

A Battle on Social Media: Critical Discourse Analysis of the *Sampradaya* in Bali

I Wayan Numertayasa | ORCID: 0000-0003-4293-279X
Student of Indonesian Language Education, Doctoral Study Program,
Malang State University, Malang, Indonesia
Corresponding author
i.wayan.2102119@students.um.ac.id

Anang Santoso | ORCID: 0000-0002-7665-2617
Lecturer, Indonesian Language Education Doctoral Program, Malang State
University, Malang, Indonesia
anang.santoso.fs@um.ac.id

Moch Syahri | ORCID: 0000-0001-8273-5622
Lecturer, Indonesian Language Education Doctoral Program, Malang State
University, Malang, Indonesia
moch.syahri.fs@um.ac.id

Pande Agus Adiwijaya | ORCID: 0000-0003-4213-1319
Lecturer, English Language Education Study Program, Institute of
Markandeya Bali, Bali, Indonesia
agusadiwijaya@markandeyabali.ac.id

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Abstract

This study focuses on the discourse battle on Facebook between two ideological perspectives on the existence of *Sampradaya* in Bali. *Sampradaya* refers to the Hindu spiritual community in Bali which has been adopting new traditions and practices from India since 1980. Since then, their presence in Bali has faced opposition, including the prohibition of *Hare Krishna* literature and the closure of *Hare Krishna* learning centers. Starting in 2019, this resistance has created a battleground of

conflicting narratives that influence the public. This research aims to comprehend the representation of ideological perspectives and discourse battle strategies within the *Sampradaya* discourse on Facebook. This study combines Teun van Dijk's discourse analysis model and nethnography. The analyzed discourses consist of 10 instances from 2022 to 2023. The research findings reveal dominant and marginal discourses representing ideological beliefs and political systems. The strategies employed include reproduction, distinction, rejection, exclusion, and transformation.

Keywords

discourse battle – social media – *Sampradaya*

1 Introduction

The term *Sampradaya* originates from “sampradha,” which refers to the act of giving, endowing, and acquiring through customs and traditions (Widiana 2022). Within the principles of Hinduism, *Sampradaya* is a particular set of customs or a religious system. Having emerged as a religious sect in the eleventh century, *Sampradaya* also refers to spiritual schools in South India (Doniger 1999). In the Vedas, the sacred scriptures of Hinduism, it is an academic system deeply rooted in tradition and inseparable from the inner spiritual system. *Sampradaya* is a spiritual tradition in which teachers are succeeded by their disciples through spiritual initiation (Ulum and Firdausi 2021). It is furthermore understood as the oral theology of Hinduism conveyed through initiation processes. In summary, *Sampradaya* is a spiritual tradition within Hinduism originating from South India, practised through an educational system involving a teacher-disciple relationship.

Sampradaya is not a novel concept in Hindu tradition; it has long been recognized in Indonesia as an instructional system with an ashram model believed to be part of the historical heritage. In Bali, the term *Sampradaya* has undergone a shift in meaning. It has been used to denote the Hindu spiritual community with new traditions originating from India since 1980 (Widiana 2022). The development of *Sampradaya* in Indonesia first took root in Bali, with the movement beginning around 1980. Its growth in Bali coincided with the increasing popularity of tourism which brought with it new influences from around the world (Kosanke 2019). While some Hindu communities in Bali welcomed the presence of *Sampradaya* enthusiastically, others expressed concerns that it might disrupt traditional Hindu practices. In short, the various

Hindu groups in Bali hold differing views on the teachings of *Sampradaya* (Widiana 2022).

Furthermore, the presence of *Sampradaya* in the Hindu religion in Indonesia has been accommodated by the Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI). One of the *Sampradayas*, *Hare Krishna*, was initially well-welcomed by the traditional Hindu community in Bali. However, in 2019, turmoil emerged due to friction between the *Hare Krishna* and the orthodox Balinese Hindu community caused by differences in points of view and ways of implementing spiritual beliefs (Ulum and Firdausi 2021). Reactions to the rejection of the *Hare Krishna* occurred in several places in 2019 and continued until mid-2020 before reoccurring in 2021.

Furthermore, the *Sampradaya* contestation was also conveyed via Facebook, with several Facebook pages on behalf of traditional Hindu individuals and communities categorically rejecting the existence of *Hare Krishna*. One such account was the *Komponen Rakyat Bali* (Balinese People's Component), a fan page with 11,126 followers. In response, *Hare Krishna* answered all narratives of rejection from the *Komponen Rakyat Bali* account via the *Hare Krishna News Facebook* fan page. The following Figure 1 is the example of discourse presented by groups that rejected *Hare Krishna* and groups that responded to the rejection of *Hare Krishna* on Facebook.

The discourses presented by groups who rejected *Hare Krishna* and groups who responded to the rejection on Facebook can be read by anyone. On top of this, social media discourse is consumed and interpreted by readers according to their ideals (Rahmawati 2019). Therefore, it is not surprising that there are many cases of personal and group debates triggered individuals' words (statuses) as well as news, images, or videos from sites whose source is not clear (Oryza Habibie Rahman, Gunawan Abdillah,

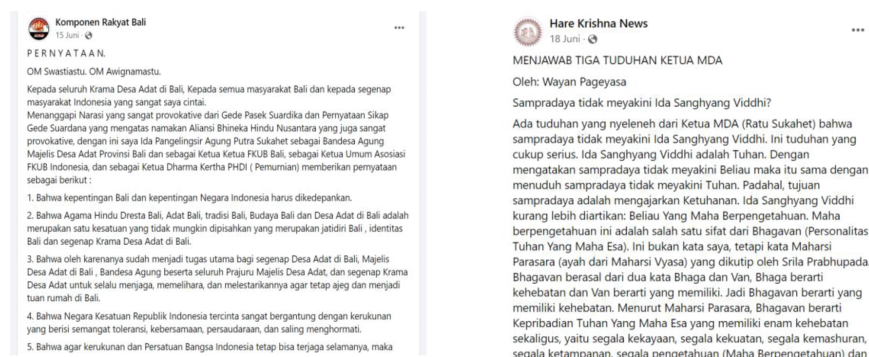


FIGURE 1 The Discourse of *Komponen Rakyat Bali* and *Hare Krishna News* on Facebook

and Agus Komarudin 2021). This phenomenon shows that social media influences social practices as an ideological state apparatus for dominant groups. In its social practices, social media uses language as an interaction instrument (Hildan Azizi 2016).

In the context of a struggle over interests or ideologies, this interaction requires the presence of a party that is dominated and controlled due to factors such as the economic, political, knowledge, and social. For its part, discourse is a social practice form demonstrating the existence of a dialectic between language and social conditions (Fairclough 1995). The language used within a discourse is a symbolic form seen as an arena for battle (Suharyo 2018). In this specific case, the discourse rejecting *Hare Krishna* on Facebook serves as an arena for the struggle between various ideologies and interests on social media.

Apart from that, the language used within the discourse rejecting *Sampradaya* on Facebook shows a connection with power that is in line with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which looks at language use and power, especially in the formation of subjects and various acts of representation in society. Van Dijk (2006) considers discourse analysis a method for seeing how structures within a text can convey a discourse surrounding the representation and ideology behind the text (van Dijk 2006). In this regard, the discourse battle studied here is one between the ideologies rejecting and supporting *Sampradaya*.

Based on the information above, only a few studies were found on *Sampradaya* discourses. Some research on *Sampradaya* focuses on the belief conflict between local Balinese *Sampradaya* and foreign *Sampradaya* (Adi et al. 2023; Widiana 2022; Ulum and Firdausi 2021; Gayatri 2021). One of the studies found that controversy and contestation between *Sampradaya* and Balinese Hindu religious symbols were caused by globalization (Adi, A., Suastra, I. M., Triguna, I. B. G. Y., & Gde 2023) and the notion that Indonesian Hindu identity must be maintained amidst the universality of Hinduism, which ultimately refers back to Indian culture. Based on the results of this study, the issue of *Sampradaya* in Indonesia can be referred to as a conflict between Indonesian Hindu culture and Indian culture.

A study of *Sampradaya* discourse on social media has been conducted by Budiasa (2018), who found that cybermedia used a discourse of non-violent values that aimed to convey the ideology of human obligation to care for the environment and love everything without hurting it. This is the ideology of *Sampradaya* (Budiasa 2018). This ideology is contrary to the Hindu religious tradition in Bali, which uses animals as sacred sacrifices. This issue was debated in the discourse on the value of non-violence in cyber media.

Based on a review of the literature, there has yet to be an examination of the discourse battle of *Sampradaya* on Facebook. The language used in the discourse of rejecting *Sampradaya* on Facebook indicates a connection with power, particularly in shaping subjects and various representational actions within Balinese society. This aligns with the goals of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which consistently examines language in relation to power, particularly in the formation of subjects and various representational actions within society (Van Dijk 2006). Discourse analysis, as a method, examines how the structures within texts possess the capability to articulate the representations and ideologies underlying the text. In this regard, the discourse battle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook represents an ideological struggle between those opposing and supporting *Sampradaya*. Based on this view, this research aimed to explain the ideological representation of the *Sampradaya* discourses and the battle strategies used.

2 Literature Review

2.1 *Discourse Battle*

According to Bourdieu (1991), a discourse battle is a competition in which social actors vie to control symbolic resources and influence the interpretation and understanding of others. Bourdieu further posits that discourse battle involves the determination of interpretations, the formation of reality, and the establishment of valid understandings within society (Bourdieu 1991). Discourse battles are influenced by the power structures existing in society, with certain actors having greater access to symbolic resources than others (Bourdieu 1991). As such, symbolic capital, encompassing knowledge, skills, and socially recognized symbols, becomes crucial in discourse battles, as they occur in a social field laden with power dynamics (Fairclough 1995). These actors employ tactics such as word choice, persuasive rhetoric, or framing to influence and steer the discourse battle (Chilton 2004).

Furthermore, discourse battles often reflect ideological conflicts, wherein social actors strive to dominate interpretations and understandings so that they align with their ideological perspectives (Habermas 1985). This may involve influencing and altering existing representations to achieve their goals (van Dijk 1998). Domination and resistance may be employed as social actors fight to uphold or change existing power hierarchies (Djohar 2018; Roekhan. 2013). Based on the above, a discourse battle is an ideological conflict between a dominant discourse (Doxa) and marginal discourse (Heterodoxa) to control symbolic resources, influence interpretation, affect

representation, and alter the understanding of others using various strategies to attain power in the discourse arena. In this context, this research focuses on the discourse battle of *Sampradaya* on Facebook, which, too, involves a dominant and marginal discourse. The dominant discourse rejects the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya*, while the marginal discourse supports it. Various aspects, including power, identity, politics, and culture, can be seen within this and other battles.

1) Power in Discourse Battle

Discourse battles are often intertwined with power dynamics, and various aspects can be examined within such fighting. Firstly, power can be manifested in discourse aimed at controlling and constructing knowledge (Foucault 2002). Discourse battles, thereby, reflect power inequalities within society (van Dijk 1998), as can be seen, too, in the discourse battle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook.

2) Identity in Discourse Battle

Discourse serves as an arena in which individual and group identity concepts are shaped, defended, or challenged. Identity is not a pre-existing entity but a product of discourse battles (Wykes 1998), wherein individuals and groups use language to construct and represent themselves, revealing their identities. Within the discourse battle studied here, language is employed to express the identity of both dominant and marginal discourses.

3) Politics in Discourse Battle

Discourse battles are a significant focus in political contexts. Chilton (2004) developed the concept of “discourse politics” to explore how politics can be manipulated through language use. Van Dijk (2006) analyzes political discourse to reveal aspects of power and control.

4) Culture in Discourse Battle

Culture plays a crucial role in discourse battles, reflecting power structures and societal cultural norms (Bourdieu 1991). Each culture has communication norms and language rules that influence how individuals participate in discourse battles. In the battle examined here, cultural aspects are debated, with the Balinese culture forming the ideology of *Sampradaya* rejectors and foreign culture providing the basis for *Sampradaya* supporters.

5) Economics in Discourse Battle

Economics can also impact discourse battles, with economic aspects playing a role in the production and distribution of discourse (van Dijk 2002). Media owners and large corporations often control how stories are presented in discourse, thereby influencing the type of information available and how the public understands it.

6) Technology in Discourse Battle

Technological advancements, the internet, and social media have significantly influenced discourse battles. Technology enables individuals to participate in discourse battles more widely and rapidly, creating new dynamics in communication, including the spread of fake news and rapidly evolving discussions (Crystal and Tena 2002; van Leeuwen 2008). In studying the discourse battle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook, the social media platform serves as a vital source of research data, making this aspect crucial to the study.

2.2 *Ideological Representation*

Representation is the interpretation of concepts existing in the mind through language (Hall 1997). It serves as a link between concept and language, aiding in referring to objects, people, or events in both the real and imaginary worlds. In representation, two processes or systems are involved. The first system is how we interpret an object according to the conceptual framework of that object in our minds. The second system is how relationships between concepts in our minds and signs representing those objects occur. These 'signs' can be words, sounds, or visual images organized within language to express and communicate our thoughts and feelings to others. The process linking these two systems is called 'representation' (Hall 1997).

Furthermore, Teun A. van Dijk (1989) defines ideology as the foundation of social representations a particular group holds. It forms the basis from which a group's principles in perceiving the world around them are shaped. Through ideology, a group can regulate beliefs about a matter—whether good or bad, right or wrong—enabling them to act according to the values they uphold. Ideology also regulates a group's relations with other groups and their interests. Within discourse, it can be concealed through vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure (Fairclough 2001). Based on the perspectives above, the representation of ideology in this study refers to interpreting concepts within the belief system held by a specific group or class in the mind through language.

Van Dijk describes discourse as having three dimensions: text structure, social cognition, and context. Here, van Dijk aims to connect the microstructure (discourse) with the macrostructure (society). Social cognition, in this case, represents the arrangement of society, including actions, interpretations, and interactions. Social context is when and how someone's knowledge and opinions are conveyed. Text structure is the linguistic aspect used to influence public opinion, maintain legitimacy, create support, and marginalize other communities. These three aspects are the discourse structure used effectively to convey certain ideological messages (Yaqin 2017; Santoso 2011).

This research examines the representation of ideology in the discourse battle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook based on the discourse structure presented by van Dijk, namely microstructure, superstructure, and macrostructure. Microstructure refers to the local meaning of a text that is concrete and can be observed in terms of the word choice, sentences, and language style used (Biber, van Dijk, and Kintsch 1986). Microstructure is divided into the semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical. In critical analysis, microstructure is seen as discourse meaning that can be observed by analyzing the words and propositions presented (sentence structure or how opinions are expressed). Superstructure relates to the text framework; that is, how text parts are organized into a complete news story. Its elements include schematics, actors, strategies, and settings. These elements can help generate, recall, and reproduce macrostructure (Biber, van Dijk, and Kintsch 1986). Macrostructure is the global meaning (theme or essence) of discourse. This meaning can be seen in terms of macro-semantic structure, cognitive level, grammar-semiotics, semantic meaning, macro-action, and macro-pragmatic structure (van Dijk 1977). Sub-subthemes support the theme and are themselves supported by a series of facts that point to and describe the theme. These supporting subparts produce a coherent and cohesive text. This can be analyzed, for example, in titles, summaries, conclusions, and statements, each of which is inseparable from its constituent elements: words, lines, stanzas, or words, clauses, and sentences (van Dijk 1985).

2.3 *Discourse Strategy*

Strategy is defined by Bourdieu (1990) as the product of the “practical sense as the feel of game”. It is used to maintain or expand power and is necessary to winning in competition. Strategy is needed to maintain and change capital distribution within the power hierarchy. According to Bourdieu, a French sociologist and social theorist, the strategies used by the actors depend on their capital and the capital structure in their position in the social space. If they are dominant, their strategy is to preserve and maintain the status quo. Those who are dominated try to change the distribution of capital, the rules of the game, and their position to climb the social ladder (Bourdieu 1991).

Although it directs action, strategy is not simply a result of mechanical, conscious planning. It is a product of actors' intuitive understanding of the rules of the game within the trajectory of events or at a certain time and space. Strategy acts as a manoeuvre for actors to improve their position in a battle arena. The struggle to gain recognition, authority, capital, and access to positions of power is related to the strategies used by the actors.

Bourdieu suggests that a discourse battle occurs within a power struggle, where social actors compete to control symbolic resources and influence other's interpretations and understandings. Several strategies may be involved, including the following, according to Bourdieu (1991):

1) Symbolic Capital Strategy

Bourdieu argues that in discourse battles, social actors use symbolic capital, i.e., the knowledge, skills, and symbols that confer status and power in society, to gain influence and power. As such, actors who have greater access to symbolic capital will have an advantage in discourse battle (Bourdieu 1991). This strategy is one employed in the discourse battle of *Sampradaya* on social media, wherein actors utilize symbols of power to emerge victorious.

2) Reproduction Strategy

Bourdieu suggests that in discourse battles, social actors tend to maintain and strengthen their existing positions of power using mastered language and symbols. For example, they may promote the norms and values that benefit their position. In the discourse battle of *Sampradaya* on Facebook specifically, actors recycle local Balinese terms to signify the values of the local belief system.

3) Distinction Strategy

Bourdieu argues that in discourse struggles, social actors use language and symbols to differentiate themselves from other groups and obtain higher social status. They attempt to build an image or identity that is considered superior and gain recognition from others (Bourdieu 1987).

This strategy is closely related to the concept of legitimacy. Legitimacy produces new meanings that integrate meanings already assigned to different institutional processes. It, thereby, makes institutionalized objectivity objectively available and subjectively reasonable. Here, there are two levels. On the first, the entire institutional order must be able to be understood simultaneously by participants in different institutional processes. On the second, every person including those in the media, who successfully passes through various institutional order arrangements must be given subjective meaning. The problem of legitimacy is not necessary in the first institutionalization stage, where the institution is just a fact that does not require further support. Yet it is inevitable that the various objects of the institutional order will be transferred to the new generation (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). In this case, legitimacy is not just a matter of "values". It also always implies "knowledge".

Regarding legitimacy, van Leeuwen proposed that the construction of legitimacy can be used to understand the actors or agents behind discourses that marginalize certain groups. The theoretical construction in this study adopts van Leeuwen's model, which consists of four parts: (1) authorization involving the authority of tradition (custom), law, and people in the institution

that enforces the authority, (2) moral evaluation involving a system of social values, (3) rationalization involving the goals of institutionalized actions, and (4) mythopoesis involving conveyance through narrative (van Leeuwen 2008).

4) Rejection and Exclusion Strategy

Bourdieu suggests that in discourse battles, social actors tend to reject or exclude arguments or views that do not match their interests or positions in order to maintain their dominance and limit other groups' access to symbolic resources (Bourdieu 1991). In the discourse battle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook, this strategy is employed in both the dominant and marginal discourses to reject or exclude opposing discourses, as observable through the careful selection of words or sentences.

5) Transformation Strategy

Bourdieu states that in discourse battles, social actors can use language and symbols to affect the interpretation and understanding of other people. That is, they attempt to change existing thought patterns or social constructions by manipulating the language, norms, or values accepted by society. This strategy can be seen within each of the battling discourses in the current case.

2.4 Facebook as the Arena for the *Sampradaya* Discourse Battle

Facebook serves as an arena in the discourse battle rejecting *Sampradaya*. Several Facebook pages, purportedly representing traditional Hindu individuals and groups, explicitly reject the presence of *Hare Krishna Sampradaya*. One such Facebook account vehemently expressing opposition to *Hare Krishna* is "Komponen Rakyat Bali" (The Components of the Balinese People). This account, a fan page, is followed by 11,126 individuals on Facebook. *Hare Krishna*, on the other hand, counters all narratives of rejection from the "Komponen Rakyat Bali" account through the *Hare Krishna* News Facebook fan page. The discourses presented by the group rejecting *Hare Krishna* and the group responding to the rejection on Facebook are accessible to anyone on the social media platform and, like all social media discourses, can be consumed and interpreted according to the reader's ideals (Rahmawati 2019). In this way, readers can freely interpret discourses found on social media. This open interpretation is then expressed through opinions without filtering information for truth, resulting in personal and group debates Rahman, Abdillah, and Komarudin 2021).

On social media, both personal and group debates occur concerning *Hare Krishna*. Each debating account introduces a discourse conveying personal or group ideologies. This phenomenon suggests that social media plays a role as an ideological apparatus of dominant groups. In executing its social practices, Facebook utilizes language as an instrument in interactions. Consequently,

the use of language is understood as an intentional action with a purpose. It is intentionally controlled and implemented and, thereby, no longer an expression beyond consciousness. It is possible that language contains conflicts of interest or ideologies, as language itself is produced through the struggle between economic, political, and social powers within society (Hildan Azizi 2016).

With respect to conflicts of interest or ideologies, this interaction process requires a dominant party, and various factors contribute to party becoming a ruler or being ruled, including economic, political, knowledge, and social factors. Following this, the discourse rejecting *Hare Krishna* on Facebook is an arena of struggle for various ideologies and interests on social media.

One way to analyze Facebook is by using social network theory, which helps us understand how people are connected to each other in the discourse battle on Facebook. This theory views Facebook as a network of relationships among individuals consisting of nodes (users) and ties (connections). Social network theory also helps understand how the network structure on Facebook can influence user experience. For instance, a densely connected network with strong ties can create a highly connected environment, while a looser network can provide access to diverse ideas and information. Thus, this theory helps us explore how the social network structure affects interactions and user experiences on Facebook.

This research, focusing on the discourse battle on Facebook, utilizes this theory to understand the complex social dynamics and their impact on interpersonal relationships and information flow. The use of this theory allows researchers to delve deeper into how Facebook functions as a communication platform and social relationship between battling discourses.

3 Research Methods

This research combines two methods, namely CDA and the netnography method. CDA was chosen because cyberspace, in this case, Facebook, is perceived as part of ideological hegemony. The CDA and netnography methods were selected to uncover the ideological representation and battle strategies of the *Sampradaya* discourse on Facebook. The CDA method used in this research utilized the Social Cognition approach proposed by van Dijk, which can be visually represented as in Figure 2.

Van Dijk delineates discourse with three dimensions: text, social cognition, and context. In the textual dimension, the study scrutinizes how text structures and discourse strategies are employed to emphasize a specific theme. In the social cognition dimension, the focus is on the text production process involving the writer's individual cognitive processes. Meanwhile, in

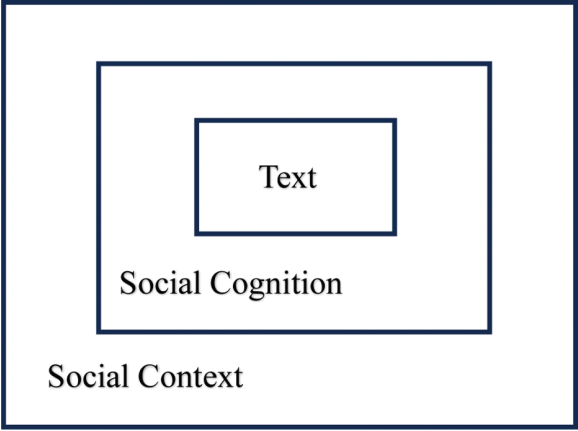


FIGURE 2 Dimension of van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk 1989)

the contextual dimension, the examination pertains to the discourse evolving within society on a particular issue.

The discourse battle of *Sampradaya* on Facebook constitutes an ideological struggle between Facebook accounts, which is examined in this research through the representation of the ideologies of each contending discourse and the discourse strategies employed. For this purpose, the text, social cognition, and contextual dimensions of the battling discourses were analyzed. The context of this discourse battle was the Facebook community. Because the data source was an online community and the three aforementioned dimensions were present, the netnography research method was employed. As described above, the netnography method is used to study the culture of digital media users through their online traces (Kozinets 2015).

Specifically, this study collects text, social cognition, and contextual data through netnography procedures. Textual data is gathered by directly extracting discourses both opposing and supporting *Sampradaya*. Social cognition is observed through the general perspectives of the online community on Facebook regarding *Sampradaya*. Social context is examined through various discourse topics related to *Sampradaya* that are prevalent on Facebook. Subsequently, based on the data obtained through netnography, an analysis is conducted utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as proposed by van Dijk. This involves examining the text through micro, super, and macro structures. The study of cognition encompasses actions, interpretations, and interactions within the social and cultural organization of society related to the discourse opposing *Sampradaya* on Facebook. Social context is explored through the knowledge and opinions of the Facebook community regarding *Sampradaya*.

3.1 *Data*

The primary data of this research comprised discourses that have left digital traces in the form of text, photos, graphics, and videos on Facebook. Researchers manually searched for them by entering “*penolakan Sampradaya*” (rejection of *Sampradaya*) into Facebook’s search function. The discourse data in this research consisted of 10 discourses consisting of 5 dominant discourses and 5 marginal discourses selected based on the topics related to Facebook accounts that support and oppose *Sampradaya*. Data was obtained between 2022 and 2023.

3.2 *Data Collection*

The data was collected by observation. Within netnography research, there are two types of observational data collection, namely transcribing communications between participants in the online environment and taking notes describing activities that occur online (Kozinets 2002). This research followed suit by taking copies of communications between participants in the Facebook community environment that were relevant to the research focus and taking notes describing activities that occurred within the Facebook community environment.

3.3 *Data Analysis*

Data analysis techniques in this research consisted of coding, noting, checking and refinement, generalizing, and theorizing (Kozinets 2015). Coding involved applying code or sorting the data using the *AntConc* software to create categories into which the discourses were placed. *AntConc* assisted in categorizing the micro-structure of the discourse. Noting was a reflection of the data or other comments noted on the data. In the abstracting and comparing stage, the was filtered and labeled to find similar, sequential, related, and different data. Similarities and differences within the data were then located. Checking and refinement involved returning to the field to collect the next wave of data by isolating, examining, and refining understanding of patterns, processes, similarities, and differences. Generalizing targeted data that had already been found to be consistent. Theorizing involved taking data that had been processed, refined, and extracted and formulating a theoretical statement toward a new understanding of the research phenomenon.

4 Findings And Discussion

Van Dijk describes discourse as having three dimensions: text, social cognition, and context. The results of this research will be reported beginning with the third: the context of the discourse battle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook.

4.1 *Context of the Battle*

Sampradaya Hare Krishna is a tradition based on the Bhagavad Gita and the Vedic scriptures. The *Sampradaya* aims to revive the teachings of Krishna, embracing the doctrine of spiritual love for God (Meijering 2012; Kosanke 2019; Ulum and Firdausi 2021). Based on historical events, the existence of the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya* has had a strained relationship with traditional Hinduism in Bali. This is evident in the Decision of the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia Number: Kep-107/J. A/5/1984 in 1984, which banned the circulation of printed documents containing the beliefs of *Hare Krishna* throughout Indonesia. Additionally, various movements opposing *Hare Krishna* have emerged from the Balinese community, including efforts by the Forum Komunikasi Taksu Bali and Taksu Bali Dwipa, Pusat Koordinasi Hindunesia (Puskor Hindunesia), Gerakan Kearifan Hindu Nusantara (GKHN), Komponen Rakyat Bali (KRB), Amukti Palapa Nusantara (APN), YJHN, Cakra Wahyu, Brahmastra, several *sulinggih* (priests), residents of Nusa Penida, and other Hindu Nationalist volunteers (Gayatri 2021).

Initially, the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya* was well-received by traditional Hindu groups in Bali. However, disturbances arose at the end of 2019 due to friction between the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya* and traditional Hindu groups in Bali. These disturbances stemmed from differences in perspectives and practices regarding spiritual beliefs (Ulum and Firdausi 2021). Rejections of the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya* occurred in various places at the end of 2019, continued into mid-2020, and resurfaced again in 2021. Here are some instances of rejection against the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya* in Bali as shown in Figure 3.

Friction grew between traditional groups supported by the Bali Village Council, along with dozens of groups expressing their rejection of the presence and activities of the *Sampradaya*, especially *Hare Krishna* in Bali. Various banners and billboards declare their opposition to the teachings of *Hare Krishna* for various reasons, most notably because the beliefs of *Hare Krishna* are considered outside Balinese tradition. Furthermore, protests in the real world are also transformed through social media. Several Facebook pages representing individuals and traditional Hindu groups explicitly reject the presence of *Hare Krishna*. One such account explicitly expressing rejection of *Hare Krishna* is "Komponen Rakyat Bali" (People's Component of Bali). *Hare Krishna*, though, responds to all rejection narratives from the Komponen Rakyat Bali account through the *Hare Krishna* News Facebook fan page.

4.2 *Ideological Representation*

Ideological representation reflects the way ideologies compete for dominance in language and communication. Ideology is the main driver in the discourse

Penutupan Ashram Hare Khrisna ISKCON
Sidakarya oleh Masyarakat & Sandhi Murti



FIGURE 3 News on the Closure of the *Hare Krishna* Ashram (Spiritual Place)
SOURCE:<https://triponnews.com/penutupan-ashram-hare-khrisna-iskcon-sidakarya-oleh-masyarakat-sandhi-murti/>

battle which is reflected in Figure 4 where the people who rejected Hare Krishna demanding of banning their activities in Klungkung, Bali.

The ideology conveyed within the dominant discourse forms the belief system promoting the preservation of Balinese traditions. Meanwhile, the ideology of the marginal discourse forms the belief system of the *Hare Krishna* movement. Table 1 illustrates the belief systems and ideologies involved in the *Sampradaya* discourse battle on Facebook. Ideologies and beliefs are represented through stylistics and actors. The dominant discourse used word choices such as *Dresta Bali*, *Adat Bali*, *Tradisi Bali*, *Budaya Bali*, *Desa Adat in Bali*, *Sampradaya Asing Trans Nasional*, *Widi Tatwa*, *Tatwa* and *Tradisi Bali* to represent belief ideologies. In this regard, the marginal discourse used, for example, *Bhagavad Gita*, *Srimad Bhagavatam*, *Brahma Samhita*, *Veda*, and *Nirvrti* to represent its ideologies. The nouns were *Bhagawan Gita*, *Srimad Bhagavatam*, *Brahma Samhita*, *Veda*, and *Nirvrti*. *Bhagawan Gita*, *Srimad Bhagavatam*, *Brahma Samhita*, and *Veda* referred to heirlooms or books that were used as references for practising the beliefs of *Hare Krishna*. Word choice is one of the primary ways through which ideology can be conveyed in language (Bazzi 2022; Mawaddah, Dawud, and Syahri 2021). Word choice in the case researched here indicated the ideologies of each battling discourse. The dominant discourse made word choices that depict the ideologies within the belief system of the Hindu religion's Balinese tradition, while the marginal discourse made word choices that depict the belief system of the *Hare Krishna* movement.



FIGURE 4 Banner Rejecting *Sampradaya* Nondresta Bali (Hare Krishna)

SOURCE: <https://diksimerdeka.com/2021/05/07/penolakan-meluas-desadadat-tiga-kecamatan-di-klungkung-deklarasi-tolak-sampradaya-non-dresta/>

Furthermore, the marginal discourse utilized actors such as *Acyuta*, *Krsna*, *Mukunda*, *Sri Krsna*, *Prabhupada*, *Bhakti Siddhanta Sarasvati*, and *Sri Visnu* to represent its ideologies. The actors employed serve as references within the belief system of the *Hare Krishna* movement. The marginal discourse, in this case, supported *Sampradaya*'s use of pronouns. The other words were third-person pronouns. *Acyuta*, *Krsna*, *Mukunda*, and *Sri Krsna* were third-person pronouns referring to the character of gaining freedom in one's life. Such freedom is an ideology held by adherents of the *Hare Krishna*. The third person pronouns *Prabhupada*, *Bhakti Siddhanta Sarasvati*, and *Sri Visnu* were applied to those who strengthened the ideologies of *Hare Krishna*.

The results of this research indicate that Facebook serves as a means to uphold the beliefs of individuals in societal life. These beliefs are closely related to the religion to which they adhere. This finding aligns with the research of Alkhaza'leh, Obeidat, and Alkhaza'leh (2023) who found that 41% of Facebook users in Jordan create statuses containing discourses about religion. This suggests that Facebook serves as an arena for expressing the ideologies surrounding belief systems or religions.

4.3 Representation of Political Ideology

The representation of the dominant discourse ideology could also be seen in the use of third-person pronouns, for example, *Ida Pangelingsir Agung Putra Sukahet*, *Gubernur Bali*, *Ketua FKUB Bali*, and *Ketua Dharma Kertha PHDI*. The utilization of the third-person pronouns used in both dominant and marginal discourses can be seen in Table 2. The title *Ida Penglingsir Agung Putra Sukahet* was used for the traditional chairman of customary villages in Bali, while *Gubernur Bali* was used for Balinese society as a whole and *Ketua FKUB Bali* for members of the Religious Harmony Forum, which was used by the dominant

TABLE 1 Descriptions of Beliefs and Ideologies

Discourses	Text Structure	Description
Dominant Discourses	Micro-Structure	
	Stylistics	
	<i>Dresta Bali</i>	Community rules that regulate the manners (ethics) of community interactions within a limited and similar area (customary associations)
	<i>Adat Bali</i>	Balinese habits or way of life
	<i>Tradisi Bali</i>	A hereditary custom passed down from ancestors that is still preserved by the Balinese people
	<i>Budaya Bali</i>	The value system, behaviour, and work of Balinese people that is formed from the interaction process of Balinese people with their environment.
	<i>Desa Adat di Bali</i>	“Village” as in a traditional community that is bound by the customs of a region in Bali
	<i>Sampradaya Asing Trans Nasional</i>	Beliefs originating from outside Indonesia
	<i>Widi Tatwa dan Tatwa</i>	<i>Widi Tatwa</i> is a teaching that focuses on belief in God. <i>Tatwa</i> is the basis of Hindu religious belief.
Discourses	<i>Agama Hindu</i>	A religion recognized in Indonesia and adhered to by the few of Indonesian people
	Micro-Structure	Description
Marginal Discourses	Stylistics	
	<i>Veda</i>	Hindu religious scriptures

TABLE 1 Descriptions of Beliefs and Ideologies (cont.)

Discourses	Text Structure	Description
Marginal Discourses	<i>Bhagawan Gita</i>	Ancient Hindu text written in Sanskrit. The text is part of the Mahabharata. It consists of Krishna's philosophy and morality to Arjuna to prepare him for the battle of Kurukshetra.
	<i>Nirvrti</i>	The motivation to follow the Vedas (Holy Hindu scriptures) with the aim of liberation.
	Super-Structure Actor	
	<i>Acyuta</i>	People who never lose their true nature and strength as well as become symbols to be worshipped
	<i>Srimad Bhagavatam</i>	Literature describing Krsna
	<i>Brahma Samhita</i>	Literature describing Krsna
	<i>Krsna</i>	The individual who liberates and is worshipped and considered a God by the <i>Hare Krishna</i> .
	<i>Mukunda</i>	The individual who liberates and is adored
	<i>Sri Krsna</i>	The highest God in Hinduism who is worshipped by followers of the <i>Hare Krishna</i> sect
	<i>Prabhupada</i>	An Indian spiritual teacher who founded the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in Indonesia called <i>Hare Krishna</i>
	<i>Bhakti Siddhanta Sarasvati</i>	Spiritual teacher of the founding figure of ISKCON
	<i>Sri Visnu</i>	Deity considered to be God by followers of the <i>Hare Krishna</i> sect; the ancestor of Sri Krsna

discourses as a form of support for maintaining Balinese traditions. *Ketua Dharma Kertha PHDI* was used for all members of the community who wanted to change the management of the Indonesian Hindu Darma Association (PHDI), which was occupied by people associated with *Hare Krishna*. The use of third-person pronouns within the dominant discourse demonstrated its attempt to show that the conveyed ideology was widely supported among the people (Santoso 2015; Kranert 2017). This choice of words represents the political ideology conveyed by the dominant discourse.

Furthermore, the marginal discourse employed *Ujung-Ujungnya Nyaleg* to represent political ideology. In this context, the marginal discourse suggests that the group advocating for Balinese Hindu Tradition exploits the situation by expressing opposition to the *Hare Krishna Sampradaya*, aiming to garner public sympathy for use in legislative candidate elections.

The findings of this research indicate that the *Sampradaya* discourse on Facebook was used to represent the political ideologies involved and, as such, provided grounds for a struggle between those ideologies. However, the discourse utilized was manipulated to obscure this aspect. This aligns with Chilton’s (2004) concept of “discourse politics” and exploration of how politics can be manipulated through language use. Moreover, the presence of political ideology in the *Sampradaya* discourse struggle signified aspects of power and control over the engaged discourse. This corresponds with van Dijk’s (2006) view that political discourse reveals elements of power and control.

TABLE 2 Representation of Political Ideology

Discourses	Micro-Structure	Description
Stylistics		
Dominant Discourses	<i>Ida Pangelingsir</i>	Chairman of the Customary Village organization in Bali
	<i>Agung Putra Sukahet</i>	
	<i>Gubernur Bali</i>	Highest Leader in Bali Province
	<i>Ketua FKUB Bali</i>	Chairman of the Forum for Religious Harmony in Bali
	<i>Ketua Dharma Kertha PHDI</i>	Chairman of the Purification of the Indonesian Hindu Dharma Association
Marginal Discourses	<i>Ujung-Ujungnya Nyaleg</i>	The ultimate goal is to become parliamentary members

4.4 Discourse Battle Strategy

4.4.1 Reproductive Strategies

Reproductive strategies are used by social actors to maintain and strengthen their existing positions. They use mastered language and symbols to continue their hegemony and reproduce their power. This can be done by promoting norms and values that benefit their position. Below is a discourse excerpt that shows the use of this reproductive strategy.

Data 3 *“Brahma adalah Leluhur Alam Semesta, Sri Visnu adalah leluhurnya Brahma Semua ciptaan di dunia material ini diadakan oleh Brahma. Brahma menciptakan semua dari bahan yang disediakan oleh Tuhan. Jadi untuk di alam semesta ini, Brahma adalah leluhurnya. Akan tetapi, Brahma sendiri berasal lahir dari setangkai bunga padma yang muncul dari perut Garbhodakasayi Visnu (seperti di gambar), maka Brahma ternyata memiliki leluhur, yakni Tuhan Sri Visnu atau Sri Krsna. Kalau dilihat dari silsilahnya, kita bisa mengerti bahwa di alam semesta ini Brahmalah yang “berketurunan” dan keturunannya kemudian memunculkan banyak makhluk hidup di dunia material ini. Jadi kalau ditanya siapa leluhur? Maka pengetahuan kita mestinya dikembangkan, tidak hanya sebatas menghafal sebutan untuk 14 generasi tetapi lebih jauh dari itu.”* (Hare Krisnha News 2023)

Brahma is the ancestor of the universe, and Sri Visnu is the ancestor of Brahma. All of the creations in this materialistic world were created by Brahma. Brahma created everything from the materials provided by the god. So, concerning our universe, Brahma is the ancestor. However, Brahma himself originated and was born from a lotus flower out of the belly of *Garbhodakasayi Visnu* (as shown in the picture), so Brahma has an ancestor, namely the God *Sri Visnu* or *Sri Krsna*. Concerning the pedigree, we understand that in this universe, the Brahma is “hereditary”, and his descendants produce many creatures in this materialistic world. So, the question is who is the ancestor? Our understanding must be expanded, not only limited to remembering the designation for 14 generations, but must be further than that.

In the above excerpt, the discourse supporting *Sampradaya* explains the concept of ancestors. According to the writer, *Leluhur* was very long. Therefore, if you look at the origins, as they explain, Sri Vishnu was the ancestor of Brahma. Thus, it can be said that Sri Vishnu was the Sri Krsna, making Sri Krsna

the ancestor of Brahma. This is a reproductive strategy by which the discourse supporting the *Hare Krishna* was used to maintain its hegemony and power in society.

- Data 4 “Mayoritas yang HK di Bali hanya menambah *drsta*, bukan meninggalkan *dresta* yang sudah luhur” (Hare Krisnha News 2023)
The majority of HK in Bali only added *dresta*, not leaving the noble *dresta*.

Based on the discourse excerpt in data number four, the *Hare Krishna* discourse reproduced the concept of *dresta* (community rules). The discourse that rejected *Hare Krishna* stated that the majority of *Hare Krishnas* had left the Balinese *dresta*. The discourse of the Hare Krisna reproduced the Balinese *dresta* concept by saying that the majority of adherents of the *Hare Krishna* only added the meaning of Balinese *dresta*.

- Data 5 “saya Ida Pangelingsir Agung Putra Sukahet sebagai Bandesa Agung Majelis Desa Adat Provinsi Bali dan sebagai Ketua FKUB Bali, sebagai Ketua Umum Asosiasi FKUB Indonesia, dan sebagai Ketua Dharma Kertha PHDI (Pemurnian)” (Komponen Rakyat Bali 2022)
I Ida Pangelingsir Agung Putra Sukahet am the General Chairman of the Bali Province Customary Village Council, the Chairman of the Bali FKUB, as General Chairman of the Indonesian FKUB Association, and the Chairman of the Dharma Kertha PHDI.

The quote from the above discourse comes from the discourse rejecting *Sampradaya*. It demonstrates a reproductive strategy to maintain hegemony and reproduce power. In this case, *Ida Pangelingsir Agung Putra Sukahet* was mentioned as the General Chairman of the Bali Province Customary Village Council, Chairman of the Bali FKUB, General Chairman of the Indonesian FKUB Association, and Chairman of the Dharma Kertha PHDI. This constituted an effort to maintain social power.

Based on the data above, the choice of words such as “leluhur” (ancestors), “*dresta*,” (community rules) and “Bandesa Agung Majelis Desa Adat Provinsi Bali,” along with mention of the prominent titles listed above, served as a strategy employed by discourse makers to uphold and strengthen their existing positions. That is, they utilized language and symbols they have mastered to maintain hegemony and reproduce their power. This aligns with Bourdieu’s

(2018) assertion that language choices can be used to reiterate meanings in the social life of communities.

4.4.2 Distinction Strategy

Distinction strategy is closely related to the concept of legitimacy. Legitimacy produces new meanings which functions to integrate existing meanings to different institutionalization processes. This legitimacy creates the institutionalized objectivity to be subjectively reasonable and objectively available. The following presents an example of distinction strategy in the *Sampradaya* discourse on Facebook.

Data 6 *“Bahwa oleh karenanya sudah menjadi tugas utama bagi segenap Desa Adat di Bali, Majelis Desa Adat di Bali, Bandesa Agung beserta seluruh Prajuru Majelis Desa Adat, dan segenap Krama Desa Adat untuk selalu menjaga, memelihara, dan melestarikannya agar tetap ajeg dan menjadi tuan rumah di Bali”* (Komponen Rakyat Bali 2022)

It has become the principal duty of all Customary Villages in Bali, the Customary Village Council in Bali, the *Bandesa Agung* along with all the *Prajuru* of the Customary Village Council, and the entire *Krama* of the Customary Villages to protect, maintain, and preserve that to exist and be the host in Bali.

Data item six shows a distinction strategy with the authorization type, i.e., the type of legitimacy that refers to the authority of tradition (custom), law, and people in the institution that enforces that authority. In this case, the discourse rejecting the *Sampradaya* on Facebook legitimized the duties of the Customary Villages in Bali, the Customary Village Council in Bali, the *Bandesa Agung* along with all the *Prajuru* of the Customary Village Council, and the entire *Krama* of the Customary Villages as the parties who must maintain traditions in Bali.

Based on data item six, it can be argued that discourse on Facebook can be utilized to establish legitimacy or recognition by referring to the aforementioned authority. This indicates that such discourse can be employed to create legitimacy. The findings of this research support the results of Catenaccio (2021), who stated that Facebook is used as a means to establish legitimacy for companies in order to sustain their existence.

4.4.3 Rejection and Exclusion Strategy

Rejection and exclusion is a strategy in which social actors reject or exclude arguments or views that do not match their interests or positions. They use this strategy to maintain their dominance and limit other groups' access to symbolic resources. The following data shows the use of rejection and exclusion strategies in *Sampradaya* discourse on Facebook.

Data 7 *"Kalau belum paham juga contoh lain dari dresta kita, Bali. Ada gambar Sanghyang acintya juga dibuat oleh manusia. Gambar atau pahatan Sanghyang acintya itu tidak jatuh dari langit Pak Gede, itu dibuat oleh orang yang bisa. Demikian pula Padmasana dan semua simbol sakral juga dibuat oleh manusia. Tapi pembuatannya tidak sembarangan, ada sastra yang dijadikan acuan. Soal ini semoga Bapak bisa memahami"* (Hare Krishna News 2023)

If you still need to understand the other examples of our *dresta*, Bali. The image of *Sanghyang acintya* is also made by humans. The image or sculpture of *Sanghyang Acintya* did not fall from the sky, Mr. Gede; it was made by a capable individual. Likewise, the *Padmasana* and all sacred symbols were also made by humans. However, the making was not careless; there is literature used as reference. Concerning this issue, hopefully, you can understand

The above data demonstrates the rejection strategy. There was a rejection of the viewpoint saying that the image of Krsna worshipped by *Hare Krishna* was made by humans. It was rejected by the *Sampradaya* discourse by saying that in Balinese *dresta*, images and carvings of *Sanghyang Acintya* (God), were also made by humans. The image of Krsna was not carelessly made. It was made by paying attention to the literature used as a reference. The above comprises rejection strategy within the *Hare Krishna* discourse.

This strategy demonstrates two conflicting ideologies, leading to mutual rejection or exclusion with the aim of influencing and altering ideological representations. This aligns with the concept of discourse struggle involving representation, where social actors seek to influence and change existing representations to achieve their goals (van Dijk 1998).

4.4.4 Transformation Strategy

In transformation strategies, the social actors can use language and symbols to change the interpretation and understanding of others. They try to change the existing mindset or social constructions either through changing the language, norms, or values accepted by society. The following data item exemplifies transformation strategy.

Data 8 *“Selama ini, semua keriuhan itu hanya jualan politik. Terbukti, akhirnya semua yang mengaku pejuang dresta dan paling getol bersuara soal ajeg ini ajeg itu, tolak Sampradaya asing, tolak ajaran impor, UUN ... ujung-ujungnya nyaleg.”* (Hare Krisnha News 2022)

So far, all of the shindy is just a political campaign. It is proven, finally, all of those who admitted as a warrior of *dresta* and spokesmen of preservation reject the foreign *Sampradaya*, reject imported beliefs, *UUN ... ujung-ujungnya nyaleg* (finally running for candidacy)

The above data item eight constructed the existing social issues through language. In this case, it was said that people who fought for the Balinese *dresta* only wanted to run a political campaign, as indicated by the inclusion of *“Ujung-Ujungnya Nyaleg (UUN)”*.

Data 9 *“Bahwa dalam sambutan dan pernyataan saya di Pura Luhur Ulun Danu Batur tersebut tidak ada maksud dan kata “sweeping”, tidak ada kata dan maksud “mengusir” dari Bali. Yang ada adalah edukasi saya untuk mencegah dan melarang penyebaran/ pengembangan ajaran Sampradaya di Desa Desa Adat.”* (Komponen Rakyat Bali 2022)

In my speech and statement in *Pura Luhur Ulun Danu Batur* there is no intention nor mention of “sweeping”, there is no intention nor mention of “*mengusir*” [chase away] from Bali. There is my education to prevent and prohibit the distribution/ development of *Sampradaya* teachings in the Customary Villages.

The excerpt in data item nine exemplifies the transformation strategy. The meaning of the word *mengusir* (sweeping) was transformed into *mengedukasi* (educating) by which the writer prevents the distribution of the *Hare Krishna*.

Data 10 *“Bahwa Sampradaya Asing yang transnasional seperti Hare Krisna dan yang lainnya adalah gerakan asing yang telah membawa, menyebarkan tatanan keagamaan yang sangat berbeda ditengah tengah umat yang sudah beragama di Indonesia, khususnya di Bali”.* (Komponen Rakyat Bali 2022)

That the foreign transnational *Sampradaya* like Hare Krisna and others are foreign movements that have brought and distributed different religious orders among the religious community in Indonesia, especially in Bali. Inclusion-categorization.

The quote in data item ten shows changes in mindset carried out through language. The term “transnational foreign *Sampradaya*” referred to the *Hare Krishna* and other sects originating from outside Indonesia in a strategy to portray a new mindset about *Hare Krishna*.

Based on the data, transformation strategies in the current case are manifested through the reuse of word choices such as “UUN ... ujung-ujungnya nyaleg,” “sweeping,” and “*Sampradaya* Asing transnational.” The use of these does not align with their literal meanings; instead, actors alter the meanings of the words to uphold their ideologies. These words can be considered “ideological vocabulary,” a term referring to words intentionally incorporated into discourse by communicative activities to make the vocabulary an essential stage in the text consumer’s journey. The community consistently and systematically uses these words within its context (Santoso 2012).

From that explanation, a conclusion can be drawn that the *Sampradaya* discourse on Facebook involved reproduction, distinction, rejection and exclusion, and transformation strategies in order to maintain the ideology of each battling discourse. This is in line with the view that discourse strategies in discourse battles aim to maintain and, to some extent, change the distribution of capital within the power hierarchy (Bourdieu 1991; Biber, van Dijk, and Kintsch 1986).

5 Conclusion

The research findings here indicate that the dominant and marginal discourses represent the ideologies of belief systems and politics. The strategies employed include reproduction, distinction, rejection and exclusion, as well as transformation strategies. These findings reflect the discourse struggle surrounding *Sampradaya* on Facebook as an ideological battle concerning belief systems and political ideologies. This struggle tends to impact social, cultural, and religious aspects of life. Socially, there will be tensions among individuals in their daily lives. Culturally, some may express antipathy towards foreign cultures and even towards the local culture of Bali. In terms of religion, this battle tended to generate numerous debates about religious life in Bali. In light of these aspects, understanding the dimensions of the *Sampradaya* discourse struggle discussed in this research is essential for the community to foster greater harmony in societal life. Furthermore, it is important to note that this research has its limitations in terms of research subjects, as it focused only on online communities. Future research should expand the scope to involve

both online and offline communities for a more comprehensive understanding of the *Sampradaya* discourse.

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