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Inclusion and Exclusion of Social Actors in *Judi Online* 'Online Gambling' News: A Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis Approach on Kompas.com

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Abstract. This study aims to describe the inclusion and exclusion of social actors in online gambling news coverage on Kompas.com using a critical discourse analysis approach assisted by corpora. By utilizing this approach, the language patterns used in the coverage are systematically analyzed to explore how the issue of online gambling is framed by the media. The findings reveal that the coverage predominantly features the government, such as "Budi Arie", in a positive role as an active actor in the fight against online gambling (inclusion). The government is portrayed as the key and dominant force in addressing this issue. In contrast, the online gambling perpetrators and victims are more frequently ignored or concealed (exclusion). The perpetrators are depicted as destructive agents responsible for the issue, while victims are often portrayed as suffering individuals who require external intervention. The language use that emphasizes the government's role highlights efforts to reinforce their legitimacy in addressing this social problem. Thus, the analysis shows that Kompas.com's news coverage tends to present a discourse that supports the government's role in tackling online gambling, while minimizing the representation of perpetrators and victims.

Keywords: online gambling, exclusion, inclusion, social actors, Kompas.com

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Introduction

Online gambling, although illegal and against the law, has developed into a widespread social issue in Indonesia. According to Muhid & Zaki (2024), more than 2.37 million individuals have been involved in this case, with the number of transactions increasing each year: 11,222 in 2022, 24,850 in 2023, and 14,575 just in the period from January to May 2024. According to the report from the Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis Center (PPATK) revealed that 887 entities are involved in this gambling network, with transaction values skyrocketing from IDR 2 trillion in 2017 to IDR 104 trillion in 2022, IDR 397 trillion in 2023, and IDR 600 trillion in the first quarter of 2024 (Dewi 2023; Kongah 2024; N. E. Sari et al. 2016). The number of online gamblers, ranging from 2.76 to 3.2 million people, includes the lower-middle-income group, such as students, university students, laborers, farmers, housewives, and private sector workers (Kongah 2024). In addition, more than 1,000 state officials, including members of the House of Representatives (*DPR*) and Regional House of Representatives (*DPRD*), are involved in these transactions (Harbowo 2024; Praditya 2024; Wienanto 2024). Online gambling sites continue to reappear despite being frequently blocked by the government (Amalia 2024; Nugroho 2024).

Online media currently plays a significant role in presenting and shaping public issues, including online gambling. This media has become the main source of information for the public and has a significant influence in shaping public opinion (Budiawan and Utomo 2022, 2023; Kusnato and Yusuf 2024). Kompas.com, one of the three most accessed news portals in Indonesia, has become a primary source of information (Pahlevi 2022). Based on data from Similarweb.com up to July 2024, Kompas.com ranks first with 298.7 million visits. Various perspectives about online gambling were included on Kompas.com, such as social and economic impacts, as well as government efforts to eradicate this gambling, involving the viewpoints of law enforcement, community leaders, and legal experts to provide a comprehensive picture (Haq and Fadilah 2019).

This study focuses on the analysis of the representation of online gambling issues in Indonesia by Kompas.com using a corpus-based critical discourse analysis approach. This method explores not only the structure of news but also the dynamics of power, discrimination, bias, and injustice that emerge in language (Baker 2010; Eriyanto 2022; Puspitasari and Okitasari 2021). This study explains the relationship between language, society, ideology, and public opinion in shaping social discourse about online gambling. Corpus-based analysis allows for the objective evaluation of language patterns in large amounts of text (Salsabila, Yuliawati, and Darmayanti 2023).

Previous studies have examined various aspects of news reporting using critical discourse analysis, as done by Maghvira (2017), Winingsih, Anshori, and Nurhadi (2022), K. I. Sari, Wismanto, and Budiawan (2022), and others. Various analytical approaches, such as the approaches of Norman Fairclough and Van Dijk, have been applied in various studies (Azizah 2020; Pakpahan et al. 2024; Wulandari, Budiawan, and Mualafina 2023; Taufikurrohman, Setyawati, and Budiawan 2021), as well as Corpus Linguistics (Budiawan and Alya Nabila Fatin 2024; Alifya, Raden Yusuf Sidiq Budiawan, and Prayogi 2024; Fatin, Budiawan,

and Mualafina 2024; Rofidah, Budiawan, and Prayogi 2024). Although corpus-based analysis is starting to gain attention, studies addressing the issue of online gambling in the media using this approach are still rare. This gap is important to fill in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the media portrays this issue.

The importance of this research lies in its contribution to understanding how media like Kompas.com frames the issue and influences public perception of online gambling. This study is relevant amid the growing public concern over the social, economic, and moral impacts of online gambling, as well as doubts about the effectiveness of government efforts. It is hoped that this research can uncover media strategies in presenting this issue, including language choices and news framing, which can shape public opinion. These findings are important for policymakers and media practitioners, as well as for enhancing public media literacy.

Method

This research utilizes a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the online gambling phenomenon in Indonesia. By integrating these approaches, this study seeks to address the limitations inherent in each method, broaden the analytical scope, and provide deeper insights into complex issues that cannot be fully captured by a single method alone (Creswell & Creswell 2018; Creswell 2012; Fetters 2020; Ketsman, Droog, & Qazi 2025; Sudaryanto 2015). The research population consists of all news articles related to online gambling published on the Kompas.com website during 2024. Data were collected using the web scraping tool Octoparse, which allowed the researcher to gather a large number of texts efficiently (Horvath 2022). To maintain relevance and analytical consistency, only articles that explicitly discuss online gambling as their main topic and include narrative elements—such as quotations from government officials, law enforcement, community leaders, victims, or perpetrators—were selected for analysis. Brief updates, duplicate entries, or purely statistical reports without substantial narrative were excluded to ensure the final dataset contained rich discursive material suitable for critical discourse analysis.

The data were then organized by lexical elements and converted into TXT format for processing with AntConc software. The quantitative phase involved calculating word frequencies, identifying n-grams, examining collocations, and performing concordance analysis to detect dominant language patterns (Wijayanti & Firmonasari 2023). The qualitative phase was carried out through a close thematic reading using a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework (Baker 2010; Leeuwen 2008). Selected excerpts were analyzed to explore how social actors are portrayed through inclusion and exclusion strategies, underlying power relations, and the framing of narratives. This stage drew on van Leeuwen's (2008) approach to social actor representation and Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional CDA framework, which links text, discourse practice, and wider sociocultural context. By combining systematic corpus techniques with reflective qualitative interpretation, this study aims to balance empirical clarity with a nuanced understanding of the ways media language shapes and circulates meanings around online gambling in Indonesia.

Findings and Discussion

According to Leeuwen (2008), critical discourse analysis involves how language is used to represent social actors and social actions in a text. Social actors are individuals or groups who become subjects or objects in a narrative. Eriyanto (2022) explains that this representation is manifested through inclusion and exclusion or how these participants are displayed or hidden in discourse. Based on the frequency and range of the data processing results from the Antconc application, the social actors frequently mentioned are as follows.

Table 1. Frequency and Range Data Representation of Social Actors

Type	Freq	Range
masyarakat	178	52
mereka	154	52
Budi	143	27
kita	124	44
korban	123	23
Polri	117	29
Komdigi	111	26
pemerintah	107	33
pelaku	104	39
Kementerian	103	51
orang	103	48
pegawai	99	28
Satgas	99	19
dia	94	48
Menteri	88	47
PPATK	83	31
TNI	81	15
tersangka	78	27
anggota	72	21
anak	66	23
Presiden	60	27
Ketua	57	18
keluarga	55	16
kami	50	34
saya	49	26
polisi	48	28
Ia	47	31
pemain	47	23
Menko	43	23
DPR	43	18
lembaga	39	23
ia	38	23
Koordinator	37	25

bandar	36	15
Kemenkominfo	35	15
Polda	34	18
Direktur	33	18
Jokowi	32	15
Prabowo	32	15
Dia	30	20
Menkominfo	30	18
Pemerintah	29	16
Jenderal	28	18
Negara	28	16
apararat	28	16

Based on Table 1, the participant *masyarakat* ‘society’ appears most frequently with a frequency of 178 times and a range of 52 news articles, followed by *mereka* ‘they/them’ (154 times, 52 news articles), *Budi* ‘Budi Arie’ (former Minister of Communication and Information)’ (143 times, 27 news articles), *kita* ‘we’ (124 times, 44 news articles), *korban* ‘victim’ (123 times, 23 news articles), etc. Most of the participants mentioned are government officials, such as the *presiden* ‘president’, *pemerintah* ‘the government’, *menteri* ‘ministers’, *DPR* ‘the parliament’, *polisi* ‘the police’, *Komdigi*, *PPATK*, *TNI* ‘the military’, etc., while other parties like the *pelaku* ‘perpetrators’ and *korban* ‘victims’ are not mentioned as frequently. In other words, government officials are the inclusion that is more frequently featured as actors. This shows that Kompas.com highlights participants from various elements of the government officials more in addressing the phenomenon of online gambling. The highest frequency among government apparatus elements is *Budi*, referring to Budi Arie (former Minister of Communication and Information).

Based on the results of the concordance analysis (Keywords in Context), *Budi* is presented as a figure who creates and implements policies to combat online gambling with words or phrases such as swift action, real work, pioneer in gambling eradication, and fighter against online gambling. In addition, *Budi* is also portrayed as a communicator of information about online gambling to the public, a recipient of complaints from the public, and a recipient of awards for his performance. In some contexts, *Budi* is closely associated with the *istana* (government), Jokowi (former president), and Projo (the organization supporting Jokowi, which is led by Budi). However, there are also several news reports indicating that Budi is implicated in an online gambling case after several Komdigi employees (formerly known as Kominfo, the ministry where Budi worked before becoming the current Minister of Cooperatives, were arrested by the police. Budi is suspected of supporting the actions of his former employees.

Overall, *Budi* is portrayed as a social actor with a fairly positive image in most of the news on Kompas.com. Although there are a few articles that give a negative impression regarding his involvement in the online gambling protection case in his previous ministry. Table 2 below presents examples of concordance data for Budi in the analysis.

Table 2. Sample Concordance Data Budi

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 menghindar dari potensi pemeriksaan terkait kasus ini. Menurut pernyataannya, ia siap menghadapi proses hukum dan menyatakan tidak

On the other hand, social actors involved in online gambling activities in Kompas.com news are consistently represented with the term *pelaku* ‘perpetrator’. Based on the results of the N-Gram analysis, the term *pelaku* ‘perpetrator’ is most often associated with the phrase *judi online* ‘online gambling’, which appears with a frequency of 31 times in 15 different news articles, as shown in Table 3 below. The use of this phrase creates a direct association between individuals involved in the activity and the illegal actions they commit. This recurring pattern not only reinforces their identity as lawbreakers but also strengthens the negative image attached to them as criminals. Moreover, the repetition of this combination of words in various articles reinforces the narrative that online gamblers are elements that harm society, placing them in a position that contradicts social and legal norms. Thus, this representation reinforces their position as public enemies who must be dealt with firmly by law enforcement agencies.

Table 3. Analysis of N-Gram of the Word *Pelaku*

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 menyamakan uang	6	2	2
pelaku pelanggaran hukum	6	2	2
pelaku terlilit utang	6	2	2
pelaku yang aktif	6	2	2

In the news from Kompas.com, online gambling perpetrators are depicted as social actors engaging in various online gambling activities or methods. They are also presented as criminals who are unrepentant despite being punished, reflecting the notion that legal sanctions in Indonesia related to gambling are still considered lenient. In news discourse, Kompas.com explicitly separates the concept of *pelaku* 'perpetrator' from *korban* 'victim'. Kompas emphasizes the difference in roles and consequences for both concepts. This representation reinforces the image of the perpetrator as someone who continuously breaks the law and requires harsher actions from law enforcement. Table 4 below presents examples of concordance data for the term *pelaku* in the dataset.

Table 4. Sample Data Concordance of *Pelaku*

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	pelaku	judi online mulai memanfaatkan sistem pembayaran digital seperti

beralih ke QRIS dan E-wallet? Seiring waktu,	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	judi online adalah sebenar-benarnya pelaku dan bukan korban. Walaupun bisa saja mereka melakukannya karena tekanan ekonomi, kebutuhan keluarga,

Other social actors, besides Budi Arie and the *pelaku* 'perpetrator', are the *masyarakat* 'community' and *korban* 'the victims' who have interrelated contexts. Based on the N-Gram analysis results, the term *korban* 'victim' is most often paired with the phrase *judi online* 'online gambling', appearing 44 times in 13 news articles, as shown in the following Table 5. This relationship indicates that in the news coverage, victims are often directly linked to online gambling activities, reinforcing the narrative that places them as the parties suffering due to the perpetrators actions.

Table 5. N-Gram Analysis of the Word *Korban*

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

Online gambling victims are depicted as not only coming from the lower middle class but also from the intellectual circles. Additionally, Kompas.com presents the victims as recipients of social assistance and individuals experiencing psychosocial disturbances. This media explicitly states that online gambling victims also include the family members of the perpetrators, not just the perpetrators themselves. The following Table 6 shows examples of concordance data for the term *korban* 'victim' in the analyzed news.

Tabel 6. Sample Data of *Pelaku* 'Victim' Concordance

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
Terjadi di masyarakat bahkan menyusup sampai ke anggota Polri dan menimbulkan korban jiwa. "Kita sudah	Korban	judi online ini, misalnya kemudian kita masukkan di dalam DTKS sebagai penerima bansos," kata

banyak memberikan advokasi mereka yang	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 contrary, the community in Kompas.com's reporting is depicted as an entity with diverse roles and positions in the context of online gambling. They are presented as victims or parties harmed by online gambling practices, both financially and socially. Additionally, society is also depicted as individuals who are trapped or involved in online gambling activities, including those who are addicted.

Furthermore, the community is considered to have a responsibility in preventing online gambling through active participation, such as reporting these illegal activities. They are also seen as a group that needs to be protected, rescued, and educated about the dangers of online gambling. Kompas.com mentioned that the community is a target for social assistance, but there are also those who misuse that assistance for gambling. This complex depiction creates a narrative that society is a dual-role entity: as victims in need of protection and education, and as agents who must actively participate in addressing the issue of online gambling. The following Table 7 shows examples of concordance data for the term *masyarakat* 'society' analyzed from the news corpus.

Table 7. Sample Data Concordance *Masyarakat*

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
difokuskan buat mengentaskan kemiskinan, dan tidak dialihkan buat membantu pelaku judi online beserta keluarganya.	masyarakat	yang tidak mampu agar dapat memenuhi hak dasarnya, tidak usah dikait-kaitkan dengan

"Bansos itu untuk kepentingan bantuan bagi		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 PPATK 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,

In critically examining how Kompas.com represents social actors in its coverage of online gambling, this study finds layered narratives that deserve careful reflection. Government officials, most notably figures such as Budi Arie, are consistently constructed as the main force in tackling the spread of online gambling. This can be seen, for example, in statements like "*Budi Arie adalah pelopor gerakan pemberantasan judi online,*" which underline the government's proactive stance and intention to be seen as the guardian of public welfare. Although some articles hint at possible misconduct or negligence, these tend to be overshadowed by the dominant image of decisive government action.

Perpetrators, on the other hand, are persistently framed as cunning lawbreakers. Phrases such as “*pelaku judi online mulai memanfaatkan sistem pembayaran digital seperti QRIS dan e-wallet*” reveal how they are portrayed as continually adapting to evade the law, strengthening their negative image as public enemies. While this framing is understandable, it often neglects the deeper socioeconomic contexts that may drive individuals to become involved in such illicit activities in the first place.

Victims are positioned mostly as passive groups who bear the brunt of online gambling’s destructive impact. Kompas.com, for instance, reports that “*korban judi online ini... kita masukkan di dalam DTKS sebagai penerima bansos,*” highlighting the narrative that victims rely heavily on state assistance and protection. Such portrayals, while sympathetic, can also risk simplifying the victim’s position as merely dependent, overlooking their potential agency in resisting or overcoming their circumstances.

Interestingly, the portrayal of *masyarakat* (society) stands out for its duality. On the one hand, society is depicted as a vulnerable collective threatened by the spread of online gambling, as suggested by statements like “*masyarakat yang bermain judi online... ada sekitar 3.295.310 masyarakat yang bermain judi online.*” On the other hand, the community is also framed as an essential actor that must take part in prevention, reflected in lines such as “*masyarakat dan keluarga—sebagai unit sosial terkecil—juga harus turun tangan untuk mencegah.*” This suggests that the public is not only a passive target of risk but also carries the moral responsibility to act collectively against the problem.

These textual choices matter because they help shape how the public perceives who is responsible for the problem and who holds the power to resolve it. When the government’s role is repeatedly emphasized while structural causes receive less attention, the discourse risks reinforcing a limited view that online gambling can be solved solely through blockades and punitive measures. In practice, this study’s findings highlight the need for policymakers to complement law enforcement with broader social interventions that tackle root causes, such as economic precarity, weak digital literacy, and the lure of quick profits that draw people into gambling networks.

Looking ahead, this research invites further inquiry into how audiences actually interpret and respond to such dominant framings. Do readers unquestioningly accept the narrative of the heroic government and villainous perpetrators, or do they see gaps between official discourse and everyday reality? Comparative studies could also explore how other media outlets frame similar issues, offering a richer understanding of how the media’s narrative power shapes public opinion and, ultimately, policy direction.

In the end, this analysis reminds us that media texts do more than inform. They actively construct meaning, define boundaries between social actors, and influence how society imagines problems and their solutions. By paying closer attention to whose voices are amplified and whose are minimized, we can better appreciate how discourse plays a crucial role in shaping social change — or sustaining the status quo.

Conclusion

This study has offered a closer look at how Kompas.com, as one of Indonesia's most influential news portals, frames the complex issue of online gambling through the inclusion and exclusion of different social actors. By drawing on a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, the findings reveal how government figures, such as Budi Arie, are predominantly highlighted as decisive actors leading the fight against online gambling. Meanwhile, perpetrators are painted as cunning violators of the law, victims are shown as passive sufferers, and society is portrayed both as vulnerable and as a moral agent expected to participate in prevention.

These patterns matter because they do not merely present events — they shape how the public understands responsibility, blame, and solutions. By focusing strongly on the government's heroic narrative, there is a risk that structural drivers of online gambling, such as social inequality and digital vulnerability, remain underexplored in public debate. This calls for more balanced storytelling and policies that not only strengthen enforcement but also invest in prevention through education, economic support, and community empowerment. The hope is that these insights can serve as a small reminder for media practitioners to reflect critically on how word choices and narrative frames influence readers' perceptions. For policymakers, this study suggests that repressive measures alone may not be enough if they are not accompanied by initiatives that address the deeper roots of the issue. Equally important, the public itself must remain aware that combating online gambling is not solely the responsibility of the state but a shared effort that demands active, informed participation.

Future research would benefit from exploring how audiences actually make sense of these media frames. Do readers trust the government-centric narrative? Do they see alternative explanations? Comparative studies between news outlets, or even social media discourse, could reveal whether different platforms amplify different voices and concerns. Such work can enrich our understanding of how language, power, and society intertwine in the digital era. At its heart, this research stands as a small step toward encouraging more critical, open, and humane conversations about issues that touch so many layers of everyday life. By continuing to question how we talk about problems — and who gets to speak — we may find more space for fairer, more inclusive solutions.

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