

# The 2024 hajj special committee: Analyzing the complexities of social and media realities through the lens of social construction theory

Abdul Khakim<sup>1,\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Islamic Study, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, South Tangerang, 15412, West Java, Indonesia.

\*Corresponding author: [beritahakim@gmail.com](mailto:beritahakim@gmail.com)

Received Date: January 28, 2024

Revised Date: February 21, 2025

Accepted Date: February 28, 2025

## ABSTRACT

**Background:** The issue of organizing the 2024 Indonesian Hajj seems more complex because it presents many diverse social or media realities. This paper aims to critically analyze the diversity of these realities based on the Social Construction theory conceptualized by Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann. **Methods:** The research of this paper uses a qualitative approach from data collected in mainstream media and social media and is supported by data from research, discussions and interviews. **Findings:** From a critical analysis, it shows that the social reality in the issue of the Special Hajj Committee and the 2024 Hajj service is not singular. Moreover, the media reality is also very complex and counterproductive to each other. **Conclusion:** The findings reveal that the discourse on the Special Hajj Committee and the 2024 Hajj service is shaped by multiple, sometimes conflicting, social and media realities. These complexities highlight the non-singular nature of social constructions in Hajj management, where differing narratives influence public perception and policy debates. **Novelty/Originality of This Study:** The novelty of this study lies in its application of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's Social Construction theory to critically analyze the diverse and often conflicting social and media realities surrounding the 2024 Indonesian Hajj, providing a nuanced understanding of how narratives shape public perception and policy discourse.

**KEYWORDS:** hajj; media; reality, social construction.

## 1. Introduction

The implementation of Indonesia's hajj in 2024 has received great attention from the public, especially after the emergence of the issue of the Special Committee promoted by the House of Representatives/*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR). The high attention can be seen, among other things, from the intensity of reporting on the Special Committee issue which has begun to rise since early June 2024 or before the peak of the hajj ritual begins. Not only in the mass media with print, television, radio or online platforms, the rampant news of the Special Committee for Hajj is also seen on various social media.

The encouragement of the Special Committee on Hajj was motivated by the spotlight of members of the House of Representatives who are members of the Supervisory Team (*Timwas*) on various services for pilgrims. The House of Representatives suspects that a

### Cite This Article:

Khakim, A. (2025). The 2024 hajj special committee: Analyzing the complexities of social and media realities through the lens of social construction theory. *Islamic Perspective on Communication and Psychology*, 2(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.61511/ipercop.v2i1.2025.1645>

**Copyright:** © 2025 by the authors. This article is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).



number of services such as accommodation, catering, transportation and facilities in *Arafah*, *Muzdalifah*, *Mina (Armuzna)* are not in accordance with the provisions. Even the House of Representatives also signaled that there was a practice of buying and selling visas and distributing an additional 20,000 hajj quotas that were not in accordance with regulations.

The issue of news about the Special Committee on Hajj continues to surface. The peak was on Tuesday (July 9, 2024) or two weeks before the end of the Hajj period, the House of Representatives finally agreed on the formation of the Special Committee on Hajj through the 21<sup>st</sup> plenary session of the V trial period. After the Special Committee on Hajj was formed, information criticizing the implementation of the 2024 Hajj continued to emerge. The intensity of the news is quite high until the end of September 2024 or coincides with the end of the term of office of the Special Committee on Hajj as well as the working period of the House of Representatives.

However, public cognition about the implementation of the 2024 Hajj is also not singular. Because when the public receives continuous information related to this Special Hajj Committee, at the same time they also receive non-stop news about hajj services. In contrast to the issue of the Special Committee which has a negative tone, the news about this hajj service is actually of a positive character. Even to strengthen these contents, many news reports include directly resource persons from a number of congregations. Between these two poles seem to attack each other and provide feedback to influence public cognition.

What is more interesting, this issue war also occurs in another cyber realm, namely social media. The two opposing camps use social media platforms such as TikTok, X, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube to convey messages in a more interactive, massive and vulgar way. This situation then creates a new pole that is cyber-based (Ferguson, 2021; Hunter & Biglaiser, 2022; Schirch, 2021). Although they both have the same target to influence public cognition or build social reality, this cyber identity tends to be personal, even inorganic.

The presence of the three poles that build social reality that has a distinctive character is interesting to analyze in order to dissect the reality of information (Barger & Luckmann, 2023; Zamoja, 2024). These three different poles are a strong indication that the reality that appears in the social realm as well as the mainstream media and social media is not entirely natural, but there is interference or design from the sender of the message. In each of the realities that appear, there also appears to be an order of knowledge or cognition designed in such a way. The reality or behavior of society sociologically and knowledge is the foothold of Berger & Luckmann (1966) in conceptualizing social construction.

This paper more deeply highlights the phenomena of realities about the news of the implementation of the 2024 Hajj, which is then analyzed in relation to the construction process that takes place. It also explores the power of social construction in the midst of the digital era and explains the factors that influence the social construction of Hajj news.

## 2. Methods

This study employs a qualitative research approach to critically analyze the socio-media dynamics surrounding the organization of the 2024 Hajj, with particular emphasis on the political and discursive tensions related to the establishment of the Special Committee on Hajj (Pansus Haji). The research focuses on the period from early June 2024 to the end of September 2024.

Data collection was conducted through purposive sampling of media content, involving both mainstream news outlets (national online newspapers and television portals) and social media platforms such as TikTok, X (formerly Twitter), Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Content was selected based on its relevance to the debates and narratives regarding the Pansus Haji issue. The researchers conducted a classification and thematic mapping of the media content to identify dominant frames, keywords, discursive patterns, and actor involvement.

The analytical framework used in this study draws from media framing theory and discourse analysis. This combination enables the researchers to examine how various media platforms construct, reinforce, or contest particular narratives surrounding the Hajj controversy. The analysis also explores how these constructions reflect broader political interests, public perceptions, and the strategic use of digital media by competing actors.

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1 Social construction concept

Social construction is a conception developed by Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, two sociologists from different countries who conducted joint research for approximately four years (Berger & Luckmann, 2023; Keller, 2024). However, if we look back, the roots of this concept were previously introduced by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and then continuously developed by Karl Marx (1818-1883), Frederick Bartlett (1886-1969), Jean Piaget's (1896-1980), Lev Semyonovitch Vygotsky (1896-1934) and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931).

The birth of the theory of social construction reality was greatly influenced by the thoughts of Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Alfred Schutz (1899-1959). Durkheim is known for his theory of an orderly world that existed before a person existed. Berger agrees with Durkheim's idea that social reality is neither dead nor rigid. On the contrary, this order continues to develop and its position outside the individual (*sul genesis*) (Berger & Luckmann, 2023; Dreher, 2023). In other words, Durkheim calls the world something that has been objectified. Meanwhile, Schutz's views include a unique individual figure. Human beings have the power to develop and organize their social life with the provision of education, skills, training, economics and others.

The outline of social construction theory assumes that positivistic logic will not bring about real truth. Influenced by Husserl's phenomenological tradition, Berger-Luckmann (1996) stated that it is not enough to see social reality with an empirical approach. Berger and Luckmann then more clearly distinguish social reality as reality and knowledge. With objective reality, it positions human beings as figures whose social conditions have been determined from birth to adulthood. Meanwhile, the subjective reality plays humans as active figures because they can then also affect the social conditions around them. In other languages, there is a role of the individual that also colors social life, rather than being what it is (*given*).

Departing from the above assumptions, it can be understood if the social reality in Berger and Luckmann's perspective is profane. The order that anchors strongly in the public's mind is influenced to the extent to which individuals are able to construct public cognition based on knowledge. The individual is once again an object as well as an object in his social reality.

Meanwhile, Karman (2015) explained that there are at least five assumptions as builders of social construction. In line with what Berger and Luckmann conceive, he assesses that the relationship between individual knowledge and their social environment which then forms a social order is so close. Karman's five assumptions are as follows.

Individuals consciously communicate with their social environment. Although this communication is not entirely free, it reflects how individuals convey roles, rules, ideas, and norms to their surroundings. Knowledge is considered a social product, meaning that true knowledge is not found objectively but is formed through interactions within social groups. Literacy plays a crucial role in influencing individuals' behavior and interaction within society. Furthermore, knowledge is contextual, implying that the meaning of each event can only be understood within a specific time, place, and social environment. This flexibility allows social construction to be built from various diverse social contexts. In addition, the social world or social order is constructed based on the conclusions of knowledge produced by many individuals. Knowledge framed through a scientific approach holds greater influence because it is empirically grounded or widely accepted by society. Both scientific

and non-scientific knowledge always carry values that affect social life, meaning that the social order is ultimately built upon various values that gain social approval.

This position of knowledge or thinking is very strategic in the formation of social reality. Even through this potential of knowledge, humans are able to create representative images (*suwar*) of the outside world that go beyond the limits of their sensory sensitivities such as hearing, sight, smell, taste and touch (Aziz, 2021).

The encouragement for humans to think about creating this social order is also a command of Allah SWT. Therefore, as cited in Abdul Aziz (2021), Ibn Khaldun stated that Allah from an early age has prepared humans biologically and morphologically to become mature beings in order to create thoughts (*af'idah*) that can have a positive impact on the universe. The term *af'idah* is explained in the Qur'an as follows:

وَاللَّهُ أَخْرَجَكُمْ مِنْ بُطُونِ أُمَّهَاتِكُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ شَيْئًا وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ السَّمْعَ وَالْأَبْصَارَ وَالْأَفْئِدَةَ لَعَلَّكُمْ  
شُكْرُونَ

"For Allah's sake, he has brought you out of your mother's womb in ignorance, and He has made for you hearing, sight, and *af'idah* for you to be thankful." (Q.S. An-Nahl [16]: 78).

The meaning of *this af'idah* is diverse. In addition to thoughts, some commentators interpret *af'idah* as conscience. From this, it can be concluded that *this af'idah* is a noble, pure and pure-hearted thing. Ibn Khaldun classified the thinking ability of the individual human being in three levels. *First*, the ability to understand and order things in the outside world. These outside influences can be irregular. This ability also includes perception (*tashawwur*) supported by discriminating reason (*'aql tamyizi*) which works to be able to distinguish between good or useful things and bad or harmful things.

*Second*, the ability to form ideas or behaviors that are used to interact with fellow humans. This stage involves a perception (*tasdiqat*) based on existing experience. Ibn Khaldun termed this the process of experimental reason (*'aql tajribi*). *Third*, the ability of individuals to produce thoughts or views (*zann*) related to something that is able to transcend sensory perception. This level is more complex because it involves a combination of perception and perception abilities. The ability to think at this stage is called theoretical reason (*'aql nadzari*).

Ibn Khaldun's view of the position of knowledge that emerged more than 500 years before the conception of Berger and Luckmann shows that human beings have a high grasp of cognition as well as creativity and development of thought. Almost in line with Berger and Luckmann's conception, Khaldun clearly positioned the ability to think influenced by external or external aspects, construct ideas and then create views that are no longer limited by sensory aspects. Social construction is also a large frame of various axiologies of human thought towards the order of life that becomes the collective ideal. In the Qur'an, the message that is in line with this social construction is also widely mentioned in order to realize a life order full of understanding, respect for upholding human values. This message can be seen from the encouragement to uphold the truth (*makruf*) and prevent injustice (*munkar*).

وَأَتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

"Let there be among you those who call for virtue, instruct (do) the *makruf*, and prevent from the unrighteous. Those are the lucky ones." (Q.S. Ali-Imran [4]:104).

The task of doing good deeds or building a social order, Amin (2022) stated a big task that requires maturity of knowledge and proficiency in understanding the social situation around him. Just like what a number of figures and academics said above, to realize it, in addition to being capitalized with knowledge, agreements or theories must also be supported by a good communication pattern to be accepted in the midst of a social society.

The development of this social order is also part of the concept of da'wah in a broader sense. Da'wah in this category, according to Murodi (2020), is classified as the spirit of Islamic struggle. Da'wah in question is the activity of the ummah based on Islamic values, faith and piety and leads to social change.

### 3.2 Social reality, media and social media of hajj issues

Berger & Luckmann (1996) stated that social reality has never been naturally present. Thus, in the news of the 2024 Indonesian Hajj, the news narratives that appear in front of the public have been influenced by various things. Especially on the issue of the Special Committee on Hajj, political factors also seem to dominate more than other substantive aspects such as regulations, management and services. The various influences surrounding the news of the hajj inevitably make the character of the content very complex. Content based on resource persons from the House of Representatives Hajj Supervisory Team is known to tend to have a strong intonation, attack the government and evaluative. Meanwhile, the content of the hajj with sources from the Ministry of Religion or the government tends to be positive, informative, mitigating and responsive. Meanwhile, on social media, the content looks very sharp and tends to be violent.

The difference in intonation is also influenced by the strong discourse on the issue of the Special Hajj Committee. The news of the hajj before the special committee issue, for example, still looks normal or there is no polar difference. However, the intonation of the Hajj news began to look diverse when the House of Representatives *Timwas* began to serve in Saudi Arabia ahead of the peak of the Hajj. Even when the first batch of the House of Representatives Hajj Team departed on June 6, 2024, the discourse on the Special Committee for Hajj had not yet emerged.

To reporters who covered the departure of the group at Soekarno-Hatta Airport, Timwas people at that time were still making standard comments. This is as conveyed by the Deputy Chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives Marwan Dasopang who stated that Timwas' task would ensure that the arbain circumcision service in Medina was carried out properly. Similarly, Timwas will also monitor other services for pilgrims because Indonesia in 2024 will receive an additional quota of 20,000 people, bringing the total to 241,000 people or the largest in the history of Indonesian hajj. At that time, the DPR Timwas had not questioned the distribution of an additional quota of 20,000 which was one of the bullets to form the Special Committee on Hajj.

Table 1. News Narrative on Hajj 2024 Before the Special Committee Issue

No	Theme	Mainstream media	Social media
1	Hajj quota	In 2024, Indonesia received its largest Hajj quota ever, totaling 241,000 pilgrims. This includes 221,000 regular slots and an additional 20,000, equally divided between regular and special pilgrims (Detik, 2024). The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Commission VIII of the DPR held a meeting to discuss the 2024 Hajj, focusing on additional quota allocations. They also reviewed financial reports from the 2023 Hajj operations (Pambudhy, 2023). Commission VIII of the DPR is urging the government to seek increased Hajj quotas from Saudi Arabia. They emphasize that any increase should be accompanied by improved services for pilgrims both in Saudi Arabia and Indonesia (Republika, 2023).	Quota reaches 241,000, the largest in history (TikTok-TV Spokesperson) Indonesia Gets an Additional 20 Thousand Quotas (TikTok-Kang Tata)
2	Service	Chairman of Commission VIII, Ashabul Kahfi, commended the Ministry of Religious Affairs for enhancing Hajj services, emphasizing improvements in catering and accommodation. He also highlighted the need to streamline health clearance procedures and	Commission VIII Encourages Quota Increase (TikTok-Marwan Dasopang) Fast Track Service for Prospective Hajj Pilgrims (YouTube-CNN)

		expedite the development of Hajj facilities (Vitiara, 2024).	
		The Indonesian Hajj Organizing Committee in Saudi Arabia introduced a 24-hour shuttle bus service, known as "Bus Shalawat" to transport pilgrims between their hotels and the Grand Mosque in Mecca. Five routes have been established, each marked with distinct colors and numbers to assist pilgrims in navigation (Liputan 6, 2023).	Ahead of the Peak of Hajj, Mina Readiness Mapping Officer in Mecca (YouTube: Diary Teh Ren)
3	Finance	The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Commission VIII of the DPR agreed to establish a working committee (Panja) to discuss the 2024 Hajj pilgrimage costs (BPIH). This committee aims to finalize the cost structure promptly to provide clarity for prospective pilgrims (Kumparan, 2023).	The cost of hajj will increase in 2024 to IDR 56 million. What the Congregation gets. (YuoTube-Kompas TV)
		The 2024 Hajj cost is set at Rp93.4 million, with the DPR proposing that pilgrims cover 60% of this amount, while the remaining 40% is subsidized through the Hajj financial management agency (BPKH). Additionally, the DPR suggests allowing pilgrims to pay in installments to ease the financial burden (Karina, 2023).	The 2024 Hajj Fee Can Now Start Being Paid in Installments (YouTube-Hariadi)

Based on Table 1 above, it can be seen that in general, the construction of news about the 2024 Hajj looks very positive. By taking samples in three themes, namely quota, services and finance, all show informative and mitigating news.

In mainstream media such as *detik.com*, *republika.co.id*, *kompas.tv*, *kumparan.com*, and *liputan6.com*, the content presented comes from various sources, including officials of the Ministry of Religion, Commission VIII of the House of Representatives (Religious Affairs) and the public. From these various sources, there has been no narrative that provides sharp criticism of the implementation of the 2024 Indonesian Hajj.

The same is true for content on social media by sampling on the TikTok and YuoTube platforms. This media platform that provides moving images (audio and video) has the same content as the content in the mainstream media. The news that can be seen is more about efforts to massify content by spreading it through various platforms. In addition to being carried out by personal accounts, many similar steps are also taken by official mainstream media accounts. This is as seen on CNN's YouTube accounts and *Kompas TV*.

Table 2. News Narrative about the 2024 Hajj After the Special Committee Issue

No	Main media		Social Media	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
1	The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs clarified that the additional 20,000 Hajj quota received in 2024 was equally divided between regular and special pilgrims. This allocation was based on Article 9 of Law No. 8/2019, granting the Minister authority over quota distribution (Febriani, 2024).	The Hajj Supervisory Team (Timwas) of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) questioned the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) regarding the allocation of half of the 20,000 additional regular Hajj quotas to ONH Plus (special Hajj services). They requested an official explanation, emphasizing that the additional quotas should have been allocated to	Why is the filling of the reserve congregation not in accordance with the order of portions?	The hajj special committee holds evidence of indications that the hajj quota is corrupted, don't be a loser? Marwan dasopang (youtube, novel baswedan)

		regular pilgrims (Media DPR, 2024).		
2	The Ministry of Religious Affairs explained that the 20,000 additional Hajj slots were split equally between regular and special pilgrims. This decision considered logistical factors, including accommodation capacities in Mina and zoning policies, to ensure pilgrims' safety and comfort (Vitiara,2024).	Abdul Wachid, Chairman of the Working Committee (Panja) of Commission VIII of the DPR, stated that Kemenag violated the agreement made during a working meeting and Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2024 concerning the 2024 Hajj quotas. He highlighted that the agreed-upon distribution was 92% for regular pilgrims and 8% for special pilgrims, but Kemenag altered this to a 50-50 split for the additional 20,000 quotas (Antara News,2024)	No quota misappropriation (youtube-sipaling advocate)	Full of emotions and anger at the hajj special committee meeting, upset to dig up the confession of minister yaqut's men convoluted about the hajj quota (tiktok-dailynews)
3	In response to allegations of misconduct, the Ministry of Religious Affairs denied any quota trading in the 2024 Hajj arrangements. The ministry emphasized that the additional quota distribution was based on thorough assessments to address logistical challenges, particularly in Mina (Kompas,2024).	The DPR formed a special committee (Pansus) to investigate alleged misuse of additional Hajj quotas and other issues such as overcrowded tents during the pilgrimage. The committee aims to address these recurring problems and ensure better management in future Hajj operations (Kompas, 2024).	Ministry of religion emphasizes openness (tiktok, lensa.parlemen)	Pale house of representatives looks like yaqut's men, house of representatives until breaking the table to discuss the special committee on hajj (tiktok-undergreen)

In contrast to the contents of Table 1, the content seen in Table 2 appears to show more complexity. On the same issue, each media has different reporting tendencies. On the issue of alleged abuse of additional hajj quotas, for example, it looks very interesting for the media to report. It can even be seen that at one time a media reports from the positive side, but at another time it conveys the negative side. This is as seen in the news *kompas.tv* July 10, 2024 edition which takes the angle of alleged abuse by selecting sources from the House of Representatives Commission VIII. Meanwhile, in the September 15, 2024 edition of *kompas.id*, the media, which is still under the auspices of the same group with *this Kompas.tv*, actually aired a complete explanation regarding the ins and outs of using the additional quota. To strengthen the news, *Kompas.id* took data released by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Arlinta, 2024).

On social media platforms, the tendency to report more sharply and also is noticeable. In the Ministry of Religion's camp, the narratives spread through the YouTube, Facebook, X, TikTok and Instagram platforms have a positive notation. Likewise, there are several personal accounts that have also emerged to support the Ministry of Religion's policy regarding the allocation of the additional hajj quota.

On the other hand, social media accounts that provide feedback or convey attacks to the Ministry of Religion account and its supporters are no less. Every day these accounts

popped up, even as if they were having children. Accounts with offensive characters are easier to find on the TikTok and YouTube platforms. This picture can be seen in the content of TikTok content with the Undergreen account which aired with the title "Pale Looks DPR Cekar Yaqut's Men, DPR Until Breaking the Table to Discuss the Special Committee on Hajj". In this TikTok account, the video shown is the Director of Foreign Hajj Services Subhan Cholid who is one of the subordinates of the Minister of Religious Affairs Yaqut Cholil Qoumas.

The form of negative narrative that is clearly seen is seen from the choice of diction in the title. The words 'Seemingly Pacent', 'Cekar', and 'Gebrak Table' were deliberately chosen to influence public cognition to also assess that the implementation of the 2024 Hajj was deviant. This can be seen, among others, from one of the Ministry of Religion's hajj officials who was considered troublesome when answering questions from members of the Special Committee. In addition to the title, the video that is shown is also selected to support the title. Even with the addition of audio that seems to be cornered, this TikTok content reinforces that the explanation from Ministry of Religion officials regarding the allocation of additional quotas cannot be accounted for.

### 3.3 Discussion

Based on the issue of the 2024 Special Hajj Special Committee, news with diverse narratives and platforms has a great influence on changes in public perception which ultimately has an impact on the formation of social reality. However, the reality that is awakened is also not absolute because at the same time another reality appears with the support of different knowledge or cognition. Broadly speaking, the picture of social construction seen in the issue of the 2024 Special Hajj Committee can be explained as follows.

#### 3.3.1 Tentative reality

The reality created on the issue of the 2024 Special Hajj Committee is not single. This means that the reality that was created before can then change into another reality because there is an impulse or joint thought to create a new reality. This is shown by the news of the hajj before the emergence of the discourse of the Special Committee on Hajj is classified as having a positive character. From the conditions, it can be explained that the implementation of the hajj is recognized as having no significant problems with the recognition of pilgrims, the House of Representatives, Ministry of Religion officials, hajj officers and other related parties. Changes in the social reality of the Hajj began to appear when the House of Representatives *Timwas* group had arrived in Saudi Arabia. After conducting field checks and meetings with hajj officers, the *Timwas* then proposed the need to form a Special Committee. Even to invigorate this discourse, the House of Representatives *Timwas* distributed the release massively to several media. This is done on June 15, 2024 or two days before the wukuf procession, which is the peak ritual of the hajj. The emergence of the Special Committee on Hajj as a forum to evaluate the implementation of Hajj in the midst of the incomplete implementation of Hajj has given rise to various views. Moreover, in addition to being based on conditions in the field, many allegations that this Special Committee for Hajj was deliberately carried out to become a political weapon to oppose the leadership of the Minister of Religion Yaqut Cholil Qoumas. However, regardless of the presence or absence of this political element, there are new social construction efforts created by the House of Representatives. Namely from initially providing support for the implementation of the hajj to be more critical and evaluative.

#### 3.3.2 Special commite issues create new construction patterns

Due to the difference in cognition of the implementation of the hajj, the cognition between the DPR *Timwas* and the government, in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs,



does not agree. From here, the phenomenon of counter-narrative of the implementation of Hajj occurred. The critical DPR Timwas took advantage of vocal members of the House of Representatives to speak out. This step is supported by utilizing a number of mass media that Timwas deliberately invited to report in Saudi Arabia. In addition to using mainstream media, efforts to strengthen this new reality are carried out by strengthening content that criticizes the implementation of Hajj through social media. Meanwhile, in the other camp, the Ministry of Religious Affairs also did not stay silent. By utilizing journalists who are members of the Hajj Media Center/*Media Center Haji* (MCH), the government massively disseminates content on hajj services that are considered to be in accordance with the provisions. The news from Hajj Media Center members, which numbered around 70 people, was also a response to the news from the House of Representatives *Timwas*. Just like what Timwas did, efforts to build new constructions are also carried out by intensifying the distribution of content on social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, X and so on. Another step taken is to mobilize the Hajj officers, who number in the thousands, to participate in assifying the content from the Ministry of Religion. Even the state Civil Servants/*Aparatur Sipil Negara* (ASN) of the Ministry of Religion were also instructed to help spread content about the success of this hajj service. To intensify positive content, every day the Haji Media Center also disseminates news releases with various platforms to various media in Indonesia.

### 3.3.3 Construction brings out a new reality

The social construction process built by each camp then also has an impact on the various public cognitions of the implementation of Indonesian hajj. Some people are carried away by the narrative of the House of Representatives *Timwas* that the implementation of the 2024 Hajj by the Ministry of Religious Affairs violates the provisions. However, not a few people believe that the steps taken by Timwas, including by forming a Special Committee on Hajj, are part of political interests alone. These two poles of cognition are also getting worse on social media platforms that do not meet each other until the Special Hajj period ends on September 30, 2024. Mulyana (2012) explained, in the perspective of cultural communication, the emergence of this pole is a consequence of a person's situation adjusting to his environment. This adjustment does not mean that one must fully agree or imitate the actions of others. But precisely they are just trying to understand the environment. With this assumption, Mulyana (2012) stated that he believes that a person needs to try to communicate effectively with people who have different cultures in all aspects of life, such as education, business, politics, sports, tourism, health care and others. In addition to the news channel, the belief of supporters of social reality that the government did not take the wrong step is getting stronger with the results of the 2024 Hajj Pilgrim Satisfaction Index/*Indeks Kepuasan Jamaah Haji* (IKJHI) survey conducted by the Central Statistics Agency/*Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS). From this survey, it is known that IKJHI 2024 reached 88.20 or in the very satisfactory category. In fact, this record is a proud achievement for the Ministry of Religion because it is the highest achievement during the implementation of the hajj under normal conditions. Even based on surveys, the increase in congregation satisfaction occurred in almost all services provided by the Ministry of Religion. This survey was conducted on 14,400 people where the questionnaire filling was done independently (*self-enumeration*). BPS said that hajj pilgrim satisfaction index from 2019 to 2024 or the leadership period of Minister of Religion Yaquut Cholil Qoumas in general continued to increase. Hajj pilgrim satisfaction index only had a chance to decline in 2023, which may be due to problems in Mudzdalifah. In 2019 hajj pilgrim satisfaction index was recorded at 85.91, from 2020 to 2022 it was abolished due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In 2022 (90.45), 2023 (85.83) and 2024 (88.20). On the other hand, on the other side, the results of the Special Committee on Hajj announced at the Plenary Meeting of the House of Representatives on September 30, 2024 also reflect its own social reality. The Special Committee produced five recommendations, which among other things encouraged the need to determine the hajj quota in a more transparent manner. This counternarrative has

not stopped either. On the same day that the Special Committee delivered the results, the Ministry of Religion also immediately distributed a release in response. This further strengthens the government's version of reality construction. Even on October 1, 2024 or when the Special Committee has been disbanded, efforts to strengthen the reality that Minister Yaqut's steps are not wrong are still emerging. Such is the narrative conveyed by a legal expert from Gadjah Mada University (UGM) Oce Madril.

### 3.3.4 *The public is provided with a lot of reality*

The rapid development of information technology in recent years has had a wide impact on the meaning of a social reality. Order or truth is no longer of an absolute character. On the contrary, the truth in this *post-truth era* contains many meanings. The meaning of a truth is also at stake because it ultimately depends on the taste of the market or the public.

The social reality on the issue of the Special Committee on Hajj or the implementation of Hajj has proven to reflect the reality of the construction results of each party. In terms of social order, this shows the absence of a solid social building and has the potential to trigger instability in society. On the other hand, it shows progress in the mastery of knowledge or technology of an individual or society.

The meaning of social reality can also be more complicated in the midst of the very rapid development of information technology like today. Often, the public actually considers an appropriate order to be the result of validation on social media or cyberspace. Meanwhile, the order or information that is actually true in the real world is far from getting the meaning of truth.

To strengthen the process of social construction, in addition to basing the aspect of knowledge as conceived by Berger and Luckmann, it will also be appropriate to combine it with a simultaneous influence model as theorized by Gustave Le Bon. His theory of contagion *theory* is also often referred to as the Domino Effect Theory. According to Le Bon, the process of assimilation between individuals affects psychological similarity and is then followed by emotional changes.

Another theory that can be used to strengthen this concept of social construction is *Social Representation Theory*. The formulation of the theory of social representation was introduced by Serge Moscovici (1925-2014) in the 1960s (Moscovici, 2001). Through this representation, it opens up the classification of people and objects. In addition, representation can explain and compare the behavior of individuals or groups that are part of the social environment. Moscovici-style social representation is a system of values, ideas, and practices that functions as a means to build order and create communication among community members. A study explaining the theory of social representation was conducted by Khakim (2021, 2022). According to Khakim (2022), leader communication based on social representation has a strong binding force, and even tends to be successful. Public communication based on social representation presents the community directly in order to build new cognition and be followed by more tangible changes.

As for explaining the effectiveness of the media, including social media, in building reality in this digital era, the use of theories related to new media is a necessity. This is to help in analyzing the behavior to the extent that people access media in this digital era. The digital realm as conceived by communication expert Vincent Mosco (2016) is to be a democratic and deliberative public space.

On the other hand, the role of public opinion in anchoring the public's mind responsively, including through the media, also occupies a big role. A study on the importance of public opinion was once carried out by Brustein (2003). In his journal entitled *The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda*, Brustein found that public opinion has a huge impact on policy.

The study of Hajj public communication which is closely related to the process of mutual influence also shows the construction of relationships between individuals or groups. This relationship, according to Freeman (1984), is referred to as the embodiment of related parties (*stakeholders*). In Freeman's definition, *stakeholder* is, "any group or

individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives." From here, *stakeholders* are groups or individuals who can influence and/or be influenced to achieve certain goals.

#### 4. Conclusion

The news about the implementation of the 2024 Hajj has diverse tendencies. This means that on the same issue, the narrative that emerges is not always uniform. Some even look contradictory to each other. This reinforces Berger and Luckmann's conception that social reality is inherently never singular. From this paper, it is also known that human knowledge or thought becomes a very big influence in a social construction. The birth of the Special Committee on Hajj and the negative issue of the implementation of Hajj were created, apart from being based on the real conditions of Hajj services in Saudi Arabia, it is also strongly suspected that there are political interests that accompany from some members of the DPR Team. The seriousness of the House of Representatives to change the social reality that has been formed is manifested by building the reality of the media. The solutions carried out include bringing special journalists for reporting and massively distributing content to various platforms.

However, efforts to create this media reality also received resistance from the organizers of the hajj, in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Simultaneously, the Ministry of Religion also optimizes existing resources such as the Hajj Media Center (MCH) team, hajj officers and civil servants to build reality as a counterbalance and even damper to the construction of media reality built by the DPR. In a broader aspect, this counternarrative also expands by being marked by the number of accounts that specifically broadcast the issue of the Special Committee on Hajj or the implementation of Hajj as a whole. This counternarrative trend continues to increase until the Special Committee on Hajj ends on September 30, 2024.

In this era of rapidly growing information technology development, human construction of reality has never stopped as theorized by Berger-Luckmann. However, this Social Construction Theory will feel obsolete because to create a current reality, it is not enough to be armed with knowledge alone but it requires skill, precision and speed in anchoring public cognition. This ability also needs to be managed properly because sometimes the truth of the social reality that is formed does not produce factual and empirical truth because it can be limited to pseudo-nature.

#### Acknowledgement

The author would like to express their sincere gratitude to all parties who contributed to the completion of this research.

#### Author Contributions

The author has made a full contribution to this research.

#### Funding

This research received no external funding.

#### Ethical Review Board Statement

Not available.

#### Informed Consent Statement

Not available.

#### Data Availability Statement

Not available.

## Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

## OpenAccess

©2025. The author(s). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license, and indicate if changes were made. The images or other third-party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this license, visit: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

## References

- AdAlatas, S. F. (2015). *Ibn Khaldun* (Fifth impression). Oxford University Press. <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/ibn-khaldun-9780198090458>
- Amin, M. (2022). Social relations in the Qur'an. *QiST: Journal of Qur'an and Tafseer Studies*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.23917/qist.v1i1.523>
- Antara News. (2024, June 23). *Abdul Wachid: Kemenag langgar kesepakatan dan Keppres terkait kuota haji 2024*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4164186/abdul-wachid-kemenag-langgar-kesepakatan-dan-keppres-terkait-kuota-haji-2024>
- Arlinta, D. (2024, September 15). *Menjawab polemik kuota haji tambahan, Kemenag sampaikan tidak ada jual beli kuota*. Kompas.id. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/humaniora/2024/09/15/menjawab-polemik-kuota-haji-tambahan-kemenag-sampaikan-tidak-ada-jual-beli-kuota>
- Aziz, A. (2021). *The rational state: The legacy of Ibn Khaldun's thought*. LKiS.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Anchor Books.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1990). *Social interpretation of reality: Treatise on the sociology of knowledge* (H. Basari, Trans.). LP3ES.
- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (2023). The social construction of reality. In *Social theory re-wired* (pp. 92-101). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003320609>
- Pambudhy, A. (2023). *Menag-Komisi VIII DPR bahas tambahan kuota haji 2024*. Detikcom. <https://news.detik.com/foto-news/d-7034026/menag-komisi-viii-dpr-bahas-tambahan-kuota-haji-2024>
- Febriani, A. R. (2024). *Kuota Haji 2024 jadi yang terbesar sepanjang sejarah Indonesia*. Detikcom. <https://www.detik.com/hikmah/haji-dan-umrah/d-7259650/kuota-haji-2024-jadi-yang-terbesar-sepanjang-sejarah-indonesia>
- Dreher, J. (2023). *Peter L. Berger's The Social Construction of Reality*. Cambridge University Press.
- EMedia DPR RI. (2024, June 15). *Timwas Haji DPR pertanyakan separuh 20 ribu kuota haji reguler dialihkan ke ONH Plus*. <https://emedia.dpr.go.id/2024/06/15/timwas-haji-dpr-pertanyakan-separuh-20-ribu-kuota-haji-reguler-dialihkan-ke-onh-plus/>
- Ferguson, C. J. (2021). Does the internet make the world worse? Depression, aggression and polarization in the social media age. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 41(4), 116-135. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02704676211064567>
- Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*. Fitman.
- Hunter, L. Y., & Biglaiser, G. (2022). The effects of social media, elites, and political polarization on civil conflict. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2163461>
- Karina, D. (2023, November 24). *2024 Hajj cost set at Rp93.4 million; DPR proposes pilgrims pay 60% with installment option*. Kompas TV.

- <https://www.kompas.tv/nasional/463608/biaya-haji-2024-rp93-4-juta-dpr-usul-jemaah-bayar-60-persen-dari-jumlah-itu-dan-bisa-dicil>
- Karman. (2015). *The construction of social reality as a movement of thought (A theoretical study of the construction of Peter L. Berger's reality)*. Research and Development of Communication and Informatics.
- Keller, R. (2024). The Communicational Construction of Knowledge. In *The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse: Foundations, Concepts and Tools for a Research Programme* (pp. 69-105). Cham: Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-55114-7\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-55114-7_4)
- Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia. (2024). *Soal alokasi tambahan kuota haji, ini penjelasan Kemenag*. <https://haji.kemenag.go.id/v5/detail/soal-alokasi-tambahan-kuota-haji-ini-penjelasan-kemenag>
- Khakim, A. (2022). *Social representation of the Semarang Old City heritage area: A case study of Mayor Hendrar Prihadi's revitalization policy communication to young people in the digital era* (Master's thesis). Paramadina University.
- Kompas TV. (2024, July 10). *Pansus usut penyalahgunaan kuota tambahan haji, begini kata anggota Komisi VIII DPR* [Video]. <https://www.kompas.tv/video/521509/pansus-usut-penyalahgunaan-kuota-tambahan-haji-begini-kata-anggota-komisi-viii-dpr>
- Kumparan. (2023, November 21). *Kemenag and DPR form working committee to discuss 2024 Hajj costs*. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/kemenag-and-dpr-bentuk-panitia-kerja-bahas-biaya-haji-2024-21ZUago8XM5>
- Liputan6.com. (2023, June 5). *24 jam layani jemaah haji, ini rute dan peta layanan bus shalawat di Makkah*. <https://www.liputan6.com/islami/read/5306597/24-jam-layani-jemaah-haji-ini-rute-dan-peta-layanan-bus-shalawat-di-makkah>
- Mardiana, E. (2024). *Soal alokasi fifty-fifty tambahan kuota haji, ini penjelasan Kemenag*. Detikcom. <https://www.detik.com/hikmah/haji-dan-umrah/d-7440361/soal-alokasi-fifty-fifty-tambahan-kuota-haji-ini-penjelasan-kemenag>
- Moscovici, S. (2001). *Social representations*. New York University Press. <https://nyupress.org/9780814756294/social-representations/>
- Mulyana, D. (2012). *Cultures and communication*. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Murodi. (2020). *Da'wah and cultural dialectic*. UIN Jakarta Press.
- Republika.co.id. (2023, November 23). *Komisi VIII dorong penambahan kuota haji Indonesia*. Republika. <https://ihram.republika.co.id/berita/scwzev423/komisi-viii-dorong-penambahan-kuota-haji-indonesia>
- Schirch, L. (2021). Digital information, conflict and democracy. *Social media impacts on conflict and democracy*, 21-42. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003087649>
- Vitiara, M. B. (2024, March 15). *Komisi VIII apresiasi peningkatan layanan haji Kemenag*. Kementerian Agama. <https://haji.kemenag.go.id/v5/detail/komisi-viii-apresiasi-peningkatan-layanan-haji-kemenag>
- Zamojski, P. (2024). Building: a possibility for a post-critical perspective in educational research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 58(6), 957-972. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopedu/qhae079>

### Biography author

**Abdul Khakim**, Islamic Study, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, South Tangerang, 15412, West Java, Indonesia.

- Email: [beritahakim@gmail.com](mailto:beritahakim@gmail.com)
- ORCID: N/A
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage: N/A