

Discourse Study of the Rejection News of the Implementation *Haji Bawakaraeng* Ritual on Social Media

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ABSTRACT

The Bawakaraeng Hajj ritual in South Sulawesi is an important tradition practiced by indigenous communities at the peak of Mount Bawakaraeng. This study explored issues related to the reporting of the Bawakaraeng Hajj ritual on social media. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as outlined by Teun A. van Dijk (1993), the research took a qualitative approach based on Digital Ethnography. Between 2022 and 2025, the study identified fourteen data sets from Instagram and Facebook, featuring images, videos, and narratives. The findings revealed two main discourses: one focused on tradition preservation, emphasizing the ritual as a vital part of cultural heritage, and the other addressing religious deviation, viewing the ritual as potentially misaligned with Islamic teachings. The analysis showed that the social media discourse about the Bawakaraeng Hajj reflects the indigenous practices of the region, contributing to its spiritual heritage and local mythology. It highlighted the importance of cultural sustainability and community identity. From a broader perspective, the discourse presented themes related to visual representation and responses to religious concerns. Different narratives emerged from those who accepted and rejected the ritual, providing insights into the community's dynamics. Additionally, the language used in the posts offered a descriptive account of the Haji Bawakaraeng ritual and critiques of opposing views. This study encourages further discussions about how traditional practices can coexist within modern religious contexts.

Keywords: *Haji Bawakaraeng; Social Media; Discourse Analysis*

INTRODUCTION

The *Haji Bawakaraeng* phenomenon is currently a growing issue among the society of Bantaeng, South Sulawesi. The *Haji Bawakaraeng* is a tradition practiced by certain community group involving a sacred journey from their hometown to Mount Bawakaraeng to perform the *Haji* ritual at specific times, such as during the Eid al-Adha. Therefore, this tradition was considered a deviation by religious leaders and the government. The journey to the mountain is a tradition that was always implemented by the community since in the pre-Islamic era, which was then combined with Islamic teachings after Islam emerged in the 16th century. According to (Syamsurijal, 2023) This tradition existed before Islam arrived in Indonesia, during the pre-Islamic era, and has been passed down from generation. However, some people have left the tradition, while others continue or maintain this tradition.

The presence of growing advanced communication technology media causes information related to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* to be consumed by social media users. Like the case on social media, a viral video showing the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual shared by the Facebook user "@samier anhy" in June 2024. The video has received a lot of responses from the community, both from religious figures who consider the ritual a deviant practice and from local residents who defend it as part of their cultural tradition. This debate not only sparked lengthy discussions but also reinforced the discourse on the boundary between local tradition and formal Islamic teachings. According to Irawan (2024) that discourse on social media can shape public perception through ideological strategies, where certain narratives are expanded while others are removed; therefore, it can influence views on an issue.

The discourse developed on social media has a negative impact on the community of followers of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition. Among others, the difference opinion between the group that supports the *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition and the group that rejects it for religious reasons, the stigma that arises against the adherents of this tradition because their tradition is viewed as deviation from Islamic teachings. Furthermore, various social media discussion has strengthened the local cultural identity for some communities that feel the need to preserve this tradition. In addition, social media has become a platform for debating among religious leaders, cultural experts, and the general public about the position of this tradition in Islam. Lastly, this issue has also mobilized digital discourse that influences public perception of cultural and religious values Irawan (2024).

Previous research shows a variety of perceptions regarding the rituals on this tradition. The *Haji Bawakaraeng* practice as an effort to maintain a balance between following Islamic teachings and preserving local tradition Pabbajah (2021). According to Susanti & Rumondor (2022) in their research highlight the importance paying attention to how the blend of religion and culture creates unique religious practices. Syamsurijal (2023) mentions that the *Haji Bawakaraeng* is a symbol of cultural identity in the Buginese-Makassarese community. He explained that this ritual has evolved from a negative label a symbol of pride.

The *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition in Bantaeng South Sulawesi, is a pre-Islamic practice that some people still follow, even though it is rejected by religious leaders and the government due to its perceived contradiction with Islamic teachings. This tradition has sparked debates, with some considering calling it an act of idolatry while others regard it as a cultural heritage that should be preserved. Its impact includes negative labels on those who practice it, strong differences of opinion between cultural supports and religious groups, and the strengthening of local identity for those who

continue the tradition. Social media has become a place for debates between religious leaders, cultural experts, and the public, while also spreading discussion that shape how people see traditional and religious values.

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In describing the issues present on social media, this research elaborates on the following research questions;

1. How is the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual discursively constructed on social media as either religious deviation or cultural heritage?
2. What linguistic and visual strategies reinforce power asymmetries in this debate?

In the prevailing discourse perspective, this issue will become a problem in society if it continues to corner the community groups in Bantaeng, those who practice the *Haji Bawakaraeng*. This research tries to describe how the discourse has developed and tries to provide information about who benefits from the dissemination of this information whether the media itself, the government, religious figures or certain community group. This research not only contributes to the development of academic theory, but also has practical benefits for the government, academics, society, and provide social and cultural impact in preserving local identity in the digital era.

Literature Review

Critical Discourse Analysis studies how the discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (van Dijk, 2008). CDA emphasizes that language is not only a means of communication, but also a means to create and reproduce social structure. Discourse is not only shaped by society but also shapes society itself Fairclough (1989).

This approach is rooted in social and linguistic theories, such as Foucault (1969) theory of power and ideology which states that "Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention." In addition, the theory of ideology in language from A, Lois in the book of Szeman & Kaposy (2010) emphasizes that "Ideology is not just an abstract concept, but also produced through language in every social practice." Teun A. van Dijk also adds

that Discourse structures influence mental representations, which in turn influence social structures (Blackledge, 2013).

CDA began to develop in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with key figures such as Norman Fairclough introducing this approach through his book “Language and Power” (Fairclough, 2001). van Dijk (2008) applied CDA in analyzing media and its relationship to the issue of racism, while Wodak (2015) developed a historical approach in political discourse. Over time, CDA has continued to develop into an important tool for understanding how language is used in social and political discourse, both to shape public opinion and to reinforce and challenge social injustice.

Table 1. Form CDA theory by A. van Dijk

Element of Analysis	Things Observed	Detail Analysis
Macro structure (Topic)	Thematic, the Topic that is prioritized in the text.	Identifying the main theme of the text.
Superstructure (Scheme)	Schematic, Opinion on the text.	Analyzing the pattern of text.
Micro structure (Background, Details, Intent, Perception, Nominalization and Numbering)	Semantics, Meaning in the text. Syntax, Examine the form of the text. (Sentences form and coherence)	Analyzing Diction, Sentence and style of language in the text. Dijk (1993).

METHOD

The data in this research is discourse of *Haji Bawakaraeng* issues, namely discourse data in the form of information or linguistic data related to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* issues spread on social media. The linguistic data can be in the form of images, word, sentences, narratives or news published either personally, communities or accounts from media companies. This research uses a qualitative research, which is a method that focuses on in-depth exploration and understanding of the meaning in the context of the intended discourse, it could even be the subject's perspective in a particular context. This research prioritizes text data spread across social media, observation, documentation and experience comprehensively (Rijal et al., 2021). As explained by Hine (2018) qualitative methods are very suitable for digital media-based research because they allow researcher to understand subjective experiences and user interaction in online spaces.

The object of this study is digital content related to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* issues, which has been widely circulated on various social media platforms, especially Instagram and Facebook, over the past five years, especially from 2022 to 2025. This content

includes posts in the form of text, images, and videos uploaded by social media users who discuss, represent, or respond to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* phenomenon. This tradition represents a form of local wisdom and alternative expression of spirituality, carried out by the Bantaeng community in the Mount Bawakaraeng area of South Sulawesi. Although it resembles the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, it is performed locally within the community's environment.

This study focuses on 14 data points selected purposively. The selection process was based on criteria of relevance to the main issue, diversity of content types (text, images, videos), depth of discourse, and level of user engagement. The selected data represent the main discourse patterns during the study period and come from various accounts with different backgrounds to ensure sufficient diversity and representation. This research is non-participatory and does not involve direct interaction with social media users, so the data collected is purely from publicly available content. Data validity is maintained through cross-source validation and triangulation analysis of various types of content and platforms.

The selection of two social media platforms is because Facebook and Instagram are two social media platforms that have a very large number of active users; these platforms cover a wide range of ages, social background and geographical locations. Facebook is known as a cross-generational platform because it is widely used by users of children, teenagers, and even adults. Facebook remains the most widely used social media platform globally, with users across demographic groups Katherine Schaeffer (2024). While Instagram is more dominant among young people and millennials. The combination of these two platforms makes it very representative in describing the social diversity of today's digital society. Therefore, the Facebook and Instagram platforms are used as sources of research data because they are considered capable of reflecting a broad and complex social spectrum.

The selection of the four-year time frame is intended to capture the most recent dynamics in digital perceptions and discourse surrounding this tradition. From 2022 to 2025, social media has played an increasingly dominant role in shaping public opinion, including in the realms of religion and culture. During this period, discourse surrounding the *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition has also intensified in both volume and the intensity of public responses on social media—ranging from support for the preservation of local cultural heritage to criticism regarding the practice's inconsistency with Islamic law. Therefore, this period is considered both relevant and strategic for analyzing how the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual is constructed, contested, and disseminated in digital spaces, as well as how language and visuals are used to shape the social meaning of the tradition.

The research instrument consists of two stages: online observation, which involves collecting data by observing and recording phenomena or issues online. The second is digital documentation, specifically data collection using software on handphone devices and laptops. Researchers will conduct online observations by analyzing uploads related to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* issue. The researcher will observe by visiting social media platforms using relevant hashtags and scrolling through the content. After obtaining the data and accounts related to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* issue, the next step was to conduct digital documentation which involved copying and describing information related to the problem, saving images, screenshots, and other relevant content.

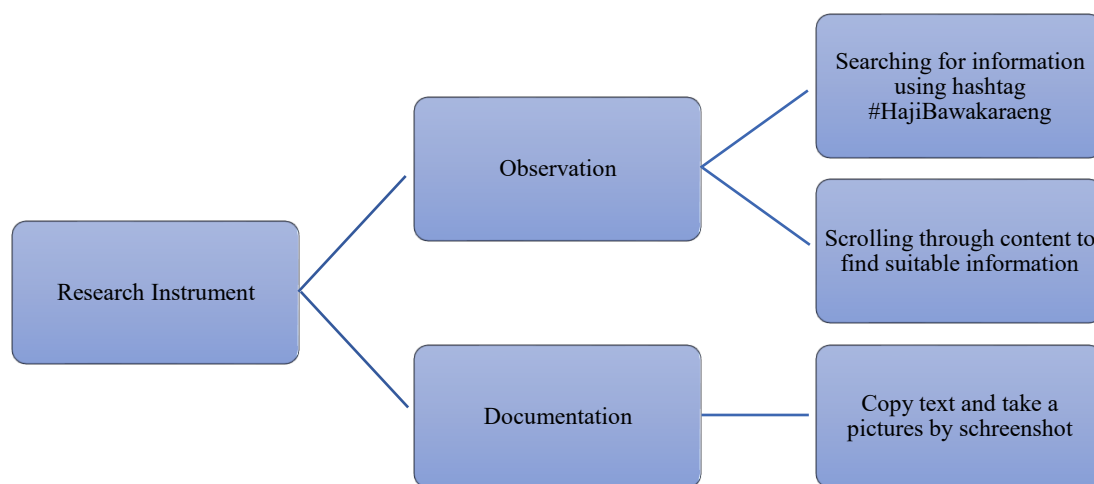


Figure 1. Visual representation of the research instrument

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Bab In this sub-chapter, the researcher will explain the findings of the data that have been obtained from two social media platforms. Furthermore, the data will be analyzed using the CDA theory from van Dijk.

Findings

The result of this research is the collection of 14 data sets from two social media platforms, where the data consists of images and videos accompanied by narratives that provide explanations. The data, in the form of images and videos, are a form of news uploaded privately, and some is forwarded from media posts.

Table 2. Data Classification Matrix of *Haji Bawakaraeng* Issues on Social Media

Data id	Platform	Account Name	Type of Uploader	Type of Content	Forwarded/ Original	Main Topics	Ideological Positions
001	Instagram	@rekam-indonesia	Information Media	News Package	Original	Local Hajj Alternatives	Netral Descriptive
002	Instagram	@pelosoknegerinu santara	Cultural Community	Narrative-based visual News	Original	Hereditary rituals, mystical elements	Pros Local Traditions
003	Instagram	@inews_bali	Online Media	News Package	Forwarded	Viral + response of the Indonesian Ulema Council	Pro-Religious
004	Instagram	@ilham-kadir-palimai	Personal/Religious Figures	Narrative-based visual News	Original	The stigma of heretical rituals and calls for banning	Counter-Religion
005	Instagram	@gowa-iinfo	Local Media	Narrative-based visual News	Original	Comparison of beliefs vs. islam	Counter-intuitive, but narrative
006	Instagram	@maros.informasi	Local Media, Information media	Narrative-based visual News	Original	Deviant teachings of local order	Kontra
007	Facebook	@Illah Ibnu Syafar	Personal	News Package	Forwarded	Heritage rituals ahead of Eid al-Adha	Pro Tradition
008	Facebook	@Pojokjabarcom	Information Media	News Package	Forwarded	Viral phenomena and pro-cons	Neutral
009	Facebook	@Makassar infoku	Local Media, Information media	News Package	Original	Local culture vs. Islamic teachings	Neutral Descriptive
010	Facebook	@Agus S Maruf	Personal	Narrative-based visual News	Original	Syncretic beliefs and worship times	Pro Sinkretism

Data id	Platform	Account Name	Type of Uploader	Type of Content	Forwarded/ Original	Main Topics	Ideological Positions
011	Facebook	@Pendaki Sulawesi	Climbing Communities	Narrative-based visual News	Original	The History and Myths of Mount Bawakaraeng	Culturally neutral
012	Facebook	@Sudirman Daeng Sele	Personal	Short Caption	Original	Virality and peculiarities of local traditions	Ambigu/Sarcastic
013	Facebook	@Samier Anhy	Personal	Short Caption/ Short Comment	Forwarded + Caption	Compassion for the community	Emotional counter-attacks
014	Facebook	@Jalan Lurus Ittiba Sunnah	Personal/Religious Leaders	Short caption	Forwarded + Original	Apostasy and distortion of the sharia	Versus religion

Table 3. Word Choosing

Rejecting	Supporting
<i>Aliran Sesat</i>	<i>Praktik yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi</i>
<i>Bikin Geger</i>	<i>Bagian tak terpisahkan dari budaya masyarakat Sulawesi selatan</i>
<i>Berbeda dengan Ajaran rukun islam</i>	<i>Dikelilingi oleh banyak cerita mistik</i>
<i>Lebih mencemaskan lagi</i>	<i>Kearifan local yang menarik untuk dijelajahi</i>
<i>Mencurigakan</i>	<i>Warisan, Budaya</i>
<i>Ritual Mistik</i>	
<i>Berimplikasi pada kekufuran</i>	
<i>Ritual yang tidak memiliki akar dalam islam</i>	
<i>Keluar dari Ajaran Islam</i>	
<i>Membahayakan Akidah Umat</i>	
<i>Merusak keyakinan umat</i>	
<i>Terjadinya musibah</i>	
<i>Kesalahan ini harus dihentikan</i>	
<i>Penganut Sinkretisme</i>	
<i>Penganut Ritual Mistik</i>	
<i>Jauh dari tuntutan islam yang benar</i>	
<i>Salah Alamat</i>	
<i>Menyimpang dari ajaran islam</i>	

In Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, the discourse on mystical practices and heretical sects in the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual shows how language and narrative are used as instruments of power and the construction of social reality. Through the choice of certain words and labels such as “*Aliran Sesat*,” “*Menyimpang*,” and “*ritual yang tidak memiliki akar dalam islam*,” the text systematically stigmatizes traditional practices and local beliefs that have been passed down from generation to generation. These words function as labels that instill negative perceptions of customary practices that differ from official Islamic teachings, thereby giving rise to the assumption that the existence of these practices is wrong and deviates from religious norms.

This discourse reinforces the power and ideology of official religious groups and the government through a narrative construction that instills fear and obliges the community to reject such mystical practices. Expressions such as “*Membahayakan Akidah*” and “*Berimplikasi pada Kekufuran*” reinforce the image that mystical rituals can threaten the faith of Muslims and even potentially bring disaster. By linking these practices to negative consequences and disasters, this discourse indirectly shapes the perception that these practices must be stopped in order to maintain religious stability and social security. This discourse also serves as a means of legitimizing the oppression, marginalization, and even criminalization of people who practice mystical traditions and rituals of belief.

In a social context, the use of labels such as “*Salah Alamat*” and “*Menyimpang dari Ajaran Islam*” reinforces the line between practices that are considered right and wrong within the framework of official religious norms. These labels are not only moral markers but also tools for asserting the dominance of norms and the power of authoritative groups. Through this narrative, traditional practices that have long been part of the identity and cultural heritage of local communities are positioned as threats that must be eliminated or reformed to conform to religious teachings that are considered correct and pure.

This discourse is also ironic because even though it states that these practices are part of cultural heritage, they are still portrayed as something that must be eliminated because they are considered contrary to religion. In this context, the term “*Warisan Budaya*” is appropriated as a rhetorical tool that can normalize them, but in reality, the dominant narrative positions these practices as threats and deviations. By continuing to assert that mystical practices are “*Tidak memiliki akar dalam islam*” and “*Keluar dari ajaran Islam*,” this discourse reinforces the position of power of religious groups or the government in controlling the beliefs and customs of local communities, while also

fostering a process of marginalization and social oppression against these traditional groups.

Overall, this analysis shows that the discourse developing in South Sulawesi is not neutral and does not only function as a means of communication, but also as an instrument of power to construct, reinforce, and confirm certain social and religious norms. The narrative that is constructed internalizes the perception that mystical practices and traditional rituals are threats that must be dealt with, while also reinforcing the symbolic power of certain groups as guardians of morality and religion. Thus, the dominance of this discourse influences the mindset and behavior of the community in assessing and treating traditional belief practices, while also strengthening the position of power and hegemony of the authorities in treating cultural and religious diversity in South Sulawesi.

From the results of the research, data were obtained, including;

Data 1: Implementation of ID prayer on Mount Bawakaraeng, data obtained from Instagram.

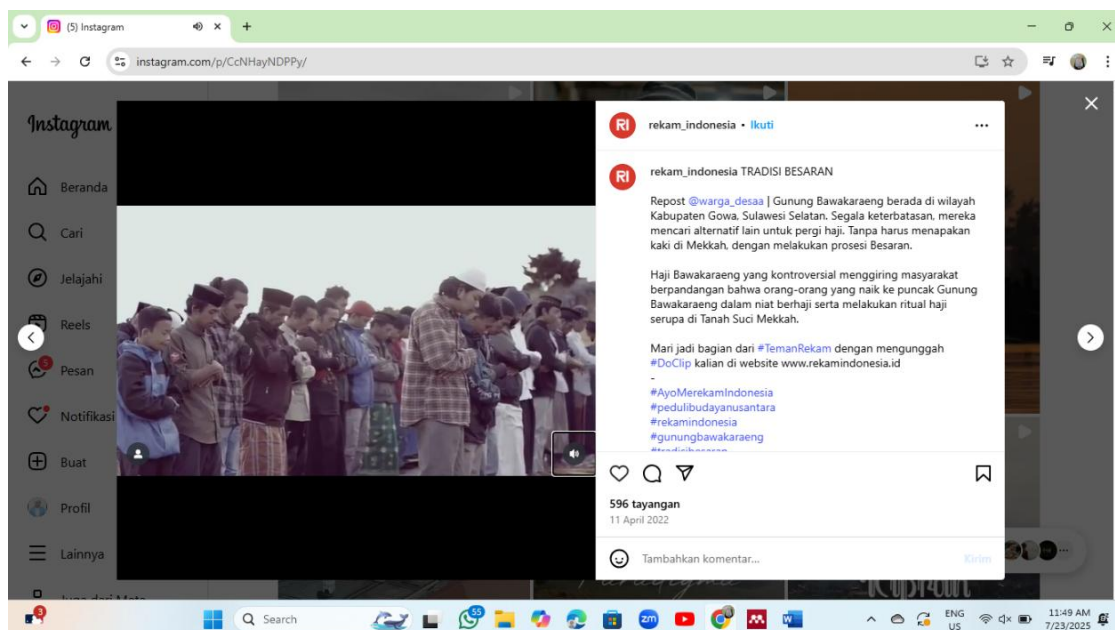


Figure 2. Implementation of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual at the top of Mount Bawakaraeng
Source: Instagram 2025

Description; *Gunung Bawakaraeng berada di wilayah Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan. Segala keterbatasan, mereka mencari alternatif lain untuk pergi haji. Tanpa harus menapakan kaki di Mekkah, dengan melakukan prosesi Besar. Haji Bawakaraeng yang kontroversial menggiring masyarakat berpandangan bahwa orang-orang yang naik ke puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng dalam niat berhaji serta melakukan ritual haji serupa di Tanah Suci Mekkah.*

Transcription "kalau saya tidak setuju begitu, kamu orang acara begitu kita naik di sini mau nu larang, hak nya orang ada keyakinannya orang ada, kamu mau ikuti batasnya, orang malah di tanya untuk apa ko di atas?,toh, seumpama saya cari obatan di larang, ah itu, atau keyakinan ku mau ke atas mau di larang ndkk bisa, kecuali kalau ada pelanggaran ku bisa, dan yang ku bawa tidak mampu ku suruh pulang, karna kita ini berangkat dari rumah di tau orang, kita akan mati di atas oh saya ikut".

The data is in the form of a video uploaded on the Instagram platform on April 11, 2022, by a @rekam_indonesia user. Rekam Indonesia is a media account that often shares documentary videos related to social-culture life in Indonesia. The video is accompanied by a narration and a video voiceover from a community that adheres to the tradition. A video showcasing various community activities, such as performing Eid al-Adha at the summit of Bawakaraeng, also offers a glimpse of the community on its way to the top. The title of the video is *Peziarah Bawakaraeng*, showcases several rituals on Mount Bawakaraeng and features the opinion of one of the people who also complemented the video.

Based on the transcription of the video, the community describes this ritual as a form of strong faith, even under any conditions. Bawakaraeng pilgrims or people adhering to the ritual are rampant in the Eid al-Hajj season every year. At that moment, many media outlets raised the issue of *Haji Bawakaraeng* either as news or to reject the practice of worship as carried out by the community in the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual.

The following is the analysis of the structure of Macrostructure, Superstructure, and Microstructure from Data 1.

The main theme of this discourse text is local tradition as an alternative to the formal hajj. It can be seen from the core of the discourse that there are limitations for the community, so they use local traditions as an alternative

It can be seen from the following quote;

(Segala keterbatasan, mereka mencari alternatif lain untuk pergi haji. Tanpa harus menapakan kaki di Mekkah)

This theme can be seen from the narrative of the ritual participants who directly stated that they carried out worship based on personal beliefs, even though they did not follow formal provisions such as Hajj to Mecca. The macrostructure of a discourse is not just an ordinary sentence but conveys a message, builds an ideological understanding, and contains the cause and effect of a phenomenon.

Superstructure in Critical Discourse Analysis is used to see the narrative flow of discourse from opening, content, to closing. The following is explained in table format to clarify the position of the structure in the narrative.

Table 4. Superstructure Analysis

Elements of Superstructure	Discourse	Analysis
Title	-	From the text of the discourse, there is no title.
Introduction	<i>Gunung Bawakaraeng berada di wilayah Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan</i>	In the opening part of the discourse text, the geographical location of Mount Bawakaraeng is explained
Body	<i>Segala keterbatasan, mereka mencari alternatif lain untuk pergi haji. Tanpa harus menapakakan kaki di Mekkah</i>	In the content part, it is affirmed that this local tradition is another alternative to make it easier for people to carry out the Hajj.
Closing	<i>Haji Bawakaraeng yang kontroversial menggiring masyarakat berpandangan bahwa orang-orang yang naik ke puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng dalam niat berhaji serta melakukan ritual haji serupa di Tanah Suci Mekkah.</i>	In the closing section, this text presents a debate on the community's views regarding the ritual.

The structure of the data is as follows: there is an opening sentence that explains the geographical location of Mount Bawakaraeng as the place where the ritual takes place. The content of the discourse affirms that this ritual serves as a local alternative to performing the Hajj. The closing sentence affirms the emergence of the debate from the ritual carried out by the community.

The element of the Microstructure examines in detail the text of the discourse, such as the meaning, sentence structure, word choice, and language style that form the ideology in the text. The following is an explanation of using tables to break down the small elements in the text that contribute to the discourse text.

Table 5. Microstructure Analysis

Element of microstructure	Discourse	Explanation
Semantics	<i>"Segala keterbatasan, mereka mencari alternatif lain untuk pergi haji. Tanpa harus menapakakan kaki di Mekkah, dengan melakukan prosesi Besaran".</i>	The semantics of this news reveal that this discourse conveys the meaning of Hajj as a spiritual quest, even without traveling to Mecca.
Syntax	<i>Gunung Bawakaraeng berada di wilayah Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan.</i>	Declarative Sentences (Informative Sentences)

Element of microstructure	Discourse	Explanation
Syntax	<i>Segala keterbatasan, mereka mencari alternatif lain untuk pergi haji.</i>	Reasoning Sentences
	<i>Tanpa harus menapakan kaki di Mekkah, dengan melakukan prosesi Besar.</i>	Incomplete Sentences (because they don't have a primary predicate)
	<i>Haji Bawakaraeng yang kontroversial menggiring masyarakat berpandangan bahwa orang-orang yang naik ke puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng dalam niat berhaji serta melakukan ritual haji serupa di Tanah Suci Mekkah.</i>	Complex Sentences
Diction	<i>Alternatif</i>	Other ways
	<i>Tanpa harus menapakan kaki di mekkah</i>	You can perform Hajj without having to go to Mecca or Mount Bawakaraeng with rituals that are almost the same as the process of purifying yourself like making a hajj to Mecca
	<i>Prosesi besaran</i>	<i>Sakral</i>
	<i>Haji Bawakaraeng yang kontroversial</i>	Something that is debated
	<i>Menggiring masyarakat</i>	It has a negative influence on society.
Language Style	<i>Ritual haji serupa di tanah suci</i>	Resemblance
	<i>Tanpa harus menapakan kaki di Mekkah, dengan melakukan prosesi Besar. ritual haji serupa di Tanah Suci Mekkah.</i>	Comparative Language Styles
	<i>mereka mencari alternatif lain untuk pergi haji</i>	Implicit Persuasive Language Style

The discourse has a variety of sentence structures, ranging from incomplete sentences to complete sentences. The choice of words and language style in this discourse suggests that the ritual sparks debate and conveys a negative impression.

Data 2: The *Haji bawakaraeng* tradition was taken from Facebook, which was uploaded on June 7, 2024 on @Illah Ibn Syafar's account

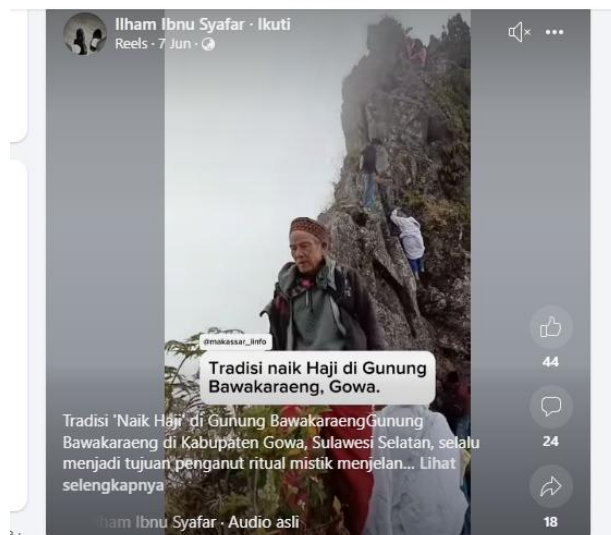


Figure 3. The *Haji bawakaraeng* tradition

Source: Facebook 2025

Description: *Tradisi 'Naik Haji' di Gunung Bawakaraeng. Gunung Bawakaraeng di Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan, selalu menjadi tujuan penganut ritual mistik menjelang perayaan Idul Adha. Ritual ini dikenal sebagai 'Haji Bawakaraeng, sebuah praktik yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi di masyarakat lokal. Meskipun ritual ini tidak memiliki akar dalam ajaran Islam, setiap tahunnya, ribuan orang berkumpul untuk melakukan perjalanan menuju puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng yang menjulang tinggi hingga 2883 meter di atas permukaan laut. Tradisi ini telah menjadi bagian tak terpisahkan dari budaya masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan, dan bukanlah sesuatu yang baru. Para penganut ritual datang dari berbagai daerah kabupaten di Sulawesi Selatan, membawa sesajian seperti beras ketan, telur, ayam, dan kambing untuk ritual keselamatan. Sumber IG @makassar_iinfo. Subhanallah, masih banyak masyarakat yg jauh dari tuntunan Islam yg benar.*

The data is in the form of a video uploaded by @Illah Ibn Syafar's account on June 7th, 2024. The video shows several people who follow the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual climbing down the cliff. The data indicates descriptively the implementation of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual carried out by the community ahead of Eid al-Adha. People from various districts in South Sulawesi who adhere to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual bring offerings, including glutinous rice, eggs, and goats, which are used as part of the ritual for salvation.

The post listed the source of the video as additional information from the Instagram account @makassar_iinfo, which provided critical comments with a narrative of concern for people who are "*jauh dari tuntunan Islam yg benar*". This shows a different framing pattern from the first data, where, in addition to documenting local traditions, there is also a narrative of rejection and negative labeling of the perpetrators.

The main theme of the discourse was the rejection of local traditions, namely *Haji Bawakaraeng*, which was considered a form of deviation from Islamic teachings.

This can be seen from the discourse, the uploader said that "*masih banyak masyarakat yang jauh dari tuntutan islam yang sebenarnya*". From this discourse, it can be seen that there is a rejection of local traditions because they are considered not in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Superstructure in Critical Discourse Analysis is used to see the narrative flow of discourse from opening, content, to closing. The following is explained in table format to clarify the position of the structure in the narrative.

Table 6. Superstructure Analysis

Element of Superstructure	Discourse	Analysis
Title	<i>Tradisi naik Haji di Gunung Bawakaraeng</i>	Broadly summarizes the existence of the ritual and the location where the ritual takes place
Introduction	<i>Gunung Bawakaraeng di Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan,</i>	The opening sentence explains in detail the setting of the place and the ritual
Body	<i>Meskipun ritual ini tidak memiliki akar dalam ajaran Islam</i>	Displaying traditions or rituals that are maintained by the community
Closing	<i>Meskipun ritual ini tidak memiliki akar dalam ajaran Islam</i>	The discourse was closed with a negative assessment or labeling of the ritual perpetrators.

The superstructure of the data provides a perfect flow, starting from the title, introduction of the paragraph, the content, and the closing. The title gives an overview of the ritual at the top of Mount Bawakaraeng. The opening of this discourse was the introduction of geographical location, then an explanation of the tradition or ritual of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* which is maintained by the community. Then in the closing part of the discourse, it gives a negative assessment or labeling of the ritual perpetrators.

The structure of the Microstructure examines in detail the text of the discourse, such as the meaning, sentence structure, word choice, and language style that form the ideology in the text. The following is an explanation of using tables to break down the small elements in the text that contribute to the discourse text.

Table 7. Microstructure Analysis

Element of Microstructure	Discourse	Analysis
Semantics	<i>Gunung Bawakaraeng di Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan, selalu menjadi tujuan penganut ritual mistik menjelang perayaan Idul Adha. Ritual ini dikenal sebagai 'Haji Bawakaraeng, sebuah praktik yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi di masyarakat lokal. Meskipun ritual ini tidak memiliki akar dalam ajaran Islam, setiap tahunnya, ribuan orang berkumpul untuk melakukan perjalanan menuju puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng yang menjulang tinggi hingga 2883 meter di atas permukaan laut.</i>	Mount Bawakaraeng is the spiritual location of the <i>Haji Bawakaraeng</i> . Ritual adherents believe that this ritual has existed in ancient times, such as the pilgrims in Mecca who travel from Safa hill to Marwah. Perhaps people believe that Mount Bawakaraeng can also be used as a place to get closer to Allah swt.
	<i>Tradisi ini telah menjadi bagian tak terpisahkan dari budaya masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan, dan bukanlah sesuatu yang baru.</i>	People believe that this ritual is inherent to them, just as they maintain the religion of their ancestors.
	<i>Subhanallah, masih banyak masyarakat yg jauh dari tuntunan Islam yg benar.</i>	Negative labeling, considering that the <i>Haji Bawakaraeng</i> ritual is something that deviates from the teachings of Islam.
Syntax	<i>Gunung Bawakaraeng di Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan, selalu menjadi tujuan penganut ritual mistik menjelang perayaan Idul Adha.</i>	Declarative Sentences (Informative Sentences)
	<i>Ritual ini dikenal sebagai 'Haji Bawakaraeng, sebuah praktik yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi di masyarakat lokal.</i>	Declarative Sentences (Informative Sentences)
	<i>Meskipun ritual ini tidak memiliki akar dalam ajaran Islam, setiap tahunnya, ribuan orang berkumpul untuk melakukan perjalanan menuju puncak Gunung Bawakaraeng yang menjulang tinggi hingga 2883 meter di atas permukaan laut.</i>	Complex sentences of contracts

Element of Microstructure	Discourse	Analysis
Syntax	<i>Tradisi ini telah menjadi bagian tak terpisahkan dari budaya masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan, dan bukanlah sesuatu yang baru.</i>	Historical Narrative Sentences
	<i>Para penganut ritual datang dari berbagai daerah kabupaten di Sulawesi Selatan, membawa sesajian seperti beras ketan, telur, ayam, dan kambing untuk ritual keselamatan</i>	Descriptive sentences
	<i>Subhanallah, masih banyak masyarakat yg jauh dari tuntunan Islam yg benar.</i>	Expressive-affective sentences
Diction	<i>ritual mistik</i>	Rituals related to the supernatural
Language Style	<i>Ritual ini dikenal sebagai 'Haji Bawakaraeng, sebuah praktik yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi</i>	Descriptive-Informational Language Style
	<i>sebuah praktik yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi</i>	Historical-Narrative Language Style
	<i>membawa sesajian seperti beras ketan, telur, ayam, dan kambing untuk ritual keselamatan</i>	Sombolic-Religious Language Style (syncretic)

In terms of microstructure, the discourse text contains a semantic meaning, namely, as a ritual that has been carried out for generations, which is now an inseparable part of their culture. Although this ritual is not in accordance with the teachings of Islam, they try to maintain the ritual with their beliefs. The syntax structure or sentences used are very diverse, ranging from informative sentences that provide information to readers about the ritual of *Haji Bawakaraeng*, and expressive-advocative sentences that show the uploader's expression to the followers of the ritual. The language style used is descriptive, innovative, and religious-emotional.

Discussion

The results of the analysis of the discourse of the the *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition that went viral on social media show that there is a public debate that is influenced by two main forces, namely religious teachings are accordance with Islamic law and local wisdom. In the perspective by Dijk (1998) critical discourse analysis "This discourse not only reflects the ideological views of social actors, but also shows the tradition of power between groups that dominate religious narratives and local communities that maintain their traditions". This is in accordance with Fairclough (1996) view that

“Discourse always operates in the context of social media that is full of power and ideological domination”. The existence of this ritual shows that religious space in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi, is still strongly influenced by local cultural heritage that is not fully in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Based on the data found, the researcher conducted a critical discourse analysis using the critical analysis theory of Van Dijk, which includes three main parts, namely Macrostructure, Superstructure and Microstructure. Macrostructure is presenting the main theme of a discourse narrative, Superstructure presents the flow of discourse such as the opening, content and closing, while Microstructure is presenting the linguistic details of a discourse such as semantics, syntax, diction and language style used in the discourse text.

The data found generally leads to news related to the implementation of the *Haji Bawakaraeng*. From the 14 data, all of them explain the news of ritual activities, from media accounts and some come from personal users but not from the uploads of ritual perpetrators or indigenous peoples. It can be explained that these data illustrate the dissemination of information about the ritual of the *Haji Bawakaraeng*. This also indicates that the discourse continues to develop and be constructed by the media.

Data 1, featuring narratives from the ritual participants in person, demonstrates a strong personal belief in the spiritual meaning of the journey to Mount Bawakaraeng. Data 2, on the other hand, is a form of news that contains a rejection of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* ritual that is far from the perspective of normative Islamic teachings. Don't use and the first sentences.

Based on the data that has been found by the researcher, the first research question has been answered, namely the form of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* discourse on social media. The forms of discourse related to the *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition circulating on social media are divided into two main types: visual and audio-visual, namely images (photos) accompanied by narrative captions, and videos accompanied by a narrator's voice and text narration. as seen on the Instagram and Facebook platforms, there are images and videos circulating showing the climbing activities of the community of ritual adherents climbing to Mount Bawakaraeng which is identified as a local pilgrimage. In addition, captions and narrative descriptions on social media are used to provide explanatory context for the activity, both from the perspective of culture, spirituality, and religion. the image post features ritual participants wearing Muslim clothing at the top of Mount Bawakaraeng. Meanwhile, viral videos are often accompanied by narratives with an evaluative or even prejudicial tone, especially those coming from news media accounts and religious figures.

Furthermore, the Macrostructure, Superstructure and Microstructure sections of the *Haji Bawakaraeng* discourse text spread on social media. Data 1 shows the main theme, namely local tradition as an alternative to the formal hajj, it can be seen from the core of the discourse that there are limitations for the community, so they use local traditions as an alternative. In terms of superstructure, it has a complete flow starting from the opening, filling and closing. In terms of microstructure has a variety of sentence structures, ranging from incomplete sentences to complete sentences. The choice of words and language style in this discourse suggests that the ritual sparks debate and conveys a negative impression.

Data two shows the main theme, namely the rejection of local traditions, namely *Haji Bawakaraeng* which was considered a form of deviation from Islamic teachings. From the Superstructure side, it has a neat structure, starting from an introduction to the location and ritual activities, followed by an explanation of the content of the practice, and ending with a religious opinion that considers the ritual far from the teachings of Islam. On the Microstructure side, this data contains informative sentences mixed with assessment sentences. His choices are as follows: “*ritual mistik*” and “*jauh dari tuntunan Islam*” show a strong rejection. His style of language is religious and emotional, aimed at giving a negative assessment of the ritual.

Pabbajah (2021) research highlights the community's efforts to balance Islamic teachings and ancestral traditions, but has not discussed the role of the media in shaping public opinion. Susanti & Rumondor (2022) emphasize religion-culture synthesis, but have not examined the power dynamics of discourse in the media. Meanwhile, Syamsurijal (2023) shows the shifting meaning of *Haji Bawakaraeng* as a symbol of cultural pride, but has not examined how the narrative is produced or countered in the digital space. This research fills the gap by analyzing how digital media frames this ritual as deviant and strengthens the dominance of formal religious interpretations.

Therefore, this research offers a new contribution by combining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and digital ethnography approaches, to show that the *Haji Bawakaraeng* tradition is not only a field of conflict between local culture and religious teachings in accordance with Islamic law, but also a field of meaning production influenced by media power.

From this research, it can be seen that the practice of *Haji Bawakaraeng* reflects the contestation between local culture and official religious narratives, mediated by digital media. On the one hand, the media reinforces religious narratives that are in accordance with Islamic teachings; on the other hand, the media also becomes an alternative expression space for practices that have been carried out by local

communities. Cultural practices that live in society cannot be fully approached with a legal-formal framework, but must be seen in the historical and social context of the community Rijal (2020). Previous studies have shown that understanding practices such as *Haji Bawakaraeng* must involve a more inclusive cultural, historical and spiritual analysis.

CONCLUSION

The main findings of this study indicate that there are two dominant discourses developing on social media regarding the practice of *Haji Bawakaraeng* in South Sulawesi: first, a discourse of tradition preservation, which asserts that this practice is part of cultural heritage that must be preserved and respected; second, a discourse of labeling it as a deviation and threat to Islamic teachings, which justifies the rejection and marginalization of this mystical practice.

The theoretical contribution of this study lies in the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the social media approach, which explains how digital media functions as a field of mediation and production of religious discourse meaning. This approach empirically shows how the power of narratives and representations in social media shapes social constructions and ideologies that interact with each other, reinforcing the dominance of certain groups and affirming religious norms.

In practical terms, the results of this study can serve as a guide for policymakers, religious leaders, and cultural figures to develop communication strategies that are more inclusive and sensitive to cultural diversity and community beliefs. This approach emphasizes the importance of policies and programs that support constructive cultural and religious dialogue, as well as promoting the preservation of local cultural aspects that do not conflict with religious values.

However, this study has limitations, mainly due to the small sample size and reliance on secondary data from social media posts without adequate triangulation. Future research is recommended to conduct direct interviews with cultural and religious participants, as well as algorithmic analysis of digital platforms to obtain a more in-depth and accurate picture of the dynamics of discourse. This approach will help enrich our understanding of how social media mediates religious perceptions and conflicts in a more comprehensive and valid manner.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors in this article do not have a conflict of interest in this article, this research is only limited to analyzing the discourse that develops on social media.

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