

The challenges of welfare for female journalists in the media industry (A descriptive study of the experiences of female journalists in Yogyakarta)

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Abstract

This study aims to understand the welfare challenges faced by female journalists in Yogyakarta, including gender inequality, masculine culture, double burdens, and discrimination that affect their psychological, social, and professional conditions. Using descriptive qualitative methods and social reality construction theory and liberal feminism, four female journalists were interviewed through purposive sampling. The results show that despite gender-friendly policies, they still face marginalization, masculine work culture pressures, and double burdens. However, female journalists demonstrate resilience through adaptation, fighting for participation, and professionalism. This study affirms their contribution to the media industry and provides implications for more equitable, safe, and inclusive policies.

Keywords: Female journalists; Well-being; Media industry; Gender; Liberal feminism

1. Introduction

Technological developments have propelled journalism into the era of digitalization, expanding the reach of media while presenting challenges such as high production costs and fierce competition with online platforms (Apriansyah et al., 2023). This situation risks reducing revenue and audience numbers, requiring media outlets to adapt to cultural changes in a society that is increasingly dependent on digital platforms. This transformation also changes the way media organizations work, produce content, operate their business models, and structure their organizations.

The shift in landscape from transactional communication styles to interactive patterns has led media outlets to produce content that optimizes audience participation, including digital journalism practices. In this era, digital journalism has adapted to build a dynamic and stable media climate with the aim of attracting readers. The result of this adaptation has given rise to media with specific age segmentation (Indainanto, 2021).

The development of digital journalism has had an impact on the working practices of journalists. In the era of online journalism, journalists are faced with the dynamics of the ever-evolving needs of the audience. The media plays a role as a disseminator of information and also shapes social reality, including in voicing issues related to the welfare of female journalists. Although digitization provides new opportunities, the reality is that female journalists still face various challenges while working both in the field and in the media industry.

In addition to the risk of violence, female journalists also bear a double burden, namely the demands of professionalism and domestic expectations imposed by society. This burden has an impact on productivity as well as psychological and physical well-being. Research by Fitri et al. (2024) confirms that this dual role increases the work pressure on female journalists. They are also vulnerable to physical and digital intimidation, as reported in cases on Tempo.com, Detik.com, and the murder of Juwita (Newsway.co.id). This situation is exacerbated by a patriarchal culture that views women as weaker than men.

A report by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI, 2023) in the book “The Rocky Road to Equality” reveals that 82% of female journalists have experienced sexual violence throughout their careers. In addition, there is rampant gender-based discrimination in the media industry, both in assignments and internal policies. As many as 29.6% are restricted from covering topics related to “women,” 25.4% experience barriers to promotion due to gender factors, and 67.9% do not receive menstrual leave, while another 16.8% report experiencing discrimination in terms of salary, bonuses,

and benefits. These data show that structural barriers in the media industry still prevent female journalists from developing professionally.

According to research (Stellarosa and Silaban, 2019), there is inequality between male and female journalists, especially in terms of health benefits and opportunities to occupy strategic positions. This is inseparable from the patriarchal cultural construct that does not consider women as heads of families, resulting in them receiving different benefits. However, Article 27 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia affirms the equal status of every citizen before the law and in government. This article highlights the elimination of inequality against female journalists and provides equal treatment without discrimination.

The concept of welfare is important to reexamine. According to Article 1 Paragraph 1 of Law No. 11 of 2009, social welfare is the fulfillment of material, spiritual, and social needs so that individuals can live properly. Thus, welfare is not only a matter of wages, but also fair treatment in order to create a balanced work environment. However, the fulfillment of female journalists' welfare is still hampered by traditional biological and cultural views. Their rights are often ignored, while violence, stereotypes, and subordination in the media industry continue to reinforce gender inequality (Pusparini & Swardhana, 2021).

The LPM Arena study (LPM, 2024) shows an increasing trend of violence against female journalists in Yogyakarta. Many victims are reluctant to report incidents because they are concerned that their reputation and credibility will be damaged. This situation highlights the need for safe spaces and internal policies that protect female journalists, making it important to conduct further research in the context of Yogyakarta.

This research is expected to make a positive contribution to the media and organizations regarding the importance of creating a fair and gender-friendly work environment. Meanwhile, the expected academic benefit is a significant contribution to understanding the welfare of female journalists, as well as serving as a reference for similar studies.

2. Method

In this study, the researcher used a descriptive qualitative approach. A qualitative research method was chosen because it refers to procedures that allow researchers to deeply understand the experiences, views, and meanings formed by the research subjects, namely female journalists in the social and cultural context of the media industry (Syahrizal & Jailani, 2023) Qualitative research uses different philosophical assumptions, strategies, data collection methods, analysis, and interpretation.

This study also uses the theory of social reality construction (Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckman) and liberal feminism theory. The theory of social reality construction provides a framework for understanding how the reality of female journalists' welfare is formed, institutionalized, and accepted. Meanwhile, liberal feminism theory serves as a critical perspective in assessing the extent to which media organization policies support the welfare of female journalists.

The data collection techniques used in this study were observation and in-depth interviews. The subjects or informants in this study were four female journalists who work as journalists, specifically those who have experienced or are currently experiencing welfare challenges. Informants were obtained through purposive sampling. The researcher selected informants based on certain criteria deemed relevant, but with the permission and recommendation of the editorial board. The four informants have profiles and lengths of service as reported in Table 1.

Table 1. Informant Profiles

No	Initials	Company origin
1.	K	Detikjogja.com
2.	BS	Harianjogja
3.	SA	Suara 'Aisyiyah
4.	SF	IDN Times Jogja

Each interview with informants lasted approximately one and a half hours. Interviews were conducted at a mutually agreed location. The questions asked were open-ended and flexible to give

informants the freedom to express other things they considered important and relevant to the research topic, so it can be said that the interview method used was an in-depth interview.

Before the interview process, the researcher explained the purpose of the research and a number of restrictions that the researcher adhered to in treating the data obtained. This commitment was to treat informants anonymously by using initials and not publishing information that could identify informants, ensuring that the data was only used for this research, and that if informants refused to answer, the interview process could be stopped at any time.

Data analysis in this study used Miles and Huberman's interactive model with three stages: reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing and verification. This model helps transform raw data into meaningful information systematically (Qomaruddin & Sa'diyah, 2024). Data from interviews and observations were analyzed using the 3C social reality construction theory (Externalization, Objectification, Internalization) and liberal feminism to understand how gender construction and the welfare of female journalists are formed and maintained in work interactions.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Background of Informants

The data for this study was obtained from female informants who work as journalists. There were four informants from different editorial offices, all of whom had more than one year of experience in their jobs and had encountered challenges related to their welfare while carrying out their profession.

Each informant had a different background that influenced the social construction in the work environment. Informant K (Detikjogja.com), who had been working in the education desk since 2019 and then moved to the Detik Hikmah channel in 2024, explained the welfare challenges faced by female journalists. In addition to being required to work quickly, she also faced the complexity of sensitive issues related to religion.

The third informant, SA from Suara 'Aisyiyah (2 years of work experience), said that the main challenge was deadlines, just like journalists in general. In the field, she had experienced doorstep practices where female journalists were pushed aside by their male colleagues, so she needed a special strategy to continue to obtain complete information.

Finally, the last informant was SF (IDN Times Jogja), who has been working as a journalist since 2003 in radio, print, and now as an online media editor. According to her, the biggest challenge was not from within the editorial office, but in the field, such as sources who reported to the police instead of going through the Press Council mechanism, as well as comments related to appearance and clothing that led to sexual objectification.

3.2. The Social Construction of Female Journalists' Welfare

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's theory of social reality construction assumes that intersubjectivity in social reality construction arises from social structures built through repeated interactions. Social structures are not static, but rather the result of culture that can be criticized, reinterpreted, and changed. The process of forming these social structures occurs in three stages, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization (Hadiwijaya, 2023).

Understanding of social reality is always interpreted subjectively by individuals as a form of adaptation to their environment. In this context, informants also go through a simultaneous process of externalization, objectification, and internalization. Female journalists in Yogyakarta adapt to existing socio-cultural conditions. Based on this explanation, the first stage that is passed through is externalization. At this stage, the construction of the challenges to the welfare of female journalists in Yogyakarta is formed through observation of the social phenomena they experience, which are then interpreted in their daily practice as journalists. This can be seen from the interview results, where informant K (Detikjogja.com) mentioned that the biggest challenge lies in the work culture that demands speed and accuracy in processing issues:

"In the beginning, the challenge was to present the news quickly but still in accordance with the needs and facts required by readers. However, other challenges also arise in the process of developing issues, especially since the channel I manage discusses matters related to religion, so

I feel that developing issues has become a new challenge." (K, Detikjogja.com, interview on June 29, 2025).

These results are in line with research (Fernandes 2017) that in online journalism, multitasking involving gathering, writing, editing, and publishing not only adds to the workload but also exacerbates time pressure. This situation is relevant to conditions in Yogyakarta, where female journalists often face similar demands for speed and accuracy. This shows how the practice of externalizing work norms in the field creates a work reality that hinders their well-being.

In contrast to K's opinion (Detikjogja.com), informant SF (IDN Times Jogja) views the fast-paced work culture not as a challenge, but as a responsibility that can be overcome with the right strategy:

"As a journalist, I am accustomed to setting clear targets and preparing myself before coverage, such as knowing who to interview and understanding the situation on the ground. So, in my opinion, it's not work pressure, but rather part of the responsibility that can be overcome with the right strategy." (SF, IDN Times Jogja, interview on July 5, 2025)

In addition to challenges related to work culture, informants highlighted the strong culture of masculinity in the journalistic workplace. Female journalists often experience marginalization, for example in doorstep interviews that require speed and physical strength. SA (Suara 'Aisyiyah) experienced unpleasant incidents during doorstep interviews, where she often did not get the same opportunities as her male colleagues:

"Because female journalists are still a minority, they are more vulnerable. For example, in the field, when conducting doorstep interviews that require interviewing sources directly and quickly, we often have to compete with other journalists. In this situation, female journalists are often pushed or squeezed by their male colleagues, who may be physically stronger" (SA, Suara 'Aisyiyah, interview on July 3, 2025).

Current research confirms the findings of (Silveirinha et.al 2024), which states that gender bias in newsrooms is evident in daily practices, whether through task distribution, interactions with colleagues, or treatment during coverage. Such practices not only reinforce male dominance in the media industry but also impact the overall well-being and work experience of female journalists :

The second incident was experienced by K (Detikjogja.com), which shows the stage of externalization, when female journalists try to adapt to dominant work norms that tend to be masculine:

"In the past, when I first entered the field, I felt uncomfortable, especially when I had to mingle with my male colleagues, especially when they smoked, it made me feel uncomfortable, but I adapted to it" (K, Detikjogja.com, interview on June 29, 2025)

This condition is in line with (Lee et.al 2020) research, which shows that women are more health conscious and therefore tend to avoid smoking. However, because smoking is still synonymous with masculinity and a symbol of closeness in the work environment, female journalists who do not smoke are potentially marginalized from informal conversations as spaces for the exchange of important information.

When linked to work culture and gender norms, this confirms that women's adaptation in the newsroom and in the field is not merely a personal choice, but a form of negotiation with the dominant social structure. As found in K's experience (Detikjogja.com), female journalists express themselves through various strategies, such as avoiding cigarettes altogether, or partially adapting while maintaining personal values and trying to remain present in that environment.

Objectification - Next, informants enter the objectification stage, which is the process whereby human externalization in the form of ideas and actions becomes institutionalized as objective reality (Sulaiman, 2016). This objective reality is tangible, can be experienced collectively, and forms the rules and patterns that apply in society. In the context of this study, the masculine culture in the newsroom

became an objective reality faced by female journalists. In response, informants express personal strategies that then become not only individual experiences, but also contribute to shaping a shared understanding within the organizational structure. BS (Harian Jogja) sees that the welfare of female journalists is no longer solely influenced by personal choices, but also by the organizational system, psychological aspects, and a work culture that instills values of inclusivity and gender equality :

"In our company's organizational structure, job placements are not based on gender, but on individual capacity and ability. Psychologically, I feel that the editorial team is quite flexible and the work culture is also quite good. In terms of welfare, I feel quite fulfilled, including in terms of income. We are also given time off or leave when we are sick, so the working conditions feel more humane and supportive." (BS, Harian Jogja, interview on July 1, 2025)

This experience is no longer personal, but has become standard practice within the organization. This is where the process of objectification occurs, when values such as gender equality, flexibility, and welfare are not only individual aspirations, but are embedded in the organizational structure as observable and measurable work norms. Informant K (Detikjogja.com) also agrees with BS (Harian Jogja) that psychological and material support from the company is an important indicator of well-being, which is now collectively understood as part of the organization's identity.

Internalization - The next stage is internalization, which is when the values and norms that have been institutionalized in the organization are absorbed by individuals. In the context of female journalists, internalization is evident in the way they interpret their work experiences and respond to social expectations regarding gender roles. For example, one informant, K (Detikjogja.com), stated that she was not influenced by the view that women should not dominate in media work:

"Personally, I don't feel influenced by gender issues, because my position is no different from that of male journalists. In the team, I often take on a dominant role and coordinate my male colleagues because that is part of my job. At Detik, what is valued is professionalism and work responsibility, not who is more dominant." (K, Detikjogja.com, interview on July 29, 2025)

In agreement with this, SA (Suara 'Aisyiyah) admits that she is not particularly influenced by social expectations that limit women as leaders in the editorial office:

"Here, I personally do not feel influenced by gender issues. In fact, I feel encouraged to continue developing my capacity. Whenever there is training, I am always involved, and that shows that our potential is truly supported by the work environment." (SA, Suara 'Aisyiyah, interview on July 3, 2025).

This statement shows that informants K and SA have internalized a new norm, namely the value of professionalism, which has become dominant in their organization. They understand and apply this norm as something natural, so that gender issues are no longer a major variable in defining their well-being as journalists.

However, SF's (IDN Times Jogja) experience shows that even though the internalization of professional values has taken place within the company, challenges still arise from outside, namely from sources in the field:

"Personally, I have never felt influenced by social expectations and have not been treated differently, because both men and women work with the same expectations and targets. In fact, the unpleasant experiences I have had come from sources, not colleagues. There have been comments highlighting my appearance, such as calling female journalists beautiful or discussing the shirt I was wearing, even though it had nothing to do with the substance of the interview." (SF, IDN Times Jogja, interview on July 5, 2025)

From this statement, it can be concluded that the challenges faced by female journalists do not only come from the newsroom, but also from outside. This is evidenced by research (Msimanga dkk., 2023) which found that female journalists often face sexual harassment, both verbal and physical, which often comes from sources in the field. SF (IDN Times Jogja) experienced a similar situation, receiving inappropriate comments and explicit verbal harassment.

3.3. The Concept of Welfare According to Liberal Feminism

The welfare experiences of female journalists show diversity influenced by their respective working conditions. Through a liberal feminist perspective, these challenges can be understood in terms of how media policies provide fair space for women. Liberal feminism emphasizes the importance of equal rights and gender-friendly policies (Ningrum, 2024). The results of the study show that the four informants assessed that the companies where they work have made efforts to implement more equitable policies, such as fair treatment without discrimination, equal career opportunities, and attention to the specific needs of women in the workplace. From interviews and observations, the majority of informants stated that they had obtained gender-friendly policies, such as leave rights, equal workloads, and protection. Informant K (Detikjogja.com) emphasized that the media company where she works has provided gender-friendly policies:

“In my opinion, my workplace has implemented gender-friendly policies, especially for female journalists. There is maternity leave for three months and menstrual leave that can be taken every month. I myself have experienced this, because every woman has different conditions during menstruation and does need complete rest.”(K, Detikjogja.com, interview on June 27, 2025)

Then informant SF (IDN Times Jogja) added that policies and rights related to female journalists are regulated by law and are not only enjoyed by female journalists, but male journalists are also allowed to take paternity leave :

“The right to maternity and menstrual leave for female journalists is regulated by law. Male journalists are also entitled to five working days of leave to accompany their wives during childbirth.”(SF, IDN Times Jogja, interview on July 5, 2025)

In addition to gender-friendly policies related to compensation and other matters, informant BS (Harian Jogja) explained that there is no distinction between men and women in terms of equal compensation. Several rewards, bonuses, and salary increases are based on performance considerations:

“At Harian Jogja, there is no overtime system, but there are allowances and bonuses given if the company makes a profit. Employees also receive rewards and compensation, regardless of gender. In general, Harian Jogja is quite fortunate compared to other media outlets.” (BS, Harian Jogja, interview on July 1, 2025)

Regarding how female journalists are recognized in their workplace, the majority said that they want to be recognized as professionals without having to work harder than men. Informant BS (Harian Jogja) said that recognition is based on performance assessment, not gender:

“Even though there are more men, it does not mean that women have to work harder to be recognized. For me, it doesn't mean that we women should get easier tasks, but I would like to see a distinction in terms of leave rights, such as menstruation and childbirth, which so far have been respected by the company. Assignments for women are also usually adjusted, for example, not too far away, as a form of consideration in certain situations.” (BS, Harian Jogja, interview on July 1, 2025)

A different opinion was expressed by informant K (Detikjogja.com), who believes that in some situations, working harder is unavoidable, especially due to the double burden often borne by female journalists.

"Perhaps in some cases, yes, but personally I haven't experienced any obstacles because I don't have a family yet, so I can still keep up with the pace of work at Detik. Unlike my colleagues who are married, they certainly have additional responsibilities and usually take leave when necessary. In general, I see that everyone remains professional. If they really can't work, they choose to take leave so as not to disrupt the team's performance." (K, Detikjogja.com, interview on June 27, 2025).

This statement aligns with the concept of liberal feminism. Liberal feminism focuses on equality of rights, access to policies, and opportunities within formal systems (Stellarosa & Silaban, 2019). The main focus of liberal feminism is institutional reform, not structural revolution, with the belief that women can achieve positions equal to men if given fair opportunities in education, work, law, and politics.

In addition to discussing double burdens, Informant BS (Harian Jogja) suggested that corporate policies in Indonesia regarding the welfare of female journalists need to be improved, even though the media currently has gender-friendly policies in place. However, improvements are still needed in the editorial system:

"There are many things that need to be improved in the media today, especially marketing capacity and journalistic skills, because the challenges are different from before. The media is now also squeezed by digital platforms such as Google, so policies and business models must adapt. In the past, the media was more courageous in voicing public issues such as corruption or diversity, but now that stance has weakened due to business pressures." (BS, Harian Jogja, interview on July 1, 2025).

Not only viewed from structural, cultural, social, and psychological aspects, informant SA (Suara 'Aisyiyah) also sees economic aspects that need to be highlighted:

"In general, one of the things that is still a concern is the issue of salaries, because we know that journalists often do not earn ideal incomes. In addition, media independence also needs to be strengthened, considering that there are still media outlets that are more inclined to serve certain interests, so that their impartiality to the public is not complete." (SA, Suara 'Aisyiyah, July 3, 2025)

So, the experiences of the female journalists above can be summarized as follows: each informant felt that they had obtained equal rights and access to work, especially in relation to gender-friendly policies such as maternity leave, menstrual leave, and compensation that did not discriminate based on gender. The media outlets where they worked were considered to be quite supportive of female journalists' professionalism and encouraged coverage of women's issues, including sensitive ones.

This study found that job evaluations are also considered to be based on ability, not gender. However, welfare is not yet fully equitable. Some female journalists, especially those who are married, still face challenges such as double burdens and a lack of work systems that are responsive to the specific needs of women. On the other hand, economic issues such as salaries that are not yet ideal are also a concern.

Informants also view welfare not only from a financial perspective, but also from psychological support, a healthy work culture, and room for growth. These findings are in line with (Hidayati et.al 2024) that supports policy and structural changes in media organizations. Therefore, it is important for the media to continue to improve overall welfare in terms of income, protection, and a safe, fair, and inclusive work environment.

4. Conclusions

In interpreting well-being, informants assess not only material aspects, but also social and psychological aspects. Although the measure is the same, the interpretation differs according to each individual's experiences and values. At the externalization stage, well-being is understood as not dependent on stereotypes of journalists' lifestyles. At the objectification stage, the informants' views are in line with the surrounding environment that female journalists are already sufficiently prosperous. Meanwhile, at the internalization stage, this view is absorbed as a personal belief that prosperity is adequate, although it still needs to be improved. In general, informants see positive developments through gender-friendly policies, fair work systems, and editorial support for women's issues.

However, the welfare of female journalists is not yet fully equitable due to their limited numbers, the dominance of masculine culture, and the double burden for those with families. Nevertheless, they continue to demonstrate professionalism and actively voice women's issues, which indicates a strong position even though structural and cultural reinforcement is still needed. Therefore, law enforcement against harassment, improved material welfare, and protection campaigns are needed. These efforts must be supported by regular monitoring, transparency in reporting, and the implementation of stricter physical and digital security protocols by the government, relevant institutions, and media organizations.

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