

Media Representation of the Online Gambling Phenomenon in Indonesia through a Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Study

Raden Yusuf Sidiq Budiawan¹, Rawinda Fitrotul Mualafina¹, Siti Ulfiyani¹, Mukhlis Mukhlis¹

¹Universitas PGRI Semarang, Semarang, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to describe media representation of the phenomenon of online gambling in Indonesia through a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis approach, with a focus on news in Kompas.com. The method used is corpus-based critical discourse analysis, which allows systematic exploration of news data to identify language patterns that frame the issue of online gambling. The analysis was conducted on a news corpus containing 5613 words and 43042 tokens using the AntConc application. The results show that the words “gambling” and “online” have the highest frequency, signaling the main focus on this phenomenon. The dominant social actors are government officials. The social actions represented highlight the government's efforts to eradicate online gambling, with word choices that emphasize the urgency of handling this problem. Kompas.com frames the issue of online gambling by strengthening the role of the government as a protector, the perpetrator as a public enemy, and the victim as a party that needs to be saved. This study implies that online mass media play an important role in shaping public discourse, emphasizing the legal and moral sides, and introducing various perspectives that frame this issue.

Representasi Media terhadap Fenomena Perjudian Online di Indonesia melalui Kajian Wacana Kritis Berbantuan Korpus

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan representasi media terhadap fenomena perjudian online di Indonesia melalui pendekatan analisis wacana kritis berbantuan korpus, dengan fokus pada berita di Kompas.com. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisis wacana kritis berbasis korpus, yang memungkinkan eksplorasi sistematis data berita untuk mengidentifikasi pola bahasa yang membingkai masalah perjudian online. Analisis dilakukan pada korpus berita yang berisi 5613 kata dan 43042 token menggunakan aplikasi AntConc. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa kata “perjudian” dan “online” memiliki frekuensi tertinggi, menandakan fokus utama pada fenomena ini. Aktor sosial yang dominan adalah pejabat pemerintah. Aksi sosial yang diwakili menyoroti upaya pemerintah untuk memberantas perjudian online, dengan pilihan kata yang menekankan urgensi penanganan masalah ini. Kompas.com membingkai isu judi online dengan memperkuat peran pemerintah sebagai pelindung, pelaku sebagai musuh publik, dan korban sebagai pihak yang perlu diselamatkan. Penelitian ini menyiratkan bahwa media massa online berperan penting dalam membentuk wacana publik, menekankan sisi hukum dan moral, serta memperkenalkan berbagai perspektif yang membingkai isu ini.

Keywords:

analisis wacana kritis
berita;

kompas.com;

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perjudian daring

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Corresponding author: Raden Yusuf Sidiq Budiawan, Universitas PGRI Semarang, Indonesia

E-mail address: r.yusuf.s.b@upgris.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

Online gambling has become a massive social phenomenon in Indonesia, even though the activity is illegal and against the law. Muhid & Zaki (2024) stated that more than 2.37 million people were involved in online gambling cases with transactions continuing to increase from year to year, namely 11,222 (2022), 24,850 (2023), and 14,575 (January-May 2024). This data is reinforced by the findings of the Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis Centre (PPATK) on 887 parties included in the online gambling network: the value of online gambling transactions in Indonesia increased rapidly from 2 trillion in 2017 to 104 trillion in 2022, 397 trillion in 2023, and to 600 trillion in the first quarter of 2024 (Dewi, 2023; Kongah, 2024; Sari et al., 2016).

PPATK also added that online gambling players reached 2.76-3.2 million people, consisting of lower-middle-income people such as students, labourers, farmers, housewives, and private employees (Kongah, 2024). Until there were more than 1,000 unscrupulous state officials, such as members of the DPR and DPRD and their general secretariat, involved in online gambling transactions (Harbowo, 2024; Praditya, 2024; Wienanto, 2024). These online gambling sites continue to exist despite being blocked by the government (Amalia, 2024; Nugroho, 2024).

Online mass media currently have an important role in presenting and framing discourse in the public sphere, including online gambling. The online mass media is the main source of information for the public, which has a significant influence in shaping public perceptions (Budiawan & Utomo, 2022, 2023; Kusnato & Yusuf, 2024). Kompas.com is one of the top three news portals most accessed by the public (Pahlevi, 2022). Based on data from similarweb.com until July 2024, Kompas.com was ranked first in the category of the number of visits to its news portal with 298.7 million visits.

The coverage of online gambling in the online mass media Kompas.com varies across multiple aspects, including the social and economic consequences and the government's efforts to combat online gambling. This diverse portrayal provides a comprehensive view of the issue, highlighting its complexity and the multifaceted responses it requires. In addition, Kompas.com often presents news from various perspectives, such as law enforcement, public figures, and legal experts, to provide a holistic picture of the problem (Haq & Fadilah, 2019).

Kompas.com's advantage over other news portals lies in its extensive, accurate, well-structured, and easily accessible news archive, which facilitates the data collection process, including for issues such as online gambling news. With 298.7 million visitors, Kompas.com is one of the news sites with the largest reach in Indonesia. This makes it worthy of study, especially because this news platform has acted as an effective medium in delivering various information in the form of public discourse.

In addition, Kompas.com can construct reality and present actual issues in a captivating manner, thus triggering extensive discussions in the community. Its popularity is also reflected in its consistent ranking in the top five most popular online news portals in Indonesia. Not only that, Kompas.com is known for its rapid and diverse news updates, covering various categories that are highly relevant to readers. Another achievement, at the Asian Media Award 2021, Kompas.com won the highest award in the newspaper front page design category, demonstrating its internationally recognised quality (Tomy Trinugroho, 2021). This makes the Kompas.com news portal intriguing to study further.

This study aims to analyse how the issue of online gambling in Indonesia is represented by the online media Kompas.com through a corpus-based critical discourse analysis approach. This approach not only describes the structure of the news but also explores the dynamics of power, discrimination, bias, and injustice reflected in language use (Baker, 2010; Eriyanto, 2022; Puspitasari & Okitasari, 2021). Thus, this research seeks to reveal the relationship between language, society, ideology, and public opinion in shaping social discourse related to the phenomenon of online gambling. The corpus-based critical discourse analysis approach offers advantages in systematically evaluating language patterns through a large collection of texts and can analyse language use more objectively (Salsabila, Yuliawati, & Darmayanti, 2023).

Critical discourse analysis sees discourse as a form of social practice, so that holistic and contextual criteria need to be considered (Samsuri, Mulawarman, & Hudiyono, 2022). In addition, Fitriana (2019) also emphasised that critical discourse analysis is designed to understand how the relationship between language and social structures, including power, ideology, values, and public opinion, can influence people's perceptions. In the Indonesian context, Almos et al. (2023) identified four main types of corpora, namely the Indonesian corpus, Nusantara corpus, University of Indonesia corpus, and Minangkabau corpus, which became a reference for various corpus-based studies. As explained by Baker (2012), one of the advantages of corpus-based analysis is its ability to reduce cognitive biases often found in traditional qualitative analysis methods. In addition, corpus-based analysis supports data triangulation, which is the incorporation of various sources of information to strengthen the validity of findings (Misnawati, Nur, & Tahir, 2024).

Research in critical discourse analysis has developed with a wide diversity of topics and approaches. Previous studies have examined various aspects of news using critical discourse analysis, such as those conducted by Anggriyani, Mayasari, & Rifai (2024), Azmah, Ansoriyah, & Mayumi (2023), Maghvira (2017), and Winingsih, Anshori, & Nurhadi (2022). Various critical discourse analysis approaches were used, including the Norman Fairclough approach applied by Azizah (2020) and Kartikasari (2020) and the Van Dijk approach applied by Indriyawati & Hudiyono (2023), Khasanah & Faris (2018), Oktia Putri (2023), Pakpahan et al. (2024), Ritonga, Dalimunthe, & Surip (2022). Other studies, such as those conducted by Fitriana (2019) and Sitorus et al. (2024), highlight critical discourse analysis on the macro and micro structures of the text.

In addition, corpus-based critical discourse analysis began to attract attention, such as the research of Wijayanti & Firmonasari (2023), who explored the David Ozora persecution case in the Kompas.com media, and Darmayanti (2024), who analysed the representation of events and actors in the Ferdy Sambo case in Tempo Newspaper. Irham (2022) also used a corpus-based approach to examine the use of the terms “immigrant” and “foreign worker” in media discourse. In the context of news framing, Budiawan & Utomo (2023) examined the representation of the Taliban in Indonesian online media. While previous studies have applied corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to topics such as political narratives or criminal cases, few have examined how online gambling—an issue rooted in economic precarity, digital exploitation, and moral controversy—is discursively constructed in the media.

This study addresses that gap by focusing on the media representation of online gambling in Indonesia, a topic that remains underexplored despite its

growing relevance and societal impact. By investigating this phenomenon through a corpus-based CDA approach, the study offers a novel contribution to the literature, both in its subject matter and its methodological application. The research titled “Media Representation of the Online Gambling Phenomenon in Indonesia through a Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Study” is therefore positioned to fill this significant gap and provide deeper insights into how language shapes public discourse around digital gambling practices.

The urgency of this research lies in its contribution to providing a deeper understanding of how the media, especially Kompas.com, shapes discourse and influences public perception regarding controversial issues such as online gambling. This research is particularly relevant given the increasing public concern over the social, economic, and moral impacts of online gambling activities, as well as doubts over the effectiveness of government efforts in dealing with this issue. In this context, this research is expected to reveal the media representation strategies used to construct this issue, including language choices, news framing, and other discourse elements that can shape public opinion. The findings of this research are not only important for understanding the dynamics of reporting on online gambling issues but also provide strategic insights that can help policymakers in designing more effective regulations. Furthermore, this research can serve as a guide for media practitioners to be more conscious in presenting news about sensitive issues by considering their impact on the formation of public opinion. For the general public, this research is also expected to improve media literacy so that they can be more critical in understanding the way the media frames information and its implications for their perceptions.

This study goes beyond a purely academic inquiry into media discourse; it examines how language is employed to construct, reinforce, and circulate dominant narratives about online gambling in Indonesia. The phenomenon of online gambling, while rooted in socio-economic and legal complexities, is mediated through specific linguistic choices that shape public understanding and governmental responses. What makes this research urgent is not only the rise of online gambling but also the increasing influence of digital media in defining the problem and proposing its solutions. This is where language becomes pivotal.

By applying a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, the study provides a systematic, data-rich method to uncover recurring linguistic patterns that traditional qualitative approaches might overlook. It allows for a broader, more empirical mapping of how news texts frame social actors and actions, revealing ideologies that often remain implicit. This research addresses a clear gap in the literature, where corpus-based approaches have rarely been applied to analyze gambling discourse in Indonesian media. Ultimately, the findings aim to contribute to critical media literacy and provide new insights for scholars, policymakers, and media practitioners seeking to navigate or reshape the narratives around controversial social issues.

METHOD

This research employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the online gambling phenomenon in Indonesia. By utilizing mixed methods, the study overcomes the limitations of each approach individually, enhancing the scope and

depth of the research while enabling the examination of complex issues that cannot be adequately explored through a single method (Creswell, 2012; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Fetters, 2020; Ketsman, Droog, & Qazi, 2025).

The data used in this study consists of 95 hard news articles explicitly focused on online gambling, all published by Kompas.com between January and July 2024. Data collection was facilitated by the Octoparse web scraping tool, which efficiently gathers large volumes of data (Horvath, 2022). Specific queries such as “judi online,” “judi daring,” and “kasus judi Indonesia” were used to extract articles relevant to the topic. Boolean operators like “AND” and “OR” helped refine results and eliminate irrelevant matches. The collected data were organized based on lexicon elements and converted into TXT format for analysis using AntConc software.

The data used in this study consists of 95 hard news articles on online gambling published by Kompas.com in 2024. Only hard news articles that explicitly featured online gambling as the main topic were included. Opinion pieces, brief mentions, or unrelated crime news were excluded to maintain topical relevance and analytical focus. These texts were selected due to their relevance, currency, and consistency in representing institutional discourse rather than individual opinion. Kompas.com was selected for its national reach, editorial credibility, and consistent coverage of socio-political issues. As a lexicon-focused study, the use of this dataset allows for a close examination of language patterns used in shaping public narratives.

The articles were processed into plain text and analyzed using AntConc to extract word frequencies, collocations, n-grams, and concordance patterns (Wijayanti & Firmonasari, 2023). N-Grams were selected based on frequency and thematic relevance, such as “korban judi online” which appeared frequently in victim-framing contexts. Common function words were filtered using AntConc’s built-in stop word list to enhance lexical clarity. These linguistic features were then interpreted to uncover deeper discursive strategies, making the findings both contextually rich and grounded in actual media practice (Sudaryanto, 2015). While most of the analysis relied on corpus-based tools, key concordance lines and keyword contexts were reviewed by two independent coders. Any discrepancies were resolved through discussion to ensure interpretive consistency and reduce potential bias.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The corpus of online gambling news reported by Kompas.id media consists of 5613 words and 43042 tokens. The following is a list of words (type) and usage (frequency) from the results of data processing from the AntConc application. The words (types) and usage (frequency) are sorted based on the highest range in online gambling news by Kompas.com media. Table 1 lists words with a frequency usage of more than 100 by ignoring conjunctions and prepositions.

Table 1. Words, Frequency, and Range

Type	Rank	Freq	Range	Type	Rank	Freq	Range
judi	1	1019	95	korban	15	123	23
online	2	1018	95	transaksi	17	122	24
Rp	3	186	48	tahun	18	121	35
Judi	4	182	95	kasus	19	120	52
masyarakat	5	178	52	Polri	20	117	29
Online	6	168	95	Hukum	21	112	43
kata	7	168	76	Komdigi	22	111	26
situs	8	164	44	telah	23	111	55
Indonesia	9	163	58	bisa	24	110	49
mereka	10	154	52	rekening	25	109	27
Budi	11	143	27	ujar	26	109	63
Kompas	12	143	95	pemerintah	27	107	33
menjadi	13	140	55	pelaku	28	104	39
melakukan	14	136	58	Kementerian	29	103	51
kita	15	124	44	orang	30	103	48

Table 1 outlines the type, frequency, and range of the news corpus on online gambling as reported by Kompas.com. This table reveals a pattern of intense word usage, emphasizing the key focus and significant elements frequently highlighted in Kompas.com's coverage. The most commonly occurring words are “*judi* (gambling)” and “*online*,” appearing 1,019 and 1,018 times respectively, across 95 news articles. Other frequently used terms include “*Rp*” (referring to the rupiah currency) with 186 occurrences, “*masyarakat* (society)” (178 times), “*Indonesia*” (163 times), and “*mereka* (they)” (154 times). Beyond frequency, “*judi* (gambling)” and “*online*” also display the highest range, appearing in 95 news items, alongside terms such as “*Kompas*” (the news portal name), “*Penulis* (Author)” (news writer), and “*WIB*” (news upload time zoning information).

Additionally, words like “*kata* (word)” (appearing in 76 news articles) and “*ujar* (said)” (63 news articles) frequently feature in data from interviews with sources. Notably, terms like “*Budi*,” referring to Budi Arie (the Minister of Communication and Information at the time), “*Menteri* (Minister),” “*Kementerian* (Ministry),” “*Komdigi*,” “*Polri*,” and “*Pemerintah* (Government)” also show a significant frequency and range, underscoring their prominence in the discourse. Furthermore, the words “*masyarakat* (society)” and “*Indonesia*” also have a high frequency and range in addition to action words such as “*melakukan* (do),” “*menjadi* (be),” and “*telah* (have).” These interesting points will be discussed in the following subsections using the theory of actor and action representation (Leeuwen, 2008).

Representation of Social Actors

According to Leeuwen (2008), critical discourse analysis involves how language is used to represent social actors and social action in a text. Social actors are individuals or groups that become subjects or objects in a narrative. Eriyanto (2022) explains that the representation is realised through inclusion and exclusion, or how the participants are displayed or hidden in the discourse. Based on the frequency and range of data processing results from the AntConc application, social actors that are often mentioned include:

Table 2. Frequency and Range Data of Social Actor Representation

Type	Freq	Range	Type	Freq	Range
masyarakat	178	52	Kami	50	34
mereka	154	52	Saya	49	26
Budi	143	27	Polisi	48	28
kita	124	44	Ia	47	31
korban	123	23	Pemain	47	23
Polri	117	29	Menko	43	23
Komdigi	111	26	DPR	43	18
pemerintah	107	33	Lembaga	39	23
pelaku	104	39	ia	38	23
Kementerian	103	51	Koordinat	37	25
orang	103	48	Bandar	36	15
pegawai	99	28	Kemenkominfo	35	15
Satgas	99	19	Polda	34	18
dia	94	48	Direktur	33	18
Menteri	88	47	Jokowi	32	15
PPATK	83	31	Prabowo	32	15
TNI	81	15	Dia	30	20
tersangka	78	27	Menkominfo	30	18
anggota	72	21	Pemerintah	29	16
anak	66	23	Jenderal	28	18
Presiden	60	27	Negara	28	16
Ketua	57	18	aparatus	28	16
keluarga	55	16			

Table 2 reveals that the participant “*masyarakat* (society)” appears most frequently, with a count of 178 times across 52 news articles, followed by “*mereka* (them)” (154 times, 52 news), “*Budi*” (143 times, 27 news), “*kita* (us)” (124 times, 44 news), and “*korban* (victims)” (123 times, 23 news), among others. Most of the frequently mentioned participants are government officials, including *presiden* (the president), *pemerintah* (government), *menteri* (ministers), *DPR* (parliament), *polisi* (police), Komdigi, PPATK, and TNI, while other groups such as *masyarakat* (the community), *pelaku* (perpetrators), and *korban* (victims) receive considerably less attention. This indicates that government officials are the dominant actors featured in the news, highlighting Kompas.com's focus on various elements of the government apparatus in addressing the online gambling issue. The term “*Budi*,” referring to Budi Arie (the former Minister of Communication and Information), has the highest frequency among government-related mentions.

The concordance analysis (keywords in context) indicates that Budi is portrayed as a key figure in the formulation and implementation of policies aimed at eradicating online gambling, using phrases such as “*langkah cepat* (fast steps)” (performance), “*kerja nyata* (real work),” “*pelopor pemberantasan judi* (pioneer of gambling eradication),” and “*pejuang pemberantasan judi online* (online gambling eradication fighters).” Additionally, Budi is depicted as an information provider to the public about online gambling, a recipient of public complaints, and even a recipient of awards for his efforts. In several contexts, Budi is closely associated with the *Istana Palace* (government), Jokowi (the former president), and Projo

(Jokowi's supporting organization, chaired by Budi). However, some news reports implicate Budi in an online gambling case following the arrest of several Komdigi employees (formerly Kominfo, the ministry Budi led before becoming Minister of Cooperatives) by the police, with suspicions that Budi may have supported the actions of his former employees. Overall, Budi is predominantly portrayed as a positive social actor in Kompas.com's coverage, though a small portion of the news casts a negative light on his alleged involvement in the online gambling issue within his previous ministry.

Table 3. Below Provides A Sample of Budi's Concordance Data

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
judi online, maka sebenarnya Budi Arie inilah yang kemudian menjadi pelopor dalam gerakan pemberantasan judi online," kata Handoko. Ia menyebutkan,	Budi	Arie telah menghapus 3,8 juta situs judi online selama 15 bulan menjabat sebagai Menkominfo. "Kemudian, Budi Arie juga mendorong seluruh satker (
The Westin Jakarta, Kota Jakarta Selatan (Jaksel), Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota (DKI) Jakarta, Rabu (13/12/2023). Sejak dilantik menjadi Menkominfo pada 17 Juli 2023,	Budi	Arie telah menunjukkan langkah cepat dalam menjalankan tugasnya. Mulai dari 18 Juli 2023 hingga 11 Oktober 2023, Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika (Kemenkominfo) di
online di seluruh wilayah NKRI," kata Sekretaris Jenderal Projo Handoko, Kamis (7/11/2024). Isi lain dari maklumat itu menyebutkan bahwa Projo menganggap	Budi	Arie adalah pejuang garis depan dalam memberantas judi online. Budi Arie juga disebut telah menunjukkan hasil konkret dalam menjalankan
sebagai Menkominfo dalam memberantas judi online maupun sebagai Ketua Harian Bidang Pencegahan Satgas Pemberantasan Judi Online. Projo juga mengklaim bahwa	Budi	Arie adalah pelopor gerakan pemberantasan judi online. "Kalau dari apa yang kita ketahui dan kita catat betul, termasuk juga
belakangan turut disorot akibat penangkapan sejumlah pegawai Komdigi yang terlibat dalam jaringan judi online. Meski tidak lagi menjabat sebagai Menkominfo,	Budi	Arie tidak menghindari dari potensi pemeriksaan terkait kasus ini. Menurut pernyataannya, ia siap menghadapi proses hukum dan menyatakan tidak

The repeated appearance of Minister Budi Arie in the corpus—particularly in conjunction with active verbs like “declared,” “blocked,” and “urged,”—reflects a classic hero-villain framing. In this narrative, the Minister is positioned as a moral authority or “savior” figure combating the corrupting force of online gambling. This aligns with the hero-villain dichotomy often found in media narratives, where institutional actors are framed as protectors of the public against a threatening social evil.

In contrast, social actors who carry out online gambling activities in Kompas.com news are described with the word *pelaku* (perpetrator). Based on the results of the N-Gram analysis, the word *pelaku* (perpetrator) is most often paired with the phrase *judi online* (online gambling) (frequency 31 times, range 15 news), as shown in table 4 below.

Table 4. N-Gram Analysis of The Word *Pelaku* (Perpetrator)

Type	Rank	Freq	Range
pelaku judi online	1	31	15
pelaku melainkan pihak	2	3	3
pelaku menyewa mencari	2	3	3
pelaku sudah jelas	2	3	3
pelaku sudah kenal	2	3	3
pelaku menyamarkan uang	6	2	2
pelaku pelanggaran hukum	6	2	2
pelaku terlilit utang	6	2	2
pelaku yang aktif	6	2	2

Kompas.com describes online gambling actors as social actors involved in various online gambling activities and methods. These actors are also portrayed as perpetrators of crimes who remain undeterred by punishments, as gambling-related penalties in Indonesia are relatively lenient. In its discourse, Kompas.com explicitly distinguishes between *pelaku* (perpetrators) and *korban* (victims). Table 5 below presents a sample of concordance data related to *pelaku* (perpetrators).

Table 5. Sample Data of *Pelaku* (Perpetrators) Concordance

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
online," ucap Sigit. Sigit juga menyorot pelaku judi online juga melakukan pola transaksi yang melibatkan banyak rekening. Ia mengungkapkan, ada	pelaku	judi online yang meminjam KTP masyarakat untuk membuka rekening dan diganti secara berkala. "Rekening-rekening yang mereka buka dari
mengungkapkan, para pelaku kerap memasarkan perjudian online melalui media sosial dan influencer. "Terkait dengan modus- modus yang dilakukan oleh kelompok	pelaku	judi online mulai dari proses pemasarannya yang kemudian memanfaatkan influencer, backlink situs pemerintah, broadcast promosi di media sosial," kata
judi online mencari alternatif yang lebih sulit dilacak. Mengapa pelaku judi online beralih ke QRIS dan E-wallet? Seiring waktu,	pelaku	judi online mulai memanfaatkan sistem pembayaran digital seperti QRIS dan e-wallet. "Pembayaran yang tadinya menggunakan rekening saat ini
melakukan kekerasan, menggunakan ancaman kekerasan, melakukan penyesatan, atau dengan memberi kesempatan, sarana, atau keterangan. Apabila memenuhi kriteria delik di atastentunya	pelaku	judi online adalah sebenar-benarnya pelaku dan bukan korban. Walaupun bisa saja mereka melakukannya karena tekanan ekonomi, kebutuhan keluarga,

Other social actors, apart from Arie and *pelaku* (the perpetrators), are *masyarakat* (the community) and *korban* (victims) who have a close context. Based on the results of the N-Gram analysis, the word *korban* (victims) is most often paired with the phrase *judi online* (online gambling) (frequency 44 times, range 13 news), as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6. N-Gram Analysis of the word Victim

Type	Rank	Freq	Range
korban judi online	1	44	13
korban khususnya anak	2	3	3
korban perilaku judi	2	3	3
korban dan usia	4	2	2
korban Bantuan sosial	5	1	1

Korban judi online (Victims of online gambling) are portrayed by Kompas.com as individuals not only from the lower-middle class but also from intellectual circles. Additionally, these victims are depicted as recipients of social assistance and sufferers of psychosocial disorders. Kompas.com explicitly identifies the families of online gambling perpetrators, rather than the perpetrators themselves, as the true victims. Table 7 below provides a sample of concordance data related to *korban* (the victims).

Table 7. Sample of Victim Concordance Data

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
terjadi di masyarakat bahkan menyusup sampai ke anggota Polri dan menimbulkan korban jiwa. "Kita sudah banyak memberikan advokasi mereka yang	korban	judi online ini, misalnya kemudian kita masukkan di dalam DTKS sebagai penerima bansos," kata Muhadjir di Kompleks Istana Kepresidenan,
Manusia dan Kebudayaan (Menko PMK) Muhadjir Effendy. Namun, Muhadjir mengklarifikasi pernyataan sebelumnya. Ia menyebutkan, mereka yang menjadi sasaran penerima bansos	korban	judi online bukan pelaku, melainkan pihak keluarga. "Perlu dipahami ya, jangan dipotong-potong, kalau pelaku sudah jelas harus ditindak
sebagai penerima bansos," kata Muhadjir di Kompleks Istana Kepresidenan, Kamis. Pihaknya pun menyarankan Kementerian Sosial (Kemensos) untuk melakukan pembinaan kepada	korban	judi online yang mengalami gangguan psikososial. Muhadjir mengatakan, judi online memiskinkan masyarakat. "(Dampaknya) termasuk banyak yang menjadi miskin baru,
menjadi miskin baru, itu menjadi tanggung jawab kita, tanggung jawab dari Kemenko PMK," ucap Muhadjir. Mantan Menteri Pendidikan itu mengatakan,	korban	judi online tidak hanya dari kalangan masyarakat menengah ke bawah dan minum literasi, tetapi juga dari kalangan intelektual.

On the other hand, *masyarakat* (the community) is described as more general and complex, namely victims/parties who are harmed by the existence of online gambling, parties trapped in online gambling, perpetrators (people involved/collected) of online gambling, parties who must participate in preventing online gambling, parties who need to be protected/sheltered/educated from online gambling, targets of social assistance, and parties who abuse social assistance. Table 8 below is a sample of the concordance data of *masyarakat* (the community) in the data.

Table 8. Sample of *Masyarakat* (the Community) Concordance Data

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
difokuskan buat mengentaskan kemiskinan, dan tidak dialihkan buat membantu pelaku judi online beserta keluarganya. "Bansos itu untuk kepentingan bantuan bagi	masyarakat	yang tidak mampu agar dapat memenuhi hak dasarnya, tidak usah dikait-kaitkan dengan perjudian," kata Ketua MUI Bidang Fatwa,
atau apa pun itu," sambungnya. Meutya mengatakan, Prabowo secara tegas mengingatkan bahwa judi online harus diperangi, karena mayoritas korbannya adalah	masyarakat	yang tidak mampu. Dia mengatakan, Prabowo meminta tidak boleh ada kongkalikong dengan pelaku judi online. "Ini juga mengutip persis
kita," kata Ivan dalam agenda Refleksi Kerja PPA TK Tahun 2023 di Jakarta Pusat, Rabu (10/1/2024). Masifnya kegiatan ini juga terlihat dari jumlah	masyarakat	yang bermain judi online. Berdasarkan data yang sama yang dipaparkan Ivan, ada sekitar 3.295.310 masyarakat yang bermain judi online. Mereka
Kamis (20/6/2024), dikutip dari Kompas TV. Menurut Ma'ruf, pencabutan bansos tersebut dimaksudkan agar memberikan efek jera dan tidak ada lagi	masyarakat	yang menyalahgunakan bansos untuk berjudi. "Untuk memberi pelajaran kepada semua orang supaya (bansos) digunakan dengan sesuatu yang untuk memberi
Alasan Masyarakat Terjebak Judi Online, Kata Dosen UMM Kompas.com - 14/11/2023, 15:14 WIB Penulis Albertus Adit KOMPAS.com - Saat ini, masih banyak	masyarakat	yang terjebak dengan perilaku judi online. Padahal, perilaku ini tentu tidak baik. Bahkan ternyata judi online juga dapat mengakibatkan
Indonesia dalam era digital saat ini memerlukan penanganan dari banyak pihak. Tak hanya negara dan otoritas setempat yang wajib menindaknya,	masyarakat	dan keluarga—sebagai unit sosial terkecil—juga harus turun tangan untuk mencegah. Judi bukan hal baru bagi masyarakat Indonesia,

Interestingly, the media frames "*masyarakat*" both as victims, especially youth and low-income groups—and as perpetrators or enablers of online gambling. This dual positioning may indicate a deeper ambivalence in media discourse, reflecting the tension between structural vulnerability and personal agency. Rather than clarifying, this ambiguity potentially complicates public understanding, illustrating the complexity of the issue and possibly reinforcing moral confusion.

In the critical analysis of the representation of social actors in online gambling news on Kompas.com, several aspects can be reviewed further related to government officials, perpetrators, victims, and the community. Government officials, such as Budi Arie and related institutions, are often presented as the main pillars in efforts to eradicate online gambling. Their representation in Kompas.com news tends to be positive, highlighting proactive actions, such as anti-online gambling campaigns and law enforcement initiatives. This creates a narrative that the government acts as a protector of society from the adverse effects of online gambling. However, in some cases, the government is also faced with allegations of complicity or negligence, although this narrative is less prominent than the heroic role that is often highlighted.

Online gambling perpetrators are dominantly portrayed as destructive elements that harm society. They are often labelled as criminals who use various

sophisticated modus operandi to run this illegal business. This representation reinforces the negative stigma against them, placing the perpetrator as a figure that must be stopped at all costs. This coverage minimizes the possibility of a more nuanced understanding of the perpetrators' backgrounds, such as the economic or social pressures that might drive their involvement in online gambling.

Victims of online gambling are often represented as individuals or groups who suffer as a result of this illegal activity. In many cases, victims are personified as members of society who have lost property or even face the destruction of their social and economic lives. These representations tend to portray victims as passive and in need of intervention from the government or wider society. This depiction can reinforce the narrative that victims are helpless and dependent on external parties for rescue. The community, on the other hand, is shown as a collective entity that is in a vulnerable position as well as a potential actor in the prevention of online gambling. Kompas.com places the community as a party that needs to be protected but also as part of the solution, for example, by increasing awareness and participation in reporting online gambling activities. This narrative gives the community a dual role: as victims who need protection and as agents of change who must be involved in prevention efforts.

Overall, this representation constructs a dynamic that reinforces the role of government officials as protectors and law enforcers while portraying the perpetrators as public enemies, the victims as individuals in need of rescue, and the community as part of the solution. This framing demonstrates how the media shapes the discourse surrounding online gambling by positioning social actors in specific roles, which in turn influences public perception of each actor's role in the issue. Similar to previous studies on media framing and public perception (e.g., Budiawan & Utomo, 2022, 2023; Kusnato & Yusuf, 2024), this analysis highlights the power of media in shaping societal views, emphasizing how the media's portrayal of social actors can affect policy responses and public attitudes.

By categorizing these actors, the media does more than just report—it subtly shapes how the public sees the roles and responsibilities of different groups in the online gambling issue. This interpretation is not based purely on how often certain words appear. What matters just as much is the context in which these actors are mentioned. Through concordance analysis, the study looked closely at how language is used—how certain words are framed, what kinds of actions are associated with them, and the tone surrounding them. For instance, government officials are not just mentioned frequently—they are consistently portrayed as taking charge and safeguarding the public. Meanwhile, perpetrators are often linked with negative, criminal behavior through emotionally loaded language. So it is not just about numbers; it is the patterns in how words are used that tell the real story.

Representation of Social Action

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), as proposed by Leeuwen (2008), examines how language is employed to represent social actions within texts. This analytical approach focuses on the representational choices made in discourse, which can shape readers' interpretations of both the actions described and the social actors involved. In particular, the selection of words, collocations, frequency, news coverage, concordance, and contextual elements in news reporting significantly contribute to the construction of meaning. These linguistic features not only reinforce or challenge specific perceptions but also direct the reader's focus toward particular aspects of the social reality being depicted. In the present analysis, before

delving into the results of how social action is represented in Kompas.com's coverage of online gambling, it is essential to first examine the concordance data for the term "*judi online* (online gambling)," which appears most frequently and with the widest range. The following table provides a sample of the concordance data for the term, illustrating its contextual use within the news.

Table 9. "*Judi Online* (Online Gambling) Concordance Data Sample

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
memeriksa Budi Arie terkait belasan pegawai Komdigi yang membekingi situs judi online. Polisi sejauh ini telah menangkap 15 orang tersangka kasus	judi online	yang 11 di antaranya merupakan pegawai Kementerian Komdigi. Kabid Humas Polda Metro Jaya Kombes Ade Ary Syam Indradi mengungkapkan,
untuk dipulihkan. Lebih mencengangkan lagi adalah penemuan 1.162 anak di bawah usia 11 tahun yang teridentifikasi bermainjudi online. Fenomena ini menunjukkan bahwa	judi online	telah merasuk hingga ke kalangan yang paling rentan. Anak-anak, seharusnya berada dalam tahap perkembangan yang sehat dan
jak melalui kemajuan teknologi. "Mereka kerap melakukan pergantian situs judi online baru, berpindah-pindah dan berganti rekening. Bahkan menyatukan hasil	judi online	tersebut dengan bisnis yang sah," ujar Ivan, melalui keterangan tertulis, Senin (22/8/2022). Menurut Ivan, beragam modus untuk menggaet korban
Central Asia Tbk (BBCA) atau BCA dan PT Bank CIMB Niaga Tbk (BNGA) atau Bank CIMB Niaga, berkomitmen turut mencegah	judi online	di Indonesia. Dua bank tersebut melakukan mitigasi risiko dengan mengawasi pembukaan rekening nasabah. Executive Vice President Secretariat and
penerima bansos," kata Muhadjir di Kompleks Istana Kepresidenan, Kamis. Pihaknya pun menyarankan Kementerian Sosial (Kemensos) untuk melakukan pembinaan kepada korban	judi online	yang mengalami gangguan psikososial. Muhadjir mengatakan, judi online memiskinkan masyarakat. "(Dampaknya) termasuk banyak yang menjadi miskin baru, itu
PPATK tentu berkolaborasi dengan aparat penegak hukum dengan memberikan sejumlah informasi intelijen keuangan mengenai aliran dana yang diindikasikan terkait dengan	judi online	dan secara simultan melakukan koordinasi," ujar dia. Lebih lanjut, Ivan mengatakan, kegiatan judi online ini menjadi marak lantaran

Based on Table 9 above, Kompas.com portrays judi online (online gambling) as a complex and socially damaging issue. This portrayal is not just linguistic—it reflects a broader discourse that constructs online gambling as a national threat. To clarify how the term "online gambling" is framed in the news articles, Table 10 below summarizes recurring collocations and their contextual meanings.

These expressions suggest that Kompas.com does not treat online gambling merely as an illegal activity. Instead, it is framed as a multifaceted threat—economic, moral, legal, and technological. The term becomes a container for broader anxieties about national decline, digital vulnerability, and social decay. This framing also plays a critical role in shaping public attitudes. By repeatedly associating *judi online* with poverty, youth, corruption, and state failure, the term becomes emotionally charged and ideologically loaded. The media's word choices contribute not only to informing the public but also to reinforcing a particular narrative: that online gambling is not just a crime—it is a crisis. Understanding this

framing helps explain the media's influence in directing public concern and legitimizing governmental intervention.

Table 10. Discursive Framing of the Term “Online Gambling” in Kompas.com

Phrase/Collocation	Contextual Meaning	Implications in the Discourse
<i>judi online memiskinkan masyarakat</i>	Framed as an economic threat to families and individuals	Victimhood, urgency, state intervention
<i>anak-anak terlibat judi online</i>	Emphasizes vulnerability and loss of innocence	Moral panic, need for protection
<i>judi online pakai rekening palsu</i>	Highlights the deception and sophistication of operations	Criminalization, technological abuse
<i>blokir situs judi online</i>	Shows the government's reactive control strategy	State power and institutional response
<i>pelaku judi online kebal hukum</i>	Points to the perceived failure of law enforcement	Critique of the legal system, structural loopholes

The representation of *judi online* (online gambling) is articulated through action words such as “*melakukan* (do),” “*menjadi* (be),” and “*telah* (have).” Based on the results of the concordance analysis, the word “*melakukan* (do)” in the context of representing social actions related to online gambling contributes to depicting various activities involved in the practice, such as the abuse of authority, site verification, deposits, withdrawals, as well as asset monitoring and tracking. The use of this term highlights the active actions undertaken by individuals or groups, both in the operation of online gambling and in efforts related to law enforcement and eradication. The term “*menjadi* (be)” makes the narrative surrounding online gambling more concrete, emphasizing the roles of perpetrators, their modus operandi, and institutional responses to address this social issue.

According to the data analysis, the term “*menjadi* (be)” plays a crucial role in representing various aspects of social actions related to online gambling. It is used to indicate transformations or changes in the status of individuals, institutions, or social phenomena resulting from online gambling activities. For instance, “do” signifies a shift from one state to another, such as victims “doing” impoverished or institutions that should “be” front-runners in the fight against online gambling. Additionally, “be” emphasizes the role or function assumed by specific parties in the context of this social issue, such as the government, “becoming” a focal point in addressing the impacts of online gambling. This word is consistently used to reinforce changes in conditions or social responsibilities associated with the issue, thus strengthening the representation of the complexity of social actions linked to online gambling.

Furthermore, the use of the word “*telah* (have)” in the representation of social actions related to online gambling indicates actions that have already been taken or implemented regarding the issue. This term signifies the completion or achievement of steps that have been carried out by authorities in addressing online gambling. For example, the police “have” arrested suspects, the ministry “has” blocked websites, and other institutions “have” implemented preventive measures. This illustrates that these actions are not merely theoretical but have already been realized in efforts to eradicate online gambling, thus reinforcing the impression that this issue is actively being addressed by various authorities.

Kompas.com represents the social action of online gambling as a complex issue requiring serious attention from multiple parties. In critical discourse analysis based on Leeuwen (2008), the choice of words such as “*melakukan* (do),” “*menjadi* (be),” and “*telah* (have)” highlights various activities associated with online gambling. For instance, the use of the word “perform” emphasizes the active involvement of individuals or groups in online gambling practices, such as operating the gambling networks, using technology to hide their tracks, and abusing power. This narrative strengthens the impression that these actions are real and ongoing, providing a concrete picture of the role of perpetrators and the challenges faced in combating online gambling.

The frequent use of “*telah* (have)” marks completed governmental actions, lending them an aura of legitimacy and certainty. According to Kress & Leeuwen (2001), this reflects high modality—communicating authority and decisiveness. In this way, Kompas.com frames state efforts not as ongoing attempts but as already-accomplished steps, reassuring the public of institutional control. The word “*menjadi* (be)” is used to indicate transformations or changes in the status of individuals and institutions as a result of online gambling. It highlights the social shifts, such as victims who “become” impoverished or children who “become” victims of gambling.

This term also strengthens the representation of the government and institutions, which “become” the focal point in addressing the impacts of online gambling. Meanwhile, the use of the word “*telah* (have)” underscores that preventive and law enforcement actions have already been taken, giving the impression that these efforts are not just plans but have been implemented. The combination of these words in the news coverage creates a narrative that emphasizes the urgency and reality of the actions being taken against the issue of online gambling in Indonesia. The moralistic tone and dramatic consequences described—such as children being lured into online gambling or families falling into poverty—echo what Cohen (1972) refers to as a “moral panic.” Media narratives elevate the issue to a societal threat, constructing gamblers as “folk devils” and legitimizing urgent state intervention. This framing mobilizes fear and urgency, reinforcing a binary between moral normality and deviance.

Building on previous studies, such as those by Baker (2010) and Eriyanto (2022), the use of specific lexical choices in media discourse plays a pivotal role in shaping public perception and reinforcing social realities. In the context of online gambling, the terms “perform,” “become,” and “have” in Kompas.com’s coverage reflect not only the dynamics of the issue but also its portrayal as a critical societal problem that requires urgent attention. Previous research in critical discourse analysis, including works by Fitriana (2019) and Sitorus et al. (2024), has highlighted the significant influence of language in constructing the roles of social actors, framing issues, and signaling the level of seriousness in addressing social problems. By employing these verbs, Kompas.com reinforces the notion that online gambling is not merely a theoretical concern but a pressing and actively addressed issue in Indonesia, reflecting broader patterns in media representations as discussed by Budiawan & Utomo (2023) in their analysis of sensitive topics in Indonesian online media.

Thus, the strategic use of language in news reporting not only conveys factual information but also guides public discourse and shapes perceptions about the government’s efforts and the socio-economic consequences of online gambling.

Compared to similar studies in Southeast Asia, Indonesian media's framing of online gambling shows notable differences. For example, in Malaysia and the Philippines, coverage often focuses on legal loopholes or corruption within enforcement agencies, whereas Indonesian media emphasizes public morality and state guardianship. This contrast highlights how national ideologies and media systems influence the narrative framing of digital crime.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the construction and dissemination of online gambling discourse in Indonesia by Kompas.com through a corpus-based critical discourse analysis, showing that the platform not only informs but also frames the issue by emphasizing legal violations, moral hazards, and the role of state authorities, thereby strengthening the legitimacy of law enforcement but potentially narrowing public understanding of the socio-economic factors behind online gambling. The representation of socio-economic impacts is also less prominent than the legal narrative, suggesting that media outlets such as Kompas.com be more balanced by including diverse perspectives, such as former gamblers, social workers, or vulnerable groups, while policymakers are encouraged to increase regulatory interventions such as blocking gambling ads and educational campaigns for young people and low-income communities. This study is limited to the analysis of one outlet (Kompas.com) and does not include social media, and is potentially biased in keyword-based data collection; further research could compare the framing of other media outlets such as Detik.com or CNN Indonesia, and analyze user-generated content to understand public engagement in more depth.

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