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Conference Paper

Exploring Uniting Factor for Multiculturalism Policy: Portrait of Hadrami, Arab Community in Indonesia

Yasmine Zaki Shahab

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia

Abstract

In the 2nd International Symposium of Anthropology held by FISIP-UI in 2002 in Padang, a participant questioned: "As Pancasila no longer has the power as a uniting factor for ethnic diversity in Indonesia, what factor then has the same power as Pancasila for multiculturalism policy in this country." (This paper is not intended to discuss Pancasila, but to explore the unifying factor, instead)

Received: 19 March 2018 Accepted: 27 July 2018 Published: 29 August 2018

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Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the ICSPI 2016 Conference Committee.



Inspired by the above question, I write Hadrami community in the context of identifying the uniting factor for multicultural society of Indonesia. Those who write about Hadrami in Indonesia have identified this community prefer endogamy marriage which is criticized negative for integration process in plural society, while on the other hand this group has successfully integrated with the indigenous people. The empirical data show that although endogamy tradition is not consistently adopted, it is still considered as ideal marriage for the Hadrami. In fact, the practice of endogamy is still very much evidenced (Deliar Noer, 1973; Subhi, 1998; Ganim, 2007; Tri Dewiyanti, 2002). Besides persisting endogamy marriage, the Hadrami has also successfully maintained their tradition. For example, they hold their clan names following their first name which indicates their origin. (A number of popular figures include Hamid Al Qadri the national fighter for Indonesian independence form West Kalimantan who introduce the state symbol, Garuda Pancasila; Hussein Muntahar the composer of heroic songs of struggle; A.R. Baswedan the founder of Partai Arab Indonesia; Ali Alatas and Alwi Shihab the former minister of foreign affairs in the New Order and Reformation Order; Saleh Afif the Coordinating Minister of Economy during the New Order era; Munawar, the Minister of Religion in the New Order administration and Quraisy Shihab the famous ulama at national and international levels, who once also the minister of Religious Affairs in the reformation order. Thariq Chehab the rector of IAIN Jakarta; Abdurahman Shahab the rector of IAIN Makassar; Fuad Bawazir Mister of Finance in Reformation Order; Anies Baswedan the Minister of Education and Culture in the Jokowi Order; Rizig Shihab





the chairman of Front Pembela Islam; Djafar Thalib the chairman of Jihad movement in inter-religious conflicts in Ambon; Abubakar Baasir chairman of Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid who is in jail until now. They all hold their family name (printed italic) as the clan identity from which they originate. But there are some Hadrami descendants who have never embraced their family name such as Marie Muhammad the Minster of Finance in the New Order era; Fadel Muhammad Minister of Oceanographic during Reformation era and Munir the humanist fighter who had been killed during new order era) Costumes, culinary and art has coloured the Hadrami life in Indonesia. Bouchaib Slim (2010:17) wrote about Hadrami in south east Asia:

"While social assimilation was very much in evidence within host societies

Besides the reserved tradition, Hadrami community is also known to have their specific physical appearance. Although endogamy marriage and tradition practice are maintained along with the easily identifiable biological characteristics, the Hadrami successfully get along with the indigenous. Therefore, the study on Hadrami community provides a chance to identify the uniting factor in multicultural society.

It is often proposed that sharing same religion between the Hadrami community in Indonesia and the indigenous has contributed to the easily process of integration among the Hadrami in this country (Danandjaja, 2003; Marzali, 2008).

"For Arab descendants, due to the fact that they hold the same religion as the religion adopted by majority people of Indonesia, they are classified "indigenous" or even "Original", while Chinese descendants are treated differently due to their different religion of either Tri Dharma (Sam Kao), Buddhism, Christian or others. Indian descendants who hold Hinduism and the Dutch descendants who hold Christianity, are considered "Non indegenous" (Danandjaja, 2003 page 3).

"Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI – Indonesian Islamic Chinese association) or Yayasan Ukhuwah Islamiah suggested that Chinese descendants hold Islam in order that they are easily acceptable by the indigenous people" (Marzali,2008: 13).

In other words, religious differences have made the Chinese seen as 'other' and religious similarity of Arab descendants seen as 'self' by the indigenous. We do not mean to refuse the opinion that religious similarity as the indigenous people has resulted in



the acceptability of Arabian in indigenous community, but we are not sure if religious differences resulted in the perceiving an individual as other. The doubt is based on the statements of some authors that social disparity, particularly economic disparity, is the inhibiting factor of the assimilation. The following opinion confirms the argument:

" The position of the Chinese in Indonesia which dominating the economic life has led to public opinion that this social gap in economic life has hampered the integration process" (Marzali, 2008: 13)

Marzali then proposed a question:

"What can we do to develop a multiethnic state without any functional relation between economic prosperity and ethnic characteristics? How can we do it?" (Marzali, 2008:26)

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and *Badan Komunikasi Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa* (Bakom PKB), for example, propose to develop and educate entrepreneurship for the indigenous to balance Chinese entrepreneurs. Meanwhile a number of radical intellectual propose the *restructuring* Indonesian economy. However, Marzali pessimists with the proposal of economic experts that structuring of economic system will ensure assimilation process of Chinese in Indonesia:

"Let say majority of the indigenous are prosperous, will then there no Chinese problems in Indonesia? I don't think so." (Marzali, 2008:26).

Marzali mentioned some factors other than economic factor which are perceived as factors hamper process of assimilation:

"Why do The Chinese have to live exclusively and persist endogamy? Why do the Chinese have to maintain their Chinese cultural identity? Why are they so proud of their Chinese cultural background in the past? (2008:8)

The writer does have different opinion from Marzali, however, that eliminating endogamy and cultural identity are the solution for assimilation process. As reflected by the Hadrami who persist both their endogamy marriage and ethnic identity tradition, but still they have no problem in integrating themselves among the indigenous. The question is, what factors successfully contribute uniting the Hadrami with the indigenous Indonesian?

Apart from endogamy marriage, tradition and biological appearance then settlement pattern is often perceived as ethnic identity. The other factor which form as





ethnic identity is cultural system (such as kinship system, art, belief system) and social system (such as media communication); both economic and political system are often perceived as ethnic identity as shown by ethnic stereotypes by profession (Warnaen, 2010). Invention of tradition which reflect ethnic revival in modern societies suggest that cultural system has been the target of invention of tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983; Shahab, 1994; Maunati, 2000; Kleden, 2001; 2004) which is then socialized through mass media and educational institution.

The next discussion therefore is leading on topic of educational institutes, kinship system, art, faith system and communication media. Contextually, kinship system, faith system and social organization will be discussed in the context of communication media. So the following discussion will include communication media, educational institute as well as economic and political in order to identify the uniting factors for integration policy in multicultural society.

According to the author this paper is significantly appropriate for the cotemporary Indonesia since on the one hand, Indonesian government is looking for a uniting factors for its Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Policy (Unity in Diversity Policy) whilst on the other hand, endogamy marriage is still being an ideal marriage among ethnic groups in Indonesia. (This impression is based on quantitative analysis using data of marital spouse column in Kompas daily newspaper which is published every Sunday, where religious and ethnic similarity are the most commonly requirements as ideal spouse. The finding is supported by the qualitative approach that even among the high educated person religious and ethnic similarity are an important condition for marriage). Moreover, reviving and re-inventing tradition are now flourished among many ethnic groups in Indonesia who do it for different reasons and interests as shown in literatures. (Maunati (2000) found invention of tradition in Dayak people in Kalimantan to develop tourism; Kleden et al. (2002; 2004) identified invention of tradition in Riau, Kalimantan and Nusa Tenggara in order to represent their local identity; Shahab (2004) demonstrated the phenomena of invention of tradition process among Betawi which has political implication for this indigenous people of Jakarta; Ernalem Bangun (2016) is interested in Chinese community in Pondok Cina who invented their tradition in order to unite their variants ethnic groups) The findings of this writing therefore will contribute for further study of ethnicity particularly of multiculturalism policy.



1. Brief Portrait of Hadrami Community

1.1. Demography

Census 2000 and 2010 show that Indonesia is a multi-ethnic country (BPS, census 2000 and 2010.) (This census show the distribution of ethnic composition of in Indonesia. Census is one of demographic sources in Indonesia besides population registration and survey. Census in Indonesia was first introduced in 1930 and then conducted in 1961, 1971, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. Only three censuses which provide data on ethnic composition and distribution in Indonesia namely the 1930, 2000 and 2010 census). The censuses show that besides the groups classified as indigenous people consisting of hundreds of ethnic groups, there are also other groups such as Chinese, Arab, India and others. (Due to the term applied in census, we use term Arab when we quote the census data.) Except for the Chinese descendants and Arab descendants, the number of Indian and other ethnics is very few that there is no further discussion about them.

The data shows that there are two groups of Arab, those who hold foreign citizenship and those who hold Indonesian citizenship. The same case applied also for the Chinese, the largest minority group in Indonesia. Apart from the Chinese and Arab, there were twelve ethnic groups with foreign origins recorded in the census such as American, Australian, Indian, British, Japanese, Korean, Malaysian, Pakistani, Filipino, Singaporean, Thai and Dutch (Arifin, 2016:6). There is 93717 Chinese in 2000 whilst the Arab is 10064. The Arabs who hold foreign citizenship, includes Hadrami and non-Hadrami, spread throughout Indonesia except in the provinces of Bengkulu, Kepulauan Bangka Belitung, and Sulawesi Tenggara. The largest number lives in Jawa Barat and Jawa Tengah. It is interesting that although they hold foreign citizenship, some of them live in rural areas (8% and 4% respectively in Jawa Barat and Jawa Tengah). It is shown by the census that the Arab foreign citizenship spread throughout all provinces, whilst the Arab Indonesian citizenship are found only in Central and East Java. (Our paper on Arab Village (Shahab, 2010) stating that there was no data on Arab in census 2000. Later we found that the data was available for 2 of 30 provinces in Indonesia. When writing Arab Village, we used data of Jakarta and Sumatera Selatan where there were no information about the Arab.) It is not clear why there is no record on Arab Indonesian citizenship in 28 other provinces since many literatures show that there are Arab village in some places in Indonesia such as in Palembang, Jakarta, Jawa Barat, Gorontalo and Maluku Utara (Subhi,1998; Slama, 2005; Magenda,2005). (Apparently



that their number is so small so that they are classified as others or are categorized as local people in census).

Arab village or *kampong* in Jakarta can be grouped into two namely old Arab village which was formed during the colonial era and the new one which is formed after Indonesia independence day. (Information on Arab Village see Shahab 2010) The old one were Pekojan, Kerukut, Tanah Abang and Petamburan which were formed as effect of government policy which prohibit the Arab and Chinese go out of Batavia without pass permission. Whilst the new one are Kampung Melayu, Pasar Minggu, Rawabelong and Condet. (We only discuss Arab village in Jakarta since my research was conducted in this city. This writing therefore is about Hadrami in Jakarta) Although it was called as Arab village the Arab is not the dominant group in this area. In old Arab village the Arab lived in a group surrounded by Chinese and the indigenous, whilst in new Arab village the Arab spread among non-Arab people. Nowadays, the old Arab villages are disappearing turn into *Pecinan* (Chinese village) and the new one is in process of formation.

The formation of new Arab village is an extension of the old one. The development in the center city and the population exploitation have pushed the Arab into the fringe areas. Those who lived in north Jakarta (Pekojan and Kerukut) moved to East Jakarta such as Kampung Melayu, Cawang and Condet. Those who lived in Central Jakarta (Jati Petamburan) moved to Rawabelong in West Jakarta. Now Condet and Rawabelong become new Arab village in Jakarta which are dominated by Hadrami from Jawa and Palembang. (Although number of Hadrami is apparent in this area, they are not dominant group. Besides, the Hadrami in public life will identify themselves as local people so that Hadrami in Jakarta become Arab Betawi; those in west Jawa become Arab Sunda and those in Central and East Jawa become Arab Jawa etc. (Shahab, 1994; Ganiem 2007). About Condet read Shahab 2010) The presence of Hadrami in Condet has turned Condet from Betawi village into area coloured by Arabic sense such as travel bureau specialized for Haj and umroh; office for labour business to middle east; shops which sell Arabic perfume, costumes, food etc and Arab restaurants. Most of these businesses owned by Hadrami. The presence of Al Hawi (association belong to Hadrami) and graveyard of most prominent Hadrami religious leaders have perfected the Hadrami atmosphere in Condet. (The sub chapters on religion below describes the important role of Hadrami religious figures cemetery) If Condet fail become an Arab village, then Arab village will stay as historical piece of Jakarta.

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1.2. Communication media

Many development programs often push people who used to live collectively into geographically dispersed communities. This situation has forced them to have media for communication (Parkin, D 1966; Little, K., 1970; Doglass, 1972; Shahab, 2004;). It happens among the Hadrami whose settlement was removed for development (Shahab, Y 2010). Although currently there is no location named Arab village (*kampong* Arab) in Jakarta, Hadrami community still have communication forums which are unintentionally or intentionally established for the members. The communication forum unintentionally established is religious events such as celebration of Islamic holy days and shrine pilgrimage as well as other important events family life cycle (*rites de passages*) such as marriage and death. Eng Seng Ho even wrote that pilgrimage is the unifier of diaspora Hadrami. Kinship and faith system serve as communication of the members.

1.3. Kinship system as communication arena

1.3.1. Маггіаде

Marriage and death in Hadrami community in Jakarta have performed as a communication media because in those circumstances members of community are expected to participate. Only when they have serious problem that they will not be able to come to this important event. Wedding ceremony consists of four stages: lamaran, nikah, resepsi and pulang tiga hari which each stage has uniqueness in terms of age, gender of the participants as well as tradition. Lamaran is the stage where the groom parties propose a women and this stage has constituted a communication media for senior women in general. Nikah which is the sacral stage where groom and bride are religiously recognized as husband and wife has been a media for men particularly the senior group members. Resepsi is wedding party which involve all ages, gender, relatives and non-relatives such as friends, neighbours, Hadrami and non-Hadrami. Since it is attended by those who are not relatives, *resepsi* is the only stages which involve diversity groups in terms of ethnic and religion. At the same time, it becomes a media for Arab from all ages, both men and women. Pulang tiga hari is communication media for junior and senior women only. Of the four stages, only the resepsi that involve a lot of non-Hadrami people. Lamaran stage is generally intended for women and nearly all ceremonies adopt local tradition where the events take place. When



one of the couple come from different background other than Hadrami community, then the tradition of the couple will also characterize the event. When the couple and the family are migrant in that place, then engagement ceremony will be characterized by tradition of their origins. Thus *lamaran* stage is characterized by local tradition that hardly Hadrami element can be found.

The second stage is agad nikah (Islam marriage contract) being the most sacred and important part because it legalizes a marriage. *Agad nikah* is an arena for relatives so that usually only the family members and Hadrami community attend the session. Family leaders, religious leaders, and society leaders attend this session. Officers of the Religious Affair Office or locally known as *Kantor Urusan Agama (KUA)* who are officially present play almost no significant role in *agad* because their role has been taken by the religious leaders who are mostly Hadrami. Officers of KUA role only sign all document and become official witness of the event, documenting the marriage. The *nikah* stage represents male domination. Although women are sometimes present in the session, however they sit in separate place. Women who are present in the marriage are exclusively those who have close relationship with the couple. Different from the engagement stage that characterized by local tradition the marriage is predominantly characterized by Islamic religious symbol as well as Hadrami tradition. While expecting the coming of the guests, Al Qur'an is recited. Bridegroom as well as religious leaders and many attendants wear Arabic clothes such as *qamis, radi* and *kopiah putih*. (As a matter of fact, this is also recognized a symbol of Islam, so Islamic community other than Hadrami often wear this costume for Islamic festive) The bridegroom wears the middle east costume while the bride wears local or modern costume. Nowadays many brides choose muslim costumes which is influenced by middle east costumes for this occasion; the same thing happens for Indonesians. Marriage contract is held in Arabic, although the groom cannot speak Arab so that he has to memorize that marriage contract. The middle east culinary and music also characterize the event. Even particular culinary, kebuli, is obligatorily served in the ceremony of agad nikah. During the conversation, we may hear Arabic vocabularies. Rebana and gambus music which is Arabic music can be heard in this important family event. The sense of Hadrami is very apparent in agad nikah.

The next stage is *resepsi* that involve all age groups and both sexes, both Hadrami and non-Hadrami. Relatives, friends, neighbors who are not Hadrami are also invited to this party. Therefore, the *resepsi* is highly characterized by local and international tradition including the cloth, ornament, music, or culinary, while sense of Hadrami is minimal. If the *resepsi* does not involve non-Hadrami, then Hadrami atmosphere such



as music and dance will colour this event. However, this is hardly happening. (we have only one experience where hardly non-Hadrami attend the resepsi stage)

The last stage is *ngunduh mantu* generally involving women of all age groups. Nonrelatives, friends, and neighbors are invited. Therefore, like the *resepsi*, *ngunduh mantu* presents local tradition and international tradition of cloth, ornament, music and culinary, while the sense of Hadrami is very minimal. Such as the case of *resepsi*, when *ngunduh mantu* does not involve non-Hadrami, then the sense of Hadrami is very apparent in at least the culinary, costumes, music and dance.

It is interesting that recently the young generation of Hadrami start to revive and recreate their traditional dance such as *dzifin* and belly dance in wedding party, not only men but also women. That dance is becoming important performance shown by the flourishing belly dance courses for women among Hadrami community, while competition of *samrah* and *zafin* for men is also developed. (These two kind of dances are popular both among Hadrami and non-Hadrami. The *dzifin* competition show that many musicians, singers, dancers are non-Hadrami).

The marriage preferences in Hadrami is endogamy marriage. This show that Hadrami community consciously maintain their group existence through marriage. Although the tendency of exogamy marriage increases over time however endogamy remains the most ideal marriage (Shahab, 1975; Tri Dewiyanti, 2009; Ganim 2007). Apart of its function as persisting ethnic existence, endogamy has unintentionally become media of maintaining identity through use of cloth, culinary and arts. Since Hadrami costume in general are recognized as Moslem costume so it becomes commodity. So that they who become consumers not only Hadrami, but also non-Hadrami moslems that become subject of costume commodity. The same case happens for arts namely songs and dance. Marriage therefore is the media of kinship that not only maintained the identity and existence of this group, but also has successfully re-created and invented the identity of the group.

1.3.2. Death

Death is an arena of gathering for the Hadrami family and relatives, particularly those having close relationship with the decease. This function is also apparent in *tahlil* held in three days or seven days in a row after the death which is named *tahlilan*. *Tahlilan* involves not only family but also muslim friends and neighbours who participate contribute things such as sugar, coffee, flour, cakes as symbol of sympathy and cooperation. In this ceremony, family arena has been transferred into social arena



which involve neighbours and friends. What is important in these activities is the recitation of *tahlil* to commemorate the deceased through *doa* (prayer). This tahlilan is often held yearly called *hawl*. The *hawl* of prominent religious figures can be attended by thousands of people from all over places so that it serves the function as the arena of communication for Hadrami community as written by Arrai (2010:15):

" I would like to point three elements that help to tie the family together: history, the family tree and saints (2010:14)

"..... the annual ceremonies commemorating them (hawl) also function as a way to tie those connected to them together. These ceremonies serve as occasions at which direct descendants and close relatives see each other"

Khaul as the arena of communication for Hadrami is clearly seen in the commemoration of *khaul* of religious leaders where thousands of people gather. Commemoration of *khaul* of religious leaders is attended not only by Hadrami community but also by non-Hadrami, both who do not only live in the town where *khaul* is taking place, but also by people from other town or even other provinces. There pilgrimage come from outer Indonesia such as Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore. Commemoration of death is arena of gathering for Hadrami community and non-Hadrami from all over places so that the event attracts many people and accordingly the road is flooded by people.

Likewise, tradition of pilgrimage shrine also serves the function of communication media for Hadrami community. It even unifies diaspora community because it is attended by diaspora Hadrami who are geographically dispersed. Pilgrimage is not time-bound. People can do it at any time. Even twenty-four hours. Some have pilgrimage until late of the night. Shrine pilgrimage is not dominated by Hadrami community, but also non-Hadrami community with larger number than Hadrami community. Like commemoration of *hawl*, pilgrimage shrine is also an arena of integration for both Hadrami and non-Hadrami community.

Economic activities such as instant market in the tradition of pilgrimage shrine and *khaul* are commonly taken place. They sell commodities which is related to religious service equipment such as *tasbih, sajadah, kopiah*; or even commodities which has no relation to religious service such as cloth, books, photos of religious leaders, music and food. All of them have the sense of Hadrami. If Ho (2004) and Arrai (2010) reckon tradition of *hawl* and pilgrimage shrines function as unifying the Hadrami diaspora, the writer perceived this tradition not only as unifying among the Hadrami community,



but also between Hadrami and Islamic community in Indonesia as well as arena of invention of Hadrami tradition.

1.4. Commemoration of Islamic holy days

Celebration of Islamic holy days in Indonesia such as *maulid, Isra Miraj, Nuzul al Qur'an, Nisfu Syaban,* particularly celebration of *maulid,* has become the central celebration attended by thousands of Muslims. Like pilgrimage shrines and commemoration of *hawl,* this Islamic days celebration are not only attended by local people of Hadrami and non-Hadrami, but they also come across the country of Indonesia. Many Hadrami religious leaders known as *habib* attend this celebration. Of course there are famous Indonesian religious figures as well. Number of public speakers of Hadramaut or graduating from Hadramaut are invited since many Hadrami families and Indonesian send their children to study in Hadramaut who return as *da'i. (Since colonial era many Hadrami sent their sons to Hadramaut to study Islam. This tradition had stopped however since 19970s. But start from 1980 this tradition has revived not only among*

the Hadrami but also among the muslim Indonesia) Even now, prominent religious figures from Yaman who specifically come to Indonesia are important element figures in the celebration. Therefore, the role of this celebration as communication media for diaspora Hadrami increases significantly because this media also establishes relationship with the homeland. (The relation with the homeland of Hadramaut from which they come from has ended for a number of decades until the year of 1970s. However since the 1980s many Hadrami as well as Indonesian have sent their children to study in Hadramaut.) In this celebration, number of Hadrami is quite few compared to non-Hadrami, but irrefutable this media is forum of communication for Hadrami and non-Hadrami. Ho (2004) commented that Hadrami are potentially creator of public space. (In 4th of November 2016 and 2nd of December 2016 there were two action in Jakarta named "Peaceful Action" as a protest directed to Governor of Jakarta who was blamed insulting Islam. These were the biggest action ever in Indonesia followed by millions of people led by both *habib* and *ulama*)

These religious festive are led by religious figures such as *ulama* and *habib* who sit at the very front line which is sometimes on the stage so that all attendance can see them. They recite *doa*, maulid and deliver speech. The speech usually is about Islam and also about current issues from Islam perspectives. The presence of *ulama* or *habib* is an important factors which draw people to come. On the other hand, this event is a





stage to promote religious leaders. These ceremonies therefore have formed intense relationship among religious leaders and between religious leaders and *umat*.

The new trend in celebration of Islamic holy days is the establishment of *majlis taklim* for women. Those who involve in this event such as the committee, program coordinator as well as audience are all women. Like in celebration of religious holy days for men, celebration of religious holy days for women also involve religious leaders from Hadramaut or graduate of Hadramaut. Currently it is a trend where many Hadrami families send their daughters to study Islam in Hadramaut so that now there are many charismatic female religious leaders who have big influence among women.

In the whole month of *maulid*, there are can be two to three *maulid* celebration every in a day in different *majlis taklim* and this is true for both male or female *majlis taklim*. Every celebration invites several religious leaders so during *maulid* month religious leaders are extremely busy. Religious leaders who attend the celebration are both Indonesian and Hadrami. This regular yearly celebration has promoted the number and quality religious leaders as well as relationship between religious leaders and their *umat*. The "Peaceful Action" on *4th* of November and *2nd* of December 2016 trigger question: How do these religious leaders mobilize millions of people to come to the occasion in a very short time? Apparently their role on religious festive have developed intense relationship with their *umat* as stated by Eng Sen Ho (2010) that they succeed to create potentially public space.

It is a tradition in Indonesia that religious festive have created "instant markets" selling such commodities with Islamic characters as cloth, books, photos, CD, food mostly represent the sense of Hadrami. This celebration has not only facilitated the communication for Hadrami members, but also revive as well as reserve symbol of Hadrami identity which have been transformed into Islam identity and have been shared by both Hadrami and non-Hadrami. Development of Islam in Indonesia has accelerated development of Islamic commodities. This commodity is perceived as Islamic culture as well as Hadrami identity.

The same case is also taken place in art. Along the history, people need art to meet the need for beauty in all aspects of life, both in sacral and secular sphere of life. However, we have to avoid the classification of art into sacral and secular arts since many arts show the obscured limits between sacral and profane arts as shown by Alatas in case of *zafin* (Alatas, 2010). It is the case in Indonesia where many religious events both in private and public domain are celebrated by performing arts. Historically, Islamic arts in Indonesia also represent the identity of Arab community, because historically Islam was introduced to Indonesia by Hadrami, then Arabic element reflects





Hadrami. The development of art as a commodity has resulted the rapid development of Islamic art. Therefore, the current Hadrami art belongs to and become the identity of other Indonesian ethnic groups who are moslems. (Alatas (2010) illustrated *zafin* as the case of development of Hadrami dance to the possession of local ethnics in Indonesia. Currently it is acknowledging as *zafin* Riau, *zafin* Melayu, *zafin* Betawi and still many others) Dual role of Islamic art as the identity of Islamic community on the one hand and as identity of Hadrami community on the other hand has caused Islamic art as the adhesive of the two ethnic groups, Hadrami and non-Hadrami. Islamic art in private domain Hadrami has improved Hadrami identity and in public domain it has improved the role as adhesive for Islamic ethnic groups. Therefore, religious ceremonies besides serve the function as communication media and revitalization Hadrami identity, also function as unifier between Hadrami community and Islamic community in Indonesia. Bouchaib Slim said (2010:16)

"... indeed, they (author: Hadrami) successfully established a spiritual space. As Eng Sen Ho explained: "Hadramis were potential creators of public spaces and institution such as mosques, courts, schools and pilgrimage shrines." (2004:216).

1.5. Social organization

Historically, the Hadrami in Indonesia has established number of social organizations which reflect their concern on social and political conditions in Indonesia. Currently some of these this organization has shifted its function as communication media for Hadrami community. The organization among others are Jamiatul Khair and Arrabitah al Allawiyin as the oldest organization. The fact that communication media in general has developed affecting the development of media communication among the Hadrami community such as flourish *majlis taklim*, kinship groups and social media such as Facebook and WA group. However, the writer concerns only with Arrabitah and Jamiatul Khair because only these two organization serves as the communication media for all Hadrami Ba Alwee in Indonesia particularly in Jakarta while other communication only involves particular sub Hadrami communities, particularly kinship and friendship groups.

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1.5.1. Jamiatul Khair

Islamic reformation movement in 19 century led by Jamaluddin al Afghani and education reformation led by Muhammad Abduh in Egypt has inspired Hadrami community in Indonesia by establishing Jamiatul Khair in 1901 as a social organization. (Interview with a historical actor who fought against the Dutch in Jakarta. The informants also explained that one of the founder of Jamiatul Khair, Ali bin Ahmad bin Shahab, named his son Jamal due to his admiration to the struggle of Jamaluddin al Afghani) Suspicion of the Dutch colonial government toward Jamiatul Khair that rebel the Dutch government shown by the refusal to issue permit for Jamiatul Khair. The application was sent to the governor general W. Roseboom in 1903. The permit was only issued on 17 June 1905 after the application was revised and sent to Governor General J.V. van Hautz.

The education system in Jamiatul Khair was the first modern system that has been applied so that a number of historians suggest that Jamiatul Khair is the pioneer of modern Islamic education in Indonesia.

"... the importance of Jamiatul Khair lies on the fact that this organization has established modern education in the society of Islam (with statute, recorded member list, periodical meetings) and establish schools with relative modern system (curriculum, classes and the use of desks and boards). (Noer, 1973:71 quoted from Al Masjhoer, tt:47)

Masjhour stated that the official goal of Jamiatul Khair was not political matter, but their members individually held meetings with indigenous fighters against the Dutch colonial government and collaborated with Pan Islamism countries. In 1911 Jamiat Khair invited Muhammad al Hasyimi from Tunisia who fought against the French colonial government to be a teacher in Jamiatul Khair. By doing this Jamiatul Khair entered the social political activities through the collaboration with political parties at that time such as Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam (al Masyhour, nd: 30). The relationship and correspondence between Jamiat Khair and international Islamic world was established as shown in many articles about Jamiat Khair in newspapers in Egypt. Ali bin Achmad bin Shahab one of the members of Jamiat Khair was a correspondent of some international Islamic newspapers where he has sent his articles to several magazines and newspaper in Egypt and Turkey such as al Muayyad and Tsamarat al

Funnun newspaper. The articles revealed the cruel Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and British colonialism in Malaysia whose policy brought to misery among local people. (An interesting picture shown by Jamiatul Khair documents is that all members at that time wore Hadrami costumes such as robe and turban. Our interview with a son of Ali





bin Ahmad revealed that Ali bin Ahmad frequently went to Islamic countries such as Egypt, Turkey, Hadramaut, Saudi Arabia. When he travelled in Jakarta he always wore Turkish Tarbus to keep his charisma in the eyes of the Dutch because at that time Turkey was a very charismatic country among the European countries. As a landlord in Menteng, Ali bin Ahmad was allowed to take the train at the same class as the whites) Jamiatul Khair that was formerly intended to deal with education services had shifted into a political movement to fight the Dutch by Hadrami community. Jamiatul Khair therefore has served not only as educational institute, but also as a communication media for political purposes against The Dutch.

Jamiat Khair never suggested its members to fight the Dutch physically, but Jamiat Khair preferred utilizing the foreign newspapers in Islamic countries to fight the colonial government. By doing this, Jamiatul Khair has established relationship with Islamic leaders in Middle East. (Among others are Sayid Ali Yusuf the Publisher of al Muayyad newspaper; Ali Kamil the chief editor of Al Kiwa; Abdul Hamid Zaki the Publisher of al Musyawarah; Ahmad Hasan Tabarah the Publisher of Samarat al Funun; Muhammad Said al Majzub the Publisher of Qistah al Mustaqim; Abdullah Qasim the editor in chief of Syamsu al Haqiqah and Muhammad Baqir Beik the chief editor of al Adl). Correspondences between Jamiatul Khair and newspapers in the Middle East criticized the Dutch colonial government's oppression to Muslims in Indonesia. (Many articles written in Arabic in Islamic newspapers in Constantinopel and Egypt, such as al Muayyad (Cairo), Tsanara al Funun (Beirut) and Salam (Iskandariah), were addressed to the Dutch. Some articles were written by journalist from Betawi or Singapore and some articles were written by editors which reflected anger to the Dutch colonial government. Al Ma'lumat newspaper published in Constantinopel provided a permanent column contained news and analysis on anti-Dutch colonial government in Indonesia) (al Masjhour, tt:33-6). The roles of Jamiatul Khair related to political activities in Indonesia was commented by Muhammad al Baqir in his book "Thariqah Menuju Kebahagiaan":

"Attracted by the reformation idea of Jamiatul Khair which is pictured as the first locomotor of New Islamic World in Indonesia, particularly in Jawa, many religious and national figures applied as members of this organisation. Among others were the leaders who later established Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam and Boedi Oetomo. These leaders broadened their political knowledge through articles written by reformists from foreign Islamic countries."

The Dutch colonial government has oppressed the members of Jamiatul Khair and in 1917 some leaders were caught and interrogated. Among others, they were Ali bin Ahmad bin Shahab and Muhammad al Fakhir bin Abdurahman al Masjhor. In 1918



Jamiatul Khair as Middle East Foreigners organization was prohibited to get involved in any Indonesian organizational activities, and were threatened that the permit may be cancelled any time. Realizing the suspicion, Jamiatul Khair took a strategy by shifting into education foundation with the notarial document of 143 made before Notary Jan Willem Roeloffs with the new name of Yayasan School Djameat Geir (al Masjhour, tt:33-34). The struggle of this Hadrami community had forced the Dutch colonial government to limit the scope of Hadrami activities in Indonesia.

Due to different interpretation in religious affairs, Jamiatul Khair was splited into two. Some of them disagreed with the idea of Jamiatul Khair so then established Jam'iat al Irshad wal Islah in 1914. (This paper will not discuss al Irsyad because the writer never conducts research on this issue). A few years later Arrabitah al Allawiyah was founded, so that at that time there are three organizations: Jamiatul Khair, Al Irsyad and Arrabitah al Allawiyah.

1.5.2. Arrabitah Al Allawiyah

Arrabitah Al Alawiyah was established in Jakarta on 27 December 1928. The objectives were morally and materially enhancing Hadrami community; strengthening fraternity among ba Alwee particularly and Hadrami in general; educating orphans as well as helping widows and the poor; recording the lineage of ba Alwee, educating Islam teaching and Arabic and taking the necessary effort for the prosperity and security of Hadramaut (Assagaf, 2000). In 1931 an orphan home named Wakaf Rabithah Alawiyah Darul Aitam was established with the notarial document before the notary Dirk Johannes Michael de Hondt no. 40 dated 12 August 1931. The main role of Jamiatul Khair nowadays is running both education and Orphan Care Centre. Arrabitah headquarter is in Jakarta with branches in Pekalongan, Semarang, Solo, Surabaya, Tuban, Gresik, Tegal, Bangil and Palembang. Although Darul Aitam Orphan Home was established and financed by Hadrami community, the orphans accommodated in this institution mostly were Indonesian children.

Arrabitah which since its establishment intended as organization for men, gradually also established organization for women on 25 January 1979 which later in 1982 turned into Arrabitah Al Kheiriyah whose main roles is in education such as *Taman Kanak*-*kanak/Taman Pengajian Al Quran* (Al Quranic recital), education in Arabic language, *tauhid, fiqih, tafsir* as well as *tabliq* for women and teenagers from both Hadrami and non-Hadrami group (Tri Dewiyanti, 2009). This kind of activities are now flourished among the Hadrami which is known as *majlis taklim*.



Arrabitah Al Alawiyah is the only legal institution that can legalize one's status of being ba Alwee which is physically recorded in an identity card so that Arrabitah is also the only legal entity authorized to issue one's genealogy. Arrabitah is the data bank of all *Alawiyins* in Indonesia. Traditionally, the ba Alwi is expected to have their sons recorded in Arrabitah. Nowadays, however, a lot of ba Alwee do not do this. It is interesting to cite Arai's statement (2010:15):

"The second element that ties the family together is a detailed family tree. One of the obligations of the descendants of the prophet is to record their genealogy and Hadrami sada..., still fulfill the obligation. In sayyid house in South East Asia, one can often see a genealogical chart of the master of the house on the wall. The most complete record of their genealogy is, surprisingly, in Indonesia rather than in Hadramaut. Currently, two organizations in Jakarta, Rabitah Alawiyah and Naqobatul Asyrof al Qubro, are doing research on the genealogy of Hadrami sada and keeping records. The existence of this record allows the members of ... family to check how they are genealogically related to ... prominent figures of the family. Thus the ties among the family members are not based merely on a legend of having a common ancestor but on detailed records of genealogy."

Silaturahmi (re-union activities) in Arrabitah was held only once a year which is on the second day of Idul Fitri where many ba Alwi will go to the convention hall of Arrabitah to meet each other. The growing population, however, has caused growing members of this association so that some of them do not interested anymore attending the *silaturahmi* considering it is not effective due to the very large members. Therefore, they form their own *silaturahmi* forum at lineage level known as *arisan* which has been flourished among the Hadrami as an adaptation strategy to the decreased opportunity of communication among them.

The flourished *arisan* more functions as family rather than Hadrami re-union. Besides *arisan*, there is also association whose members are not based by kinship affiliation but by similar interest. The main objective is to make it as a communication forum with various activities based on the members' background. One of the activities is related art such as music, song and dance. Activation of these arts has enhanced and strengthened their ethnic identity which in turn enhancing and strengthening their solidarity and awareness as a group so that their existence in diverse ethnic groups is not threatened.

The decreased role of Arrabitah also resulted from the developing virtual communication media among Hadrami group. Many clans have their own WA group. One clan



may have more than one WA Groups. Based on my observation this kind of media has enabled communication among them live all over the world. This communication in virtual world among diaspora Hadrami has improved the quantitative network of Hadrami as well as their awareness and knowledge about Hadrami because much topics of communication was about their historical, cultural, and social existence.

1.5.3. The printed and electronic media

The printed media, electronic media as well as social media are generally used by any group, including ethnic group, for the group interests. There was a magazine published in Jakarta named "Pembina" owned by Shahab family. This magazine stood for a long time although it was finally dissolved. The substance was about national and international economic, political and Islamic issue. There was no news about Indonesian Hadrami at all. There was also Amanah magazine which was established and owned by Hadrami ba Alwi. As the same as Pembina the content was about Islam related to economic and politic in national and international scope. As a matter of fact, this magazine was not intended as a communication media for the people of Hadrami, but it is an economic business of a number of ba Alwi in Jakarta so that this media never functioned as an ethnic instrument. The orphanage association mentioned above, Darul Aitam, also published periodical magazine intended for Hadrami community consumption which inform family matters such as birth, marriage and death. Sometimes there are articles about Hadrami intended for internal knowledge. The difference between Darul Aitam, Amanah and Pembina was that Darul Aitam is for internal communication and consumption for the Hadrami community, while Amanah and Pembina were parts of Islamic magazines in Indonesia. Another difference is that the substance of Darul Aitam is about Hadrami community, whilst this was not the case for Amanah and Pembina. Therefore, the printed media owned by Hadrami community in private domain is intended for Hadrami community and the magazine in public domain is intended for Indonesian in general. (Also in the colonial era the printed media of Hadrami community in collaboration with the native to fight against the Dutch colonial)

There was no radio or television channel associated to Hadrami. There was neither program in radio neither in television which especially intended for Hadrami in terms by content nor by language. Apparently, there are only religious ceremonies and WA group which that unite the Hadrami. As a matter of fact, the religious ceremonies not



only unite the Hadrami, but also become media of relation between Hadrami and non-Hadrami.

2. Education

Besides media mentioned above, education is frequently used by ethnic groups for socialization so that their ethnic identity and existence that can be maintained. People of Amish in USA, for example, refused sending their children to go to government school in order to maintain their ethnic identity (Haviland, 1995). Chinese schools in Indonesia were not allowed by Indonesian government from 1970s until the end of 1990s so that the Chinese can assimilate with the indigenous. (Tan, 1964; Sigit, 1993; Bangun, 2016).

Jamiatul Khair which was established in 1901 was a social organization that changed the system of Islamic education in Jakarta. This was the oldest Islamic education organization Islam in Jakarta. Due to lack of teachers, it was decided by congress in 1911 to employ religious teachers and Arabic teachers, Muhammad al Hasyimi from Tunisia who rebelled French colonial government.

Apart from developing modern Islamic education system in Indonesia, the Hadrami figures through Jamiatul Khair also played the role as the teachers of Islamic leaders in Betawi. (For example Habib Hussein bin Abubakar Alaydrus, Habib Ali bin Hussein Alatas, Habib Ali bin Abdurahman al Habsyi, Habib Salim bin Jindan, Habib Zein Sulaybiyah. Among the *ulama* of Betawi being their students were KH Abdullah Syafie (the founder of pesantren Assyafiiyah, currently becomes Assyafiiyah Islamic University), KH Syafii Hazami, KH Abdurrazak Makmun, KH Abdul Manaf (pesantren Darun Nayah) (Abdul Aziz, 2002:39)) This school has also graduated many Islamic figures and Islamic reformers such as Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan (founder of Muhammadiyah), HOS Tjokroaminoto (founder of Syarikat Islam), H. Samanhudi (figure of Sarekat Dagang Islam), and H. Agus Salim. As a matter of fact, some of the Indonesian independent fighters had a strong relationship with Jamiatul Khair. The interesting point of this school is that the founder and the financial supporters are all Hadrami, but majority of the teachers and students were Indonesians. The curriculum was the same as national curriculum without any ethnic specificity. Therefore, different from other educational institute affiliated to particular ethnic which are mostly intended to strengthen the group identity, Jamiatul Khair never become a media of socialization of tradition and identity of Hadrami. (This also happened to al Irshad that in Jakarta, Tegal, Pekalongan,



Cirebon, Bumiayu and Surabaya. Like Jamiatul Khair, majority of teachers and students of al Irshad were Indonesians (Slama, Martin 2005))

3. Hadrami in Public Life in Indonesia

In Indonesian history, Hadrami generally worked in trade and property business. Many Hadrami became the landlords and had many properties for rent. They are not in that these businesses anymore now, since most of them now work in different professions. Therefore, there is no professions now particularly associated to this group which is perceived as stereotype of Hadrami, although there is still strong relationship between ethnic group and economic profession in Indonesia particularly in Jakarta which is shown in ethnic stereotype. The only profession that Hadrami still hold since the past time is professions related to Islam. *Majlis taklim* (religious courses), religious teacher, religious leaders are some professions attached to this group. Many outstanding *majlis taklim* and religious events are coloured by Hadrami. These facts led to the persistence of their charisma and dignity. The role of Hadrami in religious issues is the only old profession that is maintained until now.

Fadli (2011) who wrote about network and contribution of *ulama* Betawi in XIX century noted two out of nineteen *ulama* Betawi namely Sayid Usman bin Abdullah bin Agil bin Yahya (1822-1924) and *habib* Ali bin Abdurahman al Habsyi (1869-1968). The interesting point is that these two *habibs* still embraced their family named but still they were recognised as Betawi. Their short description should describe the background of Hadrami *ulama* as well as their position and role in Indonesian community.

3.1. Sayyid Uthman bin Abdullah bin Agil bin Yahya (1822-1924)

Sayid Uthman was born in Pekojan, Batavia in 1822 and had spent seven years to study Islam in Mecca. He then studied in Hadramout and Egypt for several months and spending his time to study *fiqih*, *tasawuft*, *falak*, *tarik* in Tunisia, Turkey and Syria. He then returned to Hadramaout. In 1862 he returned to Batavia until end of his life in 1914. He was promoted as *mufti* and *adviseur honorer* for Arab issues in Indonesia (1899-1914) as Dutch advisor in Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken. Sayid Uthman who was also known as Kiyai Bima has a great contribution in teaching Islam using printed media among the Betawi.

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3.2. Habib Ali bin Abdurahman al Habsyi

Habib Ali was a son from a rich successful *ulama* in Semarang named Habib Abdurahman bin Abdullah bin Muhammad al Habsyi and Nyai Salmah binti Haji Ali, a Betawi women from Mester Pulo, Jatinegara. Habib Ali was twelve years old when his father passed away. His mother send him to Hadramaut and Mecca to study Islam for eight years. He then returned to Batavia in 1889. He continued studying Islam from many outstanding *ulamas* all over Indonesia. He married A'isyah binti habib Ali Assegaf and had eight daughters and two sons. One of *habib* Ali son, Muhammad, become a famous *ulama* who was also had a famous *ulama* son named Abdurahman.

In 1890 habib Ali start his career as ulama and established a majlis taklim in Kwitang. (This majlis taklim become famous and every Sunday is flooded by thousands of people from Jabodetabek. The greater numbers take place in Islamic days' celebration such as maulid, isra mi'raj, nuzul al Qur'aj and habib Ali hawl every year. These events are always coloured by outstanding habib and ulama from Indonesia, Hadramout, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore) He also one of the founders of Jamiatul Kheir mentioned above. In 1911 he founded a modern Islamic school called Unwanul Falah. In 1918 he turned a surau next to his house into a mosque named ar Riyadh. He broadcasted Islam not only in Jakarta but also in Jawa, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Malaysia, Singapura, India, Srilangka and Pakistan. Pijper (1987 quoted from Fadli 2011:96) wrote in Isra miraj celebration in Pekojan Habib Ali who was old and tired gave his speech and said if he still had a chance to celebrate *isra miraj* next year. The audience cried hysterically. In my research in Cawang in 1990 the writer was told that habib Ali never touch the ground since people compete to carry him. This story also supported by Grijns (1991) who conducted research in Pulau Seribu. This reflect his charisma as habib. Most Betawi ulama's were habib Ali's students (Fadli, 2011:96). Kiyai haji Abdullah Syafii and Kiyai Haji Tohir Rohili who were adopted as habib Ali's sons were outstanding *ulama* in Jakarta. They are the founders of pesantren Assyafiiyah and pesantren Attahiriyahwhich become Assyafiiyah Islamic University and Attahiriyah Islamic University.

Habib Ali also had a very close relationship with Indonesian fighters such as Muhammad Husni Thamrin. *Habib* Ali was succeed as mediator between Dutch colonial and Parahyangan rebels so he was granted an honour by the Dutch. Habib Ali was imprisoned together with haji Agus Salim during Japanese occupation. He passed away in 1968. The story of *habib* Ali represent the role of many habib in Indonesia. (In 2016 there were two actions in Jakarta known as Peaceful Action in 4th of November and 2nd of December headed by *Habib* Riziq Shihab where million of muslims flooded the



streets surrounded the president and the City House. They were the biggest action in Indonesia history)

The role of the Hadrami in political life is reflected in their role in political party. Political party is one of the forum used by particular groups to play a political role and have political position. Therefore, it is normal that historically in a nation there are political parties for that associated to particular ethnic groups. It is also the case with of Hadrami community in Indonesia. In the Dutch colonialism, they established Partai Arab Indonesia or PAI for short.

4. Partai Arab Indonesia (Pai)

PAI chaired by A.R. Baswedan was established on 4 October 1934, commencing with a Congress held by Hadrami youth in Semarang which respons to Sumpah Pemuda 28 October 1928. The PAI declared as follows: 91). The Hadrami motherland is Indonesia (2). the Hadrami, therefore, has to stop of being isolated themselves (3). To fulfill their duty for Indonesian nation and motherland.

The Hadrami youth figures who attended the congress were from Jakarta, Pekalongan, Solo, Semarang and Surabaya. The Indonesian fighters welcome the PAI antuciasthically since they had companion against the Dutch colonial who continuously imprisoned the nationalist fighters and dissolved their parties. In this critical situation the Hadrami youth awoke and took position among the Indonesian although the Hadrami was categorized by the Dutch law as foreigners.

The PAI became famous in a very short time since all national magazine and newspapers in Indonesia broadcasted the PAI as a progressive party. All national leaders especially those from national or Islamic parties gave their support for PAI. For example, they helped PAI in cadering their members; they welcome PAI as member of GAPI (Gabungan Politik Indonesia – Indonesian Political Association). This reflected a recognition of the Hadrami as Indonesian. They were trusted as Indonesian. When GAPI held the Parliamentary Indonesian Movement, they trusted some PAI leaders to lead this movement in some provinces in Indonesia. PAI who had 60 branches all over Indonesia was also welcome as members of MIAI (Majelis Syura Islam Indonesia) which was a federation of all Islamic parties in Indonesia and some PAI members had an important role.

However soon after Indonesia got their independence, the Hadrami refused to revive PAI which had dismissed by Japanese during Japanese occupation in Indonesia. They refused to be given a new citizenship; as a matter of fact, they never refuse to be





Indonesian citizenship. J.M. Pluvier (1953) who often wrote about the role of PAI had named PAI as de *strijdbare* PAI which means PAI who always prepares to fight. Soon after Indonesian independence the Hadrami dissolved the PAI and those who were interested in political life entered the political parties suitable with their ideology **(**AI Qadri 1983; Magenda, 2005). Hadrami community even refused when the Round Table Conference in 1947 offered chairs in parliament to represent Hadrami community. They did it because they did not feel to be different from the Indonesian (al Qadri, 1996). This is reflected by newspaper in Semarang: *"We recognized the contribution of PAI in our national independence struggle ...* (Suara Merdeka, Semarang, 17 October 1953 page 25). A letter from Mr. Hatta the first vice president of Indonesia to A.R. Baswedan the founder of PAI also sounds the same spirit:

"The vowe of the Arab descendants youth in 1934 which stated: ... is ABSO-LUTELY CORRECT. They fulfilled the vowed by by joining GAPI (Gabungan Partyai Politik Indonesia – The Indonesian Political Parties Federation) as well as fighting the Dutch by scarifying their fighters. Indeed, the Arab youths struggles for independence of their new nation and country:"

Bouchaib Slim who studied the printed media of Hadrami community in Southeast Asia (2010:22) had similar comment:

This cooperation between Hadramis and Malays can be explained by the close integration of the early Arab and Malay Muslim religious and national movements before World War I. Such integration led the Hadramis to consider themselves members of the Malay community and, hence, this cooperation involved their love for Tanah Melayu, the Malay land.

There is no political party since Indonesian independence which represent Hadrami community.

5. Identifying the Unifying Factors in Plural Society

Endogamy marriage which is often perceived as obstacles factor for integration is still persisted as marriage preference among the Hadrami who is recognized, however, has no problem in integration process with Pribumi (literally means son of the soil). This rejects the argument that endogamy has a negative contribution for process of integration.



In fact, endogamy marriage contributes to the process of internalization and reproduction of tradition in Hadrami private sphere. The existence and resistance of tradition in Hadrami community is clear in private domain because Hadrami community maintains endogamy marriage. In fact, Hadrami identity is not apparent when the private domain events involve non-Hadrami community, because local, national, and international cultures are more dominant while Hadrami identity has been transformed into religious identity which is shared by both Hadrami and Indonesia. So there are no boundaries of self and other. Endogamy marriage which caused persistence and reproduction of tradition, therefore, never made Hadrami become other since they have been positioned and put themselves as indigenous Indonesians.

Hadrami community that maintains endogamy marriage as the preferred marriage and in turn maintains their tradition has not made them an exclusive group in public sphere. The ethnographic description of Hadrami shows that Hadrami community has never position themselves as 'other' in public sphere. In the contrary, they position themselves as the part of Indonesia. There is no tradition in public sphere that can be specifically identified as the tradition of Hadrami.

Education institutions are often used as a media for enculturation, but this is not the case for the Hadrami. In the contrary, education becomes a media for integration between Hadrami and non-Hadrami. Political party which is generally used to construct and persist ethnic power never happen among the Hadrami. Partai Arab Indonesia (PAI - Arab Political Party) represented Indonesian rather than Hadrami. So, it is out of questions when PAI dissolved themselves once Indonesia declares their independence. PAI did not fight for the Hadrami community, but they represented Indonesia.

The same case also for printed media belong to Hadrami during the colonial era in Indonesia which never represented Hadrami but Indonesia. Nowadays there is no media communication represents Hadrami in Indonesia. Thus there is no media in public sphere which represents Hadrami as other.

The interesting point related to Hadrami and Islam is flourished phenomena of commodification of some religious traits such as costumes and art. The acceleration of religious role in Indonesia brings to acceleration of Islamic holy days celebration and pilgrimage shrines. These religious events have become target of modification process so that ethnic tradition has been transformed into religious tradition. The transformation of Hadrami identity into religious identity made Hadrami become subject of modification process.

The acceleration of Islam in public sphere such as the celebration of Islamic holy days, pilgrimage shrines and the process of commodification of Islamic items bring to





the proliferation of Islam (read Hadrami) identity in public life such as costume, culinary, music's and accessories. These religious identities which originally Hadrami's identity are embraced not only by Hadrami but also by non-Hadrami both religious figures and the laymen. Thus the Hadrami identity in public life belong to both Hadrami and non-Hadrami Islamic community. The increasingly role of Islamic holy days celebration and the practice of pilgrimage shrines makes the Hadrami identity become closer attached to non-Hadrami Islamic community.

The same case is also applied in Hadrami private sphere where non-Hadrami is involved. Hadrami family events attended by non-Hadrami has transformed ethnic tradition into religious tradition. Thus in any space where Hadrami and non-Hadrami are involved then Hadrami identity disappear transforming into religious identity shared by both Hadrami and non-Hadrami. The relation pattern of elites in religious sphere as patron-client relation is quite unique where patron is not perceived as those who has power but as those who have charisma. Different from power which will end when factors related to power is ended, then charisma is permanently attached to the person since factors of charisma never ended. The presence of tradition which persists relationship with the dead makes their charisma stay alive through regular ceremonies. Tradition of pilgrimage shrines in Indonesia has persisted the charisma of the late religious figures. Due to this charisma, the dominant roles of Hadrami in religious life never become obstacles between Hadrami and non-Hadrami, on the contrary the role has become uniting factor between Hadrami and muslim non-Hadrami. So that not only sharing same belief but also the role and function religious leaders which positively contribute to the process of integration between Hadrami and non-Hadrami.

Tradition of long last studying Islam in Hadramaut never change Hadrami emotional attached to Indonesia. Their connectivity with Hadramaut is only religious connectivity where Hadramaut is a place to study Islam and the place of the holy prominent religious figures. As a matter of fact, tradition of studying Islam in Hadramaut has persisted the quality of traditional roles of Hadrami in Indonesia that is the role as religious figures.

The shifting of homeland from Hadrami to Indonesia among the Hadrami is legally took place through the vowed of Hadrami youth during colonial occupation followed by the formation of PAI (Partai Arab Indonesia). The join between PAI and Gapi (Gabungan Partai Politik Indonesia – Indonesian Political Party Federation) and the dissolution PAI soon after independence as well as the refute to have seat in parliament as Hadrami representation suggest that Hadrami never position and are positioned as others in public sphere.



The Hadrami case indicates that eliminating the exclusiveness position in public sphere while maintaining the identity in private sphere is one of the ways to keep the existence of ethnic diversity without risk of disintegration. Therefore, endogamy and maintaining ethnic identity are not obstacle for multiculturalism as long as they are not exclusive in public sphere.

Answering the question concerning the uniting factor in introduction above, it seems that the uniting factor exists in all aspect of life, social, cultural, economic and politics as long as one never put one as other in public sphere by having sole identity. Being others is not constructed by outsiders, but by the respective group itself by defining, creating, having own particular identities which differs from others. In contrast, one has to transform and construct identity and symbol, sharing with others in public sphere. There are many adhesives in many aspect of life.

Endogamy marriage is not necessarily taboo in the context of integration policy in multicultural society. What is taboo is positioning self as other in public sphere. It is noted that to be perceived as other is not created by external party but it is created by the respective group who construct itself different from others. Instead of being obstacle for integration process, endogamy should be maintained as asset in diversity because endogamy is a field for reconstructing and maintaining tradition.

This thesis rejects the social experts' opinions on Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity) which critique that Bhinneka Tunggal Ika stressing the importance of unity while ignoring the diversity (Suparlan 2000; Kleden, N.: 2004; Thung Yu Lan, 2010;). On the contrary, this paper suggests that there is nothing wrong with the policy concept of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in multicultural policy. Diversity can go along with unity as long as diversity is maintained in private sphere whilst unity is maintained in public sphere.

The question which needs further investigation is how to persist the multicultural evidence in public sphere whilst it is taboo to be other in this space. In other word multicultural is persisted in public space without being other. Further research is expected to provide the answer of this question.

6. Conclusion

 Although the Hadrami maintains ethnic endogamy as their ideal marriage which is frequently criticized as the obstacle for integration process in multicultural society, they are in fact well known as having no problem whatsoever in integrating themselves among the indigenous in Indonesia.



- 2. As a matter of fact, endogamy is not only persisting ethnic identity, but also enhancing it through the flourishment of invention of tradition especially that related to marriage ceremony.
- 3. The existing arguments that Hadrami community integrated perfectly among indigenous since they share the same faith can be accepted limitedly. The fact that the transformation of Hadrami ethnic tradition into Islamic tradition which is then shared by both Hadrami and non Hadrami which contribute to the smooth integration process.
- 4. This research suggests that there is no problem for Hadrami in integrating with the indigenous Indonesian since the Hadrami never position themselves as others in public life. The findings suggest that the most crucial factor which makes Hadrami is not perceived as other by Indonesian people because they never appear as other in public sphere. The Hadrami being Hadrami in private sphere and being indigenous Indonesian in public sphere; the Hadrami considers themselves as Indonesian and not as Arab.
- 5. The unifying factors can be created in every life sphere by not being others in public sphere. So that one should become ethnic group in private sphere and being national group in public sphere.
- 6. These research findings refuse the argument that policy of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is too emphasize unity that abandoned diversity. There is nothing wrong to emphasize unity in policy of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Diversity can be persisted within the unity as long as a group never represent themselves as others in public sphere.
- 7. The question is now how to persist diversity in public sphere if it is taboo to be others in this sphere. In other words, diversity can be persisted in public sphere without being others. Further research is challenged to answer the quest

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