

The Social Dynamics of Pilgrimage in “Emak Ingin Naik Haji”

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The Social Dynamics of Pilgrimage in “Emak Ingin Naik Haji”

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Abstract

Faith of belief in any religion causes a strong desire or is referred to as determination. This phenomenon is stated in the movie “*Emak Ingin Naik Haji*” (“Emak Wants Pilgrimage”). This movie tells a story about an old woman called 'Emak' who is socially within the category of the poor but she has determination to perform the fifth pillar of her Islamic belief. Emak's determination is expressed through a variety of pious events, and sincerity to help the people in need. Through various social struggles of life in a capitalist society, the gap between the rich and the poor, social class differences in everyday reality as a social critique, the faith and determination of this main character remains strong in the hope of performing the pilgrimage. At the end of the story, Emak successfully fulfills the noble task in her belief, that is the pilgrimage, despite her economic and social conditions. It is this event which is focused to be a model for the audience in living as a religious person both in vertical and horizontal relationships. The approach used in this analysis is the sociological approach, based on Alan Swingewood's theory, which states that as well as literature, film as a work of fiction is a reflection of people's lives of a time. Thus, the objectives to be achieved through this paper are to reveal the social problems in connection with the pilgrimage, and the true meaning of the pilgrimage itself which is expressed through the main character Emak.

Keywords: pilgrimage, faith, social dynamics

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Introduction

In "Contemporary Asian Cinema", Krishna Sen wrote that after 32 years of authoritarian rule by the New Order Regime, entering the 21 millenium is the rebirth of Indonesian cinema. In this era, ideological restrictions such as ethnic, religious, or class contradictions in Indonesia, are no longer effective (Ciecko, 2006, p. 103). "Emak Ingin Naik Haji" ("Emak Wants Pilgrimage") which was released in 2009, is one of Indonesian films produced in this new era. This film is one of the Indonesian cinemas with religious theme, that is the phenomenon of Hajj pilgrimage. Through this religious theme, social criticism can be conceived by people who watch this film.

"Emak Ingin Naik Haji" is directed by Aditya Gumai. The genre is religious drama, and the duration is 76 minutes. This film has won 7 awards and 6 nominations in the Indonesian film festivals. Five of the awards gained in Bandung Film Festival (FFB), and the whole nominations won in Indonesian Film Festival (FFI). Both the two film festivals are categorizes as big film festivals in Indonesia. The main character in this film is Emak (a call for mother particularly in Jakarta and West-Java area), who has determination to perform the fifth pillar of her Islamic belief, that is Hajj pilgrimage. Emak lives with her only son called Zein who loves her dearly. They belong to the lower class. Emak is already 61 years old, and she earns money by making and selling her homemade cakes. Her son, Zein, is an amateur painter, who lives on selling his painting. In connection with the problems of social dynamics in the phenomenon of pilgrimage, there are two important supporting characters, called Haji Saun (Emak's neighbor) and Joko Satrianto. Both characters are described as wealthy businessmen.

The writer is going to analyze this film by using sociology of literary approach, which is based on the theory of Alan Swingewood. The objectives of this paper is to explain social dynamics that occur due to the phenomenon of pilgrimage in Indonesia that is reflected in "Emak Ingin Naik Haji", and to grasp the meaning of pilgrimage described in this film.

The analysis is focused on the main character's determination for pilgrimage. In the end of the story, the main character finally succeeds to realize her determination for pilgrimage. The solution for the main character problem is quite simple, but the points of analysis are in the gaps of the have and the poor, social class contrast towards the motive of pilgrimage, which indicates the social dynamics in the phenomenon of pilgrimage.

Sociology of Literature

To analyse by using sociology of literary approach, is to hold the social elements that are reflected in literature, as in the following statement that sociological studies of the literature resulted the view that the literary works in some certain phase are expressions of society and a part of a community (Anwar & Adang, 2013, p. 367). These social elements may include economic problems, races, social structures, habits, and others. Based on this principle, Alan Swingewood in his theory gave note that a literary work should not be treated as merely historical document. As Yasa quoted from Swingewood, that as art, literature not merely transcends description and objective scientific analysis, or penetrating the surfaces or social life, but it shows the ways people experience society as feeling (Yasa, 2012, p. 22).

In Swingewood's theory, sociology of literature is seeing the literary work in its wholeness, both the external and the internal sides. The text work should not be seen purely from external factors as in positivistic methods, but we have to relate the text structure to society.

In conclusion we may say that the sociology of literature can develop only through its grip on texts, not in reducing literature to the status of a reflection society. Not only do writer articulate social values within their work, and these will surely have certain ramifications for the work's unity and possible literary qualities, but writers are part of the world they describe, frequently struggling with the question of values, and this potential activism must not be discounted in the analysis of their work. (Swingewood, 1972, p.87-88)

Creator of a text work is indeed born and lives in a particular society, but we cannot deny that he also has his own perspective and ideals. Society which is reflected by a text is society as seen in the eyes of the creator, described or expressed through creator's imaginative characters. Thus, analyzing the text using sociological approach is focused on discussing the intrinsic elements of the text, by connecting it to the phenomena that occurs when the text is created (Wahyudi, 2013). The way to do is through observation of the character's activities shown in the text.

For the following analysis using sociology of literary approach, it is firstly needed to explain the relationship between film and literature. Bordwell said that "in the mimetic tradition of narration, then, it has become common to compare literary narration to that of film" (1985, p.9). His statement indicates that by using the same approach in analyzing literature and film means that there are similarities between literary works and films (mimetic is the oldest approach for analyzing literary works). Film forming elements are similar to that of literary forming elements, which consists of intrinsic and extrinsic elements. Besides films are often transformations of literature (Teguh, 2013, p. 4-5).

Film Analysis

Before starting to analyse "Emak Ingin Naik Haji", it is important to explain the 'faith' and 'hajj pilgrimage' concept. Tavani stated that the concept of faith can be conceived from two opposing viewpoints, that are 'faith as act' and 'faith as belief'. The meaning of faith here is related to belief or religious faith. 'Faith as act' is indicated as a dynamic motion in human himself.

Regarding the dynamic sense in faith, Tavani said as follow:

In its dynamic sense, faith can also be understood as an interactive and interpersonal relationship than one has with God. It can also be seen in the form of a commitment that an individual consciously makes to a certain way of living, including an individual's commitment to a vocational form of religious community life, or it can involve an individual's commitment to following a set of doctrines such as when one "professed" his or her faith. (Tavani, 2008)

In the concept of 'pilgrimage' or 'Hajj pilgrimage', Delaney explains that 'pilgrimage' is a departure from ordinary life, is often assumed to be undertaken in relation to spiritual matters and thus is perceived as part of the domain of religion, and to make the Hajj is to touch the foundation of faith and to drink of the wellspring that sustains and gives it meaning (Delaney, 1990, p. 513,515). Meaning of this spiritual action is symbolized. The Hajj pilgrimage is one of the five pillars of Islam, and is obligatory for all those physically and financially able to go (Delaney, 1990, p. 517).

The pilgrimage destination is Mecca in Saudi Arabia. To go on the Hajj means leaving one's home country and going to Mecca. This is the cause why pilgrimage needs costs, and the amount of costs depends on the distance from one's home country to Mecca. In Islam, the place Mecca is very important and becomes the pilgrimage destination for its relation to Muhammed (the last prophet from Allah).

It was in Mecca that he (Muhammed) first heard God's call and proclaimed his message, a message Muhammed believed was not a new revelation but a return to the one true faith given in the beginning of Abraham...Mecca is known as the mother of towns, the first dry land floating on the waters from which the rest of the earth spread out. It is also the early home of God, the Ka'ba being his dwelling place. Finally, Mecca is the reflection of "other world. (Delaney, 1990, p. 516)

1. Gaps Between the Have and the Poor

Analysis in this section is based on scenes that show gaps between lives of the have (represented by the characters Haji Saun and Joko Satrianto) and the poor (represented by the character of Emak).

The opening scene (minute-1) describes the main character Emak's economic conditions indicated by the atmosphere of her and her son's Zein's, dwelling house. Her house of which walls made of rough wooden planks and bamboo shows Emak economic conditions that identified as poor. In minute-02:30, the image switches to the house of Emak's neighbor Haji Saun. Haji Saun's residential building with luxury car, appears to contrast to the surrounding houses. Dialog between Emak and Siti (Haji Saun maid) in minute-02:56, followed by Emak's dialog with Zein in minute-04:00, shows that pilgrimage to Mecca is a commodity for the rich.

Siti: "He (Haji Saun) wants to go on the umroh with his family again."
 Emak: "It seems like just yesterday that Haji Saun went on the Hajj with his family. And they are going on the umroh again. Must be nice, yeah."
 (Gumay, 2009)

Zein: "He's (Haji Saun) been on the Hajj 3 times already, and if I'm not mistaken, this will be his 6th umroh, right, Ma?"
 Emak: "It's called being rich, Zein. He has a lot of money. I've been saving for years and years and haven't yet gathered the money. How much is it these days to go on the Hajj, Zein?"
 Zein: "3000, Ma!"
 Emak: "Hah, you must be joking. 3000?"
 Zein: "3000 dollars, Ma. Around 30 million rupiahs."

Emak: "Oh, it just keeps getting more expensive. When will I be able to go on the Hajj? My saving is only 5 million rupiahs." (Gumay, 2009)

Emak and Haji Saun both are Islamic believers, but for Haji Saun belongs to the have, going to Hajj seems to become something common, contrasted with Emak who is in the category of the poor. For Emak, to go on the Hajj is a dream. Emak complains about the cost of the pilgrimage which is increasingly expensive, it refers to yearly inflation rates of the economic condition in Indonesia which is reversed to the amount of their savings. For people with no fixed income such as Emak, inflationary effect on price increases, greatly affecting their purchasing power. The average rate of inflation in Indonesia is still quite high shown on the data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia, 2012) during the last decade (years 2005-2014):

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Inflation	17,11	6,60	6,59	11,06	2,78
Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Inflation	6,96	3,79	4,3	8,38	8,36

Table 1. The average rate of inflation in Indonesia

The character that also represents the life of the have is Joko Satrianto. His economic condition is described in contrast to Emak. On the scene minute-08:49, Emak is walking along the street after entrusting her homemade cake to the vendors in the market. When she arrives in front of the entrance of Joko Satrianto's office building, Emak to be almost hit by Joko Satrianto's luxury car that swerves fast to his office. Her shocked expression and muttering with hands touching the chest expresses how powerless the poor against the have. Then, Joko Satrianto's car swerves and at the same time honking loudly to send Emak away. This scene expresses how powerful and how arrogant the have against the poor.

The character Joko Satrianto also told to have a desire for pilgrimage. Through a telephone dialog by Joko Satrianto's beautiful secretary named Yanti shows connectivity between capital power and pilgrimage. Here, something that is an obligation in religious belief that should be a vertical relationship with God falls into secularity. What Yanti says on the phone in minute-08:51 is, "The quota is full ? Aren't there still 6 months? Can't you help me out on this? I'll pay more. I want the Hajj Plus Package. Under the name Mr. Joko Satrianto." (Gumay, 2009)

What is meant by 'quota' is the maximum amount set by the government for those who go on a pilgrimage. Yanti's negotiation using the words "I'll pay more", and also her demand for 'Hajj plus package', shows how capital power can simplify the process of going on Hajj. Hajj pilgrimage that is supposed to be sacred becomes something secular. Through Hajj plus package, anyone that has more money can go on the Hajj with more comfortable facilities compared to those who pay the normal rate.

Contrasted to Joko Satrianto, who relies on his capital power for going on Hajj, Emak's following words to Zein in minute 14:40 indicates one's truly determination for the Hajj pilgrimage, despite the un-supporting economic conditions.

It costs 30 million rupiahs. I've saved for 5 years and only have 5 million. So, in order to have 30 million, I have to save for 25 more years. I'm 61 now, which means when I can go on the Hajj I'll be 86. Will there be still time? (Gumay, 2009)

The above scenes indicate that one's economic conditions in the state of being the have or the poor affects the possibility to go on Hajj. Social dynamic due to the effects of inflation as well as the Hajj package plus, with more facilities and conveniences for those who pay more, reduces the possibility for the poor to go on pilgrimage, on the contrary, raises the possibility for the have to distort the holiness of pilgrimage into secularity.

2. Social Classes Contrast and Sincerity

As in the section above, analysis model in this chapter also uses comparative oppositions between 2 scenes through manner of two or more characters. The character Emak represents the lower class, on the contrary the characters namely Joko Satrianto, Haji Saun's wife, and Nita (Haji Saun's daughter) represent the upper class. Social classes here refer to Warner's class model (1949), which divides classes into upper, middle, and lower (Wyatt-Nichol, Brown, Haynes, 2011, p. 189). Social class can be defined as, "How are people objectively located in distributions of material inequality". In this case, class is defined in terms of material standards of living, usually indexed by income, or possibly, wealth." (Wright, 2003).

Both Emak and Joko Satrianto are told to have intention of pilgrimage. As a believer, both do good deeds in giving a part of their assets to help others. On the scene in minute-37:40, Joko Satrianto who is an import-export businessman is declaring to the reporters about his good deed in giving donation for the expansion of a mosque building. Joko Satrianto's announcement, followed by Yanti (his secretary), shows his charitable motive that is to ask the media for creating a positive image of himself to be reported to the public. Joko Satrianto's needs the announcement because he runs for a mayor position in the coming election.

Joko: "We invited the reporters here not to show off. Because I know, if the right hand gives, the left hand doesn't need to know. But if that the news from the reporters, will knock on the hearts of other businessmen to do the same thing, I don't think that's wrong, is it?"
Yanti: "So make it big news, yeah!" (Gumay, 2009)

Through imaginative character of Joko Satrianto, this film criticizes capitalists who are involved in politics. It is a phenomenon in Indonesia, that ahead of election period, the capitalists are using the same way like Joko Satrianto did to get sympathy from the public and popularity.

In contrast to Joko Satrianto, despite the poor economic conditions, Emak sincerely gives part of her few assets to help others. On the scene in minute-52:40, it is told that Zein's pet bird died of old age. Aisha, the neighbor girl, passes by and notices what is happening. Aisha offers to bury the bird. Later, an event in minute-54, shows Emak is passing by Aisha's dwelling place. Emak greets Aisha's sister who is busy eating. Emak is very surprised to realize that Aisha's sister is eating Zein's pet bird carrion.

She immediately prohibits her to continue eating the carrion. Aisha defends that she had done such prohibited thing because they are longing to eat meat. Their father is sick, so they cannot afford to buy good food. The good hearted Emak, then invites the two girls to eat at her place.

Despite the poor economic conditions, but driven by sincerity, Emak has a will to share with her neighbor who is in need. Her deed is contrasted to the manner of Haji Saun's daughter called Nita. As mentioned above, Haji Saun and his family are already going on the pilgrimage (Umrah) for several times. Nita is very enthusiastic for the coming pilgrimage, because Dude, an artist preacher, is one of her Umrah group members. Yet, on the scene in minute-53:10, Nita gets a call from the agency, reporting that the artist cancels his departure for Umrah.

Nita: Yeah, walaikum salam. This is Nita. Mom and Dad are out. What is it?

Agency officer A: I'd like to tell them the latest progress. Dude is unable to join our Umrah group.

Nita: What?! Dude is not joint us?! OK, then my family and I would also cancel our Umrah trip!

Agency officer B: What's wrong? Are they mad?

Agency officer A: Yes. They said they cancelled.

Agency officer B: Astagfirullahal'azim. (Gumay, 2009)

The manner of Nita indicates how simple for the have to perform pilgrimage. Through the above dialog, criticism conveys how capital factor contributes to distort the holiness of pilgrimage into secularity, for pilgrimage is not based on the motive of faith.

The following dialog between Nita and her maid, Siti, shows Nita's manner who does not appreciate 'fried chicken' which has been prepared by Siti, while the next scene is the event of Aisha and her sister who eat carrion. It shows how ironic the manner of the one who did pilgrimage for several times, yet not on the basis of faith. Faith as mentioned above, is not merely belief, but should be followed by act.

Siti: Miss, please eat first. I've already fried the chicken.

Nita: Just give it to the cat!

Siti: Give it to the cat?? (Gumay, 2009)

As having been stated in the previous section, despite the poor economic conditions, Emak's motivation for pilgrimage is sincerely based on the faith. This determination of Emak is in contrast to Haji Saun's wife's intention. This is shown of the scene in minute-17:07 while she is talking on a cellphone with her friend before going for pilgrimage, "I'll just bring 2 scores of headscarves to sell in Saudi (Saudi Arabia). Or it might get overweight. By the way, how much commission will I get? 20 percents?" (Gumay, 2009). Through this dialog we can conceive that the wife's motivation on going to Mecca, is not purely for pilgrimage, but also for business.

Social dynamic in this section is reflected in the contrast of social classes. Economic rank which determines social class, directed proportionally to the opportunity for

pilgrimage. On the other hand, social class has no direct connection with the faith that should be the motive of pilgrimage.

3. Hajj For Social Status Versus Hajj For Faith

Social status here is one's position in social life. The connection between Hajj and social status is how the Hajj title affects the appreciation by the public against those who do not hold the title of Hajj. Hajj title means to add 'Haji' before one's name. This title can only be used by the one who has had the Hajj pilgrimage. In this film, the Hajj title is such as naming "Haji Saun". The example of how Hajj title affects one's social status in Indonesia, particularly in sub urban area, is if someone with the Hajj title deceased, the amount of people who attend the funeral will be far exceeded compared to the case if the deceased is someone without the Hajj title, moreover if the deceased is the poor one.

How the Hajj title affects one's social status in this film, is reflected in the following scenes. It begins when Zein feels guilty for causing Emak loses her Hajj savings. Ziah, Zein's ex-wife, asks Emak for money to support Aqsa's sugery. (Aqsa is the son of Zein and Ziah) The surgery cost is equal to Emak's Hajj savings. Zein's guilty feeling triggering desperate action to steal a suitcase of money belonging to Haji Saun. In short, Zein cancels stealing at Haji Saun residential house. The next day, Haji Saun reports this incident to the neighborhood head.

Neighborhood Head: Should we report it to the police, Pak Haji?
Haji Saun: Oh, we don't have to, nothing is missing. I'm just asking that the guard walk around our streets more. Be more on the look out!
Neighborhood Head: Yes, Sir! (Gumay, 2009)

From Haji Saun's gesture and the way he is speaking, we conceive that even though the neighborhood head is the head of community where Haji Saun lives, he gives more respect to Haji Saun by calling him "Pak Haji" (Mr. Haji). Moreover, the way Haji Saun speaks to the neighborhood head, is like a boss who is reprimanding his employee. This scene shows how the Hajj title affects the appreciation by the public on someone who hold this title.

More specifically, going on the Hajj for social status, is reflected through Joko Satrianto character. Joko Satrianto is told to have a plan to participate in local election. It has become 'common knowledge' in Indonesia, that people who are in the upper class and have a large scale of capital (or the capitalists), are often keen on entering the world of politics, such as becoming parliament member or local leader. Through imaginative character of Joko Satrianto, this film criticizes such phenomenon, seeing that this phenomenon is one which causes great number of corruptions in local government since the post new-order era until now. Kompas newspaper, issued on September 2014, stated that high political cost is considered as one of the causes of many corruption cases in local government (Yossihara, 2014).

Yanti: The main thing is, for the election next year, you have to bear the title 'Haji' in your name, Sir. Because the community in your electoral area is majority fanatic Moslems.
Joko: I know that.

Yanti: And later on the banners will be put up, "Vote for Mr. Haji Joko Satrianto". Like that, Sir. (Gumay, 2009)

On the scene in minute-09:37, Yanti (Joko Satrianto's secretary) clearly states that Joko Satrianto's motive for pilgrimage is merely to get the Hajj title, for completing his final goal, that is to win the election. By adding "Haji" before Joko's name, Yanti assumes that it will upgrade Joko Satrianto's social status especially among the fanatic moslem community. The term "fanatic moslem" indicates criticism against the believers who merely judge one's personal quality from religious symbols that are attached to the person.

As stated in the Kompas newspaper above, high political cost phenomenon is reflected in the story of Joko Satrianto. The first is on the scene in minute-37:50, when Joko Satrianto donates his assets for the expansion of a mosque building, and asks the media to publish it. The second is when Joko Satrianto chooses to go on Hajj by Hajj plus package which means demanding higher cost than to go on Hajj by normal Hajj package (on the scene in minute-08:51). Both Joko Satrianto's actions are for political purposes.

In contrast to Joko Satrianto, Emak's motive for pilgrimage is determination based on faith. On the scene in minute-22:20, as mentioned above, Ziah asks Emak for money to support Aqsa's surgery. Ziah is Zein's ex-wife. She divorced Zein and remarried for economic reason. Though Aqsa is Ziah's son from Zein, but the reason why she divorced Zein, indicates that she is not a loyal wife. Later, on the next scene, it is revealed that she has deceived Emak for the surgery cost is much lower than the amount of money she asked to Emak. Considering Ziah's dishonesty, Emak has a reason to refuse to help her. But in fact, instead of refusing, Emak chooses to sacrifice her dream for pilgrimage.

Emak: Tomorrow I will go to the bank and take out my savings.

Zein: No, Mak! That's your money for going Hajj.

Emak: It doesn't matter, Zein. The important thing is Aqsa can get well soon.

Zein: No! You've been saving that money for years. You just put it in the bank yesterday.

Emak: But where else would she get the money, Zein? She said tomorrow she must have money to book the doctor. (Gumay, 2009)

Emak's good deed, by sacrificing her whole Hajj savings with consequences that she cannot go for pilgrimage, indicates 'faith as act'. Furthermore, from the scene in minute-52:40 as mentioned, in the sequel, Emak not only feeds the two poor neighborhood girls, but she also gives them money for their father's medication. These actions also indicate 'faith as act'. For Emak, helping others in need is more precious than merely getting the Hajj title.

The climax of this story is when Zein won the lottery in minute-60:04. The prize is free in charge for pilgrimage. Zein is very excited for his winning. Tragically, in haste to tell Emak this good news, Zein is hit by a car driven by Joko Satrianto. Through the following dialog between Emak and Zein (in minute-67:53), we conceive this film

message, for the meaning of pilgrimage is not related to social status nor capital matters, but in the quality of faith reflected in the imaginative character of Emak.

Zein: Mak, let's go to Mecca by boat.

Emak: Don't worry if I don't get to go on the hajj. If Allah calls me before I get the chance to be there, then I surrender to His will. My body might not be up to crossing this wide sea to go to the holy land. But I believe Allah surely knows, my heart has already been there for a long long time. (Gumay, 2009)

Zein's accident eliminates the chance for Emak to go on Hajj. Despite so many obstacles that hinder Emak to go on Hajj, her determination remains strong as she said that Mecca (symbolizing the pilgrimage) is in her heart.

Conclusion

From the analysis above, we conceive that the phenomenon of pilgrimage in modern Indonesian society is not merely related to individual belief, particularly among the moslems, but also indicates social dynamics. These social dynamics occur for two causes, first for the gaps between the have and the poor that remains as Indonesia's big social problem until now. The needs of a large capital to finance the pilgrimage, turns Hajj pilgrimage into a commodity to be purchased by those who have the capital. The have that are identical to the capitalists, are those who grasp the greatest probability for pilgrimage. The second cause is for the contrast of social class. Upper class with a large amount of capital can turn the sacred pilgrimage into secularity, particularly in the purpose to put their social status higher. Indonesian society, that is known as religious society, religious identity can be misused to increase popularity particularly for political purposes, such as reflected through the character of Joko Satrianto.

Referring to Alan Swingewood's theory, a film as a work of art reflects society where it is created, but not merely a copy of the way of majority act and think, for there is an individual character of the work. Social dynamics reflected in this film as the effect of phenomenon of pilgrimage in Indonesia, can be conceived as social criticism. Faith of the main character, which is reflected through various actions, is the message of this film that is the true meaning of pilgrimage is indicates by faith as act, not just faith as belief. Faith as mentioned above has two viewpoints, therefore in one's daily life as well as one's life as a part of society, faith as act is more important such as showed by imaginative character of Emak. For not merely a copy of social life, this film as a work of art has its own idea, that is to remind the audience the concept of Hajj, which has been distorted due to the power of capitalism in Indonesia modern society. Pilgrimage as reflected in the main character, has to be done for determination as motive based on the faith.

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