

Language and Power in Media as Terminological Deformation of Radicalism in Indonesia: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

Objectives: The article aims to scrutinize the discourse of radicalism in Indonesia and its relevance to the construction of language and power. In Indonesia, contradictory discourses that threaten the existence of power are rarely given space. Thus, in the context of the critical paradigm, language in the media is not constructed neutrally but is carried out deliberately and with a certain purpose. This linguistic study tried to examine the deformation of the terminology of radicalism using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. The aim was to examine how language and power are interrelated in Indonesia's mass media and political landscape.

Methods: The data were gathered from searches on news of radicalism in online media from February to December 2020. Michel Foucault's (1981) theory of language and power was used to reveal how the practice of power was carried out through language. Norman Fairclough's (2014) CDA was used to analyze the use of language in the media.

Results: The results show that the media in Indonesia has built a discourse of radicalism as negative, dangerous, intolerant, and threatening the integrity of the country. This discourse also identifies the position of the media as partners of those in power in building discourse and perpetuating the dominant ideology.

Conclusion: The practice of media discourse of radicalism eventually causes radicalism to undergo a very significant terminological deformation.

Keywords: Language and Power; Radicalism; Critical Discourse Analysis; Terminology Deformation

اللغة والسلطة وتشويه المصطلحات عن الراديكالية في إندونيسيا: تحليل نقدي للخطاب

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ملخص

الأهداف: يهدف المقال إلى تدقيق خطاب الراديكالية في إندونيسيا وصلته ببناء اللغة والسلطة. لم يتم في إندونيسيا إعطاء مساحة كافية للخطابات المعاكسة التي تهدد وجود السلطة. وبالتالي، في سياق النموذج النقدي، فإن اللغة المستخدمة في وسائل الإعلام الإندونيسية لم يتم بناؤها بطريقة محايدة بل يتم استخدامها بشكل غير محايدة من أجل أهداف معينة. حاولت هذه الدراسة اللغوية فحص الاستخدام السيئ وتشويه مصطلح الراديكالية باستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA). وكان الهدف من هذه الدراسة التعرف على الصلة بين اللغة والسلطة في وسائل الإعلام والمشهد السياسي في إندونيسيا.

المنهجية: تم جمع البيانات المتعلقة بهذا البحث من خلال الاطلاع على الأخبار عن الراديكالية في وسائل الإعلام الإلكترونية في الفترة من فبراير حتى ديسمبر 2020. كما تم استخدام نظرية ميشيل فوكو (1981) عن اللغة والسلطة للكشف عن كيفية ممارسة السلطة من خلال اللغة. واستُخدم تحليل الخطاب النقدي لنورمان فيركلو (2014) لتحليل استخدام اللغة في وسائل الإعلام.

النتائج: وصلت هذه الدراسة إلى نتيجة أن وسائل الإعلام في إندونيسيا قد بنت خطاباً للراديكالية بوصفها سلبية وخطيرة وغير متسامحة وتهدد سلامة البلاد. من خلال هذا الخطاب تم الكشف عن موقف وسائل الإعلام بصفته شركاء للسلطة في بناء الخطاب وإدامة الأيديولوجية السائدة.

الخلاصة: أدت ممارسة الخطاب الإعلامي للراديكالية في الفترة الأخيرة إلى تعرض الراديكالية إلى تشويه مصطلحي كبير. الكلمات الدالة: اللغة والسلطة، الراديكالية، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، تشويه المصطلحات.

1. Introduction

Language studies cannot be separated from the role of language in various aspects of human life, such as education, politics, economy, culture, and religion (Sajjad et al., 2018; Shahbazi & Rezaee, 2017). Language is an essential tool for scrutinizing various sociocultural and political practices. In a political context, language can be used as a medium to influence people's minds in political campaigns (Addy & Ofori, 2020; Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017). Today, the role of mass media has been influential in shaping society's perspectives. Through the language used, print and electronic media help spread ideology to society. In this case, social and political practices in Indonesia often use texts and discourses as media coverage commodities by bringing certain ideologies (Arifuddin, 2016; Manan, 2019; Rudianto, 2021). In such conditions, CDA is vital to analyze the language contents used in these political and sociocultural practices. One of the media discourses that attracted public attention in Indonesia is the issue of radicalism. Echoed by politicians and the media, the term radicalism has reemerged in the country. Radicalism is not a new issue. Before the issue of radicalism, throughout the early 2000s, terrorism became a burning issue on the global political stage, especially after the September 11, 2001 tragedy. The issue of radicalism has then followed the terrorism issue. Therefore, in the second decade of this millennial era, there was a change in the global political strategy from the "War on Terrorism" to the "War on Radicalism" (Jacoby, 2016).

Historically, radicalism cannot be separated from another stigmatic term, fundamentalism, which first appeared in the late 19th century. This terminology was born to show the church's attitude towards the development of science and modern philosophy and its consistency towards Christianity. Along with its development, the term radical has undergone a terminological deformation. The meaning has significantly shifted to a stigmatic term with a negative and reactionary connotation. The discourse of radicalism in Indonesia has attracted political attention not only in Indonesia but also internationally, especially after the Islam Defense Action. This was further exacerbated by the discourse on "Rejection for a *Kafir* Leader", which was alleged to be the cause of the heat of the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head Election contestation. These incidents then culminated after the Indonesian government issued the Government Regulation instead of Law (PERPPU) Number 2 of 2017 as an amendment to Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning mass organizations in Indonesia. After this incident, radicalism issues became more prevalent, such as the issue that befell the Indonesian National Army cadet Enzo Zens Allie and the prevalence of radicalism issues in the body of State Civil Apparatus (ASN).

It is vital to scrutinize the issue of radicalism using CDA, a branch of linguistics focused on uncovering the meanings embedded in discourse based on context and purpose. CDA reveals how language, as a social practice, constructs and perpetuates power dynamics, aligning with Foucault's view of power as pervasive and Fairclough's emphasis on the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures. In analyzing media coverage of radicalism, CDA exposes how discourses are strategically built to create public awareness that normalizes domination and marginalization, presenting these as natural or accepted realities (Suharyo, 2018). This analysis examines texts and discursive practices to uncover the ideologies and power relations embedded within them, illustrating how symbolic interactions—whether through writing, speech, images, or other forms—manifest as social practices that influence and are influenced by broader social structures (Lillqvist et al., 2016; Powers, 2015). Thus, CDA provides a critical lens for understanding the ideological underpinnings and manipulative mechanisms in media portrayals of radicalism, revealing the intricate ways media discourses serve to reinforce dominant power structures and marginalize specific groups.

This research was conducted to deconstruct reality and reveal and demystify various forms of domination and marginalization by the media and other interested parties with the discourse built. This study examines how meaning is created and represented in a certain sociocultural and political context, as well as the role of newsmakers in constructing the discourse (Haryatmoko, 2017). More specifically, this research aims to reveal the meaning of radicalism, represented by various discourse strategies by the media. This study uses the discourse and power theory of Michel Foucault (1981) and Norman Fairclough (2014). Foucault places power as a relational force that, in well-established and organized manners, can break into social life by using regulatory mechanisms involving discipline, institutions, and professionalism (Powers, 2015). Therefore, the research questions that guide this study are: How do the media construct and represent the discourse

of radicalism in Indonesia? What strategies are employed by the media to maintain power relations through this discourse? How does the terminological deformation of radicalism affect public perception and policy in Indonesia?

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Amoussou and Allagbe (2018) stated that the CDA study was directed to reveal what was implied, hidden, or not immediately visible in the domination relationship enforced discursively. CDA focuses specifically on strategies to express manipulation, legitimacy, consent-making, and other discursive ways to influence people's thoughts (and indirectly, actions) for the interests of those in power. Thus, CDA serves to provide explanatory problem solutions. Gabisi (2015), for example, explained Islamophobia from an Islamic perspective because Western scientists had not discussed this argument. He managed to show how language was closely related to ideology. Based on his research, his explanation can create solidarity between speakers and audiences in fighting Islamophobia.

Research on the relations of language and power and language and media using the CDA approach has been widely carried out. In America, Samaie and Malmir (2017) combined eclectic CDA and Corpus Linguistics to study the widespread representation of Islam and Muslims in a corpus of about 670,000 words from the U.S. media news published between 2001 and 2015. They both used collocation and concordance analyses on the most frequent topics or categories that revolved around the representation of Islam and Muslims in U.S. news. The Discourse-Historical approach for CDA was adopted to investigate how the discursive strategies of nomination (construction of inner and outer groups) and predication (more or less positive or negative social labeling of actors) were used in the U.S. news media stories. The research provides a solution to anticipate, in general, where Islam and Muslims are associated with violence, religious radicalism, and Islamic extremist militancy.

In Indonesia, Putra and Triyono (2018) used the CDA to investigate the *#2019GantiPresiden* Movement between Legal Ambiguity and Political Lust on *Kompas.com*. The research objective was to describe the micro, mezzo, and macro situations as well as social, political, and cultural aspects of the language aspect in the text of the *#2019GantiPresiden* Movement. The result of their research was that *Kompas.com* tried to create a positive image of the government at that time. The main information in the reporting of the *#2019GantiPresiden* was the possibility of this movement threatening Joko Widodo who would run again in the 2019 Presidential Election. Furthermore, Fajri (2020) used CDA and corpus linguistics to describe the discursive representation of Indonesian Muslims in the Australian press (two corporations in two periods [2002-2006 and 2012-2016]). His findings showed that the dominant discourse around Indonesian Muslims in Australian newspapers was related to terrorism and extremism and that they had not undergone any dramatic changes over the past 15 years. Meanwhile, Australian newspapers canonically described Indonesian Muslims as moderate. The frequency of the words of moderate faith was lower than words of strong belief and the term was primarily used in discussions about terrorism and extremism.

This research on language and power is about the discourse of radicalism. The spectrum is wider, and the validity is higher because the data were taken from 10 big mass media in Indonesia, namely *Kompas*, *Beritasatu*, *Inews*, *Detik*, *CNN Indonesia*, *Tribun*, *Liputan 6*, *Republika*, *Merdeka*, and *Tempo*. The results of this study are expected to provide an overview and solution to the problem of radicalism in Indonesia.

2. Research Methodology

This research was undergirded by theoretical and methodological approaches. Theoretically, the CDA approach was used to examine how language is utilized in mass media and political situations. CDA allows for the exploration of power dynamics and belief structures within media discourses that support and promote specific ideologies, while negating the interests of marginalized groups (Mullet, 2018). This study draws on the theories of language and power relations proposed by Michel Foucault (1981) and Norman Fairclough (2014). Methodologically, this research adopted qualitative methods with a critical perspective. This approach is suitable for examining the nuanced ways in which language constructs social realities and power relations. The study employed three levels of analysis as proposed by Fairclough: text analysis,

discursive practice analysis, and social practice analysis.

2.1 Data Collection

The data collection process involved the following steps.

Purposive sampling was used to select texts that covered the issue of radicalism from various online mass media outlets in Indonesia. The selection was guided by the aims and objectives of the study, ensuring that the samples were representative of the discourse on radicalism (Brooks et al., 2019; Chereni et al., 2019; Kara & Pickering, 2017). Data were gathered through documentation of news articles on the issue of radicalism. This involved searching for the keyword "radicalism" in the headlines and content of ten prominent online media outlets: *Kompas*, *Beritasatu*, *Inews*, *Detik*, *CNN Indonesia*, *Tribun*, *Liputan 6*, *Republika*, *Merdeka*, and *Tempo*. The reporting period spanned from February 2020 to December 2020. A literature study was conducted to collect relevant information and theoretical perspectives on the research topic. This helped in contextualizing the data and grounding the analysis in existing scholarly work.

2.2 Data Analysis

At the text level, the analysis focused on the representation and articulation of ideologies, interests, and identities within the media texts. This involved examining the lexical choices, syntactic structures, and rhetorical strategies used to construct the discourse of radicalism. At the level of discursive practice, the analysis examined the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts. This included exploring how media outlets shape and maintain power relations through discourse, and the role of intertextuality in reinforcing specific ideologies. At the level of social practice, the analysis investigated the broader social, cultural, and political contexts that inform the discourse on radicalism. This involved examining how the media discourse aligns with or challenges dominant power structures and societal norms.

2.4 Validation

To ensure the validity of the data and findings, theoretical triangulation was employed. This involved comparing the results of the data analysis with relevant theories to identify consistencies and discrepancies. The triangulation process helped mitigate individual biases and enhanced the reliability of the conclusions.

3. Results and Discussion

To understand the meaning of the discourse of radicalism in Indonesia developed by the mass media, a text analysis of the text contained in several news reports was carried out. Table 1 below shows some of the coverage published by several mass media outlets in Indonesia regarding the discourse of radicalism.

The analysis was carried out by considering three levels of analysis: the level of text analysis (microlevel), the level of analysis of discursive practices, and the level of analysis of social practices. At the level of text analysis, it examines the representation and articulation of thoughts, interests, and ideologies attached to the text. This level of analysis includes ideational aspects to refer to a certain ideological representation; the relational aspect, which refers to an analysis of the construction of relations between the producers of discourse and the readers; and the aspect of identity, which refers to a certain construction that represents the identification of discourse producers. The discursive practice analysis level examines various techniques and strategies of text authors in taking discourse and genre by considering the power relations to be played. This level of analysis includes the study of the forces of reality driving action and the affirmative nature of the media, the coherence of texts that have entered the area of interpretation, and intertextuality. The final level of analysis is the level of social practice. At this level, the understanding of intertextuality, social events that show a reality that the text is constructed by and for social practice, is examined. This level of analysis includes analysis of situational, institutional, and social aspects (Briones, 2017).

3.1. Discourse of Radicalism Discrimination

Radicalism, with its derivative words, has experienced terminological discrimination in various online media coverage. Almost all online media in Indonesia, through their coverage, have categorized the terminology of radicalism as an act that

is dangerous, evil, and exclusive. Radicalism has various negative connotations. Categorization of a word, which ultimately has an impact on a change in its connotation, can be done by juxtaposing the word with other words which have negative-positive connotations. If a word, even though it has a positive connotation at first, is often juxtaposed and associated with words with negative connotations, it will eventually turn into a word with a negative connotation.

Minister of Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) Tjahjo Kumolo emphasized that there was no room for radicalism within the state civil apparatus (ASN). If it was found that an ASN was exposed to radicalism, that person would be given strict sanctions. The sanctions range from non-job to dismissal. (Kompas, 2020)

"Every month, we have to sign with the State Civil Service Agency because as many as 70 ASNs are subject to sanctions due to being exposed to terrorism," he said. (Kompas, 2020)

Kompas, for example, through its coverage of radicalism, has tried to put the terminology of radicalism as something dangerous so that the perpetrators must be prosecuted even to the point of dismissal. The context of this coverage is the issue of the ASNs who, according to the government, have been exposed to radicalism.

Furthermore, the terminology of radicalism is often associated as something contrary to the national principles, Pancasila, diversity, and tolerance.

Tjahjo explained, ideologically, radicalism was very opposite to the spirit of Indonesia's diversity. According to him, it is customary for the roots of radicalism to be uprooted from Mother Earth. (Kompas, 2020)

In addition, the term radicalism is often associated with other words with negative connotations, which semantically points to the meaning of evil, crime, and law violation. In some coverage, the terminology of radicalism is often juxtaposed with words like as drugs, hoaxes, terrorism, and separatism.

"We can optimize the area to be safe, free from drugs, free from hoaxes, free from radicalism, intolerance, and so on," said Fadil while visiting the chairman of the DKI Jakarta DPRD at the DPRD Office, Thursday (11/26/2020). (Kompas, 2020)

The challenge, he said, was in the form of territorial or regional conflicts as well as separatism and radicalism movements which increasingly undermined the nation. (CNN Indonesia, 2020)

At the grammatical level, the phrase "radicalism that will cause the disintegration of the morals of society" semantically means that radicalism and its derivatives are dangerous, destructive, and must be eradicated immediately.

*"So that the ideas of anti-tolerance, **radicalism**, and anti-Pancasila ideology which cause the disintegration of the morale of the people of Solo City will be eroded and disappear," quoting the Bajo vision and mission document. (CNN Indonesia, 2020)*

At the level of representation of a series of sentences, as many as 73% of all sentence data in coverage about radicalism are intentionally intertwined between one opinion and another. This was deliberately done to build the perception that the issue of radicalism was a common problem and must be made a common enemy.

3.2. Identification of the Terminology of Radicalism towards Islam

Some online media deliberately associate and identify radical practices as an integral part of Islam. At the level of representation of clause combination in vocabulary, the terminology of radicalism is often juxtaposed with words that are identical to Islam.

Several online media deliberately associate and identify radical practices as an integral part of Islam. At the level of representing combinations of clauses in vocabulary, the term radicalism is often juxtaposed with words that are synonymous with Islam.

*"We use this meeting to discuss various national problems as well as to invite all to carry out national **jihad**. Discussing the actual problems of the nation and providing messages of **Islam that is rahmatan lil'alam** to the public, so that everyone is aware that Islam is not a **frightening** religion, a **source of conflict** which is not conducive to national and state life," said one of the participants, KH Muhammad Adnan. (Inews, 2020)*

"People now are so easily influenced by news or information on social media. The world has indeed been controlled by

*radicalists, who teach that everything is **haram**, scary, and so on. Radicalist movements have controlled the media, thus poisoning the public and causing confusion as if they were the most correct," (Inews, 2020)*

The *Inews* media, in its coverage of radicalism in the example above, tries to associate radicalism, which is stigmatized as dangerous, threatening, frightening, a source of conflict, and others, with various things that are identical to Islamic terminologies, such as *jihad*, *haram*, Islam, *rahmatan lil alamin*, etc.

At the grammatical level, the clause "college students who diligently pray and recite in mosques are considered by the government as the embryos of radicalism" has become linguistic evidence of the existence of an associative effort towards the terminology of radicalism with Islam.

"Due to the issue of radicalism at the STAN campus, for the next 4 years, the campus is closed and does not accept new students. It seems that now college students who are diligently in pray and recite in mosques are considered by the government as the embryos of radicalism that endanger national security. It is getting more and more chaotic that the government accuses people at will. (Merdeka, 2020)

In the relational context, the coverage of several online media about radicalism shows a strong relationship between the government's idea and the media reporters. In some coverage, this relationship is shown by the strategy for selecting discourse genres and discourse amplifying sources. Regarding the issue of radicalism, the mass media often quote opinions from government figures, especially those that are directly correlated with political, religious, education, and employment policies.

Director of Prevention of the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) Brigadier General Pol R. Ahmad Nurwakhid said that the young generation was one of the groups most vulnerable to being exposed to radicalism and intolerance. So, the involvement of youths is very important to prevent the spread of radicalism, especially among themselves. (Liputan 6, 2020)

Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Menko Polhukam) Mahfud Md said that there was a difference between past and present supports for terrorists. In the past, terrorists were supported by the international community with funding, but now they are supported by being sent weapons.

"In banking, we work together on how to make money transfer truly controlled. It is because many of these international terror movements sometimes send money. If previously it was through banking, then it is okay, because it has been anticipated." said Mahfud at Mulia Hotel, Senayan, Jakarta, Tuesday (12/15/2020). (Detik, 2020)

In the coverage of radicalism, the media *Liputan 6* and *Detik*, quoted the opinion of government figures, such as the head of the BNPT and the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam). There is a strong relationship between the media and the authorities. Fairclough has revealed that language can be used as a medium of domination to perpetuate power.

In line with the relational level, the media, in the coverage of the issue of radicalism, directly or indirectly, have identified the alignments of their groups to issues and discourses built and narrated by the authorities/government. The imbalance in the selection of sources in each report shows these alignments. Almost all media quote opinions from ideologically homogeneous figures, namely parties from the government or those of figures that are in tune with the authorities' narrative.

The former chief of the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), Ansyaad Mbai, asked people exposed to radicalism to stop carrying the name of religion and god.

"Stop bringing up the name of religion and god to commit violence, terrorism, murder, and treason. This is what has happened to us, right?" said Ansyaad in a Polemic discussion of the MNC Trijaya entitled "ISIS Indonesian Citizen is Returned or Returned?" In Central Jakarta, Saturday, March 7, 2020. (Tempo, 2020)

The expression of the former chief of the BNPT, which stated that people exposed to radicalism should immediately stop carrying the name of religion and God, is another effort to associate radicalism with religion. In terms of intertextuality, the expression of the former chief of BNPT is an effort to impress the government. He said that the government must follow up to eradicate radicalism. This assessment can eventually be accepted unconsciously as something taken for granted by

the public so that it can manipulate the terminology of radicalism because it is always associated with religion, especially Islam, and the country.

In the context of discursive practice, the locutionary aspect indicates that radicalism is represented as negative, and dangerous, threatens the integrity of the country, and interferes with the dominant power. From the illocutionary aspect of the coverage around radicalism, the language presented has many connotations to persuade and remind the public that the concept of radicalism is dangerous. This can be seen from the use of lexicons in the language presented in the coverage of radicalism, which tends to accuse and discredit. The perlocutionary aspect is raised as an effort to construct the reality that radicalism, which is identical to political Islam, must be resisted and made a common enemy.

Overall, from the available data, the discourse of radicalism presented in media coverage is presented as a dangerous and threatening reality. It can be seen from linguistic details, such as the form of the sentence (who is highlighted and omitted), grammar, lexicon, choice of words, and metaphors. This is further emphasized by the existence of a selection strategy for the discourse genre and the topics raised by selecting certain sources that support the discourse.

3.3. Relationship between the Power of Media and Authorities in the Issue of Radicalism

In social practice, especially at the situational level, the discourse of radicalism represented by the media is carried out as an effort to continue the political policy of the War on terrorism, which has later developed into the War on radicalism. This strategy began when the world was shocked by the WTC tragedy on September 11, 2001. The world then blasphemed the perpetrators and social actors behind the tragedy. Shortly after that incident, the United States, through its president, declared War on terrorism. In subsequent developments, the issue of terrorism has developed into something more general, which is radicalism.

The coverage around radicalism cannot be separated from the increasingly vibrant situation of Indonesian society and is identical to the efforts to formalize Islamic law in the form of a state. The coverage around radicalism is not monolithic. The sociocultural and political climate can influence its presence in Indonesian society.

From the series of events, the discourse of radicalism, which is represented negatively by the media, is aimed at giving psychological effects, especially fear, to the public by identifying radicalism with Islamic teachings and representing it as something frightening, dangerous, and threatens the integrity of the country. This fear-based linguistic strategy is a form of scaremongering, namely fear built massively and structurally, individually and collectively, to create moral panic. This strategy is a form of psychological threat, so those who spread the discourse are protected. Furthermore, this strategy is carried out to get the sympathy of the masses so that they are willing to voluntarily follow the wishes and desires of the discourse maker (Leeuwen, 2015).

In the institutional context, the discourse of radicalism cannot be separated from the institutional background of the media as the party that produces the discourse in the form of coverage. Most online media today is often used by authorities to maintain power. The political involvement of the media crew has led to the prevalence of information bias in information and coverage in the public. For example, *historically*, *Kompas* (which becomes one of the media used as the source of this research data) was founded in 1960. PK Ojong, as the initial founder of *Kompas* had a fairly close relationship with Ivan Kats, a CIA agent involved in *Congres For Cultural*, which was based in France. The *Congres For Cultural* aims to mobilize anti-communist movements and spread the ideology of secularism, liberalism, and pluralism (Herlambang, 2015). In subsequent developments, *Kompas* established many subsidiary companies. One of them is the *Tribun*. Regarding alignments, *Tribun*, a subsidiary of *Kompas*, is definitely in line with *Kompas'* alignment in coverage.

In the majority, the institutional backgrounds of the media in Indonesia are dominated by figures that are parts of the government coalition. *Republika* is led by Erick Thohir; *Okezone* and *Inews*, which are under the MNC Group company, are led by Hary Tanoesoedibjo; and other media are almost all within the circle of the government coalition. Therefore, it is not surprising that the coverage and strategies of the discourse are always oriented towards taking sides with the ideology of the authorities.

Foucault proposed a theory of language and power. According to him, communication practices, human relations,

institutions, and power are intertwined in a main relationship which contains one's efforts to direct and dominate the behavior of others (Dosi, 2012). The institutional background of the media, which is closely related to the authorities' interests, is seen as a strategic practice of power aimed at perpetuating the hegemony of the authorities (Powers, 2015).

3.4. *Terminological Deformation of Radicalism*

The term radicalism first appeared in Europe, where it was first associated with fundamentalism of religion (Kallis, 2014; McLaughlin, 2012). In the Western tradition, the term fundamentalism is often exchanged with other terms, such as "Islamic extremism" coined by Gilles Kepel (Kepel, 2002; Kingston et al., 2005), "Radical Islam" coined by Emmanuel Sivan (1985), "integrist" (Alexander, 1985), "revivalism" (Onapajo, 2012), and "Islamism" (Mozaffari, 2007). This concept implies the existence of efforts for the terminological deformation of radicalism toward negative stigmatization of Islam - in this case, ideological Islam and political Islam. Concerning a political perspective, the term radicalism is used to indicate a symptom of "Islamic awakening" followed by the support of the Muslim society to realize the formalization of Islamic law in the form of a state. Along with the existing developments, finally, the use of the term radical is more often replaced by the term radical Islam. When compared to other terms, radical Islam is most often equated with fundamentalist Islam.

Historically, radicalism and fundamentalism emerged in Europe with the background of the influence of scientific and technological advances that emerged after secularism. Fundamentalism is understood as an attitude that shows the inability of religion to adapt to the new life system that is born from the development of capitalism. This inability ultimately forced them (Christians) to reject all existing developments (Borum, 2012; McLaughlin, 2012; Wennerhag et al., 2017).

Semantically, the word radicalism initially had a positive meaning. The semantic neutrality of the term radicalism can be related to the conception of understanding that exists in individuals or groups to consistently hold their perceptions, even at the root and basic levels (Endarmoko, 2016). In further developments, radicalism is used more in a political context, so its meaning experiences deformation (change) from its original meaning.

The term radicalism increasingly echoed during the French Revolution, from around 1787-1789. At that time, there was a movement of opposition and resistance to the king's tyranny. Of the many groups involved in this opposition, they called themselves "radicals", which meant a fundamental movement against the power of a king who was very dictatorial and tyrannical. One of the most popular movements at that time was the Jacobin movement (Dickinson, 1985). The political background depicted at the time of the French revolution shows the dualism of power, namely the left power which was dominated by the groups that were against all policies of the king and the right power which was filled by the king and his cronies. On this basis, the stigmatization of the term radical is only attributed to individuals or groups that are on the left side.

Not only in France, a wave of resistance against the tyranny of a ruler spread to England in 1802. At that time, there was a resistance faction under the Liberal Party calling itself radicals. In relation to the political culture in the country, tactically, it protected the fighters who were straightening existing political policies and fighting for parliamentary reform, as well as the right to vote and be voted for by everyone, without exception. The attempt to get there at that time was called a radical movement (Dickinson, 1985).

The United States did not seem to want to lose. The social upheaval began to show unstoppable ripples. The effort to abolish slavery and uphold social justice continued to be echoed. Again, the groups that fought for it named themselves radical groups. At that time, several well-known radical figures appeared, including John Brown, who was known for his radical abolitionism (Brick & Phelps, 2015).

In the context of struggle in Indonesia, the term radical is very respectable in its historical stage. Some of the Dutch people also strongly criticized their government. Some of them were Eduard Douwes Dekker (Multatuli) and Ernerst Douwes Dekker. The Dutch government and its comrades often pinned them with the terms radical and fundamental (Rachman, 2018). That is how history speaks with facts as they are. The stigma of radicalism at this stage of history is often carried out by those in power who do not want to lose their influence. It keeps repeating itself. Even today, this condition

continues with the scheme and flow that are not much different.

Radicalism has undergone a terminological deformation based on a series of existing facts. From past times until now, this pattern has kept repeating. Discordant voices from those in power continue to be played, with the target object being the parties often firm in criticizing each of their policies. For this reason, the term radicalism is nothing but a tool for stigmatic politics used by most politicians to beat and block their political opponents.

4. Conclusion

The terminology of radicalism has experienced significant terminological discrimination in various online media coverage in Indonesia. At the level of representation, radicalism is consistently portrayed with negative connotations. Almost all online media outlets have framed radicalism as a dangerous, evil, exclusive act that threatens societal stability. This negative framing is further compounded by the deliberate association of radical practices with Islam, thus stigmatizing the religion and its followers. In the relational context, there is a strong alignment between the government's ideas and media coverage, indicating a collusion that serves to perpetuate dominant power structures. The discursive practices reveal that radicalism is constructed as a common enemy, reinforcing the idea that it poses a significant threat to the integrity of the state. This construction serves to justify policies and actions taken against groups labeled as radical.

The implications of this research are profound and multifaceted. Firstly, the findings highlight how media discourse can shape public perception and justify governmental policies. This insight is crucial for policymakers to understand the impact of their rhetoric and the media's role in reinforcing their agendas. Policies should be crafted with awareness of these dynamics to avoid unjust stigmatization and marginalization of specific groups. Secondly, the media must recognize their influential role in shaping societal discourses. Ethical journalism should strive for balanced reporting that avoids unfairly stigmatizing particular groups. Media practitioners need to be aware of the power of language and work towards more inclusive and neutral reporting. Thirdly, educating the public about the power dynamics in media discourse can foster critical media literacy. By understanding how language is used to shape perceptions, individuals can become more discerning consumers of news and resist manipulative narratives. This study also contributes to the field of CDA by providing a detailed examination of the terminological deformation of radicalism in Indonesian media. Future research can build on these findings to explore similar phenomena in different contexts or with other terms that may be subject to discursive manipulation. Furthermore, the negative association of radicalism with Islam exacerbates interfaith tensions and can lead to increased discrimination against Muslims. Efforts to promote interfaith dialogue and understanding are essential to counteract these harmful narratives.

Appendix

The Discourse of Radicalism in Online Mass Media in Indonesia

Kompas	Beritasatu	Inews	Detik	CNN Indonesia	Tribun	Liputan 6	Republika	Merdeka	Tempo
Dozens of ASNs are exposed to Radicalism Every Month, The Minister of PANRB threatens with Dismissal (December 17, 2020)	Ken Setiawan: Radicalism enters Schools, even from Preschool (December 18, 2020)	Ministry of Religion: There is No Chalice, ASNs exposed to Radicalism must be dismissed (December 17, 2020)	Collaboration of Peace as a Solution for Radicalism in Europe (December 8, 2020)	Mahfud said that Separatism and Radicalism became Challenges for the Republic of Indonesia (December 16, 2020)	The Ability of Boy Rafli in Handling Terrorist and Radicalism is Unquestionable (December 17, 2020)	BNPT said that Youths were Vulnerable to be exposed to Radicalism (December 6, 2020)	Right-Left Radicalism strengthens, MUI carries Wasathiyah Islam (November 26, 2020)	Holding a Dialogue to Counteract Radicalism, this is what Governor Edy wishes for the people of North Sumatra (December 2, 2020)	Regarding Radicalism, Former Chief of BNPT: Stop carrying Religion and God (March 8, 2020)
Every Month Tjahjo Kumolo gives Sanctions to ASNs who are exposed to Radicalism: It is Delicious (December 16, 2020)	Launched, BNPT TV Channel for Dissemination against Radicalism (December 12, 2020)	Fighting against Radicalism, Ganjar and Romo Kyai of Central Java perform Jihad through Social Media (December 16, 2020)	Mahfud Md: In the Past, Terrorists were supported by Money Transfer, Now They are sent Weapons (December 16, 2020)	Mayor of Solo City Election, BaJo is determined to erase Adultery and Radicalism (October 19, 2020)	Polemic of 'Radicalism' Minister of Religion Fachrul Razi, Ali Taher: Mr. Minister of Religion, stop Saying Radicalism! (September 10, 2020)	3 Sins ASNs should avoid: Corruption, Drugs, and Radicalism (October 24, 2020)	'Radicalism is an Ideology That is Deviant and needs to be Corrected' (June 22, 2020)	BNPT and the Ministry of PANRB strengthen their Cooperation in Preventing Radicalism in ASN Environment (July 10, 2020)	Minister of Religion admits that he does not know about talking about Good Looking and Radicalism in Public Forum (September 9, 2020)
Ganjar Pranowo and Kyai in Central Java agree to fight Intolerance and Radicalism (November 2, 2020)	The Spread of Hoaxes and Radicalism is already alarming (December 15, 2020)	Mahfud MD flies to Saudi Arabia, to meet with the Head of Anti-Radicalism and Terrorism Institute (December 7, 2020)	Facing Radicalism in Sigi, the Chairman of People's Consultative Assembly invites to strengthen the Nation's Ideology (December 12, 2020)	Alissa Wahid reveals the Tactics of Radicalism to infiltrate ASN (August 11, 2020)	Remain Alert to the Threat of Radicalism amid Corona Virus Handling (April 1, 2020)	Handing over Basic Food Packages, Solmet asks TNI-Polri to be Strict in Handling Radicalism and Terrorism (December 3, 2020)	BNPT collaborates with UMM to prevent Radicalism-Terrorism on Campus (July 29, 2020)	Minister of PANRB Tjahjo asks not to give Important Positions to ASNs exposed to Radicalism (June 26, 2020)	Minister of Religion admits that he does not know about talking about Good Looking and Radicalism in Public Forum (September 9, 2020)
Anti-radicalism Movement is in Line with the Target of Global Economic Growth (December 15, 2020)	Not only by TNI, Radicalism must be fought by all Components of the State (November 20, 2020)	Criticizing Radicalism and Intolerance, the Alliance of Tasikmalaya Citizens rejects Habib Rizieq (December 11, 2020)	Hendropriyono: The Presence of HRS in Detention is used by Certain Politicians (December 14, 2020)	Suspected Terrorist in Surabaya is allegedly exposed to Radicalism in Prison (April 24, 2020)	PKS said that the Step of the Ministry of Religion in Preparing Friday Sermon Materials is not Effective in Preventing Radicalism (October 21, 2020)	BPPI: Radicalism must be fought with Pancasila (December 2, 2020)	BNPT: All Elements of the State must prevent Radicalism of Terrorism (October 3, 2020)	FACT CHECK: Hoax about the Closing of STAN Campus due to Radicalism Issue (August 6, 2020)	Terrorist Suspect A.H. studied about Radicalism in Prison in Madura (April 26, 2020)

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