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THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER DISCOURSE IN WOMEN'S NEWS ON TEMPO.CO: A FAIRCLOUGHIAN CDA APPROACH

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Abstract: The construction of gender discourse in mass media coverage has the potential to reproduce stereotypes and power imbalances between men and women. In contrast to previous studies that dominated the discussion of alternative media from a women's perspective, this study examined Tempo.co mainstream media to uncover gender biases constructed in daily news. The novelty of this study lies in the empirical application of Fairclough's three-dimensional model to national mainstream digital media, as well as the finding that the same media can contain multiple representations (subordination and agency) in balanced proportions. This qualitative descriptive research aims to analyze the construction of gender discourse in 16 women's news articles in Tempo.co with the span of 2024 to 2026 using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis approach (textual, discourse practice, and social practice). The results of the study show two main forms of balanced women's construction, namely subordinative/passive as many as 8 data (50%) and agency/active as many as 8 data (50%). Subordinative construction dominates the issue of women as victims of violence, vulnerable groups of disasters, people with health/poverty problems, and victims of the actions of the authorities. On the other hand, the agency construction represents women as advocacy agents, cultural preservationists, economic/social drivers, and agents of environmental resistance. From the dimension of discourse practice, subordinate groups tend to be voiced by other parties, while agency groups are given space to express their opinions directly. This study concludes that Tempo.co does not present a single representation, but rather a dynamic construction between subordination and agency.
Keywords: *construction of gender discourse; women; critical discourse analysis; Norman Fairclough; Tempo.co.*

INTRODUCTION

The construction of gender discourse is the process of forming meaning, identity, and social roles of men and women that are built systematically and institutionally through language in the mass media (Siagian & Subroto, 2024). Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (*Critical Discourse Analysis/CDA*), specifically Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model, language is rejected as a neutral entity or merely a passive mirror that reflects objective reality. Instead, language is understood as a social practice (*Social Practice*) which works dynamically as an arena for production, reproduction, as well as contestation of ideological values and power relations (Sari & Setyonegoro, 2025). Through its mechanism, the mass media plays a hegemonic role through the authority to select, filter, and position (*Positioning*), and framing (*Framing*) of an event, which ultimately forms a cognitive scheme and criteria for public evaluation (Wayan & Sasmitha, 2023). The transition from conventional media to digital journalism has increasingly escalated the intensity of this meaning-forming process. The speed and dynamics of online media algorithms encourage the formation of massive discourse through the articulation of diction, syntactic structure, emphasis on visual aspects, and the ideological orientation of publishing institutions (Amrin & Suherman, 2024). The fundamental problem arises when women are consistently placed as co-opted subjects in an asymmetrical

framing pattern, in which gender bias is not presented rawly, but rather is implanted implicitly or explicitly into the public subconscious through seemingly natural linguistic choices (Kamalia & Hudiono, 2025).

This representation gap is rooted in structural inequalities recorded on both a global and domestic scale. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP 2025) periodic report confirms this systematic inequality, where women only occupy a 26% portion as the main subject or source of news in the mainstream media, an achievement that shows stagnation because it has only shifted 9 percentage points since 1995 (WACC in Cann & Partners, 2025). This empirical data indicates that globally, the editorial architecture of the media is still reluctant to place women in an agency capacity as decision-makers, experts, or actors of change, but rather perpetuates the marginalization of discourse. Monitoring of independent media in Indonesia by institutions such as Remotivi and LBH APIK confirms a similar dichotomy pattern; the presence of women in the news tends to be categorized into two dominant categories, namely as victims of depersonalized gender-based violence or as objects of sensationalism exploited in the entertainment news space.

In an academic response to this phenomenon, a number of researchers have sought to dismantle the dominance of media patriarchy. (Annisa & Budiman, 2024), for example, examining how alternative media such as Talk Perempuan.com successfully formulate counter-narratives (*Counter-Discourse*) with a feminist perspective that challenges the dominant discourse. However, the exploration of alternative media has ontological limitations because the media institution was formed from the beginning with an ideological agenda of empowerment, so it has not been able to describe how the gender bias mechanism works in the newsroom of the mainstream media that carries the claim of neutrality (Alan, 2026). On the other hand, mainstream media studies such as those conducted by (Mardikantoro et al. 2022) on print media, tend to focus linearly on a single form of event, such as sexual crime, so that it misses the complexity of representations in which women's subordination and agency can actually appear simultaneously or contest within the same media institution (Cinta et al., 2025).

Methodologically, the fragmentation of previous studies often stems from partial analysis tendencies. Many CDA studies stop at the micro level (text description) and fail to link the textual analysis integratively with the meso level (the practice of production-consumption of discourse) and the macro level (sociocultural practice) (Ashadi et al., 2024). Although Fairclough's three-dimensional framework has been applied to print media, podcast content, as well as social media and YouTube (Muftiah et al., 2026), the novelty of this research lies in the operation of the Fairclough model thoroughly and simultaneously in the wide-scale national mainstream digital media such as Tempo.co. This novelty is sharpened by the theoretical finding that mainstream media institutions do not absolutely produce a single subordinative discourse, but can show the dynamics of coexistence or ambivalence between subordinated narratives and women's agency in their newsrooms.

The implications of this ambivalent discourse are reflected in journalistic practice Tempo.co (Arifuddin et al., 2022). As an illustration, the news entitled "Women in Pluit Become Victims of Persecution for Allegedly Cheating with the Perpetrator's Husband" (January 9, 2025) makes explicit the morality prejudice clause in the title. The placement of the variable "alleged infidelity" at the lead and title levels shifts the substance of the crime of physical abuse to moral judgment, which covertly constructs the practice of victim blaming. Given the position of Tempo.co as a pillar media with strong agenda-setting reach and authority over public opinion and public policy (Adriani & Maulia, 2024) The gender bias present does not appear in the form of crude sensationalism like the tabloid media. The bias works in a very subtle way (subtle gender bias) that is hidden behind the conventions of objectivity, differentiation of sources, and journalistic neutrality, so that it is much more resistant and difficult to identify with a wide audience (Karlsson et al., 2021). Thus, the decipherment of the interaction between the structure of microlanguage, meso's editorial conventions, and the structure of macro patriarchy in Tempo.co is crucial to fill the academic gap.

Based on the theoretical, empirical, and methodological gaps that have been described, this research is formulated to answer two fundamental questions: (1) how is the construction of gender discourse towards women represented in an integrated manner in the textual dimension (micro), discourse practice (meso), and sociocultural practice (macro) in Tempo.co?; and (2) how is the representation dynamic between subordination tendencies and women's agency balanced, coexisted, or contested in shaping gender

discourse in mainstream digital media in Indonesia?

The effort to answer both research questions makes a significant multidimensional contribution, both theoretically, practically, and methodologically to the landscape of Critical Discourse Analysis (AWK) and media gender studies. At the theoretical level, this study expands the scope of Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional explanatory model when applied to the mainstream digital journalism ecosystem. This study offers a new theoretical articulation that mainstream media institutions do not operate monolithicically on a single pole of representation, but are able to produce multiple representations simultaneously there is an ambivalence dynamic between subordination and agency that has not been widely mapped in the previous AWK literature that tends to occupy the media in a binary manner (Fatimah et al., 2024). In a practical setting, the findings of this research are useful as material for reflection and critical evaluation for journalists and newsrooms Tempo.co and similar media institutions in compiling gender-responsive reporting guidelines. The results of this analysis can also be used as a normative reference for regulatory institutions and media supervisors, such as the Press Council and the Ministry of Communication and Digital, in formulating ethical guidelines for reporting women's issues that are protective of victims, as well as integrated into the journalistic education curriculum to hone the critical media literacy of prospective press personnel. Meanwhile, in the methodological order, this study emphasizes the importance of the position of the researcher (*Researcher's Positionality*) and critical reflexivity. The position of the researcher as a woman is not positioned as a subjective bias, but as a source of hermeneutical sensitivity (*epistemic advantage*) which is based on analysis in unraveling hidden power relations, exposing hidden forms of marginalization, and exposing the practice of victim blaming in news texts in a sharper and more empathetic manner (Ilaa, 2021).

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with the study of Critical Discourse Analysis (*Critical Discourse Analysis/CDA)* Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which assumes that social reality is constructed through power relations and ideologies that work through language (Halifa et al., 2026). The research data is in the form of news texts of women in Tempo.co, with the researcher himself playing the role of *The Human Instrument* in the process of data collection and interpretation.

The research data source consisted of sixteen (16) news articles about women published Tempo.co in the period from January 1, 2024 to December 31, 2026. Sample selection was carried out purposively (*purposive sampling*) through a gradual selection procedure (*funneling*) to ensure the *replicability* of the research. The data search began with an initial corpus search on Tempo.co website using an internal search engine and *Google Search* on online media Tempo.co using the keywords "women", "women", "violence against women", "women leaders", and "gender issues". From the initial search results, the first screening was carried out based on inclusion criteria, namely articles must position women as the main subjects or objects of news, classified as a type of daily news (*hard news*) or *feature*, and proportionally represent six types of social contexts (disasters, violence, economic, cultural, political, and environmental). Furthermore, the final stage of screening is focused on assessing textual richness, where the selected articles must have a textual structure (title, lead, and news content) that is rich in analytical variables such as diction, transitivity, and intertextuality of the source. This procedure resulted in 16 final news articles that were considered the richest and most relevant to be analyzed.

Data is collected through reading and recording techniques, namely intensive reading of the title, lead, content, and conclusion of each story, as well as digital documentation techniques in the form of screenshots and news storage in PDF/HTML format to maintain the authenticity of the data source (Artamefia et al., 2025). Data were analyzed by referring to the three dimensions of the Fairclough model. In the text dimension (micro level), the analysis was focused on vocabulary choice, grammatical structure, transitivity, cohesion, and the structure of news texts that form the representation of women. In the discourse practice dimension (meso level), the analysis was directed at the process of production, distribution, and consumption of texts, including the use of sources and intertextuality patterns in Tempo.co reporting. In the sociocultural practice dimension (macro level), the analysis traced the relationship between news discourse and the broader situational, institutional, and social context, especially patriarchal ideology in Indonesian society (Rubbani et al., 2024). The three stages of data analysis followed the model (Miles &

Hubberman, 2014) in Muftiah et al., 2026) namely data reduction, narrative-descriptive presentation of data in stages following Fairclough's three dimensions, and inductive conclusions drawn based on the overall findings (Yuwantika & Syahira, 2025).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study on women's news in Tempo.co show that there are two main forms of gender discourse construction, namely subordinative/passive construction and agency/active construction. Based on the classification results, 16 data were found in the two constructions. Subordinate/passive construction includes women as victims, vulnerable groups, and parties who experience legal action. Meanwhile, agency/active construction includes women as social agents, political actors, development drivers, economic actors, agents of resistance, and cultural preservationists. The distribution of these data can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. *Distribution of gender discourse construction in women's news in Tempo.co*

Main Categories	Subcategories	Frequency	Percentage
Subordinative/Passive	Women as victims	4	25%
	Women as a vulnerable group	2	12,5%
	Women as objects of action	2	12,5%
Agency/Active	Women as social agents	1	18,75%
	Women as political actors	1	6,25%
	Women as drivers of development	2	12,5%
	Women as economic actors	2	12,5%
	Women as defenders/resistance	2	12,5%

Based on Table 1, subordinative/passive and agency/active constructions have the same number, namely 8 data each (50%). This shows that women's representation in Tempo.co news is not only placed in a subordinate position, but also constructed as subjects who have agency. The subordinate construction most appears in the category of women as victims and parties who experience legal action, while the most agency construction is found in the category of women as social agents and drivers of development. Furthermore, these two constructions are analyzed using Norman Fairclough's theory which includes the dimensions of texts, discourse practices, and social practices. This study analyzes from three aspects of the news section, starting from the title, *lead*, to the relevant content of the women's news text in Tempo.co, the analysis is as follows.

Table 2. *Women's news text data on Tempo.co.*

Data	Title	*Lead* (News Core)	Relevant Content Sections
		Subordinative/Passive Construction	
Date 1 – KSP	Women with disabilities experienced multiple vulnerabilities during the Sumatra flood disaster.	Not only women with disabilities, but women victims of natural disasters without disabilities also have the same vulnerability.	Women with disabilities can experience many times more vulnerability when facing disasters. This vulnerability occurs especially when in refugee camps or evacuations."
Dates 2 – KSP	"Woman Killed by Child of Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia from the PKB Faction in Surabaya"	"A child of a Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia from the PKB faction molested his girlfriend to death. The victim was run over by a car"	"Dini had a fight with Ronald and it led to persecution. Dini's right leg was kicked by Ronald and her head was hit with a Tequila bottle." "Dini was run over and dragged."
Date: 3 – KSP	"Exhausted, a Woman Dies While Watching a New Year's Fireworks Party in Depok"	"The woman suddenly fainted and lay on the sidewalk while the New Year's fireworks party was taking place in front of Margo City Depok."	"It is suspected that the death of South Jakarta residents was due to fatigue and shortness of breath due to the crowd of people watching the fireworks party." "... the woman was already in a supine position or lying on the sidewalk in front of Margo City."

Dates 4 – KSP	"Poor Woman Suffers from a Tumor as Big as a Coconut Shell on Her Head"	"To raise funds for Suani, the family and the local village head formed the Peduli Kasih Community Group. Funds of around IDR 50 million are needed for treatment. However, currently only IDR 1.2 million has been collected."	"A woman named Suani, 51 years old, suffered from a tumor the size of almost a coconut shell on her right head." In addition, there is a statement that "the family does not have the money to refer Suani to Dr. Soetomo Hospital, Surabaya".
Date: 5 – KSP	"Female Victim of Murder of TNI Navy Member in Sorong Had Been Hiding in the Bushes"	"A member of the Indonesian Navy, Sailor Satu Agung Suyono Wahyudi Ponidi, tricked the victim into wanting to leave before committing the murder."	"Kesia Irena Yola Lestaluhu, the victim of murder by a member of the Indonesian Navy Sailor Satu Agung Suyono Wahyudi Ponidi, had hidden in the bushes before being killed." The news then explained that the suspect was looking for the victim because he was worried that the victim would report the incident to his superiors.
Date: 6 – KSP	"Woman Hit by Stray Bullet by Police During Arrest of Drug Trafficker in Southeast Sulawesi"	"The police stated that they would bear the medical expenses of the woman who was hit by a stray bullet during the arrest of the drug trafficker."	A woman with the initials SS, 21 years old, was hit by an officer's bullet while arresting a drug dealer in front of the Lamomea petrol station, South Konawe Regency, Tuesday, January 30, 2024."
Date: 7 – KSP	"Woman in Depok Killed by Her Husband Who Pretended to Be a Victim"	"A woman in Depok was killed by her husband because he refused to have sex. The perpetrator pretended to be his wife when communicating with his family."	"The peak occurred when the suspect asked to have sex with the victim, but the victim refused. The refusal hurt the suspect and then committed murder against the victim."
Date: 8 – KSP	"Pregnant Woman Killed by Lover for Canceling Wedding Plans"	"The victim was killed because he unilaterally canceled the wedding plan. The suspect admitted that he did not know his lover was pregnant."	"A pregnant woman became a victim of murder at a 5-star hotel in Surabaya. The woman was allegedly killed by her own lover." "According to Grandika, the couple checked into the hotel in the early hours of the morning. After entering the room, the two got into an argument and the suspect got out of control."
		Agency/Active Construction	
Copyright © 2019 KAA. All Rights Reserved.	"Mahardika Women Criticize Transwoman Persecution in Bogor City"	"The act of raiding transwomen is a violation of human rights or human rights."	"Chairperson of Women's Mahardhika Mutiara Ika Pratiwi criticized the Bogor City Government and the Bogor City Police for harassing transgender women or transwomen groups in Bogor City." "Transwomen have the same rights and should not be compromised."
Copyright © 2019 KAA. All Rights Reserved.	"Female Guardians of the Kulawi Tribe"	"Pampa is a traditional agricultural land managed by Kulawi women in Central Sulawesi."	"Indigenous women play the role of guardians of sacred spaces, arrangers of rites, heirs of heritage, guardians of knowledge about nature, and local food managers. Kulawi women also manage pampas for

			food security and additional income, while Ina Tobani preserves traditional art through the manufacture of cloth from bark.
Copyright © 2019 KAA All Rights Reserved.	"Empowered Women to Strengthen the Family Economy with PNM"	"PNM continues to encourage women's empowerment through the Mekaar program which strengthens the family and community economy."	"Women not only get access to capital, but also ongoing assistance which includes business training, capacity building, and strengthening social networks between customers."
Copyright © 2019 KAA. All Rights Reserved.	"The Contribution of Ahmadiyya Women in Character Building"	"Women in Islam have a special position as educators for their children."	"Education begins in the womb and lasts throughout life, with mothers as the first teacher for children." "Through Lajnah Imaillah, Ahmadiyya women also play a role in education, social and economic activities, such as Learning Houses, skills training, entrepreneurship, and social activities."
Copyright © 2019 KAA All Rights Reserved.	"Papuan Women Against PSN"	"PSN has a direct impact on daily life. Papuan women are resisting, both with protests and with cultural schools."	"The presence of these large projects has a direct impact on forest loss and deforestation." "There is a number of resistance that women have against the PSN."
Copyright © 2019 KAA. All Rights Reserved.	"Coastal Women Ask Prabowo to Prioritize Access to Clean Water for Fishing Families"	"The Just-In Wash Coalition Indonesia or the Community Coalition for Equitable and Inclusive Water and Sanitation through Coastal Women asks President Prabowo Subianto to commit to improving the lives of fishermen's families."	"Indonesian coastal women really expect the government to provide answers to the situation we continue to experience." "Women are an important pillar in the fisheries sector that is not only involved in fishing, but also actively involved in the processing and sale of marine products."
Copyright © 2019 KAA All Rights Reserved. All Rights Reserve	"Semarang City Posyandu Steals the World's Attention, Proof of the Power of Empowered Women"	"Women are not only the object of development, but also the main subject of change. When women are empowered, families become strong, society becomes resilient, and Semarang City will be even greater."	"One of the highlights is the role of around 16,000 cadres of integrated service posts or posyandu who voluntarily maintain public health." "Women are not only the object of development, but also the main subject of change."
Copyright © 2019 KAA. All Rights Reserved.	"The Role of Village Women as Drivers of Development"	"Village women play a strategic role in inclusive human development, as revealed by the in-depth study of the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Development."	"This study highlights the role of women as the main drivers of sustainable village development." "Village women, with their potential and resilience, are key to realizing a more advanced, equitable, and equal Indonesia."

The construction of gender discourse in women's news (text dimension)

Based on the overall Data 1–8, the construction of gender discourse in the text dimension shows two opposite tendencies, namely the subordinative/passive construction and the agency/active construction. These two tendencies

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can be seen through the choice of vocabulary and grammatical structure used in the news

On the one hand, women are often represented through words such as women with disabilities, multiple vulnerabilities, victims, persecuted, suffering, dying, being killed, and being hit by stray bullets. These word choices tend to describe women based on the conditions or events they experience (Wardi, 2024). The use of passive forms, such as being persecuted and killed, clearly places women as the recipients of the action, while the perpetrator or other parties are in the position of actors. This pattern is also seen when women are portrayed as parties in need of help, care, protection, or assistance, while other parties, such as men, police officers, medical personnel, families, communities, and government agencies are more represented through active actions, such as handling, providing help, conducting investigations, or providing assistance (Riedl et al., 2024). The difference in the use of language forms an unbalanced position between women as the party who experiences and the other party as the party who acts (Fairclough, 1989 in Kurniawan & Fitri, 2022). However, some data found actions that indicate women's agency, such as refusing, requesting divorce, canceling marriage plans, and ending relationships. However, such agencies generally appear in the context of violence and unbalanced power relations (Listiyapinto, 2024). On the other hand, some data actually shapes women as subjects through the use of active vocabulary and verbs that show women's actions, abilities, and contributions (Adam et al., 2025). Words such as criticizing, protecting, managing, inheriting, weaving, concocting, developing, leading, educating, teaching, fighting, demanding, asking, taking roles, and contributing place women as actors (Gazali et al., 2023). Data 1 shows women as a group that dares to express criticism of the actions of the government and the authorities. Data 2 and Data 4 show women as guardians of culture, knowledge, education, and social values. Data 3, Data 7, and Data 8 emphasize women as empowered individuals and contribute to economic activities and development, while Data 5 and Data 6 show women as actors who resist, convey demands, and fight for the interests of society (Mukminati et al., 2025).

Thus, in the text dimension, the construction of gender discourse in Tempo.Co news is not singular, but rather displays two poles of representation: women as parties who experience and receive actions, and women as parties who act, speak, and contribute. These two poles are present simultaneously and depend on the context of the events reported.

Discourse practice in women's news in Tempo.co media

In the dimension of discourse practice, the construction of gender discourse is shaped through the way news is produced and the way information about women is conveyed to readers (Gazali et al., 2023). In general, women are the main focus of the news because of their condition, suffering, or events (Arifuddin et al., 2022), but women are not always the main source of the news. Information about women's experiences is mostly conveyed through information from other parties, such as police officers, medical personnel, families, government agencies, and the community (Widiatmika et al., 2024). The dominance of these sources suggests that the narrative about women is mostly shaped and explained by those who have certain authority or positions (Yogantara et al., 2024). In cases of violence, for example, more information is obtained through police information and the investigation process, while in cases of vulnerability due to disasters or poverty, women's conditions are explained more through related institutions, families, or communities (Budiwati, 2021). Even when women have their own will or make their own decisions, as in the case of rejection of a relationship or the cancellation of marriage plans, information about the decision is still conveyed through a third party. This pattern suggests that discourse practices also limit women's position as subjects who can express their experiences and views directly (Marzuki, 2021).

On the other hand, most of the data also shows a shift in discourse practices that make room for women's voices, experiences, actions, and contributions. In these data, women are not only the objects that are discussed, but also the subjects who convey their views and take action (Siregar & Qurniawati, 2022). News presents women through organizations, communities, indigenous peoples' groups, coastal women's groups, and women involved in economic and development activities. Data 1 and Data 6 provide space for women to convey criticism, aspirations, and demands to those in authority. Data 2, Data 4, and Data 5 build a discourse about women through their experiences and roles in preserving culture, education, the environment, and people's lives, while Data 3, Data 7, and Data 8 are more constructive about women through empowerment and development discourse, by displaying women's ability to take advantage of opportunities, develop capacity, and contribute to

society (Andriani, 2023). However, in Data 3 and Data 8, women's empowerment is still associated with economic programs and government policies, so that the women agencies shown remain within the framework of institutional support.

Thus, the practice of discourse in news Tempo.Co shows two tendencies that go hand in hand: on the one hand limiting women as objects explained by other parties, and on the other hand opening up space for women to appear as producers of discourse and social actors who convey their own experiences and knowledge to the public.

Social practices behind the construction of gender discourse in news in the Tempo.co media

In the dimension of social practice, the construction of gender discourse is not only concerned with individual events, but also reflects broader social conditions and power relations (Fitriani et al., 2026). The data analyzed showed that women's vulnerability can arise in various contexts, such as disasters, disability, poverty, health, violence, public spaces, and personal relationships. In the context of disasters, women are constructed as groups that have greater vulnerability and need special protection. In the context of poverty and health, women are described as economically disadvantaged and dependent on family and community assistance (Wardi, 2024). Meanwhile, in cases of violence, women are placed as the parties who experience the action and face male power, and this condition is increasingly seen when women's decision to refuse or end a relationship is not respected and instead leads to violence (Mudiawati et al., 2023). In addition to the power relationship between women and men, some data also shows that there is a power relationship between women and institutions (Rohman, 2025). Police officers, medical personnel, and government agencies have the authority to determine actions, provide handling, and explain an event to the public, so that women appear more as parties who receive impact, help, or protection (Silveirinha et al., 2024).

In addition, social practices in the analyzed data also show an expansion of women's representation in various living spaces. Women are not only placed in the domestic sphere, but also appear as actors in the social, economic, cultural, educational, environmental, political, and development fields. Data 1 shows women as agents of rights defenders and opponents of discrimination. Data 2 shows the role of women in maintaining the sustainability of culture, local knowledge, resources, and food security. Data 3, Data 7, and Data 8 show women as economic and development agents who contribute to the welfare of families and communities. Data 4 shows women as educational, social, and economic agents, while Data 5 shows women as agents of resistance to the impacts of development and environmental damage. Data 6 shows that women also have socio-political agency through the courage to convey the needs and interests of the community to the government. Socially, this condition shows a change in women's position from those who only receive development policies or benefits to those who take part in determining, mobilizing, and influencing social life. However, some representations still show the relationship between women and traditional roles, such as family, children's education, and household welfare (Sari & Setyonegoro, 2025) and women's agencies in the context of empowerment often remain associated with the support of specific government programs or institutions (Paradise, 2025).

Thus, the social practices that underlie the news in Tempo.Co show two conditions that run concurrently: women remain vulnerable and in unbalanced power relations in certain contexts, but at the same time also experience an expansion of their role as social, economic, cultural, and political agents. This expansion of roles indicates the strengthening of women's agency, but it remains within the social, cultural, and institutional structures that influence it (I. G. Agung & Wise, 2025).

Based on an analysis of 16 news data, women's representation in the media is divided into two main forms, namely subordinative/passive and agency/active constructions with a portion of 50% each. (Nafiyah et al., 2025). This distribution shows that the media does not construct women's representation alone. On the one hand, women are shown as parties who experience, receive, or become victims of an event. On the other hand, women are also represented as parties who are able to act, voice interests, and actively contribute to social life (Kusuma et al., 2024).

In the subordinate construction, women are more presented through the traumatic conditions or events they experience, especially as victims of violence or murder by men, as well as as as a group that is vulnerable due to disasters, diseases, and poverty (Fitriani et al., 2026). Vocabulary choices such as "killed", "persecuted", or "vulnerable group" directly place women as objects who accept action or need help. Although in some cases there appears to be a will or refusal on the part of women,

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these decisions are often ignored and instead trigger violence, which reflects the inequality of interpersonal power relations in society (Aini et al., 2024).

On the contrary, the construction of agency places women as empowered subjects or agents of change in various fields, ranging from advocacy for rights, cultural preservation, economic empowerment, to resistance to certain policies (Kurniawati et al., 2022). The use of active verbs such as "criticize", "bequeath", "manage", and "lead" shows women's ability to influence their social environment (A. Agung et al., 2023). In this group, women are not only the target of assistance or traditional implementers, but also appear as key actors who are able to produce counter discourses and drive community development (Fatimah et al., 2024).

These two contrasting tendencies mark the ambivalence of women's representation in media discourse (Nursanti, 2022). These differences also affect discourse practices, where subordinate news tends to limit women's voices by relying on information from outside authorities such as the apparatus, while agency news provides ample space for women to express their views (Budiwati, 2021). In the end, media coverage becomes a negotiation space that not only reflects the reality of social vulnerability, but also represents the dynamics of agency and the position of women in the public space (Efendi, 2025).

The current findings expand and question some of the conclusions drawn from previous research in critical discourse analysis and gender studies. BeDifferent from (Setyarahajoe & Fadeli, 2025) which found that print media tends to predominantly place women in the position of victims in reporting violence, this study shows that mainstream digital media such as Tempo.co simultaneously also produce an equal portion of agency representation, so the generalization that mainstream media consistently subordinates women needs to be reviewed in the context of digital journalism (Juanta et al., 2025). The findings on gender bias that subtly work behind these claims of objectivity also confirm the argument (Marwata, 2026) about the subtle gender bias in high-standard media, while expanding it by showing that the subtlety of bias does not prevent the same media from giving space to women's voices as agents. In line with (Saputra Dandi, 2023) Highlighting the narrative discrepancy in news headlines, the study also found that headlines and leads play an important role in framing women's positions from the beginning of reading, reinforcing the argument that textual dimensions cannot be separated from discourse and social practices simultaneously (Bestari et al., 2026).

CONCLUSION

Based on Norman Fairclough's analysis of 16 women's news data, two forms of construction, namely subordinative/passive and agency/active, were found to be 8 data (50%) each. Subordinative construction represents women as victims or vulnerable parties, while agency construction places women as active and empowered subjects.

In the text dimension, the difference is seen through the choice of vocabulary and the use of active and passive verbs. In the practice of discourse, women in the agency construction are given more space to express their voices and opinions. Meanwhile, in social practice, both constructions reflect the existence of gender power relations, as well as show the shift in women's position from object to subject in social life.

Thus, women's reporting in the media does not produce a single representation, but shows women as vulnerable parties as well as having agency and the ability to make changes.

These findings provide input for media editors to be more sensitive to placing women as direct sources, not just objects explained by other parties, as well as for journalistic education to integrate gender perspectives in the news writing curriculum. For public awareness, these findings regarding the coexistence of subordination and agency can be critical media literacy material so that readers are able to recognize the patterns of gender framing that work subtly in the mainstream media. This study has a number of limitations. First, the scope of data is limited to 16 articles from one media (Tempo.co) so that the findings cannot necessarily be generalized to other online media with different editorial policies. Second, the analysis relies on texts published without interviews with journalists or editors, so that the process of producing texts in the dimension of discourse practice is more inferred from the text itself. Third, as a human instrument, the researcher realizes that the interpretation of the data can still be potentially influenced by the researcher's own position and perspective, although reflexivity has been sought throughout the analysis process. The next research is suggested to expand the data on several mainstream online media comparatively, involve interviews with journalists to deepen the dimensions of discourse practice, and examine readers' responses and interpretations to the construction of gender discourse.

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