ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE REPORTING OF SITI ELINA IN TEMPO.CO: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY

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Abstract
The mass media constructs events into news. It is not uncommon for the mass media to create a phobia effect in society when constructing certain events. This study aims to describe, interpret, and reveal Tempo.co's strategies in promoting Islamophobia in reporting on Siti Elina, a woman who brandished a gun in front of Istana Merdeka. This is a critical qualitative research. The research data is in the form of diction suspected to contain elements of Islamophobia. The data source is news on the Tempo.co online media that aired from October 25-28, 2022, and five articles were selected. Data collection used the observation method with the free participant observation technique and note-taking technique. After the data was collected, it was analyzed using the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) model by Norman Fairclough. The results of this study indicate that (a) in the text analysis dimension, Tempo.co constructs Islamophobia towards Islamic clothing and attributes, Islamic organizations, Islamic teachings, and Islamic religious teachers; (b) in the discourse practice analysis dimension, Tempo.co marginalized the issue by reporting on Siti Elina's case in an unbalanced manner; (c) in the sociocultural analysis dimension, the Islamophobic discourse produced by Tempo.co cannot be separated from the political interests involved.

Keywords— critical discourse analysis, islamophobia, mass media, norman fairclough, tempo.co, siti elina, terrorist

Introduction
In recent times, the development of mass media is growing rapidly. Every day, mass media produces news. News presented today is not only in printed form such as newspapers but also in electronic media such as radio and television as well as online-based media. In recent years, online media has been rapidly developing and has become a means of fulfilling the information needs of society (Nadin & Ikhtiono, 2019). Therefore, online media readers are now more numerous than print media readers (Leksno & Elmda, 2017; Suyasa & Sedana, 2020).

The proliferation of media today has resulted in media companies competing with one another to secure ratings. Various methods are used by the media to maintain and increase their ratings. One way is by constructing viral and important events and making them into headline news. The construction of these events into news will create a certain effect on the public. This effect will be more pronounced if the constructed event is an event that disrupts public safety. One example is the reporting of terrorism acts that occurred some time ago.

Terrorist activities have occurred several times in Indonesia. Many media outlets construct these terrorist activities into news that is widely seen by the public. One of these incidents occurred towards the end of 2022. The public was shocked by the actions of a woman who held a gun to the head of a presidential security guard in front of the Presidential Palace on October 25, 2022. This woman's actions were associated with terrorism and widely reported by many media outlets, including Tempo.co (Pebrianto & Febriyan, 2022).

Zahid & Naufel (2018) argued that mass media has created a phobia effect of fear in the
public towards terrorism due to its coverage. If examined specifically, terrorism coverage has created a phobia effect towards Islam or Islamophobia because it is often associated with Islam (Susanto & Intizar, 2021). In reporting the action of the woman who held a gun, Tempo.co suggested that her action was influenced by her religion (Islam). In other words, Tempo.co has constructed the act of terror committed by the woman to have a connection with Islam. Based on this, Tempo.co has suggested Islamophobia towards the woman's action.

Media does not always convey their discourse through explicit news language. Such discourse can be understood by critically analyzing the text. Similarly, the Islamophobic discourse propagated by mass media can be critically analyzed through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The research question in this study is how Tempo.co employs strategies to convey Islamophobia in their reporting of the woman who held a gun in front of the Merdeka Palace? The purpose of this research is to describe, interpret, and reveal Tempo.co's strategies in conveying Islamophobia in their reporting of the woman who held a gun in front of the Merdeka Palace. This research uses Norman Fairclough's model of CDA.

Previous research relevant to this study has been conducted by several parties. Firstly, Syahputra, Kunandar, & Iqbal (2016) examined media strategies in reporting corruption cases involving political party officials in Indonesia during the 2014 election. The study found that Kompas reported that corrupt officials were linked to their religious identity, while Republika did not raise religious discourse in their reporting of corruption cases but instead linked it to personal issues related to politics. Secondly, Istriwati (2017) examined news on the DKI Jakarta regional elections on October 13, 2016, by Detiknews. The study found that the vocabulary used in the text was in the form of limiting categories and marginalization intentionally used by Detiknews writers to guide readers' opinions to be in line with Detiknews' opinions. Thirdly, Wazis, Hidayat, & Wahyudin (2020) studied the construction of terrorism-radicalism news in Islamic boarding schools. The study found that terrorism-radicalism news is a false reality that reflects the domination of elites in conveying terrorism and radicalism issues towards Islamic boarding schools. In addition, the news is produced because the media is oriented towards market interests, causing the reality of the issue to become false.

Fourth, Aryana, Burhanudin, Ahmadi, Santoso, & Rustono (2021) conducted a study on the news coverage of the Kabul International Airport bombing by Sindonews.com and Republika.ac.id. The study found that Sindonews.com more frequently featured Joe Biden (President of the United States) as an actor who demanded accountability and promised to retaliate against those responsible for the bombing, while Republika.ac.id tended to represent the victims of the bombing. Fifth, Nurhayati & Sukarno (2022) studied the attitude of Tanwirul Afkar (TA) magazine in responding to BEM UI's criticism of Jokowi. The study found that TA magazine remained neutral in shaping a negative image of both sides. The analysis of discourse practices focused on the selection of sources and the selection of issues presented and was examined from an Islamic perspective.

Based on the previous research descriptions above, it is known that the previous research focused on the coverage of corruption cases, regional elections, terrorism-radicalism in Islamic boarding schools, bomb attacks in Afghanistan, and the attitude of TA magazine towards criticisms of Jokowi. What distinguishes the previous research from this research is that this study will focus on media strategies in framing Islamophobia towards news about a woman who brandished a gun in front of Istana Merdeka recently. As far as is known, this topic has not been studied by anyone before.

**Literature Review**

**Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Critical discourse analysis is a study that aims to reveal the hidden meanings behind the statements made by the subject, which is to uncover how power, domination, and inequality are practiced, reproduced, and resisted through written texts or discussions in social and political contexts (Abidin, 2019, pp. 268–269). Critical discourse analysis is a method used to examine and understand the ways of meaning-making that occur in a language, including how ideology and power are reflected in the discourse.
Tabolt et al. (in Salarian & Afri, 2022) argue that power is exercised through language in various ways that are not always clear. Therefore, critical discourse analysis aims to uncover this power. Critical discourse analysis is not only used to analyze media texts (as in communication studies), but also to analyze all forms of social imbalances represented through language (Febriyanti & Suyudi, 2022).

The Norman Fairclough model of critical discourse analysis uses three dimensions: textual analysis, discourse practice analysis, and sociocultural practice analysis (Fairclough, 2010, p. 132). Textual analysis is the representation of thoughts, interests, or ideologies attached to a text. Discourse practice analysis is related to the process of text production and consumption, resulting in the emergence of a text. Sociocultural practice analysis is related to the ideology or beliefs of a society in shaping a text, so that the text can exist. This third dimension involves situational, institutional, and social contexts.

Language and Media

Cory (2022, p. 83) suggests that the media uses various ways to persuade the public and direct them towards perspectives that align with the media's ideological interests. In critical perspective, the various discourses presented by the mass media represent a power and ideological struggle. Therefore, Sukarno (2015) argues that language becomes a tool to exercise power in order to achieve the speaker's desired goals. Pecheux also explains that language is a battlefield for various social groups and classes to instill beliefs and understanding to the public (Eriyanto, 2006, p. 16). Consistent with the above opinions, Samsuri (1980, p. 4) also states that language is a fundamental element used by humans to shape thoughts and feelings, desires and actions, and to influence and be influenced.

In mass media, language cannot simply be interpreted as a tool to narrate events into news alone. However, language has a greater function beyond that. Palmer stated that language is a tool to convey factual information and is also used for other purposes, such as convincing, persuading, or influencing others (Keraf, 2009, p. 30). From a critical perspective, Eriyanto (2006, pp. 22–23) argued that mass media serves as a tool for dominant groups to manipulate and reinforce their presence while marginalizing other non-dominant groups. Therefore, news produced by mass media cannot be viewed as neutral discourse. The news is produced in accordance with the ideology and interests of the media.

Islamophobia

The media plays a significant role in creating the effect of Islamophobia in society. Islamophobia is an excessive hatred and fear of Islam (Aziz, 2016; Dedi, Murdiono, Theo, Taruki, & Franszedha, 2021). Furthermore, Islamophobia leads to hatred and hostility towards Muslim believers (Nashir, 2021; Wolf in Ruhiat & Akim, 2020). Islamophobia is an anti-Islam phenomenon propagated by the West by creating prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination against Muslims (Mohamad & Siren, 2020; Mu’it, 2022, p. 28).

Research Method

This research is a qualitative-critical study. Prasetyo & Sukarno (2022) state that qualitative-critical research is a type of research that seeks to describe, interpret, and criticize data based on how media constructs a certain reality. The data of this research consists of words or word choices suspected to contain elements of Islamophobia. The data source for this research is the online media Tempo.co published on October 25-28, 2022, and five news articles were selected as follows.
The data collection stage used the techniques of reading and note-taking. Data collection was carried out by carefully, thoroughly, and critically reading written online news articles. Text segments that indicated containing elements of Islamophobia were then marked. The marked data was then selected and sorted according to the needs of the data analysis. In sorting the data, this research used the code B and A, and also used numbers. Code B means news and A means paragraphs in the news. The number following the code indicates the sequence. For example, B1A1 means news 1 and paragraph 1.

After being classified and sorted, the data was analyzed using four steps: 1) reading the data, 2) selecting the data, 3) presenting the data, and 4) drawing conclusions. Data analysis used the CDA Fairclough approach. Data analysis was divided into three dimensions: text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and sociocultural practice analysis. In the first dimension, the text was analyzed to uncover Tempo.co's strategies in talking about Islamophobia in the reporting of a woman with a gun in front of the Istana Merdeka based on the diction used. In the second dimension, discourse practice analysis was carried out to determine how the media produced and consumed texts in relation to the reporting of the woman with a gun. In the third dimension, sociocultural practice analysis was conducted to determine how discourse developed in society involving the political and cultural systems in Indonesia.

Results and Discussion

This research aims to describe, interpret, and reveal Tempo.co's strategies in discussing Islamophobia in the coverage of the case of a woman who held a gun to the President's security personnel in front of the Istana Merdeka on October 25th, 2022. Data analysis in this research was conducted through three dimensions: text analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The following are the explanations of these three analyses.

Text Analysis Dimension

The first dimension in the Normal Fairclough's CDA model is text analysis (Fairclough, 2010). In this dimension, a news article does not only present an object as it is portrayed but also shows how the relationship between the objects is defined. The media represents something through the news text it produces. Text can be considered a form of representation of something that contains a certain ideology. To determine this, the text needs to be linguistically analyzed or by looking at its linguistic aspects. The construction of Islamophobia in Tempo.co's coverage of the case of a woman who held a gun to the President's security personnel in front of the Istana Merdeka can be identified from the diction, which is as follows.

Islamophobia Construction Against Islamic Clothing and Attributes

Tempo.co constructed Islamophobia towards the case of a woman named Siti Elina, who wielded a gun in front of the Presidential Palace. The first aspect of Tempo.co's Islamophobic construction is directed towards Islamic clothing and attributes. This can be seen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News sequence</th>
<th>News Headline</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ini Kronologi Perempuan Todongkan Pistol ke Paspampres di Istana Merdeka</td>
<td>(Pebrianto &amp; Febriyan, 2022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Perempuan Penodong Pistol ke Paspamres di Istana Gunakan Pistol Milik Pamannya</td>
<td>(Sabilillah &amp; Dewi, 2022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Siti Elina, Perempuan Penerobos Istana Tak Kooperatif Saat Diperiksa Densus 88</td>
<td>(Zaki &amp; Dewi, 2022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Densus 88 Tetapkan Guru Siti Elina Jadi Tersangka Kasus Terorisme</td>
<td>(Ismail &amp; Wibowo, 2022b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Densus 88 Jelaskan Peran Guru Siti Elina yang Jadi Tersangka Kasus Terorisme</td>
<td>(Ismail &amp; Wibowo, 2022a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in the following news text:

(1) Wahyu menyatakan peristiwa itu terjadi sekitar pukul 07.10 WIB. Awalnya, seorang perempuan berpakaian gamis dan bercadar berjalan menuju pembatas jalan di depan Istana Merdeka di Jalan Merdeka Utara. [B1A2]
(Wahyu stated that the incident occurred around 7:10 a.m. Initially, a woman wearing an Islamic dress and veil walked towards the road barrier in front of the Presidential Palace on Jalan Merdeka Utara)

(2) Pada saat perempuan penodong pistol ke Paspampres itu ditangkap, polisi menyita sejumlah barang bukti, antara lain tas ransel, kitab suci, handphone, dompet warna merah muda berisi uang tunai, dan pistol jenis FN P1. [B3A4]
(When the woman who wielded a gun towards the Paspampres was arrested, the police confiscated several pieces of evidence, including a backpack, a holy book, a mobile phone, a pink wallet containing cash, and a FN P1 gun)

In the first data above, Tempo.co reported on the incident of a woman who wielded a gun against the presidential security guards at 7:10 AM. Tempo.co represented the perpetrator as a woman who adheres to a certain religion. This can be seen from the phrase “berpakaian gamis dan bercadar” (wearing an Islamic dress and veil). A gamis is a clothing item that is synonymous with Muslim women. This is reinforced by the use of the phrase "veil". With the use of this phrase, the public will conclude that the woman is a Muslim and follows Islam. Such reporting creates an Islamophobic effect on gamis and veils. It will also make the public scared every time they encounter a Muslim woman wearing a gamis and veil.

In the second data above, Tempo.co reported that the woman was carrying a bag which contained several items, one of which was a holy book. The item was confiscated by the police and became evidence. Although the phrase “kitab suci” (holy book) has a general definition, it clearly refers to the holy book of Muslims, namely the Quran, as seen in data 1 which mentions that the woman wore a gamis and veil and is thus closely related to Islam. By finding the Quran in her bag, the perpetrator is depicted as a devout Muslim. Interestingly, in carrying out her terrorist act, she chose to bring the Quran instead of other items that would be more useful in supporting her act of terror. Thus, Tempo has constructed Islamophobia towards Muslim women who wear gamis and veils and carry the Quran.

Islamophobia Construction Towards Islamic Organizations

The construction carried out by Tempo.co next is the construction of Islamophobia towards Islamic organizations. In this case, Tempo.co reported that Siti Elina's terrorist action in front of the Merdeka Palace was influenced by the Islamic organization she followed on social media. This can be seen from the following news text:

(3) Dalam pemeriksaan, perempuan bergamis dan bercadar itu diketahui mengikuti akun media sosial eks organisasi Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia serta akun media sosial kelompok Negara Islam Indonesia (NII). [B3A5]
(In the investigation, the woman who wore a gamis and veil was found to follow the social media accounts of the former organization Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and the social media accounts of the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) group)

(4) Aswin juga mengatakan dari pemeriksaan awal, keterhubungan perempuan 24 tahun itu dengan jaringan kelompok radikal Islam itu masih didalami oleh Ditreskrimum Polda Metro Jaya dan Densus 88. [B3A7]
(Aswin also said that from the initial investigation, the connection between the 24-year-old woman and the radical Islamic group network is still being investigated by the Metro Jaya Regional Police and Densus 88)

(5) Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme atau BNPT menyebut perempuan bernama Siti Elina itu merupakan pendukung organisasi masyarakat Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia atau HTI, yang telah dibubarkan pemerintah. [B1A11]
(The National Counterterrorism Agency or BNPT stated that the woman named Siti Elina is a supporter of the community organization Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia or HTI, which has been disbanded by the government)
In data 3 above, Tempo.co reported that Siti Elina followed the social media accounts of two Islamic organizations, namely Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and Negara Islam Indonesia. In other words, Tempo.co reported that the woman's actions were influenced by these two organizations. However, the connection between Siti Elina and the two organizations has not been proven yet. The police, along with Densus 88, are still investigating the matter. However, Tempo.co has reported that the two parties seem to have a connection. Furthermore, in data 4, Tempo.co referred to the two organizations as radical groups. The phrase "radical Islamic group" has an ambiguous meaning. This is because Tempo.co did not explain the strong reasons why the two organizations were labeled as radical. Thus, Tempo.co has engaged in Islamophobia towards these two organizations, implying that they were partly responsible for the actions of Siti Elina.

Moreover, Tempo.co strengthened its Islamophobia towards the HTI organization, which can be seen in data 5 above. In this data, Tempo.co stated that HTI was an organization that had been disbanded by the government. The phrase "disbanded by the government" creates a negative connotation towards HTI, as if the organization was dangerous and the government had to disband it. However, in reality, the government only revoked HTI's status as a legal entity. Legal expert Yusril Ihza Mahendra stated that through the State Administrative Court (PTUN), the government only revoked HTI's Association Legal Entity (BHP) Decree. The revocation of the BHP Decree did not make HTI an illegal organization, and the status of HTI is still legal and valid as one of the organizations in Indonesia (CNN Indonesia, 2018).

Islamophobia Construction Against Islamic Teachings

The next construction made by Tempo.co is the construction of Islamophobia against Islamic teachings. In this case, Tempo.co reports that the motive behind Siti Elina's brandishing of a weapon in front of the Presidential Palace was because she wanted to enter heaven and uphold Islamic ideology. This can be seen in the following news text.

(6) Diketahui bahwa Tersangka kasus kepemilikan senjata, Siti Elina (24) mengaku pernah mendapatkan wangsit dan mimpi masuk surga atau neraka sehingga nekat berusaha menerobos istana, Selasa kemarin. [B4A12]

(7) Karena wangsit ini, Siti merasa mesti menegakkan ajaran yang dia anggap benar. "Berkesimpulan bahwa dia harus menegakkan ajaran yang benar. Akan kami terus dalami motivasi yang bersangkutan," kata Aswin. [B4A14]


(9) "Tujuannya ingin bertemu pak Jokowi untuk menyampaikan bahwa Indonesia ini salah karena dasarnya bukan Islam, tapi Pancasila," katanya, pada Rabu, 26 Oktober 2022. [B3A12]

In the data 6 above, Tempo.co reported that before she pointed the gun, Siti Elina
had received a divine revelation (wangsit) and had a dream of entering heaven or hell. The divine revelation and dream became Siti Elina's reason for daring to point the gun at the presidential guards. Tempo.co constructed her as a reckless woman. Only with a divine revelation and a dream of entering heaven or hell, she dared to commit an act of terror. This indicates that people who want to enter heaven and avoid hell must resort to violence or terrorism. Thus, Tempo.co has constructed Islamophobia towards Islamic teachings of heaven and hell.

Furthermore, in data 7-9 above, Tempo.co reported that the divine revelation received by Siti Elina was a teaching that is considered true, which is the Islamic ideology. Because the Indonesian state ideology (Pancasila) does not conform to the divine revelation she received, Siti Elina then dared to point a gun at the presidential guards in front of the Merdeka Palace to meet President Jokowi and replace Pancasila with Islam. This news aims to pit Islam against Pancasila. The representation of Siti Elina by Tempo.co depicts that Pancasila is not in line with Islam, so it must be immediately replaced through violence. However, Islam has its own method of changing evil through gentle and peaceful preaching. This news is a construction of Islamophobia by Tempo.co towards Islamic teachings, namely the Islamic ideology. The Islamic ideology is depicted as a harsh and terroristic teaching.

Islamophobia Construction Against Islamic Religious Teachers

The construction carried out by Tempo.co next is the construction of Islamophobia against Islamic religious teachers. In this case, Tempo.co reported that Siti Elina was influenced by her Islamic religious teacher. This can be seen from the following news text.


(Densus 88 Antiterror Police explained the role of a religious teacher of Siti Elina, a pistol-wielding woman who broke into the Presidential Palace on Tuesday, October 25, 2022. The religious teacher with the initials JM has now been declared a suspect)


(The Head of Assistance Operations Division of Densus 88, Commissioner Aswin Siregar, stated that JM was a religious teacher who was called a murabbi by his followers. It is also known that he comes from a terrorist group, the Indonesian Islamic State (NII))

In data 10-11 above, Tempo.co reported that JM, as Siti Elina's teacher, was made a suspect. This is because JM played a role in making Siti Elina dared to hold a weapon in front of the Istana Merdeka. JM's identity is displayed as a "guru ngaji" or "murabbi". This implies that the teacher who taught Siti Elina was not a general teacher, but more specifically, a teacher who taught her about Islam. This creates the interpretation that the teacher who taught her Islam is the cause of Siti Elina's terrorist act. Thus, Tempo.co has constructed Islamophobia against Islamic religious teachers.

Discourse Practice Dimension

The second dimension in Fairclough's CDA model is the analysis of discourse practice (Fairclough, 2010). What is observed is the aspect of text production and consumption. In relation to the news text of the woman who brandished a gun by Tempo.co, things that need to be considered include the background of the media and its governance system, namely how news is selected and presented.
Tempo.co, an online media, is a subsidiary of the Tempo Group. Its owner is PT Tempo Inti Media. Tempo.co is the digital version of Tempo print newspaper. Before the existence of online media, the company initially focused on producing magazines that have been published since March 1987 (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019). Furthermore, on April 2, 2001, the media expanded its business by publishing a weekly newspaper. In 2008, the company expanded its business into the online realm. The online media now also uses application-based services. The Tempo.co application won the Silver Award "The Best Mobile Media 2011" from the Asia Digital Media Award 2011. Tempo.co also became the world champion in the media hackathon competition held by the Global Editors Network association in Vienna, Austria on June 17, 2016.

Tempo.co applies high journalism standards in covering and writing about events sharply, intelligently, and objectively (Miqrarullah & Musfialdy, 2020). Tempo.co aims to stand out from other media by presenting news from an event critically and deeply. Therefore, the uniqueness of this media lies in its journalistic language, which is sometimes considered too harsh in criticizing certain parties. In 1982, Tempo magazine was first banned for being deemed too sharp in criticizing the New Order regime. This media has been banned by the government several times before the reform era because it was deemed too harsh in criticizing the government.

In its development, Tempo does not only present news that is too sharp in criticizing the government to the point of being cynical. This media also often reports on Islam with cynical news (Wibowo, 2015, p. 86). In reporting the case of a woman holding a gun in front of the Merdeka Palace, Tempo.co reported that the woman's action seemed to have a connection and influence from Islam. Besides, Tempo.co turns out not to be in line with its own established journalism standards. This media reported the woman's gun-pointing action in an unbalanced or biased manner.

Based on the data analysis of 5 selected news articles, it is known that Tempo.co focuses more on taking sources from government officials, security forces, and related institutions handling terrorism cases. It is known that Tempo.co has reported on the Siti Elina case several times using interviews from the same figure. Furthermore, Tempo.co has marginalized or limited information sourced from the perpetrator and people close to the perpetrator. This is similar to previous cases of terrorism reported by other media outlets. Even suspected perpetrators of terrorism are shot dead on the spot without being given a chance to prove their actions in court. Therefore, Tempo.co has conducted unbalanced or biased reporting.

Tempo.co has presented and constructed itself as supporting statements made by the government, security forces, and related institutions handling terrorism cases. Without interviewing the perpetrator and people close to the perpetrator, Tempo.co journalists identify themselves as being opposed to the perpetrator.

**Sociocultural Practice Dimension**

The third dimension in Fairclough's AWK model is the analysis of sociocultural practices (Fairclough, 2010). This analysis is based on the context outside the media that influences the media's discourse packaging strategies. This context is divided into three types: situational, institutional, and social contexts.

The situational context is an important aspect to consider in producing news. Tempo.co, in producing news about the case of Siti Elina, is not separated from situational aspects. When the gunpoint incident at the presidential security guards occurred, many media outlets immediately reported on it, including Tempo.co. As a result, the event became viral on various social media platforms and was featured as the main news in various mass media outlets. Tempo.co reported Siti Elina's action as if it was a very dangerous act, whereas in reality, Siti Elina pointed a gun without bullets at the presidential security guards (Sabilillah & Dewi, 2022). Therefore, Tempo.co's reporting appears excessive or hyperbolic. This was done by Tempo.co to stand out from other media outlets.

Tempo.co reported on the Siti Elina case multiple times using the same sources, which cannot be separated from the institutional context. The institutional context examines how organizational institutions influence discourse production practices. An important institutional
factor is related to media economics (Eriyanto, 2006, p. 323). Therefore, Tempo.co's repeated reporting on the Siti Elina case aimed to make the incident viral or read by many people. Viral news will affect the media's ratings. The rating of a program in mass media determines the amount of advertising in that media (Rustandi, 2018). With an increase in ratings, the media will earn more revenue from advertising displayed on their platform.

In addition, social context also greatly influences the discourse that emerges in news reporting. The development of media discourse is also determined by this context. Social context looks more at macro aspects such as political systems, economic systems, and cultural systems of society comprehensively. The reporting of the Siti Elina case, which is associated with terrorism, cannot be separated from global and national political aspects. In the global political aspect, the issue of terrorism is an issue promoted by the United States (Subagyo, 2015). The issue has become a legal tool to combat anyone who disagrees with the United States. Therefore, the war on terrorism is actually an effort by the United States to defend its capitalist ideology. As for the national political aspect, the issue of terrorism is related to identity politics aimed at bringing down political opponents.

The Presidential Chief of Staff, Moeldoko, said that there is a tendency for radicalism to increase during the political year in 2023 and 2024 (Nugraheny & Santosa, 2022). In addition, one of the figures touted as a presidential candidate in 2024, Anies Baswedan, has been negatively framed with identity politics. In this negative framing, Anies Baswedan was declared as a presidential candidate for 2024 by the Presidential Council, which claimed to consist of former members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Front Pembela Islam (FPI), and even former terrorism convicts (Antara & Dyantoro, 2022). This negative framing was done by equating former HTI members and former terrorism convicts. In addition, the Siti Elina case was also linked to HTI. Thus, the reporting on Siti Elina is a deliberately constructed report to give a negative stigma that former HTI members are dangerous and that the presidential candidate supported by that organization is also dangerous. Based on this, the reporting of the Siti Elina case as terrorism cannot be separated from identity politics and aims to bring down one of the potential presidential candidates in 2024.

Conclusion

Tempo.co constructed Islamophobia in their reporting on Siti Elina, a woman who brandished a gun at the presidential security guards in front of the Merdeka Palace. This Islamophobic construction was found through data analysis that includes three dimensions: (a) textual analysis, (b) discourse practice analysis, and (c) sociocultural practice analysis.

In the textual analysis dimension, Tempo.co constructed Islamophobia towards Islamic attire and attributes, Islamic organizations, Islamic teachings, and Islamic religious teachers. In the discourse practice analysis dimension, Tempo.co marginalized Siti Elina by reporting the case in an unbalanced manner. This was evident from the selection of sources, all of whom came from government agencies, security forces, and related institutions handling terrorism cases. Tempo.co's journalists did not make the perpetrator, Siti Elina, a source to be interviewed and did not interview anyone close to the perpetrator. In the sociocultural analysis dimension, the reporting of Siti Elina is not detached from three contexts, namely situational, institutional, and social contexts. In reality, the reporting of the woman is related to political interests within it.

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