formatting and punctuation), *graphic* (containing obscene material), *bait-and-switch* (using news from other sources, irrelevant to the clicked link), *ambiguous* (unclear, confusing), and *wrong* (not true to facts).

Similarly, this tendency has altered people's information consumption tendencies in the digital era. Thus, the emergence of online media affects not just the habits of readers, but also the media itself. These online media give more diverse material, employ various distribution tactics, implement new patterns in the way journalists work, and employ numerous creative ways to compete with competitors to increase advertising revenue. In fact, this tendency is also demonstrated by several institutionally and monetarily well-established mass media outlets.

The clickbait phenomenon, on the other hand, is related to persons who have been actively involved in digital culture, as seen by their adaptability to digital technologies. People's everyday use of the internet is partially due to the increasing

variety of information that they can access; this has ramifications for their preferences in deciding which information they will access. In this context, readers prefer news or information that satisfies their curiosity and emotional demands above other types of information.

Several studies on clickbait activity attempted to characterize it as a practice that deceives readers. [Bloom & Hansen \(2015\)](#), for example, studied clickbait practices related to the commercialization and tabloidization of media in Denmark. While [Orosa et al. \(2017\)](#) conducted a similar study on clickbait in online media in the European Union. They believe that the usage of clickbait has affected traditional journalistic values in producing and editing stories that are presented with low-quality news material despite catchy titles.

Clickbait studies are also extensively conducted in the Indonesian context ([Hadiyat, 2019](#)). Several studies show that clickbait is related to lifestyle ([Kertanegara, 2018](#)); clickbait practices in reporting COVID-19 ([Sukmono, 2021](#)); clickbait practices and journalism ethics ([Restendy & Hilmi, 2021](#)); clickbait and reader satisfaction with information needs ([Niswah & Pradekso, 2018](#)); and several other studies that show clickbait to be a threat to the professional realm of journalism.

However, one intriguing approach is offered by [Lischka & Garz \(2021\)](#), which examines the clickbait argument as a manifestation of new media algorithms utilizing a game theory understanding framework about the connection between journalists, users, and online media platforms. In general, Lischka and Garz believe that clickbait is related to changes in the connection between users, online media, and the way new media functions. According to [Altheide & Snow \(1979\)](#), this is one effect of the strengthening of media logic, which refers to the assumptions and processes of message formation in a certain medium and encompasses rhythm, syntax, and format. All of these characteristics are important in media logic because they correspond to the rules or “codes” used in defining, selecting, organizing, presenting, and recognizing information as something distinct from something else. This logic stresses and is directed toward promotion through production, processes, and media messages that are more likely to be evocative, packaged in such a way, very thematic, recognizable to the audience, and easy to use.

The grammar and format of any media product have a very important role in media logic because it refers to the rules or codes in defining, selecting, organizing, presenting, and recognizing information as something that distinguishes it from something else. Not only that, the grammar chosen by the media seems to define a news story as something urgent, tense, soothing or makes the reader dissolve in certain emotions.

In general, media logic is oriented towards promotion through production, process, and media messages which tend to be evocative, packaged in such a way,

highly thematic, familiar to the audience, and easy to use. Moreover, on the other hand, the public has also been involved in media culture, thereby strengthening the significance of media logic which is specifically carried out to interpret and represent institutional phenomena that will then change the content. Various studies on this subject are shown how sports, religion, news, and politics have changed to accommodate this logic.

Especially in journalistic practice, media logia has transformed journalistic culture, for example changing the way journalists conduct interviews with sources. Altheide and Snow expressly reveal that the practice of interviewing has changed from what was originally “discovering” or digging for information to a more entertaining aspect where the media, in this case, journalists, increasingly have an equal position with the sources as an entertainment context (in [Fakhrurroji, 2021](#)). This is especially demonstrated in television journalism where the host and the resource person have equal weight, even occasionally the host takes on the role of the resource person to describe certain ideas that should be carried out by the resource person.

In another work, [Altheide & Snow \(1991\)](#) referred to this new form of journalism as “postjournalism.” The emphasis of the entertainment formula on visual, dramatic action means that in-person interviews have provided referential information that could lead to offense. With the rise of this postjournalism era, interviews have become a kind of “tool for quick answers”, which involve emotional narratives and are aimed at other than specific goals. Fundamentally, postjournalism has challenged the autonomy and relevance of professional journalism’s training, ethics, and truth claim.

Therefore, this paper aims to describe the phenomenon of clickbait journalism in online media using the perspective of media logic concepts as expressed by Altheide and Snow. This paper analyzes clickbait news titles in the online media [Tribunnews.com](#) with a library research approach that is accessed through news archives as internet resorts. The focus of the discussion will be on two things, namely; patterns and trends in clickbait journalism practices on [Tribunnews.com](#); and media logics in clickbait journalism practices on [Tribunnews.com](#).

This paper uses a constructive paradigm that aims to gain a specific understanding through observable phenomena. Meanwhile, the approach used was qualitative, namely oriented to natural phenomena. Therefore, the qualitative approach, in this case, is to limit the types of information that are more qualitative and are used as the unit of analysis to give birth to a specific understanding following the assumptions and concepts that were previously set. [Creswell \(2012\)](#) states qualitative research is a complex picture that examines words and conducts studies in natural situations. Qualitative research is descriptive research and tends

to use an inductive approach.

By applying the library research method, this paper collects and observes sources in the form of journal articles, repositories, and mass media reports related to the practice of clickbait journalism, especially in the context of *Tribunnews.com*. On a practical level, these sources are then grouped into several categories with some special characteristics that lead to identification as clickbait journalism practices. Data was collected based on the focus of the discussion which is then studied one by one and linked between one information and another. All data collection and analysis activities are carried out online using internet resources considering the technical limitations due to the implementation of social distancing related to the COVID-19 pandemic situation. The data obtained were then analyzed using triangulation techniques, in this case, the concept of media logic from Altheide and Snow to understand the practice of clickbait in journalism practices in the online media *Tribunnews.com*.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### **Patterns and Trends of Clickbait News Titles on *Tribunnews.com***

*Tribunnews.com* is one of the largest online media sites in Indonesia managed by PT *Tribun Digital Online* with a network spread throughout Indonesia, namely the *Tribun Network*. *Tribunnews.com*, headquartered in Jakarta, is an accelerated media for Indonesia's digital transformation that aims to present information from all corners of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke through the *Tribun Network* ([Tribunnews.com](http://Tribunnews.com), 2020). *Tribun Network*'s reputation in the media industry in Indonesia is unquestionable. Its strong and wide network has made it easier for it to become one of the dominant media in providing credible and accurate information and news.

Structurally, the *Tribun Network* is supported by more than 800 journalists who provide information with local values from 34 provinces, through 52 online media that will continue to grow and print media in 24 regions plus the online community of *Tribunners* throughout Indonesia. In particular, *Tribunnews.com* is strengthened by the tagline "Local Eyes Reaching Indonesia" and moves with a "hyperlocal" mission ([Tribunnews.com](http://Tribunnews.com), 2020). This tagline and mission indicate that *Tribunnews.com* is indeed focused on local news throughout Indonesia which is run through its network. In other words, *Tribunnews.com* moves rooted in the belief that local perspectives need to be presented in reaching Indonesia as a whole.

As is also practiced in some other mass media in dealing with the development of internet technology, *Tribunnews.com* was born as a response to the same phenomenon. Moreover, *Tribun* itself is one of the companies with network media with an even distribution in all corners of Indonesia, making it relatively easier to converge into online media. Likewise in terms of the



consequences that may arise due to the accommodation of the development of internet technology, especially in terms of changes in journalistic practice which in general are indeed caused as a step to adjust the company to the character of online media which is not only full of competition but also changes in the level of readers who are increasingly “powerful” to determine which content they will access.

On the other hand, as a company that is oriented towards economic profit by relying on advertising, the media must also answer this need with various strategic steps. In this context, the practice of clickbait journalism is one of the practical and strategic steps taken by *Tribunnews.com* to bind its readers to have significant page views. As previously stated, clickbait is news titles that tend to be bombastic but do not provide complete information. Instead, this practice is described as an attempt to intrigue internet users to click on certain news links. Therefore, in the context of *Tribunnews.com*, it can be seen that there are at least four tendencies out of eight trends for clickbait titles as identified by [Biyani et al. \(2016\)](#). The four tendencies include; exaggeration, formatting, graphics, bait-and-switch, and ambiguous.

*First*, exaggeration or excessive title properties on news links. One of the news links that have this tendency is the *Tribunnews.com* news on April 14, 2019, with the title, “*Terungkap, di Balik Keceriaan dan Senyum Vanessa Angel di Rutan Medaeng: Batinnya Tertekan*” (It’s exposed, Behind Vanessa Angel’s Joy and Smile at Medaeng Detention Center: Her Mental is Depressed). This is one of the news that informs a case of online prostitution involving Vanessa Angel, an Indonesian model. The tendency of exaggeration can be identified through the use of the word “*terungkap*” (exposed) which according to the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI, Great Dictionary of Bahasa Indonesia)* means disclosed, uncovered, or known. This word is usually applied in crime news to describe the process of a crime where the actors and events are finally exposed. However, the news presented in the body does not match the title. Not only that, but the media also intervened by narrating the real situation of Vanessa Angel.

*Second*, graphics or titles that contain obscene, disturbing/disgusting or untrustworthy material. One of the news articles related to graphics can be seen in the title “*Cerita Dewi Pakai Alat Bantu Seks, Awalnya Merasa Geli Lalu Terasa Begini*” (The Story of Dewi Using Sex Toys, Feeling Amused at first, Then Feels Like This). This article contains news about a woman who uses sex toys to satisfy himself. Even at first glance, the vulgar and obscene titles can be seen as disturbing, especially when consumed by underage readers. The title of this article was created to exploit the curiosity of readers to click on the news link.

*Third*, bait-and-switch, namely the editorial is written in the title of the article does not contain any content, instead, it is directed to other news links. One of

the titles with this tendency can be seen in one of the articles in Tribunnews entitled "*Sudah Dinyatakan Meninggal Dunia, Jenazah di Kamar Mayat Tiba-Tiba Terbangun Ketika akan Diotopsi*" (Declared Dead, A Body in Mortuary Suddenly Awaken Before Autopsy). This article is not only incomplete but also does not include the news, it is even directed to other sites that are still related or in the same network with Tribunnews.com so that they both gain additional visits from readers.

*Fourth*, ambiguous or unclear, and confusing. News articles with this tendency are usually intended to spark the reader's curiosity. One of the news articles with this type of tendency is an article entitled "*Setelah Sekian Lama, Sidang Prostitusi Online Vanessa Angel Akhirnya Dihadiri Sosok Istimewa Ini*" (After a Long Time, Vanessa Angel's Online Prostitution Trial Finally Attended This Special Figure). This article was published on May 9, 2019. The word "this special figure" of course has a mysterious tone so that it provokes curiosity from readers. Therefore, like other characteristics, clickbait titles are indeed created to provoke curiosity, especially with this ambiguous tendency.

The four news articles mentioned above are just a few examples of the data examined in this study. This means that other tendencies could appear in several other news articles on Tribunnews.com. However, in general, Tribunnews.com uses titles containing clickbait to catch people's interest in the article. The titles of these articles play on the reader's emotions because there is a gap between what is known and what is desired to know, also known as the knowledge gap. Because of the incomplete information, readers will be tempted to satisfy their curiosity by clicking on the news link for more information.

### **Media Logics in Clickbait Journalism Practices on Tribunnews.com**

In its development in Indonesia, clickbait journalism arose from the media industry's attempt to exploit readers' cognitive and emotional sides through titles with light but intriguing content that encouraged readers to click on the news. One of the characteristics of clickbait titles, namely narratives, often makes readers curious to see the details of the news because the title appears to be an imperfect sentence, even though the news does not always match what is intended in the news title when accessed.

This phenomenon became known as the curiosity gap, which is displaying headlines that arouse the curiosity of readers and encourage them to click on the link (Chakraborty et al., 2016). Of course, this link has deceived the reader because the content does not match the reader's expectations. Through these clickbait titles, Tribunnews.com seeks to dramatize the title, such as the use of narrative titles with an unusual number of words.

This is, of course, caused by various factors which in general can be said to be a follow-up implication of the change in the way business works from print

mass media to online media. These clickbait titles were born to attract more page views as they circulate in the context of print media. Like the tabloids, clickbait titles seem to prioritize sensationalism. Sensationalism here is understood as a style that combines categories and forms of news that tend to involve the emotions of the reader. However, these titles attract and lead readers so that they will benefit media companies.

Behind the clickbait headline is a particular news writing style that appears to be a pending news bulletin at first sight. This is what keeps readers on the pages they visit and motivates them to read all the news, which finally dissatisfies them. The presentation of the news is also intriguing since, in addition to the typically spectacular title, it usually includes adequate photographs or videos. However, no matter how engaging they are, the stories that started with clickbait titles are increasingly vulnerable to professional criticism as well as reader disfavor. This causes reader confusion and can even lead to widespread negative opinions toward the media itself.

However, clickbait does not always indicate an online media's lack of legitimacy. According to [Altheide & Snow \(1979, 1991\)](#), media logic is based on the interaction that is formed between communication actors and the media, which is referred to as Actor-Network Theory by [Bruno Latour, 2005](#)) and encompasses all potential dynamics. Changes in media patterns in delivering news are primarily generated not just by the technological logic of online media such as *page views*, *hashtags*, *networks*, etc. but also by changes in more digital audiences.

This situation seems to have the potential to cause online media to apply clickbait journalism. This analysis may sound apologetic, but the choice of diction that is narrative, bombastic, and the like is part of the characteristics of new media logic that operates on the assumption that the media is getting closer to the reader who in the context of online media has turned into a user, rather than a mere audience. In other words, the criticism of clickbait which generally revolves around the credibility and actuality of online media content refers to a different measuring tool, even though online media is a different type of media from mass media, not only from a business perspective but also from a technical aspect. Therefore, to understand this fundamental change, it is necessary to understand how online media works as a new medium.

As one of the manifestations of new media, online media works with several main principles, in this case, it will only be analyzed through three of the six key concepts of new media as expressed by [Gane & Beer \(2008\)](#). *First*, online media works with the principle of network which assumes media relations as information providers and users as readers. However, this relationship is different from that shown in the context of mass media where the media as a provider of the

information is seen as the center. In online media that is manifested in a network context, there is no longer a center or these boundaries because providers and consumers of information have the same opportunity to produce information for each other, as seen for example in several news headlines referred to in certain tweets on Twitter. Because of the distance between the media and the reader as assumed in the network concept, the media often use dictions such as narrative speech.

*Second*, the clickbait phenomenon can also be understood with other concepts in new media, namely information. Information in the context of new media is something that moves, not something that is already finished, especially in the context of digital media. In the view of [Gane & Beer \(2008\)](#) information is not a simple entity but is multiple which can be understood differently. There is no single concept of information, including concepts derived from computer science, media studies, and sociology. The conceptual definition of information presented by Shannon and Weaver, for example, does not provide much explanation of how information becomes part of the daily dynamics of contemporary capitalist society and culture ([Gane & Beer, 2008](#)).

*Third*, the clickbait phenomenon can be understood with the concept of interactivity as one of the key concepts in the study of new media. The concept of interactivity is often used to summarize an explanation of how media technologies work. Therefore, interactivity can be used to analyze new media, especially in considering the political aspects of the online content produced. This is crucial, especially in an era where new media are widely marketed as interactive media and revered for their potential to facilitate new social and cultural activities. Therefore, discussions related to interactivity are crucial. One of these ideas offers a complex typology of interactivity based on the concept of 'remediation' or the historical fabric of different media technologies.

With these three key concepts related to new media, it can be understood that the birth of clickbait can indeed be understood as something that is more a tool to attract attention than to provide information ([Ifantidou, 2009](#)). It is a tool to keep readers engaged in accessing the media. The question then is, can users—as online media readers—really be able to distinguish between real news and clickbait? It is at this point that online media users need to understand further, namely in terms of distinguishing between clickbait and news, as well as distinguishing between advertorials that are published on the first page of newspapers, which often use different terms.

## CONCLUSIONS

A new phenomenon, the practice of clickbait journalism on [Tribunnews.com](#) can be identified as follows; First, there are four tendencies of clickbait titles in the online media [Tribunnews.com](#), namely; exaggeration or the excessive nature of

the title and the news presented is not in accordance with the title; graphic or title that contains obscene, disturbing/disgusting or untrustworthy material; bait-and-switch, namely the editorial in the title of the article contains no content, instead, it is directed to other news links that are still related to Tribunnews.com, and, ambiguous or confusing and tends to trigger the curiosity of readers.

*Second*, although clickbait is seen as disturbing and is often criticized as a mere business, in the concept of media logic, this practice does not always describe the poor credibility of online media. This change is not only caused by the technical logic of online media such as page views, hashtags, networks, and so on but also because the behavior of the audience has also changed a lot. As can be seen, the criticism of clickbait refers to different parameters, even though online media is a different type of media from mass media. Through understanding, some of the characteristics of new media, particularly networking, information, and interactivity, clickbait should be understood as merely a tool to attract attention rather than provide information.

It is realized that many studies on clickbait titles in online media generally place more emphasis on assessing how these titles have “swindled” readers to gain financial benefits through advertisements related to page views of a news page. This analysis relies more on the economic relations of the media as an industry with the audience as consumers of information. But as a new medium, online media is something different, not only in the way it works but also in the implications for people to access information. Therefore, clickbait in this context can be understood as part of a media company’s strategy to survive in the competition, while adjusting to the digital lifestyle of society in obtaining information as a form of dynamic relationship as emphasized in Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005). Thus, more studies on the clickbait phenomenon that focus on the technical logic of online media need to be done to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of information consumption in society in this increasingly digital era.

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