



## Representing Cyberbullying Perpetrators in Indonesian Digital Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Jakarta Post

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### Abstract

*This study examines how cyberbullying perpetrators are portrayed in Indonesian digital media through a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of "Online Evil: Indonesia's Cyberbullying Problem" published by The Jakarta Post. It explores the linguistic representation of cyberbullying perpetrators and how such portrayals reflect social ideologies and digital culture in Indonesian society. Using a qualitative approach, the study applies Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework alongside social actor representation theory and transitivity analysis. Data consisting of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences were collected through documentation and close reading, then analysed at micro, meso, and macro levels. Findings reveal that perpetrators are depicted through negative word choices, aggressive metaphors, transitivity patterns, and collectivization strategies. Anonymous perpetrators are framed as aggressive and destructive figures through expressions like "internet trolls" and "hateful comments", while relational perpetrators are represented collectively through social actor categorization. The study also shows that cyberbullying discourse is closely tied to digital pragmatics, including face-threatening acts, impoliteness, and online identity negotiation. Media narratives construct cyberbullying as symbolic violence and a social threat in digital spaces. These findings suggest that media discourse not only reports cyberbullying but also reproduces ideologies about deviant digital behaviour. Pedagogically, this study contributes to digital pragmatics and critical digital literacy instruction within Outcome-Based Education (OBE) frameworks in higher education.*

## **1. Introduction**

The rapid development of digital technology has significantly transformed human communication patterns, including social interaction in Indonesia. The widespread use of the internet and social media enables fast, open, and borderless information exchange. However, alongside these benefits, digital spaces also give rise to new social issues, one of which is cyberbullying. This phenomenon has become a global concern due to its real psychological, social, and moral impacts on victims and society (Marjun et al., 2025).

In Indonesia, cyberbullying cases have increased in recent years. Ariwandono (2023), citing a survey by Polling Indonesia and APJII, reported that nearly half of Indonesian internet users have experienced bullying on social media. This shows that cyberbullying has become part of digital communication dynamics. Maftuh et al. (2024) further found that school climate and online interaction patterns contribute to cyberbullying among students, while Gusdiansyah (2024) links it to anxiety, emotional distress, and psychological disorders in university students.

Cyberbullying is not merely a communication issue. Lurien & Susianti (2024) note that victims experience anxiety, depression, emotional pressure, and even suicidal ideation. It is also closely related to symbolic violence and power relations in online interaction. Zhong et al. (2022) explain that language in cyberbullying often constructs moral aggression, domination, and identity delegitimization in social media contexts.

Recent studies have expanded cyberbullying research beyond psychological impacts to linguistic, pragmatic, and ideological dimensions. Xu and Trzaskawka (2021) describe cyberbullying as a multidimensional phenomenon involving linguistic, social, psychological, and legal aspects. In addition, digital communication is strongly linked to pragmatic strategies and ideological framing. Kamsinah et al. (2024) highlights its role in power negotiation and identity construction, while Lores (2024) emphasizes its function in shaping audience interpretation. Alhumsi & Almehmadi (2025) further shows that digital pragmatics influences interactional behavior and communication ethics, indicating that online discourse is both informational and ideological.

From this perspective, social media functions not only as a communication space but also as a site of ideological production and power relations, which can be analyzed through Critical Discourse Studies (Bouvier et al., 2021). Hasnah (2025) also confirms that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) effectively reveals ideological constructions in media and educational contexts, where language reproduces power, identity, and inequality.

In the context of cyberbullying, the role of media is particularly significant. Media does not merely report cyberbullying incidents as neutral facts; rather, it actively constructs representations of perpetrators, victims, and audiences. These representations carry ideological weight because they shape public understanding of who is morally responsible for digital aggression and what behaviors are considered deviant in online spaces. Consequently, examining how media language represents cyberbullying perpetrators is not simply a matter of linguistic description but an inquiry into how power, morality, and social identity are discursively produced.

Media plays a crucial role in shaping public understanding of cyberbullying. It does not merely report events but constructs representations of perpetrators, victims, and audiences. Fairclough (1995) argues that media language is a social practice tied to ideology and power, while Van Dijk (2008) states that media discourse shapes public knowledge through actor and value representation. Thus, representations of perpetrators are linked to meaning construction and social interests.

Studies in Indonesia show similar findings. Kamila et al. (2025) reveal ideological bias in media discourse through transitivity patterns and thematic structures in Indonesian news headlines, while Azhari and Rosyidi (2025) show how digital platforms employ strategic lexical choices and informal tone as ideological framing tools to shape audience perceptions in Indonesia. These studies confirm that media actively shapes ideological interpretation in digital spaces.

Anonymity also plays a role in online aggression. Juliati et al. (2025) find that anonymity and social distance reduce moral control, increasing hate speech on platforms like TikTok. Afralia et al. (2024) also identify anonymity, peer pressure, and digital culture as key factors in adolescent cyberbullying. Thus, online identity is important in understanding perpetrator representation.

Digital platforms have also become spaces for symbolic violence and discursive toxicity. Recuero (2024) describes social media as producing discursive toxicity through collective verbal aggression, while Morales (2023) highlights cyber violence as part of a broader digital communication ecology shaped by algorithms and participatory culture. Lestari et al. (2023) further show that netizens often normalize objectification and public shaming, indicating collective reproduction of symbolic violence.

Although cyberbullying research has grown, studies focusing on the representation of perpetrators in Indonesian media remain limited. Most research focuses on victims, psychological impacts, or regulation (Auliya & Al Umami, 2024; Lurien & Susianti, 2024; Maftuh et al., 2024). However, perpetrator representation is important because it reveals how language assigns moral responsibility and ideological positioning.

Recent studies emphasize integrating linguistic and sociological perspectives. Sukmana et al. (2025) link cyberbullying discourse to unequal power relations, while Erisyerico et al. (2025) show how hate speech on TikTok constructs gendered ideological representations. These studies support the use of CDA to uncover hidden ideologies in digital discourse.

Most studies also portray perpetrators as anonymous actors, whereas in collectivistic contexts like Indonesia, cyberbullying may also involve individuals from victims' close social circles, such as classmates or coworkers. Online behavior is often shaped by group dynamics in collectivistic societies (Irwanto et al., 2025).

Based on this context, this study analyzes the representation of cyberbullying perpetrators in "*Online Evil: Indonesia's Cyberbullying Problem*" published by *The Jakarta Post* (March 24, 2023). The article is selected because it distinguishes between anonymous and relational perpetrators. These categories are important for examining how media constructs moral responsibility through linguistic strategies.

This study applies Norman Fairclough's CDA framework, combining lexical analysis, metaphor, transitivity, and social actor representation. This approach allows examination of the relationship between language, ideology, and social practice. Unlike prior CDA studies on cyberbullying that focus predominantly on lexical choices or speech acts, the novelty of this study lies in its integration of two dimensions often treated separately: digital pragmatics (face-threatening acts, impoliteness strategies, and online identity negotiation) and collectivistic cultural framing. By examining how Indonesian cultural values of group harmony and social solidarity shape the linguistic representation of perpetrators, this study offers a more culturally grounded understanding of cyberbullying discourse in non-Western digital contexts.

The study addresses two questions: (1) how cyberbullying perpetrators are represented linguistically through lexicalization, metaphor, transitivity, and social actor representation; and (2) how these representations reflect Indonesian social ideology and digital culture. The aim is to analyze perpetrator representation and its ideological implications in digital media.

Theoretically, this study contributes to CDA in understanding cyberbullying discourse. Practically, it supports digital pragmatics learning and critical digital literacy within Outcome-Based Education (OBE) in higher education.

## **2. Method**

### *Study Design*

This study employed a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework (Fairclough, 1995). This design was considered appropriate since the study is concerned with how cyberbullying perpetrators are represented in digital media and how such representations relate to language use, ideology, and social practice. In CDA, language is not treated as a neutral medium of communication but as a form of social practice that constructs power relations, identities, and meaning within society (Fairclough, 1995). A qualitative case study design was also adopted because the analysis focused on an in-depth examination of a single, specific media text (Gee, 2007). As Yin (2018) argues, a single case study is justified when the case is "critical, extreme, or revelatory" for understanding a phenomenon. The selected article serves as a revelatory case that allows detailed examination of how linguistic strategies construct perpetrator identity in Indonesian digital media discourse.

### *1. Subject of the Research*

The subject of this research was a news article entitled "Online Evil: Indonesia's Cyberbullying Problem" (Ariwandono, 2023), published by The Jakarta Post on March 24, 2023. This article was selected purposively as the data source because it explicitly presents two different categories of cyberbullying perpetrators: anonymous perpetrators and those who have relational ties with their victims. The selection of this single article was based on its unique relevance in demonstrating how linguistic strategies are used to construct perpetrator representation in Indonesian digital media discourse, particularly given the rarity of Indonesian media texts that explicitly distinguish between these two perpetrator categories.

### *2. Data Collection Techniques and Instrument Development*

The data consisted of linguistic units such as words, phrases, clauses, and sentences related to the representation of cyberbullying perpetrators in the article. The focus of analysis was placed on expressions indicating social evaluation, agency distribution, perpetrator identity construction, metaphorical expressions of digital aggression, and strategies of social actor representation.

Data collection was carried out through documentation and systematic close reading techniques (Gee, 2007; Fairclough, 1995). First, the article was collected and treated as the main corpus. Second, the text was read repeatedly to understand its discourse context and to identify relevant parts representing cyberbullying perpetrators. To ensure systematic identification, the following criteria were applied: (a) lexical items carrying negative or aggressive connotations about perpetrators, (b) metaphorical expressions framing cyberbullying as physical violence or warfare, (c) clauses where

perpetrators appear as active agents, and (d) references to perpetrators as individuals or groups.

The researcher acted as the main instrument of this study, as qualitative research generally positions the researcher as the primary interpreter of the data (Creswell & Cresswell, 2018). Regarding positionality, the researcher acknowledges that her academic background in English language teaching and discourse analysis, as well as her position as an Indonesian researcher working with an English-language Indonesian news outlet, may influence interpretation. To mitigate potential bias, all interpretations were consistently grounded in explicit linguistic evidence (e.g., specific lexical items, grammatical structures) rather than intuition, and the analytical framework provided systematic guidance to reduce subjective over-interpretation. A data categorization table was used to organize linguistic features such as lexical choices, metaphors, transitivity patterns, evaluative meanings, and forms of social actor representation.

## *2. Data Analysis Techniques*

The analysis was conducted by integrating Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA (1995), van Leeuwen's social actor representation framework (2008), and Halliday and Matthiessen's transitivity system (2014). The analysis was carried out in three stages corresponding to Fairclough's framework.

At the micro level (textual analysis), the focus was on lexical selection, metaphors, evaluative language, and transitivity patterns used to represent cyberbullying perpetrators. At the meso level (discursive practice analysis), the examination focused on how the media frames, highlights, and organizes narratives related to perpetrators. At the macro level (social practice analysis), the interpretation examined how these representations connect to broader social ideologies, digital culture, and the collectivistic characteristics of Indonesian society.

To ensure trustworthiness, this study applied qualitative validation techniques proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014). Credibility was achieved through repeated reading and coding of the data to ensure consistency in interpretation. Dependability was maintained by systematically documenting the entire analytical process. Confirmability was established by presenting data excerpts as the basis for interpretation. Transferability was achieved through detailed descriptions of the analytical process, allowing the analytical model to be applied to other studies with similar contexts.

## **3. Result**

### *Representation of Anonymous Perpetrators through Negative Lexicalization*

The findings reveal that anonymous cyberbullying perpetrators are represented through pejorative and aggressive lexical choices. One form of lexicalization can be seen in the use of the term "*internet trolls*" to refer to cyberbullying perpetrators.

The term *trolls* carry a negative connotation because it refers to internet users who intentionally provoke, attack, or create conflict within digital spaces. The use of this term indicates that the media constructs perpetrators as destructive actors who disrupt the stability of online social interaction. In addition, the article also employs expressions such as:

- "hateful comments" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 15),
- "online harassment" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 17),
- "culture of aggression and mockery" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 14),
- "pure harassment" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 21).

These lexical choices reflect negative moral judgments toward cyberbullying behaviour. Expressions with strong negative connotations are intentionally used to construct perpetrators as socially unacceptable and ethically problematic actors. By employing terms associated with aggression, immorality, and harmful actions, the discourse frames perpetrators within a negative social identity that encourages public criticism and moral disapproval. Tabel 1 below illustrates several examples of lexicalization found in the article.

Table 1. Lexicalization of Cyberbullying Perpetrators

Data	Source	Linguistic Feature	Representation
"internet trolls"	(Ariwandono, 2023, paragraf 7)	pejorative expression	perpetrators as digital provocateurs
"hateful comments"	(Ariwandono, 2023, paragraf 15)	negative evaluative language	verbal aggression
"online harassment"	(Ariwandono, 2023, paragraf 17)	criminalization of actions	digital violence
"culture of aggression and mockery"	(Ariwandono, 2023, paragraf 14)	social evaluation	culture of online violence
"pure harassment"	(Ariwandono, 2023, paragraf 21)	intensification	dehumanizing acts

### *Metaphors of Violence in the Representation of Cyberbullying*

The article also employs various aggressive metaphors to portray cyberbullying as a form of collective violence within digital spaces. One of the metaphors identified in the article is:

*"A barrage of hateful comments streamed into her Instagram posts"*  
 (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 15).

The word *barrage* originates from a military term referring to continuous artillery attacks. The use of this metaphor constructs online comments as a form of massive attack directed at the victim.

Other metaphors appear in the following expressions:

- "shooting her down" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 18),
- "wave of online movement" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 24),
- "partake in the beatings" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 26),
- "combative side take the wheel" (Ariwandono, 2023, paragraph 28).

These metaphors indicate that cyberbullying is represented as:

- digital warfare,
- collective aggression,
- symbolic violence.

Table 2 summarizes the metaphors identified in the article.

Table 2. Metaphors in the Representation of Cyberbullying

Data	Source	Type of Metaphor	Ideological Meaning
<i>"barrage of hateful comments"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 15)	war metaphor	collective digital attack
<i>"shooting her down"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 18)	violence metaphor	destruction of reputation
<i>"wave of online movement"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 24)	natural metaphor	uncontrollable mass aggression
<i>"partake in the beatings"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 26)	physical metaphor	symbolic violence
<i>"combative side take the wheel"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 28)	behavioral metaphor	domination of aggressiveness

#### *Transitivity and Agency Distribution*

The transitivity analysis reveals that anonymous perpetrators are more frequently represented as active agents in material processes. This can be observed through the use of verbs such as:

- *"attacked"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 9),
- *"spread"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 12),
- *"targeted"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 16),
- *"shooting down"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 18),
- *"told me to commit suicide"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 19).

In these constructions, the perpetrators are positioned as active subjects who directly perform aggressive actions against the victims.

In contrast, in several other parts, the media employs passive constructions that obscure the identity of the perpetrators, such as:

*"Rachel was slammed by the group's fans"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 22).

The use of passive voice shifts the focus of the sentence toward the victim rather than the perpetrators. Table 3 presents the transitivity patterns identified in the article.

Table 3. Transitivity Patterns in the Representation of Perpetrators

Data	Source	Process Type	Agency Distribution
<i>"people told me to commit suicide"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 19)	material process	perpetrators as active agents
<i>"shooting her down"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 18)	material process	direct aggression
<i>"Rachel was slammed"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 22)	passive construction	perpetrators are obscured
<i>"people partake in the beatings"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 26)	material process	collective participation
<i>"the video was uploaded online"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 11)	passive construction	omission of agency

#### Representation of Relational Perpetrators

Unlike anonymous perpetrators, relational perpetrators are those who have existing social ties with the victim, such as classmates, coworkers, or acquaintances. The article represents relational perpetrators through more indirect and collective linguistic strategies. For example, the expression

- *"Rachel was slammed by the group's fans"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 22) indicates that the perpetrators are not anonymous strangers but individuals who share a social connection through fandom or group affiliation.
- *"people around Denny were forced to take sides"* (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 24) demonstrates how relational perpetrators emerge from existing social networks rather than anonymous online spaces.

These representations differ from those of anonymous perpetrators in two significant ways. First, relational perpetrators are more often represented through passive constructions that obscure individual agency. Second, relational perpetrators are typically referred to using collective nouns ("group's fans," "people around Denny") rather than pejorative labels like "trolls." Table 4 summarizes the representation of social actors in the article.

Table 4. Representation of Social Actors

Data	Source	Representation Strategy	Social Meaning
<i>"netizens"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 8)	collectivization	digital mass identity
<i>"group's fans"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 22)	categorization	group solidarity
<i>"people around Denny"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 24)	relational identification	social pressure
<i>"people partake in the beatings"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 26)	collectivization	normalization of aggression
<i>"forced to take sides"</i>	(Ariwando, 2023, paragraf 24)	polarization	digital social conflict

*Frequency of Linguistic Features*

To provide a systematic overview of the dominant linguistic strategies in the article, a frequency count was conducted. The operationalization of frequency counting followed these procedures: (1) each linguistic unit (word, phrase, or clause) that met at least one of the four identification criteria (lexical, metaphorical, transitivity, or social actor) was coded; (2) each coded item was counted as one instance; (3) multiple instances of the same feature were summed; and (4) only features appearing three or more times were included in the final count. Table 5 presents the frequency distribution of linguistic features.

Table 5. Frequency of Linguistic Features

Linguistic Feature	Frequency	Representational Function
Negative lexicalization	12	constructing negative moral evaluation
Aggressive metaphors	9	representing digital violence
Material processes	11	portraying perpetrators as active agents
Passive constructions	6	obscuring perpetrators' identities
Collectivization	8	constructing digital mass identity
Evaluative expressions	10	reinforcing social delegitimization

The table shows that negative lexicalization and material processes are the most dominant linguistic strategies in the text. The dominance of these two features indicates that the media actively constructs cyberbullying perpetrators as aggressive agents responsible for digital violence.

Figure 1 below illustrates the frequency distribution.

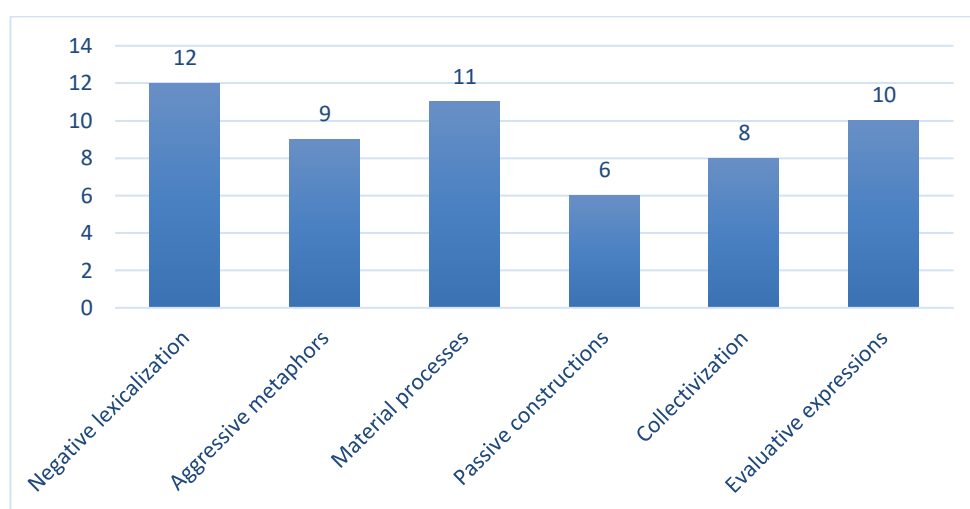


Figure 1. Frequency of Linguistic Features in Cyberbullying Representation

#### **4. Discussion**

##### *Interpretation of Negative Lexicalization Findings*

From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, negative lexicalization serves as a strategy of social delegitimization, where media discourse does not merely describe events but actively shapes perceptions and reinforces relations of power (Fairclough, 1995). In this sense, lexical selection functions as a discursive tool that influences how readers interpret cyberbullying cases and strengthens collective moral evaluation of the perpetrators.

These findings align with the study by Zhong et al. (2022), which shows that cyberbullying discourse commonly relies on evaluative language to construct moral stances toward perpetrators in social media contexts. In online interactions, users often employ emotionally loaded expressions, judgments, and evaluative remarks to depict perpetrators in a negative way, framing them as immoral, harmful, or socially unacceptable. Such linguistic practices not only mirror public attitudes toward cyberbullying but also serve to reinforce shared social norms and values within digital communities.

Similarly, this finding corresponds with Erisyerico et al. (2025), who found that hate speech on Indonesian TikTok frequently uses evaluative and derogatory lexical items to construct negative ideological representations of targeted groups, particularly women. These patterns indicate that negative lexicalization does not merely express hostility at an individual level, but also works to sustain symbolic domination and collective judgment within digital communication practices.

##### *Interpretation of Violence Metaphors*

The use of aggressive metaphors is consistent with Recuero's (2024) concept of discursive toxicity, which explains that social media platforms have increasingly become spaces where symbolic violence is reproduced through digital language practices. In this sense, metaphors are not merely stylistic elements, but function as discursive tools that intensify hostility, humiliation, and processes of social exclusion toward certain individuals or groups. By metaphorically linking perpetrators to destructive, dangerous, or morally corrupt entities, online discourse tends to amplify negative emotional responses while at the same time normalizing public condemnation.

From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, such metaphorical constructions demonstrate how language contributes to the reproduction of unequal power relations and symbolic aggression in digital environments. Consequently, discursive toxicity in social media plays a role in shaping collective perceptions and sustaining patterns of verbal violence that may further reinforce cyberbullying practices.

##### *Ideological Implications*

The findings reveal that the representation of cyberbullying perpetrators in digital media is closely related to the construction of digital morality within Indonesian society. Using negative lexicalization, metaphors of violence, and particular distributions of agency, the media constructs cyberbullying as a dangerous social threat in digital spaces.

The representation of anonymous perpetrators as "internet trolls" and distributors of "hateful comments" indicates a process of dehumanization toward cyberbullying perpetrators. In this context, anonymity is associated with the loss of moral control and the increase of aggressiveness in digital communication. These findings support studies on online disinhibition, which argue that anonymity on social media can

encourage individuals to engage in aggressive behaviour that they may not perform in face-to-face interaction.

From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, these constructions indicate that the media does not merely report cyberbullying cases, but also produces ideologies regarding digital behaviour considered deviant. This is consistent with the view of Fairclough (1995), who argued that media possesses the power to shape social knowledge through language representation.

### *Digital Pragmatics*

The findings also demonstrate that cyberbullying in digital media is closely related to aspects of digital pragmatics, particularly in the practices of face-threatening acts, impoliteness, and online identity negotiation. Expressions such as:

- "shooting her down" (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 18)
- "told me to commit suicide" (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 19)
- "online harassment" (Ariwando, 2023, paragraph 17)

indicate the use of language that threatens face and damages the victim's social identity in digital communication.

From the perspective of digital pragmatics, cyberbullying is not merely understood as an aggressive act, but also as a violation of interpersonal norms in online interaction. Language is used to humiliate, dominate, intimidate, and delegitimize individual identities within digital public spaces.

These findings are closely related to the concept of digital pragmatics proposed by Kamsinah et al. (2024), who argue that language use on social media often reflects pragmatic intentions associated with power negotiation, interpersonal control, and identity management in online interaction. Similarly, Alhumsi & Almeahmadi (2025) found that digital communication environments significantly influence users' awareness of communication ethics and interactional behaviour in virtual learning spaces.

## **5. Conclusion**

This study examined how cyberbullying perpetrators are represented in Indonesian digital media through a Critical Discourse Analysis of "Online Evil: Indonesia's Cyberbullying Problem" from The Jakarta Post. The findings reveal that perpetrators are represented through four main linguistic strategies: negative lexicalization (e.g., "internet trolls," "hateful comments"), metaphors of violence (e.g., "barrage of hateful comments," "shooting her down"), transitivity patterns positioning perpetrators as active agents (e.g., "attacked," "targeted"), and collectivization strategies portraying cyberbullying as group participation (e.g., "netizens," "group's fans").

These representations reflect two ideological dimensions in Indonesian society: anonymous perpetrators are constructed as morally deviant actors framing digital spaces as arenas of moral threat, while the frequent use of collectivization reflects Indonesia's collectivistic cultural context where online aggression is framed as collective behaviour shaped by group dynamics. Theoretically, this study contributes to CDA by demonstrating how collectivistic cultural contexts shape perpetrator representation, an aspect underexplored in previous Western-focused CDA studies.

However, this study is limited to a single news article, so the findings cannot be generalized to all Indonesian media coverage of cyberbullying. Different media outlets, platforms, or digital genres may employ different representational strategies. In addition,

this study did not include multimodal analysis (e.g., images, emojis, video elements) or audience response analysis, which could provide further insight into how readers interpret these representations. For future research, studies should examine cyberbullying representation across multiple Indonesian digital platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, or X/Twitter, and integrate multimodal or sentiment analysis to complement qualitative CDA.

Pedagogically, the findings can be utilized in OBE-based digital pragmatics instruction, where educators can use the linguistic patterns identified to develop students' critical digital literacy, including identifying face-threatening acts, analysing aggressive language, and deconstructing ideological representations in media texts. For media practitioners, journalists should be aware that their lexical and grammatical choices in reporting cyberbullying carry ideological weight. A more balanced representation distinguishing between anonymous and relational perpetrators could provide readers with a more nuanced understanding of cyberbullying as a complex social phenomenon rather than simply individual moral failing.

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