Islamic Masculinity in Indonesian Islamic Movies (The Representation of Men and The Practice of Men's Power in Indonesian Islamic Movies in The Post New Order Period)

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ABSTRACT- Islamic masculinity constructs men based on a variety of religious and social structures. It is embedded within cultural institutions in the Middle East, which conditioned by a patriarchal society that exercises control over women. Islamic discourse in Indonesia was subordinated in the new order period, but it started to grow since the 1990s when Suharto felt that he was losing military support. The revival of Islam after the new order period has provided Indonesian men with alternative masculinity. It can be drawn from Islamic or religious movies that succeed in attracting the audience. This article analyzes how Islamic masculinity is constructed in the Indonesian context based on the representation of Indonesian men in Indonesian Islamic movies in post new order period. This article used textual analysis as research methods. It does not only describe how men look but also explains how the practice of domination of men over women narrated in Islamic movies.

Keyword: Masculinity, Gender Ideology, Islamization

Introduction

The movie industry in Indonesia in the post new order, which has dormant for nearly ten years, is eventually revived. The revival has driven the production of movies in various genres, including Islamic film. Islamic film has an Islamic culture and values as the background of the story. This type of movie is desirable to the audience. For example, *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* (*The Verses of Love)* produced in 2008, was successful in attracting 3 million viewers only in three weeks screening. The same type of movies followed the success of *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* and also capable of being viewed by a broad audience. The production of Islamic themed films brought to the emergence of a new genre in the movie industry in Indonesia, which often called religious movies or Islamic movies.

The themes of Islamic films adopt Islamic culture and values, such as the problem of gender, the clash of Islam and global issues, the implementation of Islamic values in everyday life, etc. This genre's booming is responded positively, especially from *ulema* (Islamic religious leaders), since these movies are able to spread what they considered as Islamic values so that it will possibly recover the perception of Islam among non-Muslims after the 9/11

bombing. However, some people still concerns about the controversial content in movies like polygamy or conservative religious messages because movies like other mass media become a capable vehicle to promote ideological ideas through iconic cultural symbols in its contents. Out of the pros and cons, religious films turn out to be promising commodities since they have their segments. *Ayat-ayat Cinta* became a phenomenon since it could bring religious communities to visit theaters and to watch this film. The examples of the religious communities are members of women's religious groups, students of Islamic boarding school, religious leaders, and people who mainly avoid mall or theater for their being 'not-so-Islamic'. Among those themes adopted in Islamic movies, the idea that quite often appeared is gender and its problems in how the representation and performance of men, the relationship between men and women or men and other men, and the gender roles based on Islamic values become exciting topics to discuss.

This paper focused on how the Islamic movies portray the problem of gender, especially on how the representation of men and the practice of men's power. Two reasons motivated the attention of men. First, the study of men and masculinity in the Indonesian context is still rare up to now, and second, Islamic movies in Indonesia in the post new order had built the new discourse on how to be a man. During the new order era, as an authoritarian regime, Indonesian society was faced with the dominant discourse of masculinity. The fall of this regime brought alternative discourse of men, which was encouraged by Islamic culture and values, and it was performed in Islamic movies. Indonesia is not an Islamic state, but as a country with 80% Muslim population, Muslim men in Indonesia construct their identity based on Islam as a religion. The construction refers not only to *Al-Qur'an* as a holy book but also from the cultural, social, and political background situated in Indonesia. The representation of men in Islamic movies relates to those backgrounds.

Theoretical Framework

Masculinity: Social Construction of Men
According to Connell (2000:29), masculinity is the form of gender practice as the product of social construction. Masculinity refers to male bodies directly and symbolically

but is not determined by male biology. For Connell (2005:71), masculinity is understood in the reproduction arena to explain that the body is not a fixed and innate fact or biologically determined, but rather the historical process. Masculinity is placed in gender relations as the practice involving men and women and implicating in bodily experience, personality, and culture. Morgan (in Beynon, 2002:7) explained, "*what is masculinity is what men and women do rather than what they are.*" As a construction, masculinity doesn't only refer to men, but also women.

It seems that men and masculinity relate to each other. It is logical since biological assumptions influence the concept of men and masculinity as to the standard of being a man. The man considered normal if he is aggressive, sexually active, or rational. It becomes the natural way to be a man. Lionel Tiger (2005), in his phenomenal book *Men in Groups*, offered the theory of masculinity, which based on the idea that men come from the hunter species. According to Tiger, the male body brings the natural masculinity produced by the evolution process. Thus, men inherit masculine gens: the tendency of men to be aggressive or competitive. As a result, if a man doesn't have a certain characteristic, he won't be considered as a real man. A male homosexual doesn't refer to the real man since he has a particular hormonal deviation that makes him different from the normal men.

This point of view contrasts with the concept of masculinity based on a cultural perspective, explaining that men and masculinity are not a universal concept (Brittan, 1989:1). Masculinity is a construction defined by cultural, historical, and geographical perspectives. It implicates on the complexity of the definition of masculinity. According to Kimmell (2005:25), masculinity is a set of meaning, which is fluid and explains about manhood, so that it has different definitions according to different people and time.

The definition is determined by particular references accepted by the people at a certain time. In a culture ruled by heteronormativity, men have a sexual orientation to women. They take it for granted. Of course, it is not an absolute and everlasting belief. Some various ideologies and discourses influence and modify the notion of heteronormativity.

Therefore, there is no fixed and universal or even original definition of masculinity (Reeser, 2010:18). If a bodybuilder mentions Arnold Schwarzenegger, an action movie actor, as the icon of masculine man, so he becomes the duplicate of Schwarzenegger by performing his muscles as Schwarzenegger looks like. Schwarzenegger can be the duplicate of the other men, such as Hercules, in Greek mythology. Between Schwarzenegger, the bodybuilder, or Hercules are different from the "original." Masculinities performed are hybrid. There is always a reproduction of masculinity, whereas one particular form is modified into another.

The variation of the construction emerges the plural masculinity as long as the plurality of societies that are classified into various dimensions: race, ethnicity, religion, social class, age, social status, the level of education, et cetera. Consequently, there is the complexity of the relations between each type of masculinities. Therefore, Connell (2005:77-79) divided the pattern of masculinities based on the practices and relationships between types of masculinity. It is called hegemonic and subordinated masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the definition of masculinity constructed by the dominant culture. This definition is legitimized by a patriarchal culture that guarantees the dominant position of men over women. When the ruling regime changes, the new regime constructs the new hegemonic concept of masculinity. For example, when the regime of military rules, the military masculinity becomes hegemonic. The fall of this regime, replaced by the more capitalistic regime, brings to the emergence of a new masculinity, such as the trend of metrosexual men. Subordinated masculinity, as the opposite, represents subordinated men in society. Male homosexuality is often discriminated and excluded politically, socially, and legally and becomes one of the examples of subordinated masculinity.

The Concept of Islamic Masculinity

The discourse of men based on Islamic culture and values relates to the concept of Islamic masculinities presented by Lahoucine Ouzgane (2016). According to Ouzgane, Islamic masculinity discussed the construction of men within Islamic discourse, describing men from the Middle East perspective as the Islamic states. It adopted the social construction of masculinity that positioned men in the frame of social structure and religiosity (Ousgane, 2006:2). He underlines that this perspective based on a social constructionist view, which assumes that men are not born but made. The masculinities of men are constructed within a particular social and historical context. Thus, according to the Islamic context, masculinity is described as a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles distinctively practiced by men within various religious and social structures.

Ouzgane emphasized Islamic masculinities as the concept to illustrate the plural images of men. The term Islamic doesn't suggest a single description of a Muslim man. In his book, he explained the un-generalized experiences of masculinities practiced in Arab, Yemen, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Morocco. The use of the term "Islam" is often problematic since it is used by the west to define Islam, which implicates the single and uniform perspective of Islam. Edward Said in *Covering Islam* (1997) has already criticized this fact. He stated that west only simplifiee Islam, that is consisted of numbers a billion people, dozens of countries, societies, traditions, languages, and numbers of different experiences, into a small proportion (1997:xvi).

Based on this misleading assumption, Asef Bayat (2003) differentiated the term Islamic society from Muslim society. He defined Islamic society as the society that has placed Islam as the central factor to shape its dynamics. The definition describing Muslims and their culture are constructed by "others" (for example, from west perspective). It is parallel to Said's claim that others' descriptions of Islam has brought to the unitary image of Islam. Based on this perspective, the concept of masculinity is influenced by the fundamentalist movement, which declares to practice what they calls as pure Islam. The depiction of Muslim men followed to the concept of *jihad* and *Shahadat*, which leads to the struggle of Muslim men to fight against the threats of Islam (Gerami, 2005:452).

In contrast, Bayat explained that Muslim society is as plural and concrete entities. Muslims, as agents of their societies and cultures, defined their society. Thus, Muslim society is a concept used to describe the dynamic reality of society under the Muslim perspective. Based on this perspective, Gerami introduced Muslim masculinities as the product of the various construction of masculinity (2005:453).

Textual Analysis As The Research Method
This research method is textual analysis. According to Frey, Botan, and Kreps (1999), textual analysis is the research method focusing on the description and interpretation of the text. The text can be recorded or visual messages. Researchers working in mass communication, cultural studies, or media studies often use this method to analyze the content, structure, and functions of the text. Since this method has an interpretive function, it pays attention to denotative meanings and tries to examine the implicit social meanings or the connotative meaning. Therefore, this method can helps the researchers to reveal the ideological message behind the text.

This research focused on the two Indonesian Islamic movies produced during the post-new order: *Ayat Ayat Cinta/The Verses of Love* (2008) and *3 Do' a 3 Cinta/3 Prays 3 Hopes* (2008). I choose these movies not only based on the fact that they have succeeded in attracting the audience, but is also motivated by the reason that these movies' central of the story are about men, their characters, roles, and their relationships to women. Thus, the two movies becomes the best locus for analyzing the Islamic masculinity as my point of interest.

The analysis started with the identification of the elements of movies, shots, and scenes that portrayed the images of men. The chosen elements are explored by relating the images, dialogues, and aesthetic strategies used by the movies. The intertextuality is done to understand and reveal the hidden message or ideological meaning. The analysis also included the relation between text and social and political context. Discussing Islamic masculinity cannot be separated from the historical context of the process of Islamization in Indonesia during and post new order.

Islam Under and After The Authority Of Suharto

The new order era begun in 1966 was an authoritarian regime governed by Suharto. His superiority was supported by military force and influenced by the Javanese tradition. He held his power and authority in an extended period, about 32 years. During that time, he controlled every aspect of life formally through his legal policy and informally through discourses to regulate people's behavior to support his authority to maintain and stabilize his domination. How he controlled the press and constructed, gender ideology were the examples.

This regime continued previous government policy, which excluded the Islamic group as a socio-political movement. The exclusion of Islam was started after Indonesia's independence when the new state was built its ideology. The Islamic groups proposed the implementation of *Sharia* Islam or Islamic law by mentioning it in the state's ideology. The Islamic group's proposal was rejected with the consideration that Indonesia was not an Islamic state. *Pancasila*, then, was declared as the ideology of the state to accommodate the plural ethnicity, culture, and religion in Indonesia.

In Suharto's authority, the confirmation of *Pancasila* as the only state's ideology had excluded Islamic organization from the political system in Indonesia. The existence of Islamic organization was independent and non-affiliated to any political interest. This situation brought to great disappointment with Islamic groups. They strove for resisting the new order's political power by using student's *dakwah* (Islamic teaching) in university campuses to promote their ideas and raise forces. The Islamic organization was formed with varied ideology, some developed vision of tolerant and liberal Islam, which were compatible with democracy; the others can be described as fundamentalist and anti-democratic (Collins, 2007:154). Iranian revolutions in 1979 inspired students from Islamic organizations to make Islam as a political movement. But, Suharto destroyed the effort by taking the Islamic organization's leaders into jail. The student's demonstration was attacked by military force.

The revival of Islam began at the end of Suharto's authority in the 1990s when he lost military support. The government then supported Islam by approving a new Islamic organization called ICMI or The Association of Muslim Intellectuals. According to Vickers, ICMI was designed to attract the middle class as an influential new group. Soon, ICMI was a success in accommodating the aspirations of many Muslim communities (2005:200-202). New order gave Islamic courts jurisdiction over marriage, inheritance, and donations (Collins, 2007:157). Suharto also went on the hajj that confirmed his attention to Islam. The support of Suharto to Islam was a success in creating significant change in the way Islam was express in public (Robison in Handajani, 2010:96). The increasing number of women who wore headscarves and the emerging of Islamic popular culture, such as novels, television programs, soap operas, songs, etc. can be considered as the significant indicators of how Islamic identities expressed in the public sphere.

Suharto's authority was fallen in 1998. The post new order gave opportunities to Islamic groups to develop to be a social or political movement. There were many Islamic groups with a different ideology, from liberal and democratic to radical and militant, which advocated the state to adopt Islamic law. This situation also provided people to adopt the Islamic way of life. For example, people used Arabic terms more often, or more Muslim women wore headscarves. Some constitution was produced based on Islamic norms and values. *Sharia* laws in a particular region and pornography act were the examples of the constitution made by its spirit.

This situation inspired the marketer to create a religious marketplace. Religious marketplace in Indonesia also encouraged by the need of the middle-class consumer to consume the product based on religious reasons.

The transition of the New Order to the post-New Order regime resulted in the media liberalized policy in 1999. The new media policy had disengaged the government to control the media. The Act num. 40/1999 was legalized and implicated to the revocation of the Minister of Information's Regulation num, 1/1984, about the cancellation of the Press Publishing License. The media liberalization and industrialization implicated the emergence of new media, which exploited women's bodies and sensualities, sex, pornography, crimes, or scandal. This situation had worried about the middle-class society because the media had westernized and secularized the Islamic values (Widodo, 2008). The media had encouraged moral degradation to the audience so that it kept them away from tradition and religion. This situation brought to moral panic, which had decreased the traditional value and caused religious disorientation. The loss of religious identity encouraged middle-class society looking for sources to bring their identities back.

The increasing of people's awareness of Islamic values creates the potential market for Islamic cultural products and trends. More Islamic schools from kindergartens up to universities are built; the products with Islamic label sre marketed, and still, Islamic pop cultures got more popular. It is the booming of Islamic popular culture, including Islamic movies.

Discourses Of Islamic Masculinity
The authoritarian regime in the new order period in Indonesia implicated in the acceptance of hegemonic masculinity, which oriented Suharto's figure. The construction of ideal men represented the figure of Suharto, who proclaimed himself as *Bapak Pembangunan* (the father for development). He raised himself to the level of the omnipotent father of Indonesia. The depiction based on the Javanese and military tradition that symbolizes 'father' as a man who has power over his wife and children. In the new order, political power 'father' dominated his loyal followers. This relation was called *bapakism* (Pye dan Pye, 1985:306).

Bapakism was the character of ideal masculinity that dominated women and other men under his domination.

Suharto embedded the hegemony that his authority was given from God unquestionably (Clark, 2004:118). He had charisma performed from his calm and authoritative traits, which showed his rationality or the quality of logic. This ideal character contrasted with other characters, youth, for example, which considered subordinated since it prioritized emotion than reason (Nilan *et al.*, 2009). Hegemonic masculinity in Indonesian culture emphasizes on inner traits, what Nilan called as *moral/personal self-regulation*. This construction is different from the west conception of hegemonic masculinity, which accentuated physical aspects or corporeal self-regulation (Nilan *et al*., 2007:10).

Islamic masculinity emerged along with the current revival of Islam. Muslim men who are subordinated in a new order period gained their power through Islam as religion. According to men's interpretations of *Al-Qur'an*, Islamic masculinity give men a special position in society since men had authority from God to govern the world (Handajani, 2010:98). Men are a leader in the family, in their work, and in their social life.

Towards the end of Suharto's reign, encouraged by the current revival of Islam, the expression of masculinity shifted from secular to religious perspectives. Handajani (2010:98) stated, "*Indonesian Muslim men who were subordinated during the new order using their religion to perform their masculinity. By using the masculine interpretation of the Quran, they performed their male superiority*." Indonesian men performed their masculinity and power into two cases:

The Practice of Polygamy
Under the authority of Suharto in the new order period, polygamy was strictly limited through its policy represented conjugal couple and the nuclear family as the ideal family. It was prohibited for a civil servant to have more than one wife. Doing polygamy was labeled as shameful and backward. The period after Suharto, people performed polygamy openly. For example, the vice president, Hamzah Haz, stated that he had three wives. The president, Megawati, the only female president in Indonesia, never complain about that his father, the first president, Sukarno, also did polygamy. Some public figures in Indonesia, such as celebrities, religious leaders, business people, or state officials, never hesitated to show their practice of polygamy. In 2005, a polygamy award was held by Puspowardoyo, a successful businessman who had four wives to reward men who success in practicing polygamy. For men who are practicing polygamy, it becomes the natural consequence of men's sexual desire. Polygamy is the solution for men to regulate their sexual desire and avoid adultery.

The practice of polygamy in Indonesia is not only a form of male domination over women but also a vehicle for Muslim men to strengthen their position in the rise of Islam as a

political force in the 1990s. According to Van Wichelen (2005), polygamy for Muslim men is the act to reaffirm masculinity rather than to build their Muslim identity. Handajani also mentioned that polygamy is the way for Muslim men to exercise their power by using Islam to resist the new order version of being a man (2010:98).

Islamic youth group's hypermasculinity
Another masculine image is performed by Islamic youth groups whose missions are to uphold Islamic norms and values against courses of action that diverged from those. They conducted their mission by using violence. The movement of Islamic groups operated openly since the fall of Suharto. In November 2000, a group of people on behalf of Islamic groups called Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah/GPK (Ka'bah Youth Movement) attacked 350 gays and male-to-female transvestites who joined a kind of artistic performance in Yogyakarta. This attack caused twenty-five of them were injured, and three persons were hospitalized. The witness described the attackers as full of emotion, filled with anger, wild, and hot-tempered. Boelstorffs described this action as *political homophobia* because of the hatred of non-normative men in Indonesia related to cultural, sexuality, and political violence (Boelstorffs, 2004). *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), another Islamic group, destroys buildings that they considered immoral, such as the pub, karaoke, and billiard houses, is another example. They also attacks people who have different ideologies with them, including homosexuals and transgender. Both FPI and GPK use the same manner to work on their mission, violence.

Boelstorffs (2004) stated that by using violence, the norms of Indonesia's national identity gain new masculine acts, in terms of Islam. In the case of the rejection of Islamic groups to male homosexuals and transgender by using violence is not just the way they express their religious beliefs, but also the reaction of the feeling of shame Boelstorffs (2004) related this to national identity. The sense ashamed is encouraged the Islamic groups since the non-normative men challenged a nationalized masculinity. The feeling ashamed draws the Islamic group to act public violence to show their masculinity.

FPI, GPK, and other Islamic groups attracts young people to join and act violently. According to Connell (2005), when young people from the middle class are able to meet the ideal of masculinity with education and career, young people from the lower class are difficult to achieve. The poverty is estranged them from pride, and it got them bored. This condition motivated young people from the lower class to join groups that acted violence, destructive and aggressive (hypermasculinity). Nilan (2009), who researched gang and violence in Indonesia, including Islamic groups, found that the jobless and lack of masculine indicator triggers young people to conduct violence. The Islamic groups' homophobia and their hypermasculinity in the name of religion. These groups constructed the normative gender discourse, which conceived homosexuality as deviant and destroying Islamic values.

Islamic Masculinity In Cinema
Ariel Heryanto (2014) argued that there is a difference of Islamism in Indonesia before and after the new order. While Islamism in the new order period applies to formal political institutions, Islamism after the new order ensued in the popular culture. Industrialization and liberalization of media in Indonesia in the post new order period encourages the booming of various types of popular culture. The interesting thing is how these popular cultures expose Islam as content. Islamic books, Islamic soap operas, Islamic fashion style, Islamic songs, Islamic movies are examples of that phenomenon.

While describing the booming of popular cultures, it is essential to mention *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* as the most phenomenal Islamic movies. As mentioned before, this movie succeeded in gaining such amount of spectacular viewers, three million viewers in three weeks, when it was first premiered. This movie also reached to be watched by any class of Indonesian society, from early teenagers to older people, from the religious community to government officials, such as the President, the Vice President, cabinet ministers, ambassadors, and governors. The president mentioned that this movie is a reflection about Islam, especially on how to appreciate Islamic values more than just the symbol, so people can live in differences peacefully, whereas the Muslim community labeled this movie as a must-see movie.

Ayat-Ayat Cinta tells the love story of a man with four women. Based on the story, some people argue that this movie just the same as other love story movies. The only difference is on how this movie gave Islamic nuance as the content, for example, the Middle East background, the veil, the Arabic terms used, or the verses quoted from *Al-Qur'an* and *hadist.* Indonesian people used to equate Middle East culture with Islam. So, it is logical to regard *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* as Islamic movies offhand just because of its packaging.

The objection of the movie does not preclude the labeling of *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* as an Islamic movie. Islamic film becomes the new movie genre since the typical movies produced following the success of *Ayat-Ayat Cinta*. In addition to being a good description of the phenomenon of Islamic movies, it also becomes the appropriate film to represent how to be a good and pious man. Islamic masculinity depicts well in this movie.

Besides *Ayat-Ayat Cinta*, this paper also includes the analysis of another movie, which also labeled as an Islamic movie, titled *Tiga Do' a Tiga Cinta* (Three Prays, Three Hopes). The story of the three boys in the Islamic boarding school in the movie can portray the boy's life in an Islamic way. Several most favorite actors and actresses in Indonesia involved in the production of this movie and won Best Indonesian Feature in 11th Jakarta International Film Festival (JIFFest) 2009. It was also selected officially in various film festivals, such as Dubai International Film Festival 2008, Pusan International Film Festival 2009, Goteborg International Festival 2009, and Asian Pacific

Screen Award Australia. How the two movies represented Islamic masculinity is described as follows:

Ayat-ayat Cinta: questioning polygamy

Ayat-Ayat Cinta is adapted from a bestseller novel, authored by Habiburrahman El Shirazy, with the same title. The story of this movie based on the love story of a young handsome and intellectual Muslim, Fahri bin Abdullah Shiddiq, a student at Al-Azhar University, with four beautiful young women. First, Nurul, an Indonesian girl who also studies in Egypt and the daughter of a distinguished East Java religious leader. Second, Noura, an ungrateful Egyptian girl. Fahri saves her life, but she betrayes him later by accusing him that he rapes her and then brings him to jail. Third, Maria, a Coptic Christian living next door to Fahri, who inexplicably converts to Islam at the end of the film. Fourth, Aisha, a girl from a wealthy German-Arab family. Finally, Fahri get married to Aisha after facing a lot of troubles, and also Maria (but, in the end, Maria passed away).

This movie focuses on polygamy as a controversial issue in Indonesia, as described in the previous section. The discourse of polygamy, according to Islam, is plural. Abdul Saeed, an Islamic scholar, categorized three approaches in interpreting the content of Al-Qur'an about polygamy in the modern context. The first category is the textualists who believe that Islam allows the practice of polygamy, referring to what Muhammad-the prophet-did. The second category is the semi-textualists; they think that polygamy is permitted on a certain condition, such as the actor treats his wives fairly. The third category is contextualists, who stated that Islam prohibits polygamy since polygamy only worked in the Uhud war. This war brought men died and caused women to become widows. Men who saved from the war should ask the widow to be his wives to support them (in Nurmila, 2009:43). Based on the third approach, it is impossible now for men to practice polygamy since they are in a different situation.

The different ideological background of Islam in Indonesia brings the issue of polygamy to become controversial. Nevertheless, the practice of polygamy in Indonesia indicates the exercise of men's power over women. The way men oppressed can be identified from the reason for that practice based on the profile of the polygamy award's winner. First, polygamy becomes the solution to regulate men's sexual desire legally since men have a strong sexual desire naturally. Second, men can take advantage of their wives to develop their business. Having more than one wife meant more people to help men running their works. Third, sharing the love for other women is worship. The actor of polygamy believes that the population of women is more significant than the population of men. Thus it is logical for women to share their husband with other women (Munti, 2005:135-139).

The practice of polygamy represents differently in Ayat-Ayat Cinta. The representation can be explained from these characteristics:

The practice of men's power

In this movie, men's power is in his personal/moral self-regulation. The term of self-regulation is borrowed from Pam Nilan et al. (2007) in her writing titled Indonesian Muslim Masculinities in Australia. Self-regulation refers to power over the self. Nilan et al. quoted from Errington, if western men usually associate power with physical/rational action, it means precisely the absence of sufficient power, according to men from Southeast Asia. According to Nilan's research, there is a contrast between hegemonic masculinity in Australia and Indonesia. In Australia, men used to exercise corporeal self-regulation, whereas in Indonesian men perform moral/personal self-regulation. Moral/personal self-regulation becomes the hegemonic masculinity in Indonesia rooted in the Javanese culture practiced during the new order regime represented by the figure of Suharto, as explained before.

Still quoting Nilan et al., their everyday behavior perform men with their moral/personal self-regulation. They also have self-control, which prioritizes reason more than passion (emotional self-restraint). Their power to control others comes from their inner strength, not from their physical strength or rude behavior.

The moral/personal self-regulation becomes the character of Fahri as the main actor of Ayat-Ayat Cinta. He is a kind, caring, and helpful person. He becomes a leader in a group of friends because of his personality. His personality also makes him popular among girls and to be a favorite figure for older people, such as his lecturers or his spiritual teacher.

Fahri obeys to perform his obligations as a Muslim, such as praying five times every day or reciting Al-Qur'an. He is also a tolerant person, respects others who have a different belief. In the relationship to the west, for example, he is not anti-west, so Fahri becomes a representation of a tolerant Muslim. It is a very different representation of Islamic masculinity performed by Islamic groups, which rejected everything from the west by using violence act. There is a scene in this movie that shows dialogue between Fahri and woman American journalist about Islam. Fahri explains to the women that Islam is a tolerant religion that loves peace. This dialogue encouraged the president of Indonesia after watching the movie to mention that Ayat-Ayat Cinta had successfully represented Islam as a peaceful religion.

The Relationship to Women

Fahri is also portrayed as a person who respected women. He often helps oppressed women. He protects Aisha that almost hit by a man who hates American since Aisha gives her seat to the American women in the metro. He also saves Noura from his stepfather's violent action and helps her to find her birth parents.

As a pious man, Fahri is just like ordinary people who feel and think about personal matters, including falling in love. When it comes to love, he becomes a man who is passive; he is not the only decision-maker and control holder. He shares the control and decision of a woman as his partner. He has deep feeling to Nurul, his close friend, but he does not have any brave to show his feeling. While he finally gets married to Aisha, he is not the one who has the initiative to do that. Aisha askes his uncle to propose Fahri to do what in Islamic tradition called *ta'aruf65*.

This movie shows that women are not passive. They are smart and intelligent, wealthy, attractive, and bold. Nurul is the student at Al-Azhar University and described as a kind and achiever student. Maria, Fahri's neighborhood, although never mentioned as a well-educated woman, Fahri often admires her intelligence. Aisha, the same as Maria, never said as a well-educated person, but she is a woman who dares to express her opinion and convey her will and belief. After she gets married to Fahri, she often decides on the critical matter, such as the place to live, earned money since she is from a wealthy family, or even encourages Fahri to do polygamy.

The women empowerment representation in the movie indicates that men do not have full control over women. Fahri also has respect for women. It is performed in the way he never dares to stare at women's eyes or to touch them. Nevertheless, men still feels to be superior to women. In a marriage relationship, Fahri feels objected if Aisha controls him, pays the house they rent, buys him a new laptop, and takes him to the university by her car. Fahri tries to operate his power, but not roughly and rudely.

The Construction of Polygamy
This movie portrays a different representation of polygamy. Polygamy is not recommended practice for man precisely. It is often mentioned that if a man decide to do polygamy, treating his wives righteously is a must. Some people practicing polygamy are often considered religious figures. Religious excuses are used to justify it. This fact is often taken for granted by people that practicing polygamy is one of the images of pious men.

In *Ayat-Ayat Cinta*, the obligation to be fair in treating wives make the practice of polygamy is not easy. Fahri, as the actor of polygamy, never thought to practice polygamy, although he is portrayed as a pious man. If he then does it, it is not his will. Her first Wife, Aisha, forces him to marry another woman to save Fahri from jail for being accused of raping Noura; and also to save Maria, his second wife, who is seriously ill since she knows that Fahri gets married to Aisha.

In this movie, the choice to do polygamy is not under man's decision, but woman's. It is not relevant to Van Wichelen (2007) statement that polygamy is a form of male superiority. Rather than representing the man practicing polygamy as part of being religious and masculine, this movie as an Islamic movie precisely showed that polygamy is not the right choice for pious men since it generates problems. It is not easy to be fair to wives. In the end, monogamy is a happy ending.

3 doa 3 cinta: contrasting hipermasculinity
The movie narrates about three close friends: Huda, Rian, and Syahid, living in an Islamic boarding school. They have their own stories and problems. Huda wants to find his mother, who leaves him for years. He meets Dona, a sexy *dangdut* singer who helps him to find his mother. Rian obsesses with his camera, a gift from his mother on his birthday. After getting acquainted with Toha, a man who runs a traveling movie theater that is set up near the school, he plans to continue his father's business in video making. Syahid comes from a low-income family. He has negative feelings for Christians since real estate agents from America have cheated his father. It encourages him to join radical Islamic teaching and plans to do a suicide bombing.

People studying in Islamic boarding schools are called *santri*. *Santri* is regarded as being a devout Muslim. The representation of being devout Muslim men in this movie contrasts with being Muslim men portrayed by Islamic Youth Groups. Men from those groups often performes their religiosity by mentioning the name of God in their acts. For example, they call for *Allahu Akbar* (*Allah* is the Greatest) repeatedly while clenching their hand. Their acts' mission is to uphold Islamic norms they believed by using violence, destructive, and aggressive. It is not only attacked against gays and male-to-female transvestites but also assaults people holding different ideologies or destroyed buildings considered immoral. They hate people doing something they believed as sin and threaten Islamic norms and values.

In the movie, *santri* is not a saint or holy man. It is opposite to what Muslim men used to depict. Normatively, Muslim men describe as holy men who had a high level of morality. For example, he never has a close relationship with women, rejects homosexuality, prohibits enjoying an attractive performance, and hates western people. In the movie, conversely, Muslim men portrayed just like ordinary human beings who had a good and bad side.

Santri has to practice discipline. Living in an Islamic boarding school is strictly regulated under the rules. *Santri*, in the movie, is told as teenagers breaking the rules sometimes. They smoke cigarettes that are forbidden doing

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65 *Ta'aruf* is the right kind of dating in Islam. The main point is getting to know each other well before moving on to the next step (marriage). *Ta'aruf* is also about introducing each other to the traits of the family, understanding the hopes and dreams of one another. Through this, they can decide whether they are match to one another or not.

this in the boarding school area; peep into the room of a girl; and go out at midnight secretly, which mean that they break the boarding school's rule. Huda, who becomea the best *santri* since he is chosen to be the future leader in the boarding school, also does those behaviors.

According to Islamic belief, if a man has a relationship with a woman, it is considered immoral. It is prohibited for Muslim men to touch a woman outside the family or marriage bond. In the movie, Huda has a close and intimate relationship with Dona, a sexy singer. He often spends his time enjoying the *Dangdut* show performing Dona with her tease dancing. There is also a kissing scene between Huda and Dona. This scene evidences that *santri* is not a saint; he just an ordinary man who sometimes follows his lust.

If the jihadist becomes the dominant portrayal of Muslim men constructed by the west, on the contrary, this movie represents that fundamentalism and radical Muslims as a threat to Islamic teaching. The Islamic teaching learned in the boarding school underlines this perspective by rejecting the radical view whose hatred to the west and their religion creates them as the enemy. Syahid plans to do suicide bombing as a jihad to attack American people. He is disappointed with the American real estate businessman who has bought their family land at a low price. But, in the end, he changes his mind after he realizes that not all American is terrible since the businessman has paid for the hospital cost of his father medical treatment.

One of the interesting themes of this movie is about the homosexual issue. Homosexuality becomes controversial issues in the religious context since the practice is regarded as a sin. According to Ibrahim Hewitt (1997:29), an Islamist speaker in his book *What Does Islam Say?,* Islam forbids homosexual practice, both sexual relations between two men or between two women. Since it is regarded as a great sin, the society under Islamic law will punish people conducting this practice severely. It is a radical view of homosexual practice, which is parallel to the belief of Islamic youth groups who attack homosexual.

There are some scenes in the movie, presenting the issue of homosexuality. The art teacher in the boarding school plays a role as a gay in the film. He often commits harassment with one of the *santri*. The movie does not try to exhibit its permissiveness to the homosexual act. It narrates that this act could be experienced by *santri* in boarding school as a religious place. The *santri* in the movies rejected the practice of homosexuality. According to the movie's story, the gay teacher is expelled from boarding school.

The issues in the movie mentioned points that the movie depicted humanized *santri*. It contrasts with the image of Muslim men portrayed by Islamic youth groups. While a member of Islamic youth groups shows their aggressiveness to fight immoral practices to perform their masculinity, *santri* in the movie, as a human being, can make mistakes sometimes.

Construction Of Muslim Men Within Islamism And Modernization In Indonesian Post New Order Era

Suharto's resignation as the president in 1998 has marked the fall of the authoritarian regime of the new order period and the rise of the new period of the reformation in the history of social and politic in Indonesia. The decentralization of power in the new period has encouraged the emergence of new groups to play their power in the social and political arena. The most influential groups are groups based on Islamic norms and values whose power provoked by globalization and modernization.

Vickers (2005:199) explained that since the running of the open market system in the middle of the 1980s, the flow of western culture enters in Indonesia currently. Globalization has blurred the border between nations. The media and communication technology advances facilitated the information flows. As a consequence, modernity and the progress of the nation refer to the west as the parameter. The significant influence of western modernity is blamed as the source of problems. Media liberalization dan industrialization as the gate of the entrance of western culture has caused moral panic among the Islamic groups. They assume that the process of westernization and secularization have threatened the Islamic values and cause moral degradation among youth, which estrange them from religion and tradition.

Based on these reasons, the Islamic political parties and organizations sue to the implementation of *sharia* law in Indonesia. They also attempt to make Islamic norms and values as guidance in the regulation-making. As the examples are the production of regional *sharia* regulations or the implementation of the Pornography Act driven by Islamic logic.

The media, as the product of modernity, has a survival agenda when there is the demand to return to the Islamic value. Then, the media should accommodate religious and modernity interests. It becomes the media strategy to negotiate their position between the clash of Islamism and modernization. Instead of treating it as a threat, the media takes this phenomenon as the advantage. The emergence of Islam as the new power encouraged the media to create the new niche potential market, considers as a religious marketplace. According to Wortham (2004), the religious market meets the producer and consumer in a religious context. This market is capable of pushing the competitive economic activity, or in another word, this can bring a promising profit to the producer, the media.

The production of Islamic movies is the success in creating a religious marketplace. For example, *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* has an achievement in bringing religious communities who never comes to the cinema before since they consider cinema as the secular domain. When the cinema screened Islamic movies, it blurs the border between the religious and secular domains. Watching Islamic films become part of religious rituals.

By negotiating religious and secular values, Islamic movies have reproduced the new meaning of religiosity, including in defining Muslim men. The representation of Muslim men in Islamic movies constituts the form of negotiation of Islamic values and modernity. As a consequence, the construction of Muslim men cannot be separated from the symbol of modernity as the politic of representation. The symbols are explained as follow:

The Issue of gender equality
The feminist movement from the west is successful in developing the awareness of gender equality. This movement encourages the emergence of men's movement. While the feminist movements fight for the impartiality between gender, men's movements attemp to revise the discourse of traditional masculinity that put men's superiority and domination. Men's movements build awareness of the image of nurturer men as the ideal (Beynon, 2000). The nurturer men are the depiction of men with care to women, for example, by supporting women's career or willing to take women's roles defined by patriarchal cultures, such as taking care of the children and doing the domestic job. The nurturer men reject the image of macho men who often use violence to perform men's domination and superiority over women.

The image of nurturer men indicates men with affection to women. Fahri and Huda represented it as explained. The movies connect the piety with nurture in representing Muslim men. Gender representation in Islamic movies becomes a way to accommodate feminist and men's movement. Islamic movies represent the portraits of modern Muslim men.

The Issue of Human Right
The issue of terrorism and violence become a controversial global issue since it contrasted human rights. Consequently, Islamic movies never give an affirmative discourse on terrorism with its violent image. Both films mention the rejection of the practice of terrorism. Since the western perspective of Islam identified it with terrorism, Islamic movies attempted to give another image of Islam. Islam in Islamic movies is the portrait of modern Islam, which supported the values of human rights. Modern Islam is Islam with peace, tolerance, and humanized.

Another theme related to the human rights issue is homosexual. Islamic movies have a different position with the Islamic youth groups in rejecting the practice of homosexual since the film does not give excessive stigma to the homosexual issue. The rejection of homosexuals in the movie becomes more human compared to the Islamic groups' violent acts.

The Representation of West
Modernization is the concept that came from the west. To be modern often includes the west or American images. The radical or fundamentalist Islamic groups often consider the west and America as their enemies since America and its allies fought against Islam in their attack in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other Islamic states.

In Islamic movies, the west and Americans are never mentioned as the enemy or even in negative representation. Although the west and America do not represent religiosity and virtues, they are never performed as "bad guys." West and America become the symbol of modernity. Modernity is the progressive way, and to be modern is important.

The Display of Modern and Global Products
Islamic movies are not different from James Bond's movies or other Hollywood movies. They display the global brands and products represented as a symbol of modernity. In the film, brands like *Apple, Nokia, Sony*, or *Mercedes* showed blatantly. It is a relevant image of Islam that already mentioned: modern Islam. Modernity becomes an essential aspect of Islam. More presently, it can be stated that Islamic movies attempts to represent modern Islam. Modern Islam becomes the form of compromise between Islamism and modernity.

The negotiation of religious and secular values that forms the Muslim identity cannot be separated from the effort to build the identity of "modern Islam" or "modern but Islamic." This contradictive combination between Islam and modernity is supported by the characteristics of the Muslim market in Indonesia, as explained by Yuswohady (2014), as Muslims who are open and permissive to global culture. This statement is parallel to Pam Nilan's (2006) research of devout Muslim youth culture. Nilan stated that devout Muslim youth identifies themselves as modern Muslim youth. They regulates Islamic religious values in everyday life and used western and modernity symbols, such as wearing jeans or consuming the product of technology, at the same time. Nilan also mentioned that Muslim youth culture portrays the elements of religiosity and the trends of global popular culture by creating products and hybrid practices to secure young people from the attack of orthodox Islamic values and popular globalization cultures (2006:107). Linla Abu-Lughod (in Van Wichelen, 2007:101) called it as alternative modernity. The new form of modernity is presented by the middle-class Muslim who chose to be modern by doing Islamic practices.

Conclusion
Indonesian Islamic cinema becomes a site for constituting Muslim identity and promoting Islamic practices and values. In the two movies analyzed in this article, the Muslim identity refers to the identity of being devout Muslim men. Being devout Muslim men is performed by their self-regulation, relationship to women, and open-minded to global influences. Men with self-regulation have a meaning of men whose attitude and behavior controlled by their rationality. Men's self-regulation leads men to have respect and care for women. Their thoughtfulness performs the men's power to women. Muslim men are also portrayed

as figures that respected other people and tolerated to different values and beliefs.

The construction of Muslim men in Islamic movie is the middle way to accommodate Islamism and modernization during the post new order. Muslim identity relates to the identity of "modern Islam" or "modern but Islamic."

Images of men worked as the symbolic representation of the current process of Islamization and the rise of consumer culture. This representation is never final, but always being negotiated to meet the market forces and Islamic values.

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