



HAJJ RESILIENCE IN CRISIS: ANALYSIS OF FAIRCLOUGH'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE FROM DETIK.COM'S 2026 HAJJ COVERAGE

Ahmad Kamalul Fikri

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Ki Ageng Pekalongan, Indonesia
ahmadkamalulfikri@gmail.com

Mohammad Andi Hakim

Universitas Islam Negeri Siber Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, Indonesia
andihakim@syekh Nurjati.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This article examines how *Detik.com* discursively constructed Hajj 2026 amid escalating Middle Eastern tensions involving Iran, the United States, and Israel. While previous Indonesian applications of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis have largely focused on electoral politics, religious moderation, and domestic ideological contestation, limited attention has been given to how online news frames pilgrimage resilience during geopolitical crisis. Using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA, this study analyzes ten *Detik.com* reports published between March and April 2026. The analysis focuses on textual strategies, discursive production, and sociocultural explanation. The findings show that *Detik.com* systematically framed Hajj as safe, continuous, and spiritually protected through repetitive reassurance, dominant reliance on official voices, and narratives of economic shielding. At the textual level, the reports privilege certainty, continuity, and calm; at the discursive level, they circulate an official reassurance frame across multiple channels; and at the sociocultural level, they prioritize spiritual stability and state legitimacy over geopolitical anxiety. This article offers a conceptual contribution through the notion of hajj resilience discourse, defined as a mediated formation in which language, authority, and religious symbolism jointly sustain trust in worship under crisis conditions.

Keyword: *Hajj Resilience, Framing Media, Critical Discourse Analysis.*



A. Introduction

The 2026 Hajj has emerged within an unusually tense geopolitical context marked by escalating conflict in the Middle East, particularly involving Iran, the United States, and Israel. In such a situation, media discourse does not merely transmit information about pilgrimage logistics; it actively shapes public perception, emotional orientation, and trust toward state-managed religious mobility. In Indonesia, Detik.com's coverage of Hajj 2026 illustrates how news language can transform geopolitical uncertainty into a discourse of assurance, continuity, and spiritual resilience. Government statements reported by the media emphasize that the pilgrimage will proceed as planned, that the first departure is scheduled for 22 April 2026 (Devi Setya, 2026), and that rising operational costs will not be transferred to pilgrims. At the same time, the discourse repeatedly foregrounds safety, logistical readiness, and the possibility of performing Hajj peacefully and solemnly.

This phenomenon is significant because Hajj is not only a religious obligation but also a highly mediated public event involving state institutions, transnational mobility, public finance, diplomacy, and symbolic representations of Muslim security. When regional conflict intensifies, the media become an important site where anxiety is negotiated and collective religious confidence is restored. In the case of Hajj 2026, the discourse circulated by public officials and reproduced by online media tends to prioritize calmness, smooth worship, and governmental preparedness. Such a discourse can be read as a strategic communicative response designed to preserve both public trust and the sacred legitimacy of the pilgrimage. Official and parliamentary narratives similarly stress that Hajj has long been managed through security systems and international coordination, reinforcing the idea that worship can continue even amid geopolitical volatility (Humas Kemenhaj RI, 2026).

From the perspective of critical discourse studies, this case is important because news texts are never neutral. They represent reality through selective lexical choices, source hierarchies, and ideological framing. Previous studies have shown that Fairclough's three-dimensional model remains effective for examining how religious and political discourse is constructed in digital media and institutional communication (Ahmad Kamalul Fikri, 2025; Taufikin, Nurhayati, & Muhajarah, 2025). Recent scholarship demonstrates that media discourse can shape public perception by linking representation, power relations, and identity formation, particularly in cases involving religion and state authority. Studies on online news and official religious discourse in Indonesia likewise confirm that textual micro-features, discursive production processes, and macro-social alignments often work together to naturalize certain state positions as common sense (Syahrudin et al., 2025).

However, most recent studies of Fairclough's discourse analysis in Indonesian contexts have focused on electoral politics, religious moderation, polemical government regulations, or ideological contestation in domestic public debates (Martalia et al., 2024).

Comparatively little attention has been paid to how online news constructs the discourse of pilgrimage resilience when a major religious ritual is overshadowed by global military tension. This article therefore seeks to fill that gap by analyzing how Detik.com constructs Hajj 2026 not as a vulnerable event threatened by war, but as a spiritually protected, administratively manageable, and economically shielded form of worship. In this sense, the present study proposes the notion of pilgrimage resilience discourse, namely a discursive formation that places ritual continuity, spiritual composure, and state credibility above economic pressure and geopolitical uncertainty (Huda, 2022; Taufikin & Nurhayati, 2025).

This research adopts a qualitative descriptive design using documentation techniques (Hameed, 2020). The primary data consist of selected Detik.com news reports on Hajj 2026 published during the escalation of Middle Eastern conflict in March–April 2026 concerning Hajj implementation, security, cost management, and operational readiness during escalating Middle Eastern tension.

The sample was selected purposively using three inclusion criteria. First, each report had to explicitly mention Hajj 2026. Second, it had to connect the pilgrimage with security, geopolitical tension, operational readiness, or cost mitigation. Third, it had to quote institutional actors involved in defining the safety or continuity of the pilgrimage.

The dataset was limited to ten texts not because of data scarcity, but because CDA privileges interpretive depth, intertextual density, and ideological patterning over numerical breadth. The goal of this study is not statistical generalization but close analysis of recurring discourse strategies, source dominance, and ideological framing within a bounded media event.

The analysis proceeded in three stages adapted from Fairclough (Fairclough, n.d.): description, interpretation, and explanation. In the description stage, the study identified recurring lexical choices, modality markers, transitivity patterns, passivization, nominalization, and actor positioning.

In the interpretation stage, it examined intertextual repetition, channel distribution, source hierarchy, and framing closure within the *Detik.com* ecosystem. In the explanation stage, it related those patterns to broader sociocultural conditions, including geopolitical anxiety, Indonesian public religiosity, state legitimacy, and transnational communication about Hajj safety.

To improve analytic transparency, the study used a coding grid with five categories: lexical reassurance, modality, agency, economic mitigation, and spiritual symbolism. Reflexively, this article recognizes that CDA is interpretive and

theoretically situated. For that reason, claims are grounded in recurring textual evidence rather than in assumptions about hidden institutional intent.

Table 1. Corpus of Detik.com News Reports on Hajj 2026

No	Date	News Title	Main Theme	Main Actor
1	24 Mar 2026	<i>Dubes Saudi Pastikan Ibadah Haji Aman Meski Ada Konflik AS-Israel dan Iran</i> (Brigitta Belia Permata, 2026)	Security assurance	Saudi Ambassador
2	26 Mar 2026	<i>Dubes Saudi Tegaskan Haji 2026 Tetap Berjalan sesuai Rencana</i> (Anisa Febriani, 2026b)	Continuity of Hajj	Saudi Ambassador
3	26 Mar 2026	<i>Dubes Arab Saudi Pastikan Negaranya Aman, Haji 2026 Tetap Berjalan</i> (Anisa Febriani, 2026a)	Stability of Saudi Arabia	Saudi Ambassador
4	30 Mar 2026	<i>Wamenhaj Berharap Eskalasi Konflik Menurun, sehingga Haji Berlangsung Aman</i> (Devi Setya, 2026)	Peace discourse and safety	Vice Minister of Hajj
5	7 Apr 2026	<i>Menhaj Pastikan Haji 2026 Tetap Jalan: Dijamin Keselamatannya</i> (Erick Disy Darmawan, 2026)	Pilgrim protection	Minister of Hajj
6	8 Apr 2026	<i>Pemerintah Siapkan Rp 1,77 Triliun Tahan Ongkos Haji Nggak Naik</i> (Herdi Alif Al hikam, 2026)	Economic protection	Coordinating Minister for the Economy
7	9 Apr 2026	<i>Persiapan Haji di Tanah Suci Belum Rampung, Kemenhaj Sebut Masih Wajar</i> (Hanif Hawari, 2026)	Risk normalization	Ministry of Hajj
8	10 Apr 2026	<i>Pemerintah Pastikan Pelaksanaan Haji 2026 Lancar di Tengah Konflik Timteng</i> (Wildan Noviansah, 2026)	Smooth implementation and state reassurance	Government / Ministry of Hajj

9	10 Apr 2026	<i>Megawati Terima Dubes Arab Saudi, Komitmen Jaga Perdamaian Dunia</i> (Dwi Rahmawati, 2026)	Peace diplomacy context	Political elites
10	10 Apr 2026	<i>Biaya Haji 2026 Turun, Ini Rincian per Embarkasi dan Perbandingan 2025</i> (Nadhifa Aurellia Wirawan, 2026)	Cost reduction narrative	Government

The corpus size is theoretically adequate for CDA because the purpose is not quantitative generalization but close examination of patterned discourse, intertextual reinforcement, and ideological closure within a specific media moment.

Theoretically, this article employs Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, which examines discourse through three interrelated dimensions: text, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 2003). At the textual level, the study investigates diction, modality, evaluative expressions, and the representation of actors in Detik.com's Hajj 2026 coverage.

At the level of discursive practice, the study explores how calming narratives are produced and circulated through the interplay between journalistic mediation and the authority of the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah. At the sociocultural level, the study interprets the broader ideological implications of prioritizing pilgrims' spirituality, security, and emotional stability in the midst of conflict. To sharpen the analysis, Fairclough's framework is complemented by Entman's framing functions (Entman, 1993) and van Dijk's insights on ideological structuring in media discourse (Van Dijk, 2006).

A further contribution of this article lies in its transnational angle. During the broader crisis period, international reporting often foregrounded heightened regional danger. Al Jazeera reported on 3 March 2026 that the United States urged its citizens to leave multiple Middle Eastern countries, including Saudi Arabia, amid serious safety concerns. By contrast, Saudi official communication later emphasized permit enforcement, transport readiness, and crowd-management measures designed to ensure a safe Hajj season. This contrast matters because it shows that *Detik.com's* reassurance frame did not emerge in isolation; rather, it resonated more strongly with Saudi official stability discourse than with conflict-centered international framing (*US Urges Citizens to Immediately Leave over a Dozen Middle East Countries*, 2026).

B. Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Positioning

Fairclough's CDA is particularly appropriate for this study because it connects linguistic form with institutional production and broader ideological

context. At the textual level, it enables close attention to lexical preference, modality, passivization, and agency. At the level of discursive practice, it clarifies how official voices gain privileged circulation and legitimacy. At the sociocultural level, it explains how discourse naturalizes particular power relations as common sense.

However, this article does not rely on Fairclough alone. Entman's framing model helps identify how the corpus defines problems, attributes causes, offers moral evaluations, and presents remedies. Van Dijk's framework helps explain how source hierarchy and ideological emphasis guide cognition and public interpretation. This combination is necessary because the corpus does not merely display stylistic patterns; it also organizes trust, authority, and emotional orientation.

The study's central conceptual contribution is the refinement of hajj resilience discourse. In this article, the term refers to a mediated discursive formation through which pilgrimage under crisis is represented as secure, morally meaningful, and institutionally governable.

The concept differs from general resilience theory because it is tied specifically to ritual mobility. It differs from ordinary crisis framing because its objective is not only risk reduction but also the preservation of sacred legitimacy. It also differs from individual religious coping because the resilience here is publicly mediated through journalism and state-linked communication rather than confined to personal belief.

Recent scholarship on pilgrimage resilience strengthens this conceptualization. Research in pilgrimage and tourism studies argues that resilience is shaped not only by infrastructure, but also by spiritual adherence, leadership, and coping narratives. That perspective is highly relevant here because the *Detik.com* corpus does not merely report safe travel conditions; it discursively builds confidence, symbolic calm, and religious perseverance. At the same time, studies on the legitimation of digital media in religious institutions show that mediated authority increasingly depends on how institutions frame communication as credible, morally appropriate, and publicly stabilizing. These insights support the argument that hajj resilience discourse is both religiously meaningful and media-ideological (Danko et al., 2025).

C. Textual Construction of Pilgrimage Resilience in Detik.com

At the textual level, *Detik.com* constructs Hajj 2026 as a protected and controllable religious event rather than as a vulnerable ritual threatened by Middle Eastern conflict. Across the ten reports, the most salient lexical pattern is the repeated use of reassuring expressions such as *aman* (safe), *stabil* (stable), *lancar* (smooth), *nyaman* (comfortable), *tetap berjalan* (continue), *sesuai rencana* (according to plan), and *dijamin keselamatannya* (safety is guaranteed) (Martalia et al., 2024). These choices work ideologically by reducing the symbolic intensity of

war-related uncertainty and redirecting readers toward a sense of continuity and order. In several reports, the conflict is acknowledged only briefly, then immediately neutralized by language of preparedness, coordination, and calm. This textual pattern is especially visible in reports stating that Saudi Arabia is “safe and stable,” that Hajj will proceed “according to plan,” and that pilgrims can worship “khusyuk” (solemnly).

A second important textual feature is the dominance of certainty markers and authoritative verbs such as *memastikan* (to ensure), *menegaskan* (to affirm), and *menjamin* (to guarantee). These forms narrow interpretive ambiguity and present official claims as factual conclusions rather than negotiable assessments.

The grammar of certainty is strengthened by phrases such as “there are no significant obstacles,” “the first departure will begin on 22 April 2026,” and “logistics are more than sufficient.” Such expressions produce what may be called a grammar of stability, in which uncertainty is linguistically subordinated to institutional confidence. Even when incompleteness is admitted, as in the report on unfinished preparations in the Holy Land, the text quickly reframes it as “still normal” and manageable. Thus, textual meaning is organized not around danger, but around control.

A closer linguistic reading also reveals how agency is distributed. State and diplomatic actors are consistently positioned as active agents through verbs of assurance, coordination, and decision-making, whereas pilgrims are largely represented as passive beneficiaries of safety, cost relief, and institutional protection. This transitivity pattern matters because it centralizes institutional authority as the source of action and knowledge. The discourse does not merely report Hajj conditions; it arranges them through a hierarchy in which officials speak and pilgrims are reassured.

Passivization strengthens this asymmetry. Burdens are said not to be “imposed” on pilgrims, while operational challenges are said to be “handled” or “anticipated.” Responsibility is therefore absorbed into institutional structures rather than debated as an open question.

Nominalization further contributes to this effect. Terms such as “safety,” “readiness,” “stability,” and “protection” package political decisions into abstract, seemingly objective conditions. Instead of foregrounding contestable processes, the discourse presents them as already accomplished states.

Economic language also supports this construction. The allocation of Rp 1.77 trillion to prevent higher operational costs from burdening pilgrims is framed not as a policy controversy but as evidence that the state has already shielded worship from crisis. Cost control thus enters the same semantic field as safety and solemnity. Resilience is textualized not only as spiritual calm, but also as administrative and financial insulation.

Figure 1. News Cover 1 from *Detik.com*



Figure 2. News Cover 2 from *Detik.com*



Table 2. Textual Construction of Hajj Resilience in *Detik.com*

Dimension	Linguistic evidence	Analytical observation	Discursive effect
Lexical reassurance	<i>aman, stabil, lancar, nyaman, sesuai rencana</i>	recurrent evaluative vocabulary minimizes uncertainty	conflict is backgrounded and continuity foregrounded

Modality	<i>memastikan, menegaskan, menjamin</i>	high-certainty verbs reduce interpretive space	official claims appear final and credible
Transitivity and agency	officials act; pilgrims receive protection	agency is concentrated in state and diplomatic actors	institutional power defines reality
Passivization	burdens are “not imposed” on pilgrims	responsibility is administratively absorbed	protection appears already secured
Nominalization	safety, readiness, stability, protection	political processes become abstract conditions	governance appears naturalized

D. Discursive Practice: Producing and Circulating a Calming Narrative

At the level of discursive practice, the key issue is not only what the reports say, but how the calming narrative is produced, circulated, and legitimized within the *Detik.com* ecosystem. The corpus shows a strong pattern of intertextual repetition. Statements by the Saudi Ambassador that Saudi Arabia is “safe and stable” and that Hajj 2026 will proceed “according to plan” reappear across multiple *Detik* channels, including *detikNews*, *detikHikmah*, and *detikKalimantan*. This repetition does not broaden interpretive diversity; instead, it reinforces one dominant frame by making the same institutional reassurance visible in different editorial spaces. Repetition across channels gives the appearance of cumulative confirmation, even when the source base remains narrow.

Source hierarchy is fundamental to this process. The discourse is overwhelmingly defined by official voices: Saudi authorities, the Minister and Vice Minister of Hajj and Umrah, Indonesian government representatives, and economic policymakers. Alternative perspectives from pilgrims, independent analysts, or civil-society observers are largely absent. In Fairclough’s terms, access to discourse production is unequally distributed. The power to define whether Hajj is safe, manageable, and morally stable belongs almost entirely to institutional actors.

This source dominance is closely tied to the media’s function as a reassurance apparatus. Headlines consistently foreground safety, continuity, and certainty before introducing conflict or difficulty. Even potentially negative information, such as incomplete preparations, is framed through the phrase “still normal.” Likewise,

rising aviation costs are not represented as threats to pilgrims, but as problems already solved by government intervention. Through such editorial choices, *Detik.com* participates in the management of public anxiety by transforming geopolitical tension into a narrative of preparedness, control, and moral confidence.

A more critical reading is necessary here. It is entirely possible that official assurances reflected genuine preparedness rather than manipulative ideology. CDA does not deny that possibility. Instead, it asks how such preparedness is discursively organized and whose voice is authorized to define it. In this corpus, even if real safety measures were in place, their media representation remained highly centralized and interpretively closed. That closure matters because it narrows public deliberation about contingency, governance, and accountability.

Entman's framing logic helps explain this process. The problem is defined as regional conflict and its possible impact on Hajj, but not as a crisis threatening the pilgrimage itself. The cause is attributed to geopolitical escalation and rising operational costs. The moral evaluation emphasizes peace, safety, comfort, and solemn worship. The remedy is consistently presented through coordination, guarantees, fiscal support, and prayer. The resulting discourse is stabilizing: readers are directed toward one acceptable interpretation, namely that Hajj remains secure because the responsible institutions are already in control.

A transnational comparison clarifies this further. During the same broader crisis period, Al Jazeera foregrounded regional danger by reporting that the US urged citizens to leave multiple Middle Eastern countries, including Saudi Arabia, due to serious safety concerns. Saudi state-linked communication, by contrast, foregrounded permit enforcement, transport readiness, and crowd-control measures as guarantees of safety for the Hajj season. *Detik.com* aligns more closely with the Saudi stability frame than with the conflict-centered international frame. This does not invalidate its reporting, but it does show that the explanation phase of discourse is shaped by broader transnational flows of official reassurance (*US Urges Citizens to Immediately Leave over a Dozen Middle East Countries*, 2026).

Figure 3. News Cover 3 from *Detik.com*

Dubes Saudi Pastikan Ibadah Haji Aman Meski Ada Konflik AS-Israel dan Iran

Brigitta Belia Permata Sari - *detikNews*

Selasa, 24 Mar 2026 22:12 WIB



Foto: Dubes Arab Saudi untuk Indonesia, Faisal Abdullah Al Amoudi (Brigitta Belia/detik.com)

Figure 4. News Cover 4 from *Detik.com*

Pemerintah Pastikan Pelaksanaan Haji 2026 Lancar di Tengah Konflik Timteng

Wildan Noviansah - *detikNews*

Jumat, 10 Apr 2026 07:23 WIB



Foto: Wakil Menteri Haji (Wamenhaj) Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak (Devi Setya / *detik.com*)

Table 3. Discursive Practice in the Production of a Calming Narrative in *Detik.com*

No.	Discursive dimension	Corpus pattern	Discursive function	Effect
1	Intertextual repetition	Same reassurance formula appears across multiple <i>Detik</i> channels	reinforces one dominant frame	Stability appears repeatedly confirmed
2	Source hierarchy	official and diplomatic voices dominate	centralizes authority	limits competing interpretations
3	Editorial reassurance	headlines foreground safety and continuity	reduces anxiety	media acts as a calming mechanism
4	Risk management framing	conflict and cost increases are immediately followed by solutions	normalizes uncertainty	problems seem manageable
5	Framing closure	problem, cause, moral value, and remedy are tightly aligned	stabilizes meaning	readers are directed toward trust

E. Sociocultural Practice: Spiritual Protection above Geopolitical Uncertainty

At the sociocultural level, the discourse of Hajj 2026 must be read within a broader context shaped by Middle Eastern conflict, Indonesian public religiosity, and the state's obligation to maintain the legitimacy of hajj governance. In this macro setting, *Detik.com* constructs Hajj as a sacred sphere of stability that should remain protected from the disruptive force of geopolitics. The repeated claim that Saudi Arabia is safe, that Hajj will proceed as planned, and that worship can remain solemn positions the pilgrimage symbolically above regional conflict. In other words, war is acknowledged, but it is not allowed to define the meaning of Hajj. Instead, Hajj is represented as a resilient spiritual institution whose continuity must be preserved.

This discourse also reinforces the image of the state as a moral protector of worship. The government is depicted as absorbing cost increases, coordinating with Saudi authorities, securing logistics, and ensuring that pilgrims remain safe and comfortable. Such representation extends beyond bureaucratic competence. It frames the state as ethically responsible for safeguarding the pathway to worship. This is particularly visible in reports that highlight the government's allocation of Rp 1.77 trillion to prevent additional aviation costs from burdening pilgrims and in reports emphasizing sufficient food, energy, and water supplies during the hajj season. The broader ideological implication is that state credibility is strengthened through visible protection of religious practice (Senbeto, 2025; Taufikin, Nurhayati, Muzakki, et al., 2025).

Risk normalization is another major sociocultural function. Problems are not denied, but they are translated into manageable conditions. Unfinished preparations become "still normal"; rising costs become absorbed burdens; regional tension becomes an external backdrop offset by prayer, diplomacy, and guarantees. This discursive management stabilizes public trust, but it also raises a normative issue: what would public accountability look like in a more balanced media framework?

In this context, public accountability would involve at least four elements. First, media reporting should transparently disclose unresolved operational uncertainties rather than only announcing that everything is under control. Second, it should include non-official perspectives, such as pilgrims, independent analysts, and civil-society observers. Third, it should distinguish verified preparedness from rhetorical reassurance. Fourth, it should preserve space for questioning governance decisions without framing critique as a threat to spiritual calm. These elements would not undermine stability; rather, they would make reassurance more credible and democratically accountable.

The explanation phase is further strengthened by the transnational contrast already noted. International conflict-oriented coverage highlighted regional danger, whereas Saudi official communication emphasized regulation and readiness. *Detik.com* sits closer to the latter. This indicates that hajj resilience in the Indonesian media sphere was not only locally produced but also transnationally resonant with

official Gulf narratives of order, safety, and controllability. The concept of hajj resilience discourse can therefore be defined more precisely as a mediated sociocultural formation in which ritual continuity is sustained through the alignment of religious symbolism, institutional authority, and crisis-sensitive public communication (Ats Tsaqofi et al., 2025).

Figure 5. News Cover 5 from *Detik.com*



Table 4. Sociocultural Practice: Spiritual Protection above Geopolitical Uncertainty

No.	Sociocultural theme	Evidence in corpus	Broader meaning	Ideological implication
1	Hajj as sacred stability	Hajj remains safe and proceeds as planned despite conflict	ritual continuity is prioritized	spirituality is elevated above geopolitics
2	State as protector	government absorbs extra costs and secures logistics	worship is publicly protected	state legitimacy is reinforced
3	Risk normalization	incomplete preparation and conflict	panic is reduced	hegemony works through calm

		effects are framed as manageable		
4	Peace and solemnity	prayer, peace, comfort, and solemn worship are emphasized	hajj becomes a moral symbol	conflict is morally countered by religious values
5	Pilgrimage resilience discourse	safety, authority, and faith converge in the coverage	resilience is socially constructed	media and institutions sustain trust in worship

F. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *Detik.com* constructed Hajj 2026 through a discourse of resilience amid geopolitical crisis. At the textual level, the reports repeatedly used reassuring expressions such as *safe*, *stable*, *smooth*, and *according to plan* to reduce uncertainty and emphasize continuity. At the level of discursive practice, the calming narrative was reinforced through repeated reliance on official voices, especially Saudi and Indonesian state actors, across multiple *Detik.com* channels. At the sociocultural level, the discourse positioned spiritual protection, state credibility, and economic shielding as more important than geopolitical anxiety.

The study confirms that Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis remains highly relevant for examining digital religious journalism in times of crisis. More specifically, this article proposes the concept of hajj resilience discourse to explain how media language, institutional authority, and religious symbolism work together to maintain public trust in worship under unstable global conditions. In this sense, the article contributes to the fields of media discourse, religion and media, and critical studies of pilgrimage communication. This study is limited by its focus on ten reports from a single media outlet and by the absence of audience reception or newsroom data. Future research should compare Indonesian and international media more systematically and include pilgrims' perspectives, journalists' views, and visual analysis in greater depth. Practically, the findings suggest that crisis reporting on Hajj should balance reassurance with accountability, so that media can support public calm without reducing space for transparency and critical discussion.

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