

## **Either Extremist, Nationalist, or Based on SARA: Meanings of Radicalism in Twitter in Indonesia, 2019-2021**

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### **Abstract**

*Media technologies is not only significant for human life, but also contributes to impact where the space is also used to spread radicalism discourse in the form of hate speech in a wide range. Reflecting on McLuhan's theory, communication phenomenon in the use of media, apart from paying attention to the context of the message content on a particular platform, it must also show the capabilities and it's features. In understanding the context of the message on a particular platform, my study on twitter in Indonesia shows how Twitter has expanded from a source of real-time information into facilitating radicalism and accelerating opportunities for radicalization. However, different from the popular assumption that radicalism has only single-meaning, my paper wants to describe that the meaning of radicalism in Indonesia is so diverse based on how the media and messages can only significantly shape the way of communication if it is supported by ideological aspects and features of the technology itself.*

### **Keywords**

Radical Contents; Radicalism;  
Social media; Digital  
communication



## **I. Introduction**

Terry Flew (2004) saw the emergence of the so-called virtual world. This development allows people to connect with each other, form networks and access any information. Thus, this development also creates new media and is often used as a term to describe the convergence of digital communication technologies that are computerized and connected to the network. Mayfield (2008) defines social media as a form of new media where users can easily participate in, share, and determine the content of it. While Kaplan & Haenlein (2010) define social media as a collection of internet-based applications built on the premise and technology of Web 2.0 that enables the creation and exchange of information from users.

The spread of ideology and political movements carried out through social media that is connected through digital networks has clearly been demonstrated both on a local, national and transnational scale. On a local scale, the use of social media as an ideological basis, one of which can be seen from the phenomenon of social media activities of the right-wing movement Pegida (Schwemmer, 2021). An example of a case can be seen in the use of social media in Twitter. Recently, Twitter is one of popular social media used to obtain news (Mitchell, Holcomb, and Page, 2013 cited in Kim and Sin, 2014). The problem that was then posed in this paper is how the message related to radicalism was in the context of social media.

Social media makes it easier to spread radicalism perspectives, ideas and propaganda. The development of religious radicalism cannot be separated from transnational ideology, which develops and is disseminated through social media. The spread of messages related to radicalism on social media presents a conceptual debate

about interactions in digital communication media. The emergence of radical content in social media argued by some as that online contact leads to dysfunctional behavior, lack of community, reduced privacy, weakened democracy, and social isolation (Kavanaugh, et al., 2000; Putnam, 2000). Sageman (cited in Valentini, Lorusso and Stephan, 2020) emphasizes that 'face-to-face radicalization has been replaced by online radicalization'

Social media in the real world is connecting with people or colleagues, friends, and using that media to meet new people. In cyberspace, the principle is the same, but the power of technology provides another advantage, namely users are no longer obstructed by place and space. Users can view people's profiles and send e-mails anytime and from any computer. In fact, sometimes, communicating through cyberspace feels more comfortable and complete than communicating face to face. Overall adults tend to use social media for personal reasons and not work. (Khairifa, F. 2019)

My research on radical content in Twitter 2019-2021, reflecting on McLuhan, aims to describe how technology shapes individuals and how to think, behave in society (1994:108). In other words, I aim to describe how technology shapes the preferences of individuals related to radicalism content and how they articulate their preferences through Twitter platform. Furthermore, my paper shows the consequences on how individuals, their ideology preferences and Twitter itself can significantly shape the plural meaning of radicalism.

## II. Review of Literature

### 2.1 Discourse

Discourse as defined by Foucault is a point where power and knowledge intersect (O'Farrell, 2005). Power itself is an important element in discussing discourse. Foucault (in Mills, 2004), sees power as something that is spread (dispersed) through social relations and allows the formation of various forms of individual behavior in society, as an element that helps determine the formation of discourse. Discourse itself can be created through statements that can be grouped and have a certain level of coherence as long as these statements refer to the same topic (Foucault in Parker, 1990).

There are several elements that make up a discourse. Hajer (1993, in Eriyanto & Ali, 2020) also defines discourse as an ensemble of ideas, conceptions, concepts, and categories that are produced, reproduced, and changed through certain practices and result in the formation of meaning to physical and social realities. This definition focusing discourse into several elements: 1) discourse is ensemble of ideas, thoughts, or concepts; 2) discourse is produced, reproduced, or changed by social actors; 3) discourse is constructed by actors who have an interest in how reality wants to be interpreted by them; and 4) discourse is covered and limited to certain social contexts (Eriyanto & Ali, 2020).

### 2.2 Discourse and Political Power

In the formation of a discourse, there is a relationship between messages produced by actors with certain social backgrounds and political dynamics that occur in a place or country (Panjaitan, 2020). In line with this, discourse coalition theory sees the political process as a contestation of discourse (Hajer, 1995 in Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). Based on the interests of political actors, discourse is formed as a forum for conveying interests or conveying the position of actors related to a particular issue. The discourse that is built is also disseminated to the public with the aim of influencing as many audiences as possible who are the target recipients of the discourse. Discourse competition also occurs when more than one actor tries to convince the public that the discourse, they convey deserves

support, and each actor tries to form a dominant discourse related to a particular issue, so that the proposed discourse can dominate the decision-making process; especially related to policy formation. Competition to form this dominant discourse can occur through statements in the news media, social media, television interviews, and other media (Hajer, 1995 in Eriyanto & Ali, 2020).

The domination of power is also something that the owners of power struggle with in the discourse of radicalism. The form of development of the discourse of radicalism, such as what is dominantly consumed by the public, also determines who succeeds in carrying out the position as the party that dominates the discourse space. For this reason, groups with their respective agendas or interests in the discourse of radicalism will try to fill that space with concepts, understandings, knowledge, and ideas according to their interests, so that these things can be claimed as facts or general truths by the public consume messages and participate in the discourse space (Haramain et al, 2020).

### **2.3 Radicalism in Indonesia**

The discourse of radicalism or radicalism movements is often a debate in Indonesia. Radicalism itself is often associated with terrorism or considered as the root of terrorism itself. In this context, radicalism and terrorism are often popularly associated with Islamic political populism movements, where these movements are believed to emerge as resistance to oppression and exploitation by the government or opposing political groups (Panjaitan, 2020). The structuralist approach analyzes radicalism in Indonesia as an understanding and movement rooted in the problems of poverty, political oppression and economic inequality in society. In this case, political oppression by the ruling government and modern colonialism by the United States can be seen as triggers for the emergence and spread of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia (Jati, 2013). Radicalism in Indonesia has also become widely understood as an understanding against the state or government, using Islamic ideology as an anchor and a weapon.

This understanding is strengthened by the way the Indonesian government positions radicalism as an enemy and needs to be eradicated through various means, including through political policies. Not recognizing or disbanding one radical organization is one of the Indonesian government's efforts to eradicate radicalism (Panjaitan, 2020). This is certainly a momentum that has helped shape the polarization in the discourse of Indonesian public radicalism. In addition, radicalism is also seen as an active discourse in its dissemination, so that many efforts to prevent the spread of radicalism in various public spaces such as schools, universities, and other public facilities are carried out by the government (Panjaitan, 2020).

Along with it's, the discourse of radicalism in Indonesia does not only stop at the issue of the terrorism movement. Problems in the country's political economy system, including democracy, capitalism, and imperialism are also some of the things that trigger the development of this discourse (Panjaitan, 2020). Radicalism discourse is also seen starting to develop a lot in the context of ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA) issues, where radicalism discourse related to SARA has developed in digital spaces such as social media (Idris & Adj, 2019).

### **2.4 Twitter as a Discourse Platform**

Twitter is a social media platform that is used globally to communicate through the exchange of messages and information, as well as the formation of information networks, including radicalism message networks (Idris & Adj, 2019). Twitter features that give

users the freedom to interact without being mediated with other users, as well as the possibility of content going viral, make this social media platform a modern political communication tool that is widely used by groups with political agendas (Van Kessel & Castelein, 2013).

Twitter is considered the most frequently used social media by terrorists and has become a propaganda tool aimed at the radicalization recruitment process (Djaballah et al, 2019). This platform allows more than 500 million messages to be uploaded per day, and is one of the most widely used platforms by radical groups to create accounts and spread messages of radicalism (Djaballah et al, 2019). The message network on Twitter that forms the radicalism discourse space is also a tool that can be used to influence the public according to the group's interests in the radicalism discourse space.

### III. Research Method

In this research, I was using two methods for collecting and interpreting the data: netnography and content analysis. Netnography is a qualitative and interpretive research methodology (Ahuja and Shakeel, 2017) aimed at qualitatively examining human activities and culture related to internet use (Sahrasad et al., 2020). Netnography is adapted from ethnographic research methods conducted in a virtual realm. In this study, netnography was chosen because it is considered an approach that can capture computer-mediated human social interactions. The netnographic approach used in this research is through content analysis of the collected tweets. This approach provides an opportunity for researchers to explore more deeply the dynamics of virtual communities (Ahuja and Shakeel, 2017). Netnography can help researchers to find out the context of the discourse on radicalism discussed by people on Twitter. The content analysis method used by researchers in reviewing the tweets from the collected observations. According to Patton (2002 in Diddi, 2015), content analysis refers to all efforts made by taking a number of qualitative data which are then identified for their consistency and core meaning. Content analysis can be used for various data sources, including textual data, visual data, and audio data (Stemler, 2015).

#### 3.1 Data Collection

In this research, data collected from observations on Twitter by collecting tweets discussing radicalism. To do this, I used the keyword 'radicalism'. The selection of the keyword 'radicalism' is considered to be able to answer research questions because through these keywords it can be seen what types of conversations or discussions occur when people discuss the topic of radicalism.

The search for tweets with the keyword 'radicalism' is done through the *Top Tweets* feature on Twitter. The *Top Tweets* feature is considered suitable to use in this research because the algorithm is based on several factors such as the newness of the tweet, the relevance of the tweet to the keywords used and how often users interact with tweets that use similar keywords, tweet engagement which includes retweets, clicks, favorites, and the impressions that a tweet gets, as well as rich media or media types included in a tweet (such as images, videos, GIFs, and polls).

These factors are considered as sufficient reasons to use this feature in data collection. Observation on Top Tweets page per month during a predetermined period and took a sample of tweets as research data. Sampling of tweets was based on the quantity of replies, likes, and retweets which the researcher said indicated the virality of the tweets

appearing on the Top Tweets page. After all tweets deemed relevant to this research were collected, the analysis content was used to code, analyze, and categorize the collected data.

### 3.2 Limitations in Data Collection

Given that this research is qualitative research and the data is taken through the sampling method of the top tweets feature, it cannot be denied that the data collected is an overview or reflection of the context and development of the discourse of radicalism. However, the researcher feels that the data of this study is sufficient to represent the reality of the actual discourse of radicalism. In addition, the extensive literature review process carried out by the researchers is sufficient to support the content analysis method and produce data that can be used to explain the description of the development of discourse from 2019 to 2021.

In addition, data collection using the top tweets feature is also limited by the feature's algorithm. As previously explained, the top tweets feature algorithm is based on the newness of the tweet, the relevance of the tweet to keywords, user interaction with the tweet, engagement and impressions that a tweet gets, as well as rich media or the type of media included in a tweet (such as images, videos, GIFs, and polls). Therefore, there may be other viral tweets that are not included in the Twitter algorithm process.

### 3.3 Object of research

The object of this research includes a sample of tweets collected during a predetermined period through the Advanced Search feature on Twitter. As previously explained, in carrying out the coding process, the researcher conducted an analysis of the account that uploaded the collected sample of tweets. The following is a categorization of accounts collected through the data collection process.

- News Outlet  
News outlet accounts include Twitter accounts Detik.com, Tirto.id, Tempo, CNN Indonesia, Vice Indonesia, DW Indonesia, Gelora News, and Republika
- Academist and Activists accounts include Twitter account
- Political Institutions and Politicians and politician accounts include Twitter accounts
- Influencers
- Communities and Organizations
- Talking points:
  - Sample tweets from Top Tweets page on Twitter
  - Sample Accounts Category

### 3.4 Radical contents in Twitter Indonesia, 2019-2021

The phenomena of social media play a major role in spreading ideological propaganda also happened in Indonesia (Muthohirin, 2015). Through the current strategy in the form of social media, these radical organizations are trying to influence the way of thinking of Muslim communities everywhere, and more specifically targeting young people as the majority of citizens on social networks. Islamic radicalism is becoming more effective and faster to spread, thanks to social media (Muthohirin, 2015).

In line with Muthohirin, Romario's research (2019) also found that the development of social media, including Instagram, used to spread radicalism. According to Romario (2019), Instagram is used because it is one of the social media that is in great demand by young people including spreading hoaxes. Therefore, the Indonesian government is forced to promote counter-radicalism through the same social media. Facal (2019) and



Woodward, et al., (2014) shows how social media in the hands of radicalist can turn into a medium for spreading hoaxes. Using demonization methods – terms used by Woodward, et al. to depict how radicalist defame their opponents, by carrying out interesting movements to be reported, even though each time using the mass media itself as a hoax delivery service.

My research shows through content analysis conducted on several samplings of popular uploads on Twitter containing the keyword “radicalism”, the discourse on radicalism formed can be seen as a space that is used to use the power they have, in this context power as a Twitter user who can upload content containing related agendas. Radicalism, in order to establish and maintain dominance in the discourse space. Each actor in this discourse of radicalism competes in order to dominate the discourse with ideas, understandings, or affiliations to other actors or institutions, so that they can gain public legitimacy as a better party or a party that should be supported. Domination in the discourse of radicalism is also sought by various actors to define and legitimize their ideas or understandings as facts that are accepted by the public, so that common facts are formed which can be more widely spread and can increase the position and power of the actors or interest groups during 2019-2021.

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2019                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The most diverse topics of discourse appear</li> <li>2. The discourse on the 2019 presidential election is widely discussed</li> <li>3. Most often discussion about radical groups.</li> <li>4. There is discussion about Pancasila and NKRI, but not much</li> <li>5. There are many discussions about the exposure of educational institutions to radicalism, especially the spread of ideology on campus</li> <li>6. There are many discussions about intolerance and terrorism which are often associated with Islamic religious radicalism</li> <li>7. There is start of public criticism for the government on how they handling the issue of radicalism</li> </ol> |

*Source: author, 2021*

The 2019 Presidential Election is a momentum that deserves further analysis in the context of the discourse on radicalism in Indonesia. Towards and after the 2019 Presidential Election period, the discourse on radicalism on Twitter revolves around support or criticism of candidate no. 01 and candidate no. 02, or more specifically Jokowi versus Prabowo. The decreasing intensity of radicalism discourse associated with the 2019 Presidential Election since mid-2020 also explains that this space for radicalism discourse is immediately abandoned by many interested actors after the political momentum has become irrelevant.

In this context, debates related to Islamic schools, teachings, and implementations or practices are the focus that is formed in the discourse on radicalism related to the 2019 Presidential Election. The position of various political actors or institutions is considered to be very closely related and is even determined by the way the actor or institution shows its position towards the teachings of Islam certain Islam. Furthermore, the way political actors or institutions convince the public regarding their efforts to involve the practices of Islamic religious beliefs in the scope of policy formation or political decisions that impact or

involve the public is also an important factor that determines the success of these parties to take a dominant position in the public sphere: radicalism discourse.

2020

1. Discussions about groups that are considered radical
2. During this period, Islamophobia began to be widely discussed. The discourse on Islamophobia includes public skepticism regarding the issue of radicalism, which according to them is an inorganic issue that is deliberately popularized with the aim of cornering Muslims.
3. Pancasila and NKRI are still being discussed.
4. There began to be discussions about the ideology of communism and the PKI which were considered a threat to the integrity of the country.
5. There is starting to be public criticism of the government's handling of the issue of radicalism
6. Discussions on presidential elections/polarization (no.01 vs 02) are no longer visible in this period
7. Discussions on educational institutions are still ongoing

*Source: author, 2021*

Islamophobic discourse emerged in mid-2020, showing public skepticism regarding the issue of radicalism which is considered inorganic and is specifically aimed at cornering Muslims. This discourse emerged and began to run rampant when the discourse on the 2019 Presidential Election began to decline. This is quite interesting to explore in more depth considering that the momentum of the 2019 Presidential Election often uses Islam as a propaganda tool. This skepticism allegedly arises from the excessive use of the issue of Islamic radicalism in the 2019 Presidential Election which is increasingly disturbing the public.

2021

1. Radical groups is rarely talked in this period
2. The discourse on Islamophobia is still being discussed and goes beyond the discussion about radical groups
3. Discussions on presidential elections/polarization (no. 01 vs 02) are no longer visible in this period

*Source: Author, 2021*

This phenomenon shows the critical attitude of the people who have begun to question the validity of the issue of Islamic radicalism; what is the meaning of radicalism in Twitter in Indonesia, 2019-2021?

## **IV. Result and Discussion**

### **4.1 The Different Meanings of Radicalism among Twitter Users**

My research shows the radicalism in Twitter in Indonesia based on the polarization of identities. Now, when the label of radicalism in social media is sometimes immediately branded to other people. For example, someone criticizes the government so that they are

immediately labeled as extremist or “kadrun” or about what issues are being promoted. Suddenly if you don't support the issue, you will be immediately labeled a radical.

| Discourse | Islamic Radicalism                                                                                          | Nationalism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | SARA                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Issues    | Discourse on Islamic radicalism consistently appears from January to December in 2019 (appears every month) | Anti-radicalism discourse is often associated with maintaining the integrity of Pancasila and NKRI                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Intolerance and terrorism are discussed frequently in 2019, and will appear less and less in 2020 to 2021                                                                                                      |
|           | There are many discourses on Islamic radicalism throughout 2020 with the exception of February              | The attitude of not supporting Pancasila is considered a form of radicalism and must be resisted. There are sections of society who feel that deterrence strategies can be carried out through the fact of the caliphate. But on the other hand, there are also those who feel that religious radicalism is the enemy of Pancasila. | Discourses related to LGBT, gender, and intolerance are still related to Islamic radicalism where groups that criticize LGBT, gender-based segregation of public facilities are considered religious radicals. |
|           |                                                                                                             | The Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) actively spreads the notion that religious radicalism is the enemy of Pancasila.                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Terrorism is considered a form of radicalism and is a challenge for the country that must be fought. For many, radicalism, racism and intolerance are precursors to terrorism.                                 |



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|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | There are many discourses on Islamic radicalism in 2021 (until September) with the exception of May and July                                                                                                                                                         | Nationalism discourse is often associated with mass organizations that are considered radical                                                                                                                                 | Discussions about radicalism are often associated with terrorism.                                                                                                                                  |
|  | Radical Groups appeared/trending in 2019 until mid 2020, still appearing in 2021                                                                                                                                                                                     | The ideology of communism was considered a threat to the integrity of the state and the PKI was considered a radical group. There is an appeal to be aware of the rise of the PKI which is felt to be starting to form again. | There is also a discussion about the stabbing of Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto which is considered a form of terrorism (again associated with religion). |
|  | Islamophobia emerged in early 2020 until 2021. The Islamophobia discourse discusses how Islamic radicalism is used as an inorganic political tool and is deliberately aimed at cornering Muslims.                                                                    | Public critics on how the government handling rising radicalism issues in Indonesia.                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | In addition, there is also debate about the use of the terms 'jihad' and 'hijrah' and their correlation with radicalism. For some, it also deliberately targets Muslims and requires a separation between jihad and hijrah on charges of radicalism and intolerance. | The government's strategy is considered confusing. Especially in the issue of the Papuan independence movement which is considered radical.                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

|  |  |                                                                                                                                        |  |
|--|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|  |  | In addition, there is also public skepticism that the issue of radicalism is only used to cover up failures in government performance. |  |
|--|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|

The first group defines radicalism which is embedded in Islam and is defined as the religious practice of extreme groups who easily perceive others as heretical, infidels, and worthy of being killed. The second group defines radicalism as thinking that is contrary to mainstream ideology. In the context of Indonesia, which has the ideology of Pancasila, radicalism is often embedded with two ideologies that are considered contrary to the basic concept of Pancasila, namely: 1) Radical Islamic Groups which are defined as groups that want to change Pancasila with Islamic Sharia and 2) Communist groups which are interpreted as groups that want to change Pancasila. Pancasila with Communist Ideology. These two basic concepts are basic concepts that have a long history in Indonesia even since the colonial era and appear to continue to appear in the discourse on Twitter to the present day. The third group defines radicalism as a political tool whose use depends on who uses it or has the power to use it.

In the Indonesian context, the word radicalism is also interpreted as a political tool when there is a general election contest where the labels of radical groups and Pancasila groups are used which are limited to political support and efforts to gain votes in general elections. It's a bit blurry if we judge what radicalism is, but in reality, it has increased since 2014-2019 because in practice radicalism is immediately attached to religion, although sometimes the issues raised are not directly related. Accusations against Islamic groups also can be called radicals. Even though for example they just have different opinions or have different choices, this is not fair and this is what actually happens in the discourse on radicalism in Indonesia.

#### **4.2 The Meaning of Radicalism and its Relation to Politics**

The next issue of radicalism among Indonesian Twitter users is closely related to power relations. This is reflected in the respondent's interpretation of the debates between nationalist, extremist, radical Islam, kadrun always from one side, it is accused of another group, a certain group and it is used as a justification to fight or demonize the alleged group. The polarization of “cebong” and “kampret” who are savagely directed at radicals or “Kadrun” and for example, those of “cebong” are considered pro-government, now that's also a stigmatization.

Twitter users interpret that those who have power are considered to have more authority to set standards than radical labels that are attached to other people or parties who do not have power. Twitter users also interpret the issue of radicalism as labels given to people or groups who criticize the government or oppose the government. The Indonesian democratic system, which uses direct general elections by the community in determining regional leaders and presidents, has become a breeding ground for identity politics to the point of polarization in society. The issue of radicalism is interpreted by Twitter users as an issue that is often used as a tool to gain votes and win candidate pairs.

#### 4.3 The Meaning of Radicalism and Its Relation to Islam

The relationship between the discourse of radicalism and radical organizations is common to be found as trending topics. Certain organizations use its mass politics more for political contestation to make money. Usually, they criticize any issue to support one candidate in the contest, the candidate they support after all give mainly economic advantage. While some are interpreted by respondents as having seeds of radicalism with the thought of changing the basis of the state even though in their daily life its members do not show radicalism practices, they have excluded themselves whether it be with fellow Muslims. Immediately branding that outside of them they are not religious, those who support democracy are not Islam. Twitter users interpret radical organizations which are attached to the label of radicalism on social media as the impact of identity politics played by candidates for election pairs for the benefit of gaining votes.

Identity politics that is increasingly being used is often to create an arena for dealing between Islamic groups and nationalist groups. Those organizations labeled Radical Islam are often used as political tools or as issues to attack the strongholds of candidate pairs from Islamic groups. Meanwhile, nationalist groups are often attacked with issues of communism and anti-religion. Thus, every time the general election approaches, the issue of Radical Islam will usually continue to appear and roll in cyberspace.

### V. Conclusion

Answering this research question, it can be concluded that social media Twitter has an influence on the discourse of radicalism in Indonesia into a biased, endless discourse that continues to circulate ahead of the general election. The discourse of radicalism tends to divide or polarize society. This is mainly because of the presence of buzzers and bots that make fake news, hoaxes, and hate speech even more massive, which is a hallmark of the post truth era. Our research shows the Meaning of Radicalism in social media Twitter is divided into three major themes, namely:

- a. The Different Meanings of Radicalism among Twitter Users include: 1) Radicalism as an Extreme Islamic Religious Practice; 2) Radicalism as a Pole Against Mainstream Ideology; and 3) Radicalism as a Political Tool, showing that the discourse on the issue of radicalism on Twitter is a discourse that includes a very broad theme and discussion so that this discourse will continue for a long time.
- b. The Meaning of Radicalism and its Relation to Politics shows that Twitter users interpret radicalism as inseparable from their relationship with the government where radical labels are often used for groups that criticize the government and are often used in electoral politics, thus creating polarization in society.
- c. The Meaning of Radicalism and Its Relation to Islam shows that Twitter users interpret the discourse of radicalism in Indonesia as often associated with Islamic organizations, especially FPI and HTI, even though Twitter users have different opinions about these two mass organizations. In addition, the attachment of radicalism and Islam is also interpreted as a manifestation of social injustice felt by Muslims.

Given that this research is qualitative research and the data is taken through the sampling method of the top tweets feature, it cannot be denied that the data collected is an overview or reflection of the context and development of the discourse of radicalism. However, the researcher feels that the data of this study is sufficient to represent the reality of the actual discourse of radicalism. In addition, the extensive literature review process carried out by the researchers is sufficient to support the content analysis method and

produce data that can be used to explain the description of the development of discourse from 2019 to 2021.

In addition, data collection using the top tweets feature is also limited by the feature's algorithm. As previously explained, the top tweets feature algorithm is based on the newness of the tweet, the relevance of the tweet to keywords, user interaction with the tweet, engagement and impressions that a tweet gets, as well as rich media or the type of media included in a tweet (such as images, videos, etc.) , GIFs, and polls). Therefore, there may be other viral tweets that are not included in the Twitter algorithm process.

In the future, research related to the notion of the medium is the message. Apart from paying attention to the context of the message content on a particular platform, it is also good to show the development of algorithms and the platform's ability to create bots (computational programs that direct the way we communicate). The results of my research basically update McLuhan's theory, this fact merely underlines the point that “the medium is the message” because it is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action. The content or uses of such media are as diverse as they are ineffectual in shaping the form of human association. (McLuhan, 1964: 2)

My research findings on radicalism on Twitter show that McLuhan's opinion that the media manipulates images about ourselves, other people, society, and even the world by exploiting our awareness and directing our perceptions is still relevant. However, my research shows that the manipulation process is a complex series involving messages, political ideologies and technology.

The results of my research show that in the context of social media communication, the medium and the message are not limited to relationships that naturally result in the formation of ways of communicating between humans. I argue that in the context of social media, a medium and message can only significantly shape the way of communication when it is supported by the ideological aspects and features of the technology itself. The phrase “the medium is the message” by McLuhan in the context of social media is more appropriate to be expressed as “the medium is the message when ideology and technology are incorporated in it.” In other words, Twitter has become a medium and message for the discourse of radicalism due to the intensification of communication about the discourse supported by the ideological background of the sender and recipient of the message accompanied by algorithm features, bots and buzzers.

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