ENDOGAMY AND MULTICULTURALISM:
THE CASE OF HADRAMI IN INDONESIA [1]

by
Yasmine Zaki Shahab

The number and spread of Arabs in Indonesia according to available census[2] comprises two main components, i.e. those embracing their Arab citizenship and those who have Indonesian citizenship. (**BPS, 2001?**)[3]**.** The Arabs embracing their Arab citizenship, including the Hadramis and Non-Hadramis, spread throughout the entire archipelago of Indonesia, except Bengkulu Province, Bangka-Belitung Islands, and South-east Sulawesi (Celebes). The majority of these are found in West Java and Central Java. In spite of their foreign citizenship, some of them live in villages, respectively 8% and 4% in West Java and Central Java. It is quite interesting to note that Arabs registered at the census as Indonesian citizens are only present in Central Java and East Java.[4] Whereas based on observation and available data of bibliography (Subhi, 1998; Magenda, 2005; van den Berg, 2005) the ba Alwi community has spread significantly in several other provinces like in Palembang, Jakarta, West Java, Bali, Gorontalo, east Nusatenggara, North Maluku and Irian. There is no clear explanation as to why Arabs in the other 28 provinces are not recorded as Arabs. There are approximately 10,751 Arabs spreading all over Central Java and 22,747 Arabs in East Java whereas the proportion of those dwelling in villages is 0.7% and 1.7 % respectively. This reveals that the exact number of Arabs with Indonesian citizenship is not clear, and the majority live in urban areas.[5]

Hadrami Communities anywhere can be easily identified from their physical and biological appearances as well as from their names since most attach their surnames after their first names. A number of articles written about these communities conclude that the most striking fact compared to other immigrant ethnic groups is that Hadramis mingle easily with the natives. They have practically no problem with that and they are no target for racial discrimination (Noer, 1982; Amal, 2005; Magenda 2005; Slama, 2005b). On the other hand, there are also articles revealing that there are indications Hadrami Communities in Indonesia retain their existence through endogamy marriage (Noer, 1982; Subhi, 1998; Ganim, 2007; Slama, 2005b; Tri Dewiyanti, 2009; *padang dissertation within women's*

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[1] The Arabs in Indonesia are descendants of migrants from Hadramaut; therefore any discussion regarding Arab community in Indonesia will practically refer Hadrami community. In many literatures we may find that Hadrami community in Indonesia comprises two main groups, namely ba-Alwi and Irsyadin. Since this paper is on Hadrami/ba-Alwi, hence the reference will be ba-Alwi(for further explanation regarding ba-Alwi and Irsyadin, read Shahab, 1975; Bujra, 1997; Slama, 2005b; Ganim, 2007; Tri Dewiyanti, 20090). We will use the term Hadrami when the reference is Hadrami in general, covering ba-Alwi and non ba-Alwi altogether. While the term "Arab" will refer to both Hadrami and the non-Hadrami community.

[2] Census constitutes one of the sources of data on Indonesia population besides population registration and survey. The first census carried out in Indonesia was in 1930. It was followed by other census in 1961, 1971, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010. Only two, out of the seven censuses carried out, presented data on the composition and spread of tribes in Indonesia, they are the census of year 1930 and that of year 2000. As for census of year 2010, no results could be reviewed yet because the census itself will be carried out later in 2010.

[3] The same goes for Chinese, the largest minority group in Indonesia. Indonesian population having Chinese citizenship are 93717, while those holding Arab citizenship totaled 10064 (BPS,2001).

[4] Unlike the information contained in our article "Ethnic Village in Urban Life" (Shahab, 2010) which mentions that there are no data on the Arabs in the census of year 2000, it appears that there exist data on this. However, it only goes for 2 out of the 30 provinces in Indonesia. Therefore, any related analysis we still regard as still relevant.

[5] It can be affirmed that these Indonesian citizens are generally Hadramis.

panel; Palembang writing within padang panel). Some of these articles even observe this as a negative phenomena in multiculturalism policy, under the assumption that any community rejecting exogamy means that they consider their group superior to other groups. If they do have a definite physical identity and they do maintain endogamy marriages, then why do the Hadrami communities have no problems in intermingling, and thus are not target for racial discrimination? In other words, why does ethnic endogamy pose no obstruction to the policy of multiculturalism?

Oftentimes we hear that a smooth acceptance of Hadrami communities or that Hadrami communities being perceived as non outsiders is caused by the similar religion shared by Hadrami communities and Indonesian natives in general. Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that this might constitute one of the factors that facilitates the smooth acceptance process of Hadrami Communities into indegenous communities, although not the sole factor. This writing tries to highlight factors that bring about easier acceptance of Hadrami Communities and why they are not considered outsiders and do not become target of racial discrimination in Indonesia.

I. ETHNIC IDENTITY AND MULTICULTURALISM

Similar to Chinese people in general, ba Alwi community and Hadrami community in Indonesia generally identify themselves with local community. For instance, in Jakarta Arabs and Chinese people become Betawi Arabs and Betawi Chinese;[6] they become Sundanese Arabs and Sundanese Chinese in West Java and Javanese Arabs and Javanese Chinese in Central/East Java (Shahab 1994; *Mely Tan 19XX see thesis yzs; Lohanda19XX*, Ganim, 2007).[7]

'Arab Kampong' is one of the indicators of the physical existence of Hadrami community since in these locations we can find a quite significant numbers of Hadramis among other ethnic groups. There are several spots in Indonesia referred to as 'Arab Kampongs'. Areas known as ''Arab Kampongs', are those where Hadramis can be found in relatively large numbers, eventhough their number is not dominant there. Similarly, this phenomenon exists in several cities in Central Java, East Java,Bali, South Sumatra, North Celebes, Gorontalo, East Nusatenggara, North Maluku and Irian. Once, there was an 'Arab Kampong' location in Jakarta, but it already faded away since they were marginalized and had to move to other areas in Jakarta. As a result, Jakarta possessing 'Arab Kampong' since the Dutch Era is now void of any location with such label(Shahab, Y 2010).

Aside from biological appearance and dwelling pattern which constitute physical indicator of an ethnic group, there are other differentiating factors that mark an ethnic group from other groups, such as cultural system (i.e. system of kinship, arts, belief) and social system (among others media of communications such as social/voluntary organization, newspaper, magazine, bulletin, radio and television, political and economic existence), often observed as characteristics of an ethnic group life. The above mentioned ethnical identities, in our view, may be categorized into two major categories namely identity on the private sphere such as systems of kinship, arts, system of belief and identity on the public sphere such as education, social organization, mass media, economic and political life. It is common that this identity, particularly cultural system, becomes a selected topic in writings on ethnic identity.

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[6] Betawi is the native population of Jakarta (Description on this Betawi Arabs can be found in Shahab 1994).
[7] 'Arab' term is used here since that is what people in daily life in Indonesia call Arabs.

Invention of tradition which colors the process of ethnic revitalization in modern society shows that cultural system does indeed become a target of the invention process as socialized through mass media and educational institutions (Cohn. 1983; Ranger, 1983; Trevor-Roper, 1983; Shahab, 1994; *Maunati*; Kleden, 2004). The empirical data suggests this writing to discuss educational institutions, system of kinship, arts, system of belief and media of communications. Contextually, system of kinship, system of belief and social organization will be discussed in the context of media of communications. While arts, such as music, dances and songs, will be part of ceremonies functioning enhancing ethnic identity of the respective group. Hence, media of communications, arts, educational institutions, political and economic life, will be the following topics in the framework of understanding issues on endogamy and multiculturalism within ba Alwi community in Indonesia.

II. MEDIA OF COMMUNICATIONS AND REVITALIZATION OF TRADITONS

It is quite common that in areas where there are developments going on, ethnic groups, both indigenous people as well as migrants living as communities, are liable to be shifted and they will spread throughout the geography and then form media of communications among their members. (Little, K, 1970; Cribb, 2000; Douglass, 1872; Shahab, 1994; Slama, 2005). The same thing occurs to Ba Alwi community whose living space was moved by the development process (Shahab, y, 2010). In spite of having no Kampong Arab location of its own, this ba Alwi community has its own means of communications they accidentally form without being aware of it initially. That is, through their religious ceremonies celebrating important events in Islamic religion, *ziarah* activities, and other life cycle ceremonies such as weddings and deaths. Thus the system of belief and of kinship have build up into a function of media of communications, beside social organization that is intentionally build as a means of communications among its members.

System of Kinship

1. Wedding and Death

Ceremonies related to marriage and death, are events where all members of the community are expected to attend and show participation. A wedding ceremony that consists of several stages constitutes a media of communications for certain age groups and different sexes only. *Nikah* is a media of communications exclusively for males and seniors in particular. While *ngunduh mantu* (daughter-in-law welcoming ceremony) is a media of communications exclusively for women, and particularly seniors at that. Wedding reception is a media of communications for all ages and both sexes. Marriage preferences show that this community intentionally makes effort to maintain its existence through endogamy marriages. Although exogamic marriages increase from time to time, endogamy still remains the ideal marriage institution (Subchi, 20xx; Ganim 2007; Tri Dewiyanti, 2009). Endogamy marriage institution functions not only maintaining the community existence, but also being a media to retain its identity as several items such as dressing code, culinary recipes, and arts' performances constitute main characteristics which are all exposed in these important family gatherings. Bridegrooms always put on Arabic clothes; *kebuli* is always the wedding's special culinary; desert songs accompanied by *rebana* and *gambus* musical instruments will color important family gatherings. The proliferation of culinary recipes, fashion and arts as commodities also turns marriage ceremonies as arena for invention of tradition. Hence

marriage institution appears to be a media of communications not only succeeding in retaining this particular group's existence but also constituting a ground for invention of tradition and identity.

Death constitute an important arena for ba Alwi gathering from every stratum of the community particularly clans close to the demise. Repetition of this function will be held on the third and seventh day following the death and the ceremony is referred to as third day *tahlil* and seven day *tahlil* respectively. *Khaul* is the annual commemoration of death also functions as a means of communication. And for every annual commemoration of the death there is *khaul* another means of ba Alwi communications, especially if the demise happens to be an outstanding religious figure, as thousands of people will attend the gathering. The important part of this gathering is the citing of *tahlil* in remembrance of kinsmen already passed away through prayers that are sent to them. All who died as prominent figures and senior kinsmen of the demise, and all deceased religious figures have never been missed in these prayers. The same thing also occurs in visits to the graves of the late important figures (*ziarah*). So, beside all ceremonies performed for the demise, graves also function as media of communications for ba Alwi community, and also function as a resistance for *nasab*.[8]

2. Islamic Holy Days

Islamic holy days celebrations such as *Mauled*, *Isra Mi'raj, Nuzul al Qur'an, Nisfu Syaban*, particularly *Mauled*, have also evolved into a center of celebration attended by thousands of people. The lustrous celebrations of *Mauled* throughout Indonesia, especially when held by outstanding religious figures or at the residence of prominent religious figures have enhanced the communications of ba Alwi community. We have made observations on Yaman's prominent religious leaders who have especially made a visit to Indonesia and thus form an important organ in such celebrations.[9] The proliferation and increase of roles of Islam in Indonesia cause the involvement of non ba-Alwi Moslem in these religious ceremonies. The attendees are not only religious figures of the ba Alwi community, but also Islamic public figures in general. It is in these celebrations that symbols of ethnic identity such as clothing articles, culinary items, and arts add luster to the glory of the ceremony. The symbols mentioned have now become universal Islamic symbols and are tightly related to Islamic symbols' development, as shown by the white head cap, *qamis, abaya, radi*, which are not only worn by ba Alwi members but also by all guests of non ba Alwi community. The same goes for all branches of arts that constitute Islamic symbols and that are enjoyed and developed not just by the ba Alwi community, but also by the Islamic community in general as well. Thus, religious events (visits to graves, and celebrations of Islamic holy days) have become not only a means of identity revitalization for the ba Alwi community but also have united the ba Alwi themselves and between the ba Alwi and other Islamic communities in Indonesia.

3. Social Organization

Social organizations are not just educational institutions commonly used as socializing media for ideology and identity but also grounds frequently used by ethnical groups to retain their traditions or, without them being aware of it, a media to defend their traditions (Douglas, 1972). Two of the most

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[8] As for *nasab* as the community bond for ba Alwi, refer to S.F. Alatas (1997). Slama (2005b) indicates that *nasab* is also important for the non-ba Alwi Hadrami.

[9] Observations made by Martin Slama on ba Alwi community in Indonesia supports our own observation (Slama, 2005)

outstanding social organizations within the ba Alwi community. Darul Aitam and Arrabitah al Alawiyah, possess significant roles, development, and functions.

3.1 Darul Aitam Orphanage

The ba Alwi community in Jakarta through Dirk Johannes Michiel de Hondt's Notary Act No.40 dated August 12, 1931, established Darul Aitam Orphanage. The purpose of this institution is to help educate orphans till they reach senior high school level and then return them to their respective parents. Religious education is given intensively outside school. With head-quarters in Jakarta, this institute has branches in Pekalongan and Aceh. This Darul Aitam institution, although established and funded by ba Alwi community, raises orphans with a majority of non ba Alwi children.[10] This is suppurted by Slama's findings in Bali.:"In general, organizations established by descendants of Hadramaut's immigrants, Alawiyin as well as non-Alawiyin, bring positive impacts to the local Moslem and local people. For example in establishing schools, hospitals, orphanages, distribution of zakat-fitrah, these activities always include local people, either as participants or as employees. This supporting factor of integration is also apparent in Bali. In Negara, the Chairman of Al Irsyad organization is an Indonesian, and so are the majority of members.Similarly, in Singaraja, the majority of members of al Irsyad organization are non-Hadrami Moslems" (2005 b:19-20).

3.2 Arrabitah Al Alawiyah

Arrabitah Al Alawiyah was established in Jakarta on December 27, 1928 with the following objectives (Assegaf, 2000):

a. Making efforts to enhance ba Alwi morally and materially
b. Promoting brotherhood relationship among ba Alwi community members in particular and among Hadrami descendants in general
c. Providing education for orphans
d. Providing help to widows, the poor, the jobless, and the disabled
e. Organizing registration on ba-Alwi descendants and protect their wealth[11]
f. Spread Islamic education, Arabic language and so on.

It appears that only three out of the six functions mentioned above still prevail to date, namely registration of ba Alwi descendants, promoting brotherhood relationship and providing help for orphans.[12] Arrabitah Al Alawiyah is the only legal body that is capable of providing legitimacy upon the status of a person as ba Alwi which is physically stated through an identity card. It is a tradition for a ba Alwi father to register his son or sons to ensure that they are legally registered in this organization. Consequently, Arrabitah is the only legal body possessing the authority to issue the genealogy of a ba Alwi person (Allatas, S.F. 2005)

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[10] Darul Aitam now takes charge **of … ba Alwi as well as … non** ba Alwi orphans.
[11] Arrabitah is the only organization that possesses complete data of the total number of ba Alwi in Indonesia. Arrabitah constitutes the data bank of Alawiyah in Indonesia
[12] Darul Aitam is a sub organization of Arrabitah

Ever since its founding, Arrabitah Al Alawiyah is an all-male organization both in its structure as well as activities. Yet, during its course of development, Arrabitah eventually established an organization exclusively for women on January 25, 1979 which in 1982 became Arrabitah al Khairiyah. This all-female organization carries out educational function such as running kindergarten activities, Arabic language learning courses, teachings of *tauhid*, *fiqih*, *tafsir*, and *tablig* for mothers and female teenagers attended by ba Alwi and non-ba Alwi women (Tri Dewiyanti, 2009). Such activities as carried-out by al Khairiyah are currently mushrooming among ba Alwis and non ba-Alwi, men and women alike, known as *majlis taklim* activities. These Islamic educational activities enhance communications frequency among ba Alwi and Islamic population.

The function of silaturahmi in Arrabitah only takes place once a year. On the second day of Iedul Fitri ba Alwi male adults gather at Arrabitah meeting hall for the purpose of *silaturahmi*. As the number of members absolutely accumulates, the level of participation relatively decreases. Those who withdraw claiming that the real function of *silaturahmi* is not fully served anymore in such a large gathering. Therefore they run *silaturahmi* within family clan only which is much smaller. Turning small clan into formal organization is popularly known as *Arisan Keluarga* (*Family Arisan*) and this currently has become a tradition as an adaptive strategy of decreasing communications opportunity among alawiyins. These *arisan* groups develop rapidly in number among ba Alwi people and these small clan gatherings run their *silaturahmi* through activities preserving their ethnical habits and symbols. A number of members that is not too big effectively creates communications. Aside from *family arisan*, there are also *arisan* groups with similar activities wherein membership is not based on clan but rather on coincidence as ba Alwi community members. As a communications forum, the main purpose is to carry out various activities according to background of participants together with other activities that may activate symbols of these groups. Activation of symbols within these clan activities does promote their identity and solidarity as members of the same group and therefore their existence as ba Alwi among other ethnic groups will remain solid and could not be subjected to any threats.

4. Printed Media

Printed media, electronic media and media of social organization are common media used by any group including ethnic groups, for the interest of their respective groups.[13] However, in the history of Arabs in Indonesia, there has never been any newspaper or magazines that can be associated with this group. Once, there was a newspaper published in Jakarta under the name "Pembina" which was established by some ba Alwi in the **year ...** However, the substance of this magazine entirely did not contain matters related to the ba-Alwi, Hadrami or Arab community. Just like any other newspaper in general, this magazine published information of national and international politics, particularly that related to Islam and the Islamic world. This magazine was published without the intention to serve as media of communications for the ba Alwi, Hadrami or Arabs but rather as a business means for some ba Alwi in Jakarta, and therefore this media never functioned as a means of socialization or as a means to preserve the identity for the ba Alwi. This magazine became consumption for the Indonesian society for quite some time until it was dissolved in **year ….** Jamiatul Khair, an educational institution during the Dutch colonial period, published "Al Mu'yat" newspaper and "Al Liwa" magazine, both using Arabic

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[13] Kompas Daily newspaper (March 2010) expresses concern the development of indications in Indonesia where printed and electronic media are under the control of certain groups may only serve their own interests.

language as their media, served the purpose of spreading Pan Islamic ideology through-out Batavia and the entire archipelago. Darul Aitam Orphanage publishes its Darul Aitam Magazine regularly for the consumption of ba Alwi community. The activities of Darul Aitam orphanage and family news constitute the content of this magazine. Similarly, "Amanah" magazine owned by the ba Alwi has contents on Islamic news. The difference between "Pembina", "Amanah" and "Darul Aitam" magazines is that "Darul Aitam" is distributed internally and contains communications and internal consumption among ba Alwi community; whereas "Amanah" and "Pembina" are parts of the magazine world on Islamic news in Indonesia. The next difference is that the substance of "Darul Aitam" magazine expresses its ba Alwi identity, unlike "Amanah" and "Pembina" magazines which presented news about the Islamic world. Hence printed media owned by ba Alwi community in private sphere provides news for the consumption of ba Alwi community, while magazines covering public sphere constitute Islam-related public consumption. As for electronic media, there is no radio broadcaster or television channel that can be associated with ba Alwi. Neither is there a television channel in Indonesia that particularly broadcasts programs for ba Alwi community, either in contents or language. Therefore in the public sphere there is no printed or electronic media with exclusive substances on ba Alwi and for the sole consumption of ba Alwi.

III. ARTS

All through the times and wherever it may be, there always appears a keen interest in arts as life fulfillment for beauty. The fulfillment of this need can be found in all aspects of life. Even music has the power of enriching religious life. The same also occurs in Jakarta, where Islamic-related important festivities both in private and public sphere are frequently accompanied by Islamic arts. Based on its development history, this Islamic arts also constitutes the identity of Arab community in general. The development of arts as a commodity results in the rapid growth of this cultural element. Yet, Islamic arts are more likely developed by non-Arab groups rather than by Arab communities. Islamic Arts are indeed viewed as the identity, symbol and possession of Islamic communities. Since this cultural element has also become the possession and identity of certain ethnic groups thus as group identity Islamic arts is no more the exclusive possession of the Arabs. Islamic arts' double roles as Islamic identity on one side and as that of Arab community on the other, has resulted in Islamic arts becoming a bond between both different ethnic groups. The development of Islamic arts has improved the identity quality of the ba-Alwi and has promoted bondage among Arab community, ba Alwi, and Islamic communities in general.

IV. EDUCATION

Jamiatul Khair Foundation

Beside media of communications, various ethnic groups frequently make use of the educational world as a means of socialization to serve the purpose of retaining their ethnic identity and existence. This function of education also appears in Bali (Slama,2005b:7) which supports Eriksen (1993:91 quoted from Slama 2005b):"Standardized mass education can … be an extremely powerful machine for the creation of abstract identification." Amish people even rejects government-run public school for their children to preserve their identity (Hostetler, J 1971). Chinese schools once thriving in Indonesia had been banned by Indonesian government from 1970s until the end of 1990s with the excuse to make it possible for this ethnic community to have more assimilation with the indigenous people. In many places across the world,

including Indonesia, many minority groups establish schools for their own groups particularly elementary and high schools (*Vasanty, 19xx; Tan, 19xx; Sigit, 19xx*).

In its course of history ba Alwi community in Indonesia once established a school 'Jamiatul Khair' in 1901. Jamiatul Khair was founded as an effort to hide the role of ba Alwi in resistance against the Dutch. The Dutch government imposed prohibition for ba Alwi to join organization. Therefore this institution also functioned as a media of communications to serve the purpose of political resistance against the Dutch.[14] Jamiatul Khair published the Arabic newspaper "Al Mu'yat" and magazine "Al Liwa" spreading Pan Islamic ideology through out Batavia and the entire Archipelago. The Dutch colonial government became suspicious of the ba Alwi resistance movement and this is obvious in all the obstruction posed by the Dutch government to obtain permit for organization establishment. A permit for legalization had been proposed to governor General W. Roseboom in 1903 and it was issued eventually on June 17, 1905, after renewal of the proposal to Governor General J.V. van Hautz (**Badjerei, 1996**). The interesting fact about this school is that the founders and donators were from ba Alwi community, while the majority of teachers and students were Indonesians.[15] The school runs the national curriculum as that used by other schools in Indonesia without ethnical particulars. This school is therefore different from other educational institutions that have affiliation with particular ethnics and therefore promote group identity. The educational media of Jamiatul Khair has never functioned as a socialization media of the ba Alwi tradition and identity.[16]

V. ECONOMIC DAN POLITICAL LIFE

In the Indonesian history, ba Alwi has once occupied a general presence in certain trade sectors such as property business. A lot of ba Alwi became landlords and possessed many properties which they rented to other people. However these professions do not become their identity anymore as they have spread in all occupation and profession, and therefore there is so no type of occupation that can currently be associated with this group. There is no occupation that is dominantly occupied by ba Alwi. The only profession where ba Alwi still exists in their original role from the first time until now related to religion. *Majlis taklim* (religious course), religious tutor, *ulama* (religious figures) still highlight the role of this group. Many prominent *majlis taklim*, and religious events that can not be separated from ba Alwi. There are many outstanding *ulama* come also from this group. Their authority and charisma also prevail. The role of ba Alwi in the religious world constitutes the only original profession they still hold to date.

Empirically, political party constitutes a means for certain groups to participate and to obtain position in a state government. Thus, it is of no surprise that in the history of a nation there is always political parties associating with certain ethnic groups. The same occurs with the Hadrami community in Indonesia at the Dutch colonial period. There was Partai Arab Indonesia (Indonesia Arab Party)

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[14] Results of interview with a historical actor in the fight against the Dutch in Jakarta.

[15] *Currently Jamiatul Khair education possesses ... **ba** Alwi teachers as well **as** ... Indonesian teachers and ... ba Alwi students **and** ... Indonesian students. The* management staff entirely comprises ba Alwi. We obtained this data from Jamiatul Khair management in Jakarta in March 2010.

[16] Several Indonesia national heroes were alumni of Jamiatul Khair such as K.H. Ahmad Dahlan (Founder of Muhammadiyah); HOS Cokroaminoto (Founder of Syarekat Islam) and Hajj Agus Salim.

abbreviated as PAI with A.R. Baswedan as the leader established on October 4, 1934 in Semarang.[17] PAI is an Islamic nationalist movement commencing its movement on the basis of acknowledging Indonesia as the motherland of Hadrami descendants (Al Qadri, 1996). It is through this party that they struggled against the Dutch. However, as soon Indonesia achieve its independence, PAI dissolved and Hadrami interested in politics would joined parties according to their respective ideologies (**Hatta, 19..;** Al Qadri 1983; Magenda, 2005). The Hadrami even rejected the chairs offered to them at the Round Table Conference in 1947 as Hadrami community representatives. The reason they rejected it because they did not perceive themselves from any other Indonesian and therefore should not have Hadrami representatives in the parliament (**consult Hatta or Al Qadri**). And thus there is no political party or any other political institution in Indonesia that could be associated with or represent Hadrami.

VI. CONCLUSION

The description above shows that ba Alwi community socialize, activate and revitalize their identity exclusively on private sphere and thereby does not build their group as an exclusive group on public sphere.[18] The sole public sphere where ba Alwi appears as professional elite is on religious world. The nature of this sphere, positions its elit as a respected group, and thereby, does not provide a chance for them to be positioned as outsiders.[19] On the contrary, due to their roles ba Alwi is given the status in the hierarcy of the related community.[20] This characteristic indicates that eliminating exclusivity in public sphere while preserving identity in private sphere constitutes one of the means for an ethnic existence to survive without conflict. As such, endogamy does not obstruct the process of multiculturalism as long as the respected community does not position itself as an exclusive community in any manners at all on public sphere.

GLOSSARY

Abaya : Black robe for Moslem women.
Arisan : Social activity as community means of ommunications.
Fiqih : Islamic Law
Gambus : Type of music from the Middle East
Isra Miraj : Islamic Holy Day commemorating the Prophet's ascend to Heaven.
Khaul: Annual commemoration of death
Maulid :The prophet's birthday, celebrated by reciting the story of the Prophet.
Majlis Taklim : Religious course in Islamism
Nasab : genealogical lineage
Nisfu syaban : Islamic religious activity in welcoming the arrival of fasting month Ramadhan.

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[17] In Indonesia the Hadrami is addressed as Arab.
[18] In his research in Bali**(2005:19-20)** Slama found that this is supported by the fact that Hadrami group socializes well and brings benefit to the local community. This is shown by the management and membership of the organization that include both Hadrami and non Hadrami people. As a matter of fact, the majority of members are non Hadrami. This is taken by Slama as a supporting factor of integration.
[19] Slama found that ba-Alwi in Bali place themselves according to the Alawiyin tradition in general, that is, becoming figures of authority in religion (2005b:19).
[20] This could for example be seen in the indication where ba Alwi community in several regions in Indonesia make no mention of their family name, while putting titles before their first name such as *ratu* in West Java; *sidi* in West Sumatra; *Teuku* in Aceh and Riau; *Andi* in South Celebes; this titles are titles of nobility in the related areas.

Nuzul ul Quran : A religious gathering commemorating the descend of the first verse of the Islamic Holy Book Al Qur'an

Qamis : Male robe for the Arabs.

Radi : Accessory of Arab males' clothes, a long shawl

Rebana: A Folk music instrument which mostly accompanies religious ceremonies

Tahlil : Ceremony which is held on the third and seventh day following the death of kinsmen through praising God by chanting His name repeatedly

Tafsir : Interpretation of the Holy Qur'an

Tauhid : The Unity of God the Almighty One, a fundamental basis of Islam

Ulama: A recognized scholar of Islamic law and tradition

Ziarah : Visit to the grave, to cite prayesr to the demise usually in relations with the arrival of certain important Islamic Holy Days

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