The Discourse of Islamophobia in Indonesian Popular Movie "Mencari Hilal" (2015)

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Abstrak

Islamofobia, ketakutan, dan kebencian terhadap muslim sebagai kelompok minoritas menjadi tren isu di sebagian besar negara-negara Barat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab *gap of study*. Kajian ini secara khusus membahas tentang Islamofobia yang direpresentasikan dalam budaya populer pada film berjudul "Mencari Hilal". Rumusan masalah dalam penelitian ini adalah 1) bagaimana wacana Islamofobia direpresentasikan dalam film? 2) ideologi apa yang direpresentasikan dalam film tersebut? Artikel ini didasarkan pada dua argumen. *Pertama*, Islamofobia tidak hanya terjadi di negara-negara Barat, namun juga dalam komunitas Muslim. *Kedua*, film merupakan teks budaya populer yang mencerminkan kegelisahan dan keinginan masyarakat, serta mengungkapkan masalah-masalah penting yang dihadapi masyarakat dalam sejarah. Studi ini menerapkan CDA Fairclough dengan tiga level analisis, mikro, meso, dan makro. Wacana Islamofobia dalam film ini disajikan dengan cara yang lebih halus, namun potensi konfliknya jelas terwakili. Ideologi pluralisme yang tersirat dalam film ini memberi ruang bagi penonton untuk memikirkan dan memikirkan kembali asumsi religiusnya.

Kata kunci: CDA, film, Islamophobia, mencari hilal, budaya populer

Abstract

Most of the study of Islamophobia, the hatred and fear of Muslims, take the locus in Western countries in which Muslims are a minority group. The present study aims at answering the gap of study. This study specifically discusses the Islamophobia represented in popular culture, in a movie entitled "Mencari Hilal." Discussion in this paper covers two questions. First, how is the discourse of Islamophobia represented in the film? Second, what is the ideology represented in the film? The present article is based on two arguments. First, Islamophobia does not only happen in Western countries. Instead, the phobia also happens within Muslim communities. Second, the film is a popular cultural text that reflects people's anxiety and desire, as well as expresses important problems that people encounter in history. This study applies Fairclough's CDA with three levels of analyses, micro, meso, and macro. The discourse of Islamophobia in this movie is presented in more subtle ways, but the potential conflict is obviously represented. The ideology of pluralism is implied in this film to give the space for the audience to think and rethink their religious assumptionKeywords: Ancient tombs; preservation; cultural heritage.

Keywords: CDA, Islamophobia, mencari hilal, movie, popular culture

Introduction

Islamophobia is an increasingly important issue in the international relationships in the 21 century, especially after the 9/11. The WTC twin-towers bombing in 2001, has brought about big changes not only for the United States but more importantly, the impact for Islam and Muslim countries. The attack on the Twin Towers strengthens the assumption of the negative stereotype that Islam is anti-Western and associated with violence. Kellner (2006) stated that the discourse on terrorism becomes the top of international discourse, especially after the President of United States, George W. Bush declared the "War on Terror" as the international policy responding to the 9/11. The War on terror constructs the horror of terrorism and develops Islamophobia (Durham & Kellner, 2006). Islamophobia manifests into many forms of discrimination for the Muslims, as Muslims are considered as a threat to Western values such as freedom of speech, women equality, the security of the state, secularism, community cohesion, and imagined ' Western ' way of life (Pratt & Woodlock, 2016).

The study on Islamophobia that has been done by many researchers falls into two categories. The first is the study of Islamophobia in the context of the Western countries (the United States and Europe), in which Muslims are a minority religious group. The studies show the forms and impact of Islamophobia (Yunus Alam & Husband, 2013; Allen, 2010; Awan M.S, 2010; Esposito & Iner, 2019; Hafez, 2014; Larsson, 2005; Pratt & Woodlock, 2016). The

second category is the study of Islamophobia in non-Western countries. The study in this category is not as many as the first category. For instance, Al Rawi's study (2014) analyzes non-Western films that viewed the 9/11 attack and the impact on Muslims living in the West and their homelands. Al Rawi's study scrutinizes six films from India, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt (Al-Rawi, 2014). Those two categories of study have not addressed one of the important issues of Islamophobia that happens in Muslim majority countries like Indonesia.

Considering the discussion above, the present paper aims to answer the gap of the studies on Islamophobia, by specifically exploring Islamophobia in the Indonesian social-cultural context that is represented in a popular movie. As a popular contemporary text, the movie functions as a space to negotiate, challenge, or resist big narratives or norms in society (Martin & Jr, 1995). The movie discussed in this paper is "Mencari Hilal" (Looking for Hilal), directed by Ismail Bashbeth in 2015. As the title says, Hilal means the crescent moon, the sighting of which is important for the determination of when certain religious duties and practices must take place.

This movie narrates the relationship between a devoted Muslim father and his secular son. Many interesting dialogues and events happen between them while both of them taking a long journey to find "hilal." Therefore, the discussion in this paper will cover two questions. First, how is the discourse of Islamophobia represented in the Indonesian film, "Mencari Hilal"? Second, what is the ideology represented in the movie? Those two questions will answer how the issues of Islamophobia in Indonesia are represented and discussed in the Indonesian popular culture.

The present article is based on two arguments. First, Islamophobia does not only happen in Western countries, in which Muslims are minority. The phobia also happens in Indonesia, in which Muslims are the majority group. Second, the film is a popular cultural text that reflects the people's (viewers)'s anxiety and desire. As a contemporary cultural text, the film also expresses the important problems that people encounter in history (Miles, 1996). In other words, the analysis of the Indonesian movie "Mencari Hilal" will discuss and explain the issues of Islamophobia manifested in people's daily life. The film provides the space for questioning, negotiating, and challenging the issue of Islamophobia in the Indonesian context.

Islamophobia in Western Socio-political Context

The term Islamophobia was popularly used in the report of "Runnymede Trust " (1997). This report defines Islamophobia as a "shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam and Muslims – and, therefore, to fear or dislike all or most Muslims." This definition underlines the keywords of Islamophobia, "hatred, fear of and dislikes Muslim." Like most other researches on Islamophobia, the issue covers the notion of negative emotions toward Islam and Muslims (Bleich 2011; Kunst et al. 2013; Lee et al. 2009; Runnymede Trust 1997; (Pratt & Woodlock, 2016) Besides those definitions of Islamophobia, there is another more comprehensive study on this issue hold by Allen (2010). Allen's notion that Islamophobia bears an ideological perspective, defines that this attitude is an ideological position current in Western societies that negatively positions Islam and Muslims as the Other —as a problem to 'us'. This attitude manifested in many different forms and bring about various impacts. He also highlights the roles of media that support islamophobia as natural and normative in societies (Allen, 2010).

Ihsan Yilmaz (in Pratt, 2016) identifies eight perceptions related to Islamophobia that presented in The Runnymede Report (1997). These perceptions are important to note, as they influence the discourse of Islamophobia worldwide. In presenting Islamophobia, mostly, Islam is seen as a single monolithic entity, that is the same around the world. Islam is also portrayed as the other, which is culturally and religiously separate. Third, Islam is seen with stereotyped as inferior to the West, barbaric, irrational, primitive, and sexist. This is following Edward Said's Orientalism (Said, 1978). Islam is associated with violence and aggression so that it is considered a threat. Fifth, Islam is understood as a foreign political ideology, in which political ideology is emphasized. Muslims are considered anti-criticism. Seventh, Islam justifies discriminatory practices and the exclusion of Muslims. In the politics of identity, Muslims are not 'us'. And the last one, the Runnymede report findings is "normalization" or naturalization of the anti-Muslim hostility (Pratt & Woodlock, 2016).

In discussing the issue of Islamophobia, Carl Ernest provides data on the increased opinion among United States people that Islam encourages violence. Survey before 2001 showed that the relatively equal number on the positive and negative impression on Islam. However, the survey in 2011, shows the increase in negative opinion on Islam. Before 2001 there is only 25 % of Americans

believe that Islam encourages violence, and 51 percent do not agree with it. Survey 2011 shows that 40 percent believe that Islam is associated with violence, while 42 percent do not agree with the statement. The case in New York shows the negative sentiment toward Muslims, which is evidenced through the opposition to the Park 51 community center that is meant as the establishment of mosques and Islamic centers.

Two elements arguably contribute to the formation of Islamophobia, namely the perceptions of Islam based on ignorance, and how Islam is imaged (Pratt & Woodlock, 2016). According to Pratt and Woodlock (2016), the combination of ignorance and imagination contributes significantly to constructing the generalized fear of Muslims and Islam. In the Western's mind, Muslim is a threat to freedom of speech, to women freedom, to state security, to secularism, cohesion, to 'Western ' way of life (Esposito & Iner, 2019; Pratt & Woodlock, 2016). The specific forms of anti-Muslim racism and discrimination against Muslims now characterize the Islamophobic experience in the United States (Kumar, 2012). Ideologically, the meanings of 'Islam' and 'Muslims' are concluded from the combination of accurate and inaccurate, reflective and constructed, representations and misrepresentations. In Allen's perspective, islamophobia is not caused by the old Crusader antipathy nor it is a new phenomenon. Nor is it a synonym or other forms of prejudice (Allen, 2010).

Islamophobia has closely related to radicalism, Esposito and Iner's (2016) study shows that there are interactions and relationships between Islamophobia and Radicalization. Islamophobia can be co-existence with Radicalism, which is often called reactionary radicalism. The second is the recycling relationship implies the mismatches or dismissal of Islamophobia and Radicalism combined. The third, the relationship is un-support each other, while it is intended to give positive impact, in reality, it is not. The last, a deviating relationship that breaks the cycle. This situation happens to the mainstream Muslims who individually build a positive response, as a citizen, adopt spiritual and social motivation as a religious philosophy. This kind of person shows a positive attitude and action (Esposito & Iner, 2019).

On the other side, Hafez's study (2014) shows that Islamophobia has become an important issue for right-wing parties to mobilize electors in many European nation-states. The study portrays two trends, the increased supporter for right-wing populist parties, and right-wing extremist parties, whose traditions hark back to fascist or Nazi parties. This political situation

brings about a significant shift from antisemitism to Islamophobia. Islamophobia has been considered as 'accepted racism.' This phenomenon is not only found on the margins of European societies but also at the center. Hafez's article concludes by examining the European Alliance for Freedom, a pan-European alliance of far-right members of the European parliament that has successfully brought various formerly antagonistic parties together through a common anti-Muslim programme. It is trying to become a formal European parliamentary fraction after its victory in European (Hafez, 2014).

Islamophobia in Western countries is affected by some contextual factors. Pratt and Woodlock (2016) identify three factors. First, a high proportion of refugees and people seeking asylum are Muslims. So, the discourse of 'Muslim' is closely related to 'asylum-seeker, 'refugee' and 'immigrant'. Theskepticalactor is the trend of secular, sceptical and agnostic, which often expressed in media. The last, the Western countries' foreign policies to various conflict situations (Pratt & Woodlock, 2016).

Imran Awan (2017) has done a study on Islamophobia in the United Kingdom in the area of new media. The Woolwich attack in May 2013 has led to a spark of hate crimes committed against Muslim communities in the United Kindom. The crimes include Muslim women being targeted for wearing the headscarf and mosques being vandalized. Awan's study highlights two kinds of Islamophobia practices; the street level of Islamophobia and online Islamophobia. Both of them need to get serious and the same level of attention and investigation. Awans' study examines the online abuse via the Twitter search engine, find out a typology of offender characteristic (McGinty et al., 2013).

Alam and Husband (2013) explore the two policies of Britain's central government which promote the growth of Islamophobia in Britain. The two policies are; the policies of community cohesion and the counterterrorist policies. The first policy was developed responding to the case of riots in northern British cities (2001), that emerged following the bombings on mainland Britain in 2005 were targeted at Britain's Muslim populations. The study shows that in practice these policies were mutually contradictory, and the use of surveillance in building social cohesion will not work, instead, it brings about distrust between the British Muslim population and the state (Yunis Alam & Husband, 2013).

The study on Islamophobia in the area of new media is also done by Larsson (2005) examining the power of new media to document the practices of Islamophobia, in which Muslims are often presented negatively or stereotypically in Western media and popular culture. Larsson's study focuses on how the Internet can also be used in spreading and publishing anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim opinions, as well as highlighting the importance of information and communication technologies in spreading, monitoring, and combating Islamophobic opinions (Larsson, 2005).

Islamophobia in Popular Cinema

Seeing a movie becomes one of the important consumption activities that people do in modern times. The popularity of the film is believed not only because it entertains people, but it is a form of media that can be accepted by people at large, and it reflects viewers' anxiety and desires. As a cultural contemporary text, the film can express important problems people encounter in history (Miles, 1996). The film is also potential to strengthen, challenge or crystalize a religious perspective, ideological assumption, and norms. It also functions to challenge the norms and big narration that we believe in or the truth that we accept (Martin & Jr, 1995).

Hollywood cinema is the biggest film industry in the world that build global domination in many other countries. Crane (2014) studies the Hollywood global domination, which is supported by the financial profit as the objective of the industry, and the most important thing is Hollywood cinema functions as soft cultural diplomacy, in which it spreads American values through the movies (Crane, 2014). Through the films exported to many countries around the world American values and governments' policies are communicated internationally in a soft way and become something natural. Sally-Ann Totman in her book How Hollywood Project Foreign Policy (2009) analyzes the relationship between US foreign policy and constructing others in Hollywood film. Through the study, Totman explores how film audiences understand US friends and enemies, through what is said by the officer of the US Department of State and Hollywood films. The film has become a tool to project US foreign policy (Totman, 2019). A good and friendly country will be represented in good ways and vice versa (Rahayu, 2015).

Hollywood also represents cultural history in movies, like The Three Kings, The Kingdom, United 93, World Trade Center are all inspired by the bombing of WTC, 2001. The films are the interpretation of the filmmakers on

the historical event. Hollywood also presents Islamophobia in the movies (Shaheen, 2001). In his study on more than 900 Hollywood films, Jack Shaheen (2001) found out the negative stereotype of Arab Muslims represented in the films. Only 50 figures of Muslim Arab, including Arabic women, are not represented as erotic, wicked, or evil, and unable to aspirate their voice. Shaheen also concluded that only 5% of the films represent Arab characters as common people without bad stereotypes (Shaheen, 2001).

Responding to the discourse of Islamic radicalization and terrorism portrayed in Hollywood films, Al Rawi examined six films from India, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt. His focus is on how the non-Western films viewed the 9/11 attack and the impact on the lives of Muslims living in the West and their own homelands. The study shows that the movies demonstrate that Eastern and Western cultures have the same principles and aspirations. The films denied the essentialism, that Islam is not the same entity across all Muslim countries. The 9/11 events are used as a background for exploring the issue of militant Islam in many local contexts of each country. This shows that each country's concern on the issue is highly needed. As the impact of Islamophobia, the films show the increasing fear and suffer from the Muslims living in the West (Al-Rawi, 2014).

Indonesian popular movies after the reformation era witness many important turning points. As pointed out by Izharuddin (2017), Indonesian cinema is marked by the thrive of Islamic-themed movies, although the genre is still debatable. This is related to the culture built in the New order era, before 1998, when there is a phenomenon of presenting anything "pious" during the fasting month of Ramadan. All Muslims must practice fasting and do spiritual reflections. However, at the same time, Ramadhan is also full of consumer and media products to attract presumably more pious consumers than other times of the year. That is why there are many films with the theme of "Islamic themes" on television in Ramadhan month.

After the reformation, the success of the Film "Ayat-ayat Cinta" (Quranic Verses of Love, dir. Hanung Bramantyo) in 2008, takes roles as a stepping stone for national films with Islamic-themed films. The market of Muslims in Indonesia is dominant, and the Islamic themed become mainstream. As Ariel Heryanto (2015) stated, Indonesian Muslims after reformation has the characteristics of young millennials, who want to be pious but also modern at the same time, following the new trends.

The film "Mencari Hilal," was released in 2015 and directed by Ismail Basbeth. The film takes the setting in Central Java, near Jogjakarta. The main characters are Mr. Mahmud and his son, Heli. Mr. Mahmud wants to take a sacred mission of finding Hilal – as he did in his young when he was in the Islamic traditional boarding school. In this mission, he is accompanied by his son, Heli. During the journey to find Hilal the father and son encounter many incidents that provokes the inter-religious relation in the community. At the bus terminal they found out the young people wearing Muslim attributes riding motorcycles in convoy without paying attention to the traffic rules. They also found out the furious mass of Muslim dismissing the Catholic congregation in a village. Mr. Mahmud also met his old friend, Mr. Arifin, a local politician who failed applying political Islamic behavior for his own purposes.

Method

This paper discusses the film "Mencari Hilal" as the object of study, by focusing on the discourse of Islamophobia. This study applies the perspective of cultural studies, highlighting the discursive practice on Islamophobia, that can be scrutinized through what the main actors witness, practice, and think about some incidents in the film. Because the film is a cultural text that represents the social issues, the discussion on discursive practice in this paper will apply Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2006). The data collected in this study are in the form of pictures and words, phrases, and sentences obtained from the film, "Mencari Hilal." The objective of this study is to answer the two questions; how is the discourse of Islamophobia represented in the film "Mencari Hilal"? And what is the ideology represented in the film?

To answer the questions on the discourse of Islamophobia, the researcher applies Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 2012). Fairclough's CDA is developed through the media discourse that is derived from the functional systemic framework developed by M.A. K. Haliday, and the discourse theory by Foucault. In analyzing the text, CDA proposes the analysis of a textual discourse by interpreting the data, comparing, and synthesizing data. CDA by Fairclough provides a method of analysis on three levels (Fairclough, 1995). The first level is the micro-level of analysis. This analysis discusses language phenomena like word choice, metaphor, and syntax. The second is mezzo-level analysis. It is related to the production and consumption of the text. The third, macro-level that covers the

wider socio-political context of the text. The text dan community is mediated through the discourse practice, in which a text is produced and consumed. The macro-level of analysis discusses social practice that concentrates on the discourse relation with ideology and power (Rahayu, 2015). In discussing the "Mencari Hilal," I will focus upon the discourse of Islamophobia that is represented in the film and the ideology articulated through the film.

In studying the issue of Islamophobia in this film, the data are collected through watching the film "Mencari Hilal" (2015) many times and take notes on the words, sentences in the dialogues and the plot of the narration of the film. The data are then analyzed by applying the three levels of analysis. In the micro level, the data in the forms of words, sentences and paragraphs related with the issue are collected, sorted, and analyzed. At the macro level, the focus is on the social political context of the issue of "defining Hilal" before starting the Ramadhan and the ending of Ramadhan as well as the beginning of Syawal month. The meso level focuses on the consumption and production of the text, in which, in the film, these data can be found out from the characters' dialog and opinion, and from their consumption and production of particular text and events related to the issue of Islamophobia. From the three levels of analysis, it can be concluded how the discourse of Islamophobia happens and constructed in the society as represented in the film.

The second question in this study is related to ideology. In Fairclough's perspective ideology is a system of thought that motivates the discourse. By examining the discourse, we will find out the ideology works within. Ideology relates to the social order system such as Islamism, capitalism, Marxism, or structure built around the concept of Islamophobia. Doing discourse analysis starts with the finding of discourse and ends with ideology, that represents reality, identity construction to legitimate a particular world view and support particular domination.

Subtle Islamophobia in the Movie "Mencari Hilal"

Film Mencari Hilal (Basbeth, 2015), which was directed by Ismail Basbeth, narrates the relation and interaction between a father and his son, who have a different character and tend to be opposite each other. The father, Mr. Mahmud, is a very devout Muslim. He studied in a pesantren when he was young, and he always tries to practice his knowledge as a good Muslim in his daily life. And now in his old age, he manages his store in the market. Because of the Islamic teaching that he internalized in his life, he always sells the goods

at a lower price than other stores. He does not want to get more profit. For this action, his neighbors complain because what Mr. Mahmud does will destroy the market, and they consider it harmful for the business.

Mr. Mahmud's piety was smashed by some social incidents, such as his neighbour's complaints about his policy on pricing the goods in the market, and the current news that government spends 9 billion rupiahs to decide on "Hilal." As the time of Idul Fitri is approaching, Mr. Mahmud remembers his old days' rituals when he was in the pesantren. In his past, he and his friends were together tracking to a hill to look for the "Hilal" to decide the time of the following month and celebrating Idul Fitri. Now, in his old age, 60s, Mr. Mahmud wants to look for Hilal. That becomes a sacred journey and mission that he wants to accomplish in his old age (Basbeth, 2015).

His daughter does not allow Mr. Mahmud unless he is accompanied by Heli, her brother. Heli has an opposite view on religious things. He is a social activist and Mr. Mahmud does not like his son whom he considers secular and liberal (Basbeth, 2015). The father-son journey to find hilal proves to be a very important experience for both of them that leads to the turning point for the father-son relationship. From the journey, we can find out some social realities in which people have different ways and views on being Muslim. We can find out the causes of prejudice and Islamophobia on small scale, which often reflects the realities.

The "Hilal" is an important term in this film. It is the title of the film and the main cause of the main actor's sacred mission. Hilal is the crescent moon, the sighting of which is important for the determination of when certain religious duties and practices must take place (Oxford Islamic Studies online). In Muslim countries like Indonesia, determining Hilal is very important, especially in deciding the beginning of Ramadhan, or fasting month, and the end of Ramadhan, or the beginning of Syawal or Idul Fitri. It is narrated in the film, that a hot issue circulated in the society is that the government spent 9 billion rupiahs for finding Hilal. For common people, that issue attracts much of their attention. It runs into a rumor and gossip. The issue of finding Hilal with 9 billion rupiahs, becomes a political issue that leads to people's distrust of the government and religious institutions.

The discourse of corruption is attached closely to people's minds when they discuss the issue. In this film, Mr. Mahmud's neighbors do not criticize or clarify directly to the government for the issue of 9 billion that they hear from

the news on the television, instead, they criticized Mr. Mahmud because of selling the goods at a lower price than the other stores and accused Mr. Mahmud as very good at selling religion, implying that they do not trust any religious institution (Basbeth, 2015).

The other interesting aspect of the discourse of "hilal" in this movie is that the fact that Mr. Mahmud's son's name is Hilal but he is usually called Helli. In this perspective, "Looking for Hilal" which is pursued wholeheartedly by Mr. Mahmud also has more significant meaning, that is, finding out his son. This agenda of finding "Hilal" that synonymous with his son, can just be realized by the audience at the end of the film when the touching scene showing the father and son compromise each other and 'finding' each other.

At the beginning of this movie, the discourse of Islamophobia appears to be related to prejudice. When people's criticism of the religious institution and religious person makes Mr. Mahmud overwhelmed, he can not answer his neighbours protest. He realizes that the people's prejudice leads to distrust of the government, especially religious institutions, and religious people. In such a chaotic mind, Mr. Mahmud remembers his old days ritual to find Hilal. When he was young, he and his friends took a walk together tracking to the hill to find Hilal. That was a spiritual journey that gave him happiness deep in his heart. Now, Mr. Mahmud plans to go finding Hilal. His daughter insists her brother, Heli to accompany their father.

The discourse of Islamophobia in more subtle ways appears in the interaction between Heli and his father. Heli, the son, does not understand and does not agree at all with the mission that his father takes. For a young man in his twenties, Heli is very busy with his own agenda as a social activist to trip to Nicaragua for many important agenda. For Heli, the journey of finding Hilal is wasting time, energy, and useless. Many times he shows his impatience and anger in communicating with his father. As a young millennial generation, he is confident to use technology to find out anything. In his opinion, finding Hilal can be accomplished by using his smartphone, without any big difficult effort like what his father did. However, his father strongly opposed him. For Mr. Mahmud, the long journey to find Hilal is the most sacred mission in his life that he has to take (Basbeth, 2015).

In this movie, the discourse of Islamophobia is intertwined with the issue of the generational gap between father and son. While the father considers his mission as the most important thing in his life, on the other hand,

Heli thinks all his father has done is nonsense. He built prejudice, that his father is orthodox and stubborn, and doing something useless, wasting time and energy. Mr. Mahmud assumed that his son is secular, sinful, does not get an understanding of the religious cause. In more than the first half of the film, Heli shows his Islamophobia in the form of prejudice and hate to his father's attitude and action. He could not understand his father's sacrifices, fasting along the day while they travel with public transportation and walking afar. He has prejudice to the religious institution that brings about a lot of difficulties for people. He thinks that his father is stubbornly outdated, and enjoyed doing many difficulties that make nonsense for Heli.

Heli expresses his prejudice toward his father and his religious attitudes, by resisting many things that his father said. Helli argues, "now technology can help to find Hilal, without such a bloody effort. Allah blesses us with the technology, why do not we use it?" "Does the religious deed (ibadah) have to make your life misery?" Heli appears to be an unfaithful Muslim, he does not practice "sholat" (praying) while his father does it in the journey. Heli is not fasting as well, while his father takes a great effort to do the fasting and sholat though he is old enough and not fit enough to do the journey. He thinks that Heli is liberal and secular.

For a conservative Muslim, Mr. Mahmud thinks that life is not a matter of easy or difficult. He is angry with his son because the son does not understand his sacred mission and his spiritual motivation. He is happy to do all of the journeys because he has a religious cause and because he is determined to be close to Allah, through pursuing the mission of looking for Hilal.

Mr. Mahmud's strong motivation for traveling to look for Hilal is encouraged by his intention to recharge his spirit, and his need to take a step back to be able to "dakwah" struggle for ummah (Muslim community). Looking for Hilal for Mr. Mahmud is equal to looking for the "fitra" that grows along the journey. Along the journey, Mr. Mahmud builds strong motivation, keeps it in the heart, manifests it in good deeds, and giving benefit to others. In this perspective, Mr. Mahmud thinks he does not need technology. Technology makes everything easy but it will not help him to build moralities, and motivation to struggle for the people.

Prejudice to Radical Group

At the beginning of the journey, while waiting for the bus, Heli and his father sit on a bench at the roadside, and witnessing a group of young boys, with Muslim labels (flag, clothes) riding motorcycles convoy without paying attention to the traffic rules. They were waving the flags, standing, and roaring very noisy. They use both sides of the street, made other people marginalized. Heli was angry with the boys and he yelled to them, "okay, make chaos while you wear the robe!" (Basbeth, 2015). The robe is a white cloth that is commonly worn by Arabic men. In Indonesian culture, those who wear robes are usually people of Arabic descent or people who want to identify themselves as close to Arabic culture.

The prejudice to the people who identify with Arabic culture is obvious in Indonesian contemporary culture. There is a prejudice that the people who use the labels or attributes of Arabic people just want to show piety through their appearance, not true piety. We can find out in the last decade in Indonesia that many members of pengajian (Islamic teaching group) wear a uniform or certain clothes to show their "religious" identity. the jamaah of pengajian in television, for example, construct their identity through the clothes they wear, the turban, or the veil (Choudhury, 2015). The jamaah of umrah, or any kind of pengajian always make "uniform" in clothes and other accessories. The consumption of the symbols is thriving in Indonesian Muslims, as Ariel Heryanto stated that Muslim communities are co-opted by consumer culture (Heryanto, 2015).

The phenomena of young people wearing Muslim attributes (flag, clothes, turban) riding a motorcycle in groups without obeying the traffic rules are often found out in many cities in Java. In Solo, for instance, the convoy is usually held after Jumat prayers. They appear to show their existence, by convoy in the street downtown. Showing power by controlling the street is a common phenomenon in several cities in Java. They do not want to be controlled by policemen who control the traffic and the rules. Some view this group as the seeds of the radical group, because of showing force or power publicly (Esposito & Iner, 2019; Izharuddin, 2017). In this film "Mencari Hilal," Mr. Mahmud just looks at the convoy and has no objection to it. He has positive thoughts on the case. "They have a good intention. So that people do not take it the wrong way. Not like you (the son)." Mr. Mahmud can accept the behavior of the convoy, because he associates it with dakwah, having a religious mission.

He agrees with the convoy and blames his son as "having the wrong way" because of his secular view. The view of agreeing on the boys-in-robes convoy and blaming his son that he considers as secular and liberal, pieces of evidence that Mr. Mahmud belongs to the conservative and thinks the "radical seeds" are just fine.

Radicalism and Islamophobia issue is also represented in this film under the context of inter-faith relation. Mr. Mahmud and Heli want to find out the old story of the kampung to know the history of and the place of Hiro tower, where Mr. Mahmud used to look for Hilal at a hill, when he was in the Islamic traditional boarding house. But now, the place is different that he could not easily find out the place. They are told that Mr. Daniel, a Christian priest must have known about the local history. At that time, Mr. Daniel, a priest is having the mass and preaching in front of the people's home. While they are waiting for Mr. Daniel, a group of people, all of the men coming to the Christian mass, yelling Allahu Akbar and ask all people to dismiss. The Christian people are afraid in their chairs. The mob enters the yard, yelling that this mass is not legal. and everybody dismissed in frightened. Heli is angry seeing that incident. He yelled spontaneously, "You are all arrogant. Why not wait till they finished? "The mob approaches Heli and beats him (Basbeth, 2015).

In the case of inter-faith relations, between Muslim and Christian, it appears that the Muslim group is more powerful and dominating, they come in groups, all males, and bring bats, dismissing other religious activity. After the dismissal of the mass, Heli asks the local people who are the mob and he is surprised that the men are from neighbour kampung, and the people in the village feel ashamed because of the incident. The people in the kampung feel embarrassed because they do not want the Christian people to build "Islamophobia." They do not agree with other Muslim group's actions. After investigating the case, Heli comes up with a good idea to solve the problem. He makes a meeting that night and inviting the young people, the local leader (head of RT), the priest, and young people in the village. Heli also asks Mr. Arifin to be involved in the case, by promising the votes of one Kampung for Mr. Arifin who wants to make a campaign as the candidate of the Regent.

Everyone gets their roles and function so that the case ends happily (Basbeth, 2015). The portrait of a group of people in a mob is usually associated with a radical group, who always campaign to show off power, and take control of the street. The discursive notion of Hilal gets its climax when Pak Mahmud meets the Muslim people living in a village closer to the hill. In the village, all

people are happily welcoming the Idul Fitri. They make "nasi tumpeng" and other meals and make calcavade to the mosque. And then they together enjoy the meal. Mr. Mahmud is alone inside the mosque to perform sholat. He is amazed seeing the people having their Idul Fitri eve, while Mr. Mahmud believes that it is not yet the time. Finally, they are debating on the method of deciding "Hilal" and Idul Fitri. Heli is angry with the father because the father insists to explain his theory on deciding Hilal. Heli lost control and he said that his father is not good. Mr. Mahmud replies in anger as well, saying that Heli is not his son, makes Heli leaving him alone, while Mr. Mahmud is continuing the debate with the men in the villages (Basbeth, 2015).

The film appears to articulate the ideology of pluralism that reflects social realities. Pluralism here represents the various interpretation and representations of Islam in the society. The film provides a space to negotiate, challenge or resist the grand narrative or norms of "Islam". The film "Looking for Hilal" shows that there are many possibilities of interpreting Islamic teaching. Some groups like to show off real power in street, that to some extent it can increase the sense of dislike for Islam for people who do not agree with that action. This group, in a wider scale, is often labeled as a radical group, because this group often shows off power physically, and does the actions that abide the empathy like show off their power at street. Some of the young people in the "radical group" go further into radical Muslims through the process in the group.

There is a group called themselves as "kaffah" Muslim ("kaffah" means perfect, pious) represented by Mr. Mahmud. Commonly, people agrees that this kind of person is a good Muslim. However, not everybody agrees with such a figure, because this perfect man cannot compromise with the other interest. Heli, the son of Mr. Mahmud, dislikes his father much, so that he always takes the opposite ways. The father is represented as a very religious and pious one, while the son is secular and liberal. The other common people, like bus driver, also represents the young secular people who do not want to hear Mr. Mahmud's preaching about the punishment, the death, and hell because he does not perform salat (prayer), nor fasting. The contradiction leads to conflict, the bus driver was angry so that he instructed Mr. Mahmud to go off the bus right away. The conflict emerged between Mr Mahmud and his son also happens many times along the narration of the film.

The traditional group of Muslims is represented by the people in the village who celebrates the Idul Fitri with their own way of calculating the day, that is one day ahead of the other mainstream Muslim group. The traditional group is confident with their own practice when there are no other people intruding their tradition. However, when Mr. Mahmud encounters this, the conflict arises. They debated about the date of First Syawal to determine the Idul Fitri. This shows that the group cannot be exclusive, and the openness of interaction is unavoidable. Information technology also contributes to the inclusiveness of each group.

Conclusion

To sum up, the discourse of Islamophobia and prejudice in this film is more subtle compared to the cases of Islamophobia and prejudice in the Western media. Although it is subtle, the potential conflict is represented. The discourse of Islamophobia is constructed because of the actions of some Muslim group towards the other. In this film, Heli, the son, builds the sense of Islamophobia towards the "radical group" of Muslim who did convoy in the street, and a group of the Muslim who dismiss the Christian congregation. The sense of Islamophobia is also constructed in the relationship between the son and father, in which Heli thinks that his father's behaviors and attitude as a Muslim is nonsense. In the other hand, the father, Mr. Mahmud also build prejudice towards his son, labelled him as secular and liberal.

The present study shows that the discourse of Islamophobia come up because of two basic factors. First, the different points of view among those involved in prejudice and Islamophobia practice. The different point of view makes Heli hates his father, and vice versa. The different points of view among the people in deciding the "Hilal" makes people debating each other. The second factor is the economic and political interest that is practiced by some elite group (political or governmental group). It is proven that the people in the market do not respect, nor like the Muslim institution because of the issue of corruption in the process of deciding the "Hilal." In addition, the inter-religious conflict that happens at the village level is in fact, caused by daily economic problem, so the solution is simple as well. In this film, the contribution of Heli is that he provides the solution by making a meeting and agreement on the parking areas. This shows that the problems of Islamophobia and prejudice, especially at the grassroot level, can be solved when there is a meeting and settlement between the parties at the grassroot level.

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