THE ARABS OF SURABAYA
A Study of Sociocultural Integration

A thesis
submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts
of the Australian National University

by
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I declare that this thesis is my own composition, and that all sources have been acknowledged.

Abdul Rachman Patji
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In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful

We have created you all out of a male and a female, and have made you into nations and tribes, so that you might know one another .... the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is most deeply conscious of Him.

The Qur'an, Surah Al HuJurat 49:13
Quoted from: Merryl Wyn Davies, Knowing One Another, Shaping an Islamic Anthropology, London, Mansell Publishing Ltd. 1988
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the Arab population in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia. The main objective of the study is to present an ethnographic description of the sociocultural integration of Surabayan Arabs following their participation in political movements before and after Indonesian Independence. In particular it examines Arab participation in contemporary social organisations, and in economic activities, and analyses such factors as education, religious beliefs as well as their marriage system.

This study shows that the Arabs integration is a continuing process. Their long history, from the arrival of their ancestors until nowadays, shows that the Surabayan Arabs, mostly the descendants of Hadrami Arabs, have developed integrative relations with indigenous people. Islam, the religion of most Arabs and native people, forms the most important factor in their integration. Islam has always inspired their activities. In the past, for example, they declared that PAI (Partai Arab Indonesia, Indonesian Arab Party) was an Islamic and a national political movement. Today, Islam endows their educational institutions, and supports their participation in various social organisations. The soul of Islam also colours their economic activities. For example, they trade Islamic books, sajadah (prayer mats), Arabic calligraphy, kopiah or pici (caps) and other kinds
of merchandise which facilitate the development of Islamic activities. On the other hand, because of their well-known position as an Islamic community, indigenous people also question their concept of an Islamic marriage. This study shows that, in relation to marriage, the Arab culture and tradition sometimes prove the primary consideration if conflict between culture and religious traditional arises.

All factors of Arab integration are viewed within a broad anthropological and historical framework in order to show how the Surabayan Arabs have shaped their identity as part of the larger Indonesian society and developed their connection with the life-style of the people around them.
NOTES ON FOREIGN WORDS AND NAMES

Since Indonesian words do not have a plural form, I do not add an 's' when using them in the plural. The word ulama, for instance, can also be used in either singular or plural forms. Because of historical reasons, actual names of most individuals are mentioned in this thesis. The fictitious (or initial) names are only used in the discussion of specific cases. In general, I follow the new spelling system in Bahasa Indonesia except in the case of some proper names. There is no standard spelling for the Arab words and names in Indonesian. In this thesis, I use, for example, both "Syahab" and "Shahab" (which actually refer to the same clan) following the ways of other writers used them.
GLOSSARY

abid - slave
ahl beit - relatives (or descendants) of the Prophet Muhammad SAW
ahl al-sunnah wal-Jama'ah - the followers of the Prophetic tradition and Muslim law created by the Muslim community
al-Am - year
al-Aslaf - Pious Ancestor
Alawiyyin - descendants of Alawi bin Abdullah or Ubaydillah bin Ahmad al-Muhajir (the founding father of Hadrami sayyids)
al-Chertan - clans of farmers
al-Pil - elephant
al-Qerwan - people from a village
Al-Mahdjar - country of migration
anadil - artisans
aqidah - articles of faith
'aribah - Arabian Arab
asabiyah - in group feeling
ayib - the term is used by Palembang people for sayyid
ayle - unmarried children
Ba-alwee - the term is used to refer to sayyid in everyday communication
Babad Tanah Jawa - Chronicle of Java
beraka - God's blessing
baya - merchant
bid'ah - heresy
Bhinneka Tunggal Ika - Unity in Diversity. The motto of the Republic of Indonesia
bumiputera - indigenous ("inlander")
ceramah agama - religious talks
da'if - means "weak"; the term refers to poor people. They are also called masikin (poor)
dakwah - Muslim missionary activity; 'proselytising'
ekonomi keluarga - family business
fatwa - instruction or legal opinion issued on a point of Islamic law
fiqh - Islamic Jurisprudence
fuqaha - scholars or experts on Islam jurisprudence; singular is fagih
furu' - detailed problems
habib - the beloved or the honoured
hadith - record of actions or sayings of the Prophet
hadrah - a typical kind of Arab music
haj - pilgrimage to Mecca
halal - legal
hamula - kinship group
haram - illegal
Hari Pahlawan - Hero Day

ibadah - worship
idjtihad - the process of arriving at new judgements under Islamic law
infaq - donation
Isya - evening prayer

Jamiyat Khair Jilbab - Association for the Good women's Muslim dress

kafaah - equality of marriage partner
karang taruna - youthful body
kaum tua - older generation
kecamatanan - subdistrict
kelurahan - village
Keppres - Presidential decree
kh - mother's brother
khala - mother's sister
kotamadya - municipality

langgar - prayer house or village mosque
laskar rakyat - popular soldier groups
lebaran - the feast at the end of the fasting period (Ramadhan)

madzhab - school of thought
Maghrib - noon prayer
masyaikh - (singular: syaikh) scholars or holy men; or (in Southeast Asia) "agent" of haj industry

masikin - poor people
Medan PrijaJi - Nobles' Forum
Mufti - religious official authorized to interpret Islamic law

mushallah - smaller mosque
musta'ribah - Arabicised Arabs
muwalida - (singular: muwallad) people of mixed descent (father: Arab and mother: Indonesian)

nasab - pedigree
Orang Arabi - Arab people
Orang Hadramawt - Hadrami people
Pan-Islam - Islamic movement which was pioneered by Sayyid Jamaluddin al-Afghani with the aim of arousing the spirit of Islam in the world

pegon - Javanese script written in Arabic characters

pengajian - institution for Islamic teaching or Al-Quranic study

pertempuran Surabaya - Surabaya battle

pesantren - training centre for advanced Islamic studies

pribumi - indigenous Indonesian

qabail - (singular: qabili) tribesmen

qarabah - closeness

qaum - people or nation

remaja masjid - mosque youth

rukun tetangga - neighbourhood associations

rukun warga - citizenry associations

sayyid/syarif - (plural: sadah) term of title for descendants of the Prophet

Sarekat Islam - Islamic Union

Sarekat Dagang Islam - Islamic Commercial Union

Sejarah Melayu - Malay History

shalat - prayer

sharaf - arabic grammar

shodaqoh - alms

sidqi - the term used by Minangkabau people for sayyid

sinoman - neighbourhood mutual aid association

syarifah - women of sayyid or syarif

Sumpah Pemuda Keturunan Arab - The Oath of the Youth of Arab Descent

sunnah - traditions of the Prophet

taqlid - uncritical acceptance of legal and theological decisions

tarikh - history

tariqah - Sufi order

tasawwuf - Islamic mysticism

totok - fullblooded

ulama - Islamic scholars

ummah or umat - Muslim community

ustadz - teacher or teaching staff (male); for female - uztadzah

Volksraad - People's Council

Vreemde Oosterlingen - Foreign Oriental Group
- religious property
- saint
- Nine Saints
- religious tax
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1.1. Review of the Literature

This thesis concerns Indonesian Arabs on the north-coast of Java and pays special attention to their population in Surabaya. This study focuses particularly on the problem of sociocultural integration.

In Indonesia, little is still known about communities of Arab identity within Indonesia's multi-ethnic society. This does not mean that such communities lack attention from social scientists. Many studies of Islam in Indonesia refer to the connection of Arabs with the arrival and the development of Islam in the country. It seems that, in Indonesia, the assumption that "any Arab is a Muslim" is still held by the majority of Muslims. However, studies dealing with the Arab communities and, above all, their integration into Indonesian society as a whole are still very limited. The few works concerned with this problem are, therefore, valuable works. The first intention of this introduction is to give a brief review of such studies.

Most studies concerned with the Arab communities in Indonesia have concentrated on two interrelated issues. The first issue concerns the Arab community as a particular group within Indonesian society. The second issue is concerned with their integration into the
Indonesian nation and the integration process itself. Some studies focus their discussions on the first issue, while others are interested only in the second issue. Indeed, there are a few studies which cover both problems in their discussion, but the scope of their attention is limited to particular aspects. Often these studies discuss a specific region, such as Jakarta, Pekalongan, Surabaya, and so on. Because the purpose of this chapter is to provide a general overview, such studies cannot be used as the main sources.

For the purpose of this review, the works of L.W.C. Van den Berg (1886) and Justus M. Van der Kroef (1954), which have drawn attention to many aspects of the Indonesian Arab community without regional restrictions, can be considered as the most appropriate studies. These works will, therefore, be regarded as sources for the study and will be discussed in comparison with other works.

The objective of Indonesian Arab studies, especially those studies which were done by Dutch scholars before Indonesian Independence (1945), were related to the interests of the Dutch colonial occupation of Indonesia. The reason for this emphasis was partly because, as a group distinct from the indigenous population, the Arabs have an important position in economic activities, fulfilling sociopolitical roles in several kingdoms of the historical past of Indonesia and, last but not least, exerting a great influence on Islamic affairs. In the
Dutch colonial period (at the time Indonesia was called "Netherlands East Indies") the colonial government needed to promote a formal adviser on Arabian and Islamic affairs (Adviseur voor Arabische-en Islamitishe Zaken). L.W.C. Van den Berg (1845-1927) and C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) were nominated for this task. After Independence, Indonesian Arab studies have become more sociological in their perspectives and less concerned with devising policies for dealing with Indonesian Arab communities.

It can be said that the first proper study of the Arabs in Indonesia was written by L.W.C. Van den Berg. He wrote a book in French entitled Le Hadhramout et les Colonies Arabes dans L'archipel Indian, published in Batavia (the former name of Jakarta) in 1886. The first part of this book describes the land of Hadramawt, the original country of the ancestors of most Indonesian Arabs. A valuable description of the Hadramawt people and their sociocultural conditions can also be found in this part. In the second part, Van den Berg discusses the Arabs in the Indonesia archipelago, including their character, their economic life, their political aspirations, their religion and education, their influence on the native population and, also, their status as people of mixed descent (father: Arab and mother: Indonesian). Van den Berg calls them "Arab half-caste". In the Arabic language they were called muwallad or (plural) muwalida (Van den Berg, 1886:213).
In the third part of his book, Van den Berg makes some comparisons between the Arab language spoken in the land of Hadramawt and in Indonesia.

In relation to the Arabs' assimilation, Van den Berg made several classificatory distinctions. His first classification concerning the Arab people in Indonesia was based on their place of birth. For this purpose, he divided them into three major groups: The first group was the Arabs born in Hadramawt (the general area of present day South Yemen) and the second group was the Arabs born in other countries of the Middle East. The third group was the so-called half-caste Arabs.

With regard to this classification Van den Berg stated that the Arab half-caste group was more quickly assimilated with the native of Indonesia than the other two groups (Van den Berg, 1886:215). This, of course, is not a surprising phenomenon if we remember that Arab half-caste may be considered partially assimilated by birth from their native mothers and were born within the environment of the native culture. In the case of the Arabs who came from Hadramawt, Van den Berg also pointed out that they found no problems in their assimilation. In economic life, for example, a new Arab immigrant coming from Hadramawt could soon achieve the same earning or income capacity as a native because he entirely adapted his manner of life (Van den Berg, 1886:125). Moreover, it seemed to him that the Arabs coming from Hadramawt had less loyalty to their original country (Van den Berg,
Therefore, they managed with ease to adapting to a new situation in Indonesia. But, in relation to political affairs in Indonesia, such as in the dispute between the Dutch colonial government and the native princes, unless they remained neutral, they were nearly always on the side of Dutch government (Van den Berg, 1886:180). On the contrary, the Arabs who came from other countries of the Middle East represented a potential enemy in the eyes of the Dutch colonial government. They acted as the suppliers of political information for native princes and chiefs. Therefore, it was only for this group, as Van den Berg recommended, that the Dutch government had to exercise special caution (Van den Berg, 1886:203). On the other hand, at least for certain native princes and chiefs, they had good relations.

A second classification is based on the division of the Indonesian Arab into sayyid and non-sayyid. The term sayyid is used by the Arab people, particularly groups of Hadrami Arabs, who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. through his grandchild Husein, a child of Fatimah az-Zahra, a daughter of the Prophet. There is a term svarif (the same degree of sayyid). This term refers to the descendants of Hasan who was also a child of Fatimah az-Zahra. Both sayyid and svarif are used to refer to men. Arab women who are descendants of the Prophet use svarifah before their given name. It can be said that this division refers to social status among the
Arab people. In this connection, Van den Berg postulated that although the bulk of his discussion on Arab assimilation with the natives referred to the sayyid, the same assimilation process could also relate to the Arabs of lesser rank (Van den Berg, 1886:227). In other words, whether we are dealing with the Arab sayyid group or the Arab non-sayyid, there is no striking distinction between them in terms of their integration into the native society. This problem will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

Finally, Van den Berg's classification was connected with the influence of the Arabs on the Indonesian native population. One influential aspect supported the acceleration of Arab integration, particularly on the north-coast of Java, was that they were the founders of several small principalities along this coast (Van den Berg, 1886:192). According to De Klerck (Klerck, 1938:148), this factor was also supported by the ability of the Arabs to take as wives Javanese women of the higher classes as well as the daughters of governors of the coastal districts. In this way, then, they often had success in inclining their wives' fathers towards their religion.

Van den Berg's book, as Morley comments (Morley, 1949:158), is a remarkable production. Part of the reasons for this is because the Hadramawt, at the time, had never been explored. Besides this, Van den Berg himself had never visited the land of Hadramawt. This
book, however, remains an important contribution to the studies of the Indonesian Arabs. The most important part of this book is the section concerning the Arabs in the East Indies (Indonesia). On the whole, this book is a kind of ethnological study rather than a report by the writer in his position as a Dutch colonial adviser on the problems of the Arabs and Islamic affairs.

In relation to his position as a Dutch colonial adviser, L.W.C. Van den Berg was criticised by C. Snouck Hurgronje. According to Snouck Hurgronje, L.W.C. Van den Berg, in his report, merely described an ideal Islamic law based on Figh (Muslim law) (see, Hurgronje, 1906:12). Moreover, as Snouck Hurgronje argued, Van den Berg's study of the Arabs as well as the native population of Indonesia was merely a kind of "imaginative work" rather than a clear explanation of the actual condition of those subjects (see, Steenbrink, 1984:128).

By contrast, C. Snouck Hurgronje was an influential adviser. Therefore, his recommendations were applicable for rearranging the political orientation of Dutch policy toward Islam, the Arabs' descendants and the native population. In the assessment of Harry J. Benda ".... Snouck Hurgronje appeared the almost legendary architect of a successful Dutch Islamic policy, a man who had inaugurated a new era in Dutch-Indonesia relations ...." (Benda, 1958:21).

Concerning the Arab descendants, Snouck Hurgronje saw them in dual perspective based on his belief that
"The enemy, [of Dutch colonial government] then, was not Islam as a religion but Islam as political doctrine" (see, Benda, 1958:23; 1972:87). Firstly, he considered them as being of the same character as the majority of Muslims in Indonesia. As the adherents of Islam, they were not dangerous to the colonial government because Islam as religion was not the enemy. In other words, Snouck Hurgronje introduced "a policy of neutrality toward Islamic religious life" (Benda, 1972:87). Secondly, he also conceived the Arabs as a potential power in spreading the ideology of Islam in the form of political doctrines. This meant that Islam was not the enemy but Arabs could become the enemy because they might turn Islam into a political force.

Perhaps, we can see this case in its relation to the doctrine of Pan-Islam which was created by Sayyid Jamaluddin al-Afghani, an Arab born in Afghanistan. Jamaluddin al-Afghani was trying to arouse the spirit of Islam in the world and, thereby, his efforts had an influence on Islam in Indonesia. In responding to Pan-Islam propaganda, the Dutch government actually considered the restriction of further Arab immigration to Java (Indonesia) (Morley, 1949:159).

Differently from Van den Berg, Van der Kroef divides the Arabs in Indonesia into two different groups: the Orang Arabi, who are worthy of great respect and the Orang Hadramawt, who are held in very little esteem (Van der Kroef, 1954:255). This division is based on their
occupations as Muslim schoolmen and scholars, in the first case and traders and usurers, in the second. Although Van der Kroef's division is not as specific as Van den Berg's classification, yet, it can be supposed that the people who are called "Orang Hadramawt" are the Arab immigrants who came from Hadramawt and their descendants, the Arab half-castes, in the terms of Van den Berg, whereas, "Orang Arabi" refers to the Arabs who came from other countries of the Middle East in Van den Berg's classification.

Concerning the problem of Arabs' integration, Van der Kroef bases his discussion on the pre- and post-Indonesian Independence periods. In connection with the pre-Independence period, he implies that there was a tendency to exaggerate the Arabs' integration with the natives of Indonesia (Van der Kroef, 1954:256). Perhaps he puts forward this statement in order to neutralise the report made by Van den Berg that suggested that the Arabs' assimilation occurred in many aspects of life. Van den Berg thought that, for the Arab immigrants as well as the Arab half-castes, there were no crucial obstacles to their assimilation with the native people. The Arabs' assimilation, particularly for Arab half-castes, began with the disappearance of their knowledge of the Arabic language, followed by a change of their dress fashions, and lastly the loss of their family names (Van den Berg, 1886:227).

In the period of pre-Independence, the actual
conditions of Indonesian Arabs can be described as follows. According to Van der Kroef, there was an aloofness about them. Many Arabs preserved distinctions in their dress. Moreover the Arabs from a higher class, especially in Bali, often wore European trousers, shoes and stockings. Some of the Arabs from this group adopted modern Turkish dress (see also, Algadri, 1984:20-21). Compared with the native Muslims, most the Arabs lived their faith more intensely. This means that the Arabs, in general, were stricter in performing their religious duties and, because of this, in the view of the natives, they were superior in their knowledge of the Islamic religion. Furthermore an Arab Muslim also had a secure opinion in religious affairs. Such an attitude sometimes involved condescension toward the Islamic way of life of the natives (Van der Kroef, 1954:256).

A point of disagreement between Van den Berg and Van der Kroef can also be found in the problem of the Arabs' integration along the north-coast of Java. Because many Arabs, as Van den Berg reported, were the founders of the small principalities in this region they therefore did not find difficulties in integrating with the native. In other words, there was no gap between the Arabs and the natives in this region. On the other hand, Van der Kroef (1954:254) stated that, as distinct from the Arab community around Pontianak (West Kalimantan) which had been almost entirely assimilated, in the coastal cities of Java, the Arab merchant society remained a steadfastly
distinct group.

In providing a general description of the condition of the Arab community in Indonesia before Indonesian independence (precisely, in the nineteenth-century period), Van der Kroef arrived at the following conclusion:

".... in colonial Indonesia .... the Arab community tend[s] to turn more inward. Rather than assimilate or identity their interests with the Indonesian group, the Arab segment seemed to tighten its ethnic and class lines, and desired to have its own group interests more fully taken care of." (Van der Kroef, 1954:257).

The second part of Van der Kroef's discussion, however, points out a significant change within the Arab society. This phenomenon began to emerge in the early years of the twentieth century. It should be mentioned that the new winds of change occurring within Arab society cannot be separated from the changing methods of Indonesian struggle against colonial occupation. In the early years of this century, the movement was formulated as the struggle for Indonesian national independence which had consequences for, and impact upon, the integration of all groups in society. The rise of Indonesian nationalism (1908) also led the Arab descendants to think about the idea of nationalism. This phenomenon was a result of modernisation and reformation in many aspects of Indonesian life, especially in connection with political organisations, which also led its influence on the Arab community (Van der Kroef,
Based on this, for Indonesian Arabs, a new opportunity opened up to prove their contention that they were an inseparable part of Indonesian society. In order to achieve this goal, the Arabs began, in a pioneering way, to cooperate with Indonesian people through several political and economic organisations. As a first step, they joined Indonesians in the Muslim nationalist party, Sarekat Islam in 1911. In addition to this effort, there were also a few Arabs who tended to form their own organisations. They established Jamiat Khair (Al-Jamiat al-Khairiyah) in 1901 in Jakarta and then followed by establishing Al-Irsyad (Jamiyat al-Islah wal-Irsyad Al-Arabiyyah) in 1915. In further developments these organisations emphasised their educational programs.

In political organisation, the Arabs also adopted a strong position. They formed PAI in 1934 (formerly, Persatuan Arab Indonesia Indonesian Arab Union, then, Partai Arab Indonesia Indonesian Arab Party). The founding father of this party was Abdul Rachman Baswedan (popularly: A.R. Baswedan), a member of the younger generation of Arabs at the time. PAI was a progressive party because its main program recognised Indonesia as the home country of the Arabs (in this instance, Arab half-castes) while, at the time, for the older generation of Arabs, remained their orientation toward the fatherland - Hadramawt. PAI also intended Indonesia as nationality for all Arab people in this Archipelago. In
brief, through PAI the Arabs had a strong desire to participate in the struggle for Indonesia Independence. The establishment of this party as well as the statements of its members amazed many sections of society, including the older generation of Arabs, the Dutch colonial government as well as Indonesian leaders.

The establishment of PAI can be considered as a genuine attempt by the Arabs to integrate with indigenous Indonesian people. This movement set the Arabs of Indonesia on the path of integration into Indonesian society.

1.2. Statements on Indonesian Arab Integration

The PAI movement produced a wave of astonishment from Indonesian leaders. In this second part of introduction, I offer a few comments on the substance of Indonesian leaders' responses to the PAI movement and its relation to the Arab integration.

Generally speaking, the patriotic activities of a few members of this party were perceived as such by Indonesian leaders. In brief, most of Indonesian leaders recognised that Indonesian Arabs were really a part of Indonesian society. In his mandate addressed to the Arab descendants in Yogyakarta in 1947, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno, stated: "Brothers, Indonesian of Arab descent! I understand your spirit as well as your initiative as Indonesian people .... Follow
your initiative with sincerity and honesty by teaching yourself as well as all Arabs members of society to welcome this new period of struggle. Accordingly, your fathers would understand your spirit and then, you all can make good contributions for our country and nation! ...." (Soekarno, 1947).

In this mandate we can see that the position of Arab descendants in Indonesia had been recognised as a part of Indonesia. As Indonesian citizens, they were invited to make further contributions to the development of their country, Indonesia. Soekarno, however, implied that there were still some Arabs who could not yet understand the spirit of their own younger generation.

In a different style, the first Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mohammad Hatta, provided his perception of Arab descendants in Indonesia. In 1975, he sent a letter to A.R. Baswedan in which he wrote, among other things, that ".... Therefore, it is incorrect if the citizens of Arab descent are put in a row with citizens of Chinese descent. In our life experience, we can see that many of the Chinese descendants go and side with their nation of origin (PRC); on the other hand, it can be said that nobody of Arab descent follows that way ...." (Mohammad Hatta, 1975).

Mohammad Hatta's statement emphasised that there was a different mental attitude among Arabs and Chinese descendants in Indonesia. Some citizens of Chinese descent still had an orientation toward the original
country of their ancestors. (3) On the other hand, the Arab descendants in Indonesia found difficulties in developing relations with the country of their ancestors.

At the twentieth celebration of PAI which was held in Surakarta in 1954, the former first Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, stated among other things, that ".... Our brother of Arab descent have no feeling and have no acknowledgment except for Indonesia, which can restrict them externally and internally ...." (Dewantara, 1954). In brief, as Dewantara suggested, there was no longer a significant barrier in the relationship between the Arab people and the native of Indonesia.

The last figure to be mentioned here is Hamka, an Indonesian Muslim scholar. In addition to being a Muslim scholar, Hamka (actually, the abbreviation of his full name: Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) was also known as a man of letters. In 1974, he sent a letter written in literary language to A.R. Baswedan. Part of his statement was as follows:[to A.R. Baswedan] .... I remember once more your photograph on the cover of Panjimas (4) No.163; you become older as I do. Nevertheless, your eyes still shine furiously, indicating a belief in the truth of your contention and, also, showing a grateful feeling because your group [the citizens of Arab descent] cannot dream any further about the country of the desert [Middle East countries, in this instance, especially the land of Hadramawt] but must live in the real world: We are
Indonesian! There is no power that can separate us from her! ...." (Hamka, 1975).

The above statements give various impressions of the situation of Arab descendants in Indonesia. They all aim at one point of agreement: the status of Indonesian Arabs was an integral part of Indonesian society. In relation to this, it is interesting to conclude this section with the same perception from Adam Malik (also, a former Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia) who saw this matter as indisputable. He described the condition of the Arab descendants in Indonesia in the following way: "To me, .... since the Arab descendants struggled shoulder to shoulder [with other Indonesians] in the Independence movement until the establishment of PAI, the problem of Arab descent has been solved. They [Indonesian Arabs] have been assimilated and united firmly among the rest of the Indonesian people" (Malik, 1984:13).

1.3. Definitions

The primary concern of this thesis is integration as the means by which the people of Arab descent have become wholly or partly merged into Indonesian society. The term "integration" is simply defined as the process of making whole or entire. According to Sills (Sills, 1968:381) such a process resulted from consistency of cultural standards between the two groups (cultural); from achieved conformity between cultural standards and the
conduct of persons (normative); from the sharing of normative patterns among the members of social system (communicative); and from the degree of interdependency among components of the system (functional). All these are aspects of sociocultural systems. Arab integration is referred to as the process by which the Arabs, individuals as well as groups, integrated properly within the social order of the host society. The terms "assimilation" which is also frequently used denotes one of the outcomes of the integration process. Assimilation involves change and acceptance, namely a change in reference group and a need for out-group acceptance (Tan Chee Beng, 1988:2).

1.4. The Purpose of Study

Regarding citizens of Indonesian Arab descent, one thing is certain: they have been integrated with the rest of the Indonesian people. The discussion shows this as a continuing phenomenon. The Arab communities in Indonesia have been integrated, but the interesting questions remain: why, how, and what is the nature of their integration?. This study is concerned with an attempt to find answers to these questions. In other words, this project will try to get at the reason(s) for Indonesian Arab integration: in what ways are they integrated with other Indonesians; and what are the features of that integration?. Such investigations will, in addition, show
the process of integration of citizens of Arab descent into Indonesia as well as their attitude towards the development of Indonesian nation-building.

We can also see that, for centuries, Indonesian Arabs have been able to maintain a leading position in Indonesian life (see also, Van der Kroef, 1950:461). Perhaps, factors supporting this reality can also be shown through this work.

Most Indonesian Arabs live in cities, especially coastal or harbour cities. The main motive to be the city dwellers cannot be separated from their interest in trade (see, Morley, 1949; van Leur, 1967). Sociologically, they form a part of urban communities in Indonesia, especially in cities of the north-coast of Java, such as Banten or Bantam, Jakarta, Cirebon, Pekalongan, Semarang, Gresik, Surabaya, Pasuruan, and others. This study draws special attention to Surabayan-Arabs. In some cases, it will also be related to the Arab people in other Indonesian regions. The relations are possible because Indonesian Arabs have similar sociocultural backgrounds. Most of them are descendants of Hadrami Arabs.

1.5. Sources of Study

This thesis is based on library research. Also, in 1982, in Surabaya (East Java), the writer undertook a field research project in relation to the problems focused on in this thesis. The data collected in that
research also form a source for this thesis.

The library research both in Jakarta and Canberra is the first way to become familiar with certain study problems. The most important contribution of this research is that it provided general data concerning the historical and developing aspects of Arab descendants in Indonesia and, in particular, Surabaya. A collection of data was gathered from a wide variety of materials, such as personal letters, newspapers, bulletins, magazines, government reports, and books on Indonesian Arabs and related problems. Some materials were given by the Arabs themselves. It is expected to use as much as possible of these data.

The field research was undertaken in village (Kelurahan) Ampel of Surabaya. Ampel is well-known as a settlement area of most of the Arab population in Surabaya. The field research utilised a qualitative approach. A collection of data on a specified number of respondents was not emphasised, rather emphasis was on the knowledge of respondents about certain research problems. In this instance, a list of questions was offered to a respondent based on his or her occupation. For example, problems of education were only offered to teachers in Arabic schools. Such problems were not relevant to Arab traders. Indeed, some questions were relevant for all respondents, such as questions related to biodata (personal identification).

By utilising this method, the writer developed a
series of interesting in-depth interviews, looking for information from experts. It can be said that the selection of a respondent was based on expertise criteria. This method was utilised partly because of the unequal level of knowledge of respondents about particular research problems, and partly because some respondents refused to answer questions which had no relation to their occupation.

Data from a wide variety of sources were analysed by showing their relevances to research objectives. In this research some specified case studies were also utilised for further explanation.

1.6. Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter I (Introduction) gives a general overview on the process of Indonesian Arab society and integration. This discussion shows that the process of integration of Arab people in Indonesia has continued from the time of their arrival in Indonesia. In addition, an explanation of the term "integration", a brief discussion on study objectives and its sources is also presented.

Chapter II explores general features of Indonesian Arabs. Some aspects included in this section are the coming of Arab people, population condition, and Arab settlement. These aspects introduce the historical background of Arab people in Indonesia. Chapter III
concerns the sociocultural backgrounds of the Arabs. Several issues are included here: categories of Arab society, genealogical distinctions in Arab society, and the kinship system.

Chapter IV discusses some sociocultural expressions of Indonesian Arabs integration. The discussion covers several dimensions, such as politics, the contemporary sociopolitical situation of Surabayan Arabs, economics, education, religion and marriage. Chapter V attempts to identify a few obstacles to the process of Arab integration. Finally, chapter VI (Conclusions) summarises the previous chapters and makes conclusions.
Chapter II

HISTORY, POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

Before going into the particular conditions of Indonesian-Arab integration, more needs to be said of some aspects of the life of the Arab people. This chapter examines the historical background of the coming of Arabs in Indonesia, their population and settlement. By considering some interrelated conditions, the historical background will be discussed in its relation to the coming of Islam in Indonesia; the Arab population will be observed with special reference to its condition in the north-coast region of Java; and the Arab settlement will be seen by taking Ampel of Surabaya as a case study.

2.1. Islam and the Coming of Arab People

The precise date of the entry of Arabs into Indonesia cannot be determined yet. Two dominant concepts are usually suggested by scholars in relation to their arrival.

Firstly, the Arabs came to Indonesia before the birth of Islam. Such a concept was suggested by Ismail Yacub in his book Sejarah Islam di Indonesia (n.d.) based on a narrative in the book of Al-Qur'an to the effect that the Arab people were wanderers. Their wanderings were conducted in the winter and summer monsoons. In the summer they travelled to the north, i.e. the cooler
regions of Syria and as far as Europe, whereas in the winter they travelled to the south to the warmth of Yemen and Hadramawt lands, and from these regions, by ships went straight to the countries of Indian Ocean, i.e. India, and modern-day Indonesia. Before the emergence of Islam they came to Indonesia merely for trade. At the time they did not maintain themselves as permanent residents.

Information about the arrival of Arab people in Indonesia before Islam can also be found in the writings of Sayyid Alwi bin Tahir al-Haddad, a famous Mufti (religious official) of the Djohor kingdom of Malay. According to Sayyid Alwi the voyaging to the East was known by the Arab people because the East was a common trading sphere for them. It is very difficult to determine the exact date at which the Arab people visited Java for the first time. It had for centuries before the Christian era they had visited the East (Buchari, 1971:13). According to Wilfred T. Neill (Neill, 1973:250) there were a few Arabs lived in Indonesia in the fourth century A.D.

Actually before the Islamic era, Indonesians had also established sea trade routes with people in other countries. In about the fourth century A.D., when the process of Hinduisation was going in southern India, Indonesians people came as traders to this region. A kind of bilateral relation was also developed between some Indonesian rulers and their counterparts in India which
according to van Leur (van Leur, 1967:98), legitimised the involvement of Indonesian people in international trade. Other destination countries of Indonesian traders were China, Persia, South Arabia, East Africa, Zanzibar and Madagascar. In Madagascar, in one time, Indonesian traders established an out post for westward trading (van Leur, 1967:5). The involvement of Indonesian people in international trade with many nations from an early period also motivated people from different countries to come to Indonesia to trade. During the time of Sriwijaya, for example, many foreign traders came to this state to trade. Sriwijaya was a maritime and international oriented state.

Thus, we can say that in the early of Christian era Indonesia already had an important role in international trade. This role cannot be separated from the location of Indonesia's archipelago which was strategically situated on the great international maritime trade route. Indonesia connected China and India, a position which allowed the area numerous contacts with the community of maritime traders. This position supported Indonesia's position as a key link, furnishing the passing traders with supplies, local products, storage facilities, and hostelries for waiting out the monsoon seasons (Hall, 1978: 213). This position also provided a chance for Indonesian traders to visit other countries. This international maritime network also served as a stimulus to the development of Indonesian culture.
After the Arab people were converted to Islam, they came to Indonesia via this maritime network with two objectives: trading and spreading the teachings of Islam. In the theories about the coming of Islam to Indonesia, there are many distinct contentions, formulated in questions, such as "When did Islam come to Indonesia?"; "From where was Islam brought to Indonesia?"; "Who brought it?" and "How was Islam brought to Indonesia?".

2.1.1. When did Islam come to Indonesia?

Regarding the question "when" there is a theory stresses that Islam had entered Indonesia in the seventh century A.D. The basis of this theory is connected with trade activities (Wheatley, 1961:200) which, in the Far East region, concentrated in Canton (China). The establishment of Canton trade colony related to the development of trade activities with the regions of South India, Persian Gulf, South Arabia, East Africa, and European countries (see also, Trimingham, 1964:2). In this trade many Muslims from different countries were involved. As the consequence, the countries of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, maintained their crucial position as intermediary in the trade routes. Moreover, some of Indonesian regions, as they did elsewhere, were developed by foreign traders as settlements or colonies. In relation to this theory J.C. van Leur mentions in his famous book *Indonesian Trade and Society* (1967):
"There seems to have been an Arab trading colony established in Canton as early as the fourth century. Settlement of Arabs traders were mentioned again in 618 and 626. In later years the colonies carried on Moslem religious practices and were under Moslem control. The Arabs were one group among several: Persians, Jews, Armenians, Nestorian Christians. It goes without saying that there were also Moslem colonies to be found at the intermediary stations on the long trade route in Southeast Asia. That there are allusions to Arab settlements or colonies on the west coast of Sumatra as early as 674 A.D. ...." (van Leur, 1967:111).

In the seventh century, as T.W. Arnold has suggested (Arnold, 1913:363-4), the trade with China, through Ceylon, represented as an important route for the Arab traders. By the middle of the eight century a great number of Arab traders were to be found in Canton. Arnold also estimated that, at about of this period, there was Arab settlement on the west coast of Sumatra.

Another theory argues that Islam came to Indonesian archipelago in the thirteenth century. This theory is commonly maintained by a number of scholars. Snouck Hurgronje (see, Drewes, 1968:443) and A.H. Johns (Johns, 1980:165), for example, consider that the Islamisation process in the region of Southeast Asia in the thirteenth century. Compared with the previous assumption - that Islam came to Indonesia in the seventh century - this theory is more reliable supported by historical and archeological evidence, for examples travellers' accounts, Islamic inscriptions can be mentioned as evidences.

The basis of this theory was primarily established
via a report by Marco Polo, illustrious citizen of the City of Venice, who visited Aceh in 1292. Marco Polo wrote: "the People of Perlec [Perlak] used all to be idolators but owing to contact with Saracen merchants, who continually resort here in their ships, they have all been converted to the law of Mohammed. This applies only to the inhabitants of the city" (see, Zainu'ddin, 1968:60). Based on Marco Polo's report, B.J.O. Schrieke in his book Het Boek van Bonang (1916) concluded that Islam came to Indonesia in 1292 A.D. (AtJeh, 1971:6-8).

Inscriptions on gravestones as a source of information on the existence of Islam in Indonesia is most useful. Apart from its limitation, the essential archeological evidence is, according to G.W.J. Drewes (Drewes, 1968:434), at any level, more faithful than historiography at the local level. Drewes is skeptical of historiographical source. It seems to Drewes that, in this source, the information of the coming of Islam is blurred by legends.

The earliest information via gravestones about the existence of Islam and the establishment of first Islamic community in Indonesia is found in Aceh. Many graves scattered in several Acehnese villages, representing cities in the past periods, provide such information. J.P. Moquette, (see, AtJeh, 1971) who has conducted archeological research on old gravestones in Aceh, discovered the gravestone of Al Malik al-Saleh, the first Muslim ruler of the Pasai district. On this gravestone
there is a note that Al Malik al-Saleh died in 1297 A.D. Although it differs from Marco Polo's report, the most important thing that can be gained from this evidence is that a part of the Acehnese people had been converted to Islam in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, by following Ibn Khaldun who formulates: 'people have generally the religion of their kings' (see, Coatalen, 1981:108), we can also consider that the first Moslem community in Indonesia was established in Aceh. Although Ibn Khaldun's formulation cannot be applied as a general case for all nations, in Indonesia, in terms of Islamisation, this process obviously occurred in several kingdoms. Evidence on gravestones which are associated with the early Islamisation process in Indonesia can also be found in Java, especially in the north-eastern part of this island.

2.1.2. Views on the Origins of Islam in Indonesia

Now we move to two questions all at once: "From where was Islam brought to Indonesia" and "Who brought to Indonesia". These questions have interrelated answers. In this connection, four main regional possibilities will be offered: the Middle East, India, China and Persia.

Middle East. Islam in Indonesia came from Middle East countries and was brought by Arabs. Keyzer, one of the earliest scholars of Islam in Holland, argued that Egypt was the country of origin of Indonesia's Islam. He
argued that the Syafi'i (school of thought concerning Muslim law) school, followed by most Indonesian Muslim from the early periods until nowadays, occupied an important role in Egypt. Both Nieman and De Hollander mentioned Arabs but they did not indicate countries. Only De Hollander stated that there were Arab people in Java since the thirteenth century. Other scholars who considered that the origin of Indonesian Islam cannot be separated from Arabs were Veth and Crawfurd. Both Veth and Crawfurd, however, suggested that Islam came to Indonesia through intermediary countries. In other words, Islam was brought indirectly to Indonesia. Crawfurd, for example, stated that Islam in Indonesia was brought by Arabs via intercourse with the Muslim people of the Eastern coast of India (see, Drewes, 1968:439).

In Indonesia, the main figure whose view that the source of Islam in Indonesia was Egypt and Arabs is Hamka (Hamka, 1965). Hamka based his contention on several interesting propositions. Firstly, before Ibn Batuta visited Indonesia, there was an Indonesian ulama (Muslim scholar) teaching tasawwuf (mysticism) in Arab whose name: Syekh Abu Mas'ud Abdullah bin Mas'ud al-Jawi. One of his students was Abdullah Al-Yafi'iy (1300-1367) who became one of the great philosophers in the Muslim world. Secondly, when Ibn Batuta, the Moroccan traveler, visited Samudera Pasai in 1345, he found that Islam in this kingdom followed the madzhab Syafi'i. At the time, a great number of adherents of madzhab Syafi'i were found
in Egypt while in Mecca this madzhab occupied an important place. Hamka disagrees with the claim that Islam came from India and Persia because neither Hanafiah (the school of Indian Muslims) nor Syiah (the school of Persian Muslims) were known by Indonesian Muslims at the time. This argument agrees with Keyzer's view mentioned before. Morrison (1951), as quoted by Coatalen (Coatalen, 1981:102), also argued that the Gujarati followed either Syiah or Hanbali schools but not Syafi'i. Thirdly, a common title of the Pasai kings, "al-Malik", was originally used by Egyptian kings.

India. This is a well-known theory and most popular among scholars. Probably an indomitable initiator of this contention was Snouck Hurgronje, the well-known Dutch scholar of Islamic civilisation in Indonesia, who launched the idea that in order to trace the source of Islam in Southeast Asia, one has to seek it in India. Snouck seems to based his arguments on Ibn Batuta's rather than Marco Polo's report. According to Snouck Hurgronje, Islam in Indonesia began to be adopted seriously by Indonesian people around 1200 A.D.; Islam was taken by Muslim merchants from India who participated in the international maritime trade connecting East and West. These merchants settled and married women where they have settled (Drewes, 1968:443; Hall, 1978:216).

A problem with this theory is that there is no agreement, among scholars, on the region of India that was the source of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje mentioned South
India. Contrary to Snouck's favoured place of origin various scholars have proposed Gujarat on the western coast of India as the origin of Islam in Indonesia. The latter suggestion was offered by, among others, Pijnappel and Moquette. In addition, Pijnappel also mentioned Malabar as the possible source (see, Drewes, 1968:440). Based on his research on Islamic gravestones in Aceh, Moquette came to conclusion that Islam in Indonesia came from Gujarat. A different view claimed that a Bengali origin for Islam in Indonesia. This assumption first came from Tome Pires, a Lisbon apothecary who visited India in 1511. But, according to Drewes, this thesis has no root in Malay tradition or literature (Drewes, 1968:458). Other part of India proposed by scholars was Ma'bar (the Coromandel or eastern coast of southern India). Kenneth R. Hall maintained this thesis as more reliable than others because it was supported by traditions which can be found either in a Ma'bar oral traditions or in Malay literature. He thus concluded that the archipelago's Islam came from southern India (Hall, 1978:221). This suggestion, however, supported Snouck's argument that South India was the origin of Islam in Indonesia.

China and Persia. China as the source of Islam in Indonesia was proposed, among others, by Fatimi. S.Q. Fatimi, the Pakistani Professor, mentioned that Islam came from China to Champa and by following the east coast of the Malay peninsula to East Java (see, Coatalen, 1981:103). But China, for Fatimi, is an only alternative
source. In addition, he also mentioned Bengal and Persia. He stated, for example, that the Pasai rulers of Sumatra must have been of Bengali origin (Hall, 1978:217). Persia was a potential source of Islam in Indonesia because of its contact with the western coast of India. However, the influence of Persian on the Islamisation process in Indonesia was acknowledged by most of scholars. Persian influence has an important place in the development of the mystical world and Arabic-Malay language of Southeast Asia. Javanese script written in Arabic characters, popularly called pegon, originally came from Persia.

Concerning the source and the bearers of Indonesian Islam, it is clear that these problems are still matters of dispute among scholars. Apart from this problem, the last question, that of "how Islam brought to Indonesia", may disentangles us from the intricate problem.

2.1.3. How was Islam brought to Indonesia?

In this section, several main theories are considered based on the following factors: economics (trade), politics, kinship and Sufism.

Economics (trade). According to Coatalen (1981) the economic factor for the coming of Islam to Southeast Asia is the oldest and most credible of all extant factors. Marco Polo reported Saracen Merchants. According to Tome Pires, Muslim merchants were responsible for the original establishment of Islam in Pasai. On the north coastal
areas of Java, emigrant Muslim Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Malay settled and established trading states. S.O. Robson (Robson, 1981) assumed that Malacca was a trade centre linking Pasai to Java. Furthermore, Muslim Javanese and Malay merchants were established on the coast of Banda. By the early sixteenth century, the important international trade areas that had been Islamised included the Sumatran shores of the Straits of Malacca, the Malay Peninsula, the north coast of Java, Brunei, Sulu and Maluku (Ricklefs, 1981:8). Economics as a way of Islamisation is also mentioned broadly by van Leur. Every Muslim, as was suggested by van Leur (1967:114), is a propagandist of the Faith. The Muslim trader was the most common missionary and, consequently, the spreading of the Faith followed the routes of trade.

Politics. Politics as a motive for conversion to Islam increased after the establishment of Muslim communities in Southeast Asia. Such a phenomenon cannot be denied as the consequence of further development of Muslim communities in the region. The downfall of the state of Majapahit, as suggested by H.J. De Graaf (De Graaf, 1970:124) is an example of this potential factor. In relation to this problem, Ricklefs has proposed that Islam came to Indonesia peacefully because of the lack of evidence of foreign military expeditions imposing Islam by conquest. However, Islam also spread following the offensive of Islamic states on other states. The roots of this offensive were perhaps more commonly dynastic,
strategic and economic (Ricklefs, 1981:13).

Kinship. In the early period of Islamisation, male emigrants or traders usually came to a new country unaccompanied by women. A trader would try to be assimilated by following a "matrimonial strategy" (Abaza, 1988:16). He would marry a local woman. This strategy effectively supported the establishment of Islamic communities in several countries, such as India, Ceylon, East African countries, and Southeast Asian countries. In Ceylon, the outcome of intermarriage between Arabs and local women formed a community called the Moors. Similar communities can also be found in India, such as the Moplahs of Malabar and the Macarayars of the Coromandel coast (Morrison, as quoted by Coatalen, 1981:104). Most of Hadrami Arabs came to Indonesia without their own women. They married Indonesian women and spread Islam to their wife's relatives. The establishment of several Arab colonies on the north-coast of Java was, among other things, supported by intermarriage between Arabs and the daughters of governors of coastal districts.

Sufism. Sufism is one of many ways of spreading Islamic teachings. According to Johns, "there is evidence that the Sufi movement contributed to the fecundation and enrichment of Islam in the region" [Southeast Asia] (Johns, 1980:166). This theory is also known as "missionary theory" (Majul, in Coatalen, 1981:104) and claims that the network of Sufi orders provided an institutional basis for the spread of Islam. In spreading
Islamic teachings a Sufi would take a moderate position fitting his teaching to the level of understanding of his followers. The common mechanism of the Sufi way of teaching is that the principal doctrines of Islam are given first before taking steps toward the mystical dimensions. Several sources mention Sufi Sheikh such as Sejarah Melayu (Malay History) and Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai (Story of the kings of Pasai).

In fact, theories of the coming of Islam have various and different features. Islam came to Indonesia by following two processes (see also, Ricklefs, 1981:3). First, Islam was taken by Indonesians themselves from many countries. This is possible because Indonesians occupied important roles in international trade and were involved in trading with various nations, including Muslim people. There were Indonesians who (as was mentioned by Hamka) journeyed to Middle East countries to study Islam (see also, Johns, 1980). Secondly, Islam was brought to Indonesia by Muslim people from several countries (the Middle East, India, Persia and China). Muslims from different occupations were involved in this process. They brought Islam to Indonesia in many ways, which usually accorded with their positions. In this second process, similar to other Muslims, Arab people have always played significant roles. With regard to this, it might useful to quote a note which was made by Syed Naguib Al-attas:
"The early missionaries too, from what is known of their names and titles, have been Arab or Arab-Persian. It is true that some came via India, but some also came directly from Arabia or via Persia, and from there via China. It is true that some works were written in India, but their origin is Arabia and Persia; or they could even be, in comparatively small measure, Turkey or the Maghrib and what is more important, their religious content is Middle Eastern not Indian" (Al-attas, 1976:79).

The fact is that there were Arab people living in Indonesia at the beginning of the process of Islamisation. More than that, there had probably been Arabs in Indonesia before the Islamic era. In other words the Arab people entered Indonesian regions before and after the emergence of Islam in Mecca. Another problem still remains is whether those Arabs can be identified as Hadrami Arabs?. Are they the ancestors of the present-day Hadrami Arabs in Indonesia?. In other words, where have the Arabs come from?. In order to answer these questions some explanatory background must be given.

2.1.4. The Coming of Hadrami Arabs

As was mentioned before that the Arab people, generally traders, arrived in Southeast Asia before the Christian era and continued to arrive in later periods. J.C. van Leur mentioned there were Arab colonies in Indonesia in the seventh century, and T.W. Arnold suggested that, by the middle of the eight century, there was the head of Arab settlement on the west coast of Sumatra. Wilfred T. Neill (Neill, 1973:250) set for the
various phases of the coming of Arab people to Indonesia as follows: by the fourth century A.D. there had been at least a few Arabs in Indonesia; by the eight century Muslim Arabs from India and the Abbasid caliphate were in Indonesia; in the fourteenth century, far more Arabs entered Indonesia than ever before. None of these scholars points specifically to the coming of Hadrami Arabs to Indonesia. On the other hand, Coatalen remarks:

"The interesting thing about the Arab traders in Southeast Asia is that they started very early, shortly after the beginning of the Christian era and that one author (Bradell, 1947 p.17) could speak of the 3d century A.M. as the heyday of the Hadrami. .... The great flowering of the South Arabian civilization preceded the birth of Islam. There were Arabs in South East Asian waters several centuries before Islam. ...." (Coatalen, 1981:109).

The maritime capability of Hadramawt Arabs is also mentioned by several scholars (Wheatley, 1961; Tibbetts, 1971). Trimingham (Trimingham, 1964:2) mentioned "Sections of the people of Hadramawt, cut off by the desert from the interior of Arabia, had long turned to the sea for their livelihood". By considering their maritime reputation, the possibility of the coming of Hadramawt people to Indonesia at an early date can have occurred. However, Indonesian history suggests that certain periods were clearer than others for Hadrami emigration. In relation to this, Morley's statement provide a useful explanation:

"Hadramawt visitors to the East Indies [Indonesia] up to the middle of the eighteenth century came
there as traders, and with a few exceptions, only began to settle there from about 1750 onwards. The Arab colonies in Malacca and Palembang date from this period while those of Siak (Sumatra) and Pontianak (Borneo) are even earlier but most of the others were not founded until well on in the nineteenth century. There was no mass migration from the Hadramaut to the East Indies before then" (Morley, 1949:155).

Morley explained that the visit of the people of Hadramawt to Indonesia, in the form of mass migration, began in the eighteenth century and ended in the nineteenth century. Based on this, it can be said that Hadrami Arabs were the last group of Arabs to come to Indonesia before the twentieth century. All Arabs who came to Indonesia were always restricted in their status as the adherents of Islam, including Hadrami Arabs.

In Surabaya, a figure well known by Arab people as the first settler of the Hadrami Arabs in this city was the family of Bobsaid (or Bausaid). The pioneer was Azzuddin Abu Makarim bin Abdul Aziz bin Awad Bobsaid (popularly, Awad Bobsaid). He arrived in Surabaya in 1680. He came from Heinan region of Hadramawt. Bobsaid was a forty-first generation descendant from Adnan, the ancestor of all tribes of northern Arabia peninsula (further story of Adnan will be presented in "genealogical section", Chapter III). Bobsaid genealogy begins from Adnan as follows.
1. Adnan
2. Mu'ad [or Ma'add]
3. Nashir [Nizar]
4. Mudhar
5. Ilyas
6. Mudhrikah
7. Huzaimah
8. Kinanah
9. An'nadhr
10. Malik
11. Qahhar
12. Ghalib
13. Lu'yah
14. Ka'ab
15. Murrah
16. Kilab
17. Qushay
18. Abdu Manaf
19. Abdu Syamsi
20. Hirab
21. Abu Sufyan
22. Uthbah
23. Ustman
24. Amru
25. Uthbatul Ula'
26. Uthbatul Tzani
27. Ustman
28. Al-Hakim
29. Umayyah
30. Abi Amin bin Abi Bashit al-Kabir Ustman
31. Abi Bashit al-Hakim
32. Hisyam
33. Abdul Malik
34. Al-Walid
35. Al-Hakim
36. Aban
37. Marwan
38. Muhammad
39. Yahya
40. Azzuddin Abu Burhan Ibrahim Busaid
41. Azzuddin Abu Makarim Abdul Aziz Awad Busaid
(Awad Bobsaid)

Source: Salim Bobsaid (74), March 1982.

Awad Bobsaid was a philanthropist, a social-minded individual, and he paid great attention to the development of Islam. His philanthropy and his great attention to religious matters was proven by his developing langgar (prayer houses or village mosques) in
Surabaya and Madura. One of his langgar was called "Langgar Awad" (meaning: the Awad Mosque). Today, this mosque, which is located in Dukuh Street in Surabaya, has become a langgar wakaf (religious property). In his honour, his name was remembered in a name, celebrating the street wherein he lived during his life. In 1982, the name of the street was changed to Jalan Panggung III.

Bobsaid had an indigenous wife and a number of children. During the Dutch colonial period, with its policy of developing settlements comprising groups of people based on ethnic background, Bobsaid's descendants successively became Kapiten Arab (Kapitein der Arabieren) in Surabaya. For the Arabs of Surabaya this function commenced in 1909. The last Kapiten Arab of Surabaya was Ali bin Muhammad bin Awad Bobsaid who served from 1937 to 1950. This function was abolished following an agreement at a Conference of Indonesian-Arabs in Malang in 1950.

2.2. Arab Population

Since there is no accurate statistical record of the Indonesian population based on ethnicity, it is difficult to know the number of Indonesian-Arabs today. The only available source of information on this matter is the census of 1930 taken by the Dutch government. In 1930, there were more than seventy thousand Arab people in Indonesia (total: 71,345), about forty thousand of whom lived in Java and Madura. Regarding the population of
Arab descendants in Indonesia, it is certain that its number has increased from year to year. By way of illustration, the increase in the Arab population in Indonesia from 1860 to 1930 can be seen in Table 1. The figures show the growth of the Arab population in the colonial period of Indonesia. J.M. van Der Kroef (1954:250) has also pointed to the percentage increase per annum in the Arab population in Java from 1860 to 1952.

Table 1
Increase in Arab population in various years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Java &amp; Madura (in thousand)</th>
<th>Indonesia (in thousand)</th>
<th>Percentage*</th>
<th>Per Annum (Java)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The increase in the Arab population during these times was due to immigration and birth. In the case of immigration, some significant growth in the Arab community in Indonesia was the result of the coming of Hadrami Arabs, which began massively in the eighteenth century, reached a peak in the nineteenth century, but decreased after Indonesian Independence. Nevertheless, it can be said that the growth in Indonesian-Arab population...
has been largely the result of natural increase (by birth) within the existing group rather than by immigration. According to Hamid Algadri (Algadri, 1984:186) of the total of Arab population of 71,345 in 1930, approximately 60,000 were peranakan (child of the local) Arabs. Based on this figure, Algadri calculated that by 1980 the Arab population in Indonesia had increased to 150,000.(1).

In 1930 about two-thirds of Indonesians of Arab descent lived in Java. Because the regions on the north-coast of Java were the main gates of entry into Java and Indonesia, most Indonesian Arabs in Java and Madura lived in these regions. Although there is no adequate assessment of this estimate, it can reasonably be assumed that most Indonesian Arabs in Java still live in these region.

According to the census conducted by the Dutch Government based on residential territory in 1920, there were about 27,806 Arabs in Java and Madura. Of this number 26,101 lived in regions of the north-coast of Java and only 1,705 dwelt in other residencies. A complete description of this situation can be seen in Table:2.

In present-day Indonesia, besides the Arabs of Surabaya, several cities on the north-coast of Java have groups of peranakan Arabs who are well known because of their activities or special occupations. Here the Arabs of Jakarta, Pekalongan, and Sumene on Madura island can be mentioned as examples. In Jakarta, there is a family
of Arab descent which is famous among Muslim people, namely the Al-Habsyi family. This family is well known for its knowledge of Islam. Al-Habsyi established a *pengajian* (institution for Islamic teaching) which was centralised in his mosque, the *Masjid Kwitang*. Therefore the Al-Habsyi family is well known by the nickname *Habib Kwitang*.

Table 2
Arab population in Java & Madura 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residency</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(north-coast)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantam</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batavia</td>
<td>2,878</td>
<td>2,362</td>
<td>5,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cirebon</td>
<td>1,569</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>3,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pekalongan</td>
<td>2,022</td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>3,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semarang</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>1,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembang</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>2,462</td>
<td>5,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madura</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>1,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasuruan</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>2,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besuki</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>2,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North-coast</strong></td>
<td>13,931</td>
<td>12,170</td>
<td>26,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(other residency)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preanger*)</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjumas</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedu</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soerakarta</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madiun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kediri</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other residencies</strong></td>
<td>951</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>1,705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Java &amp; Madura</strong></td>
<td>14,882</td>
<td>12,924</td>
<td>27,806</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Volkstelling Deel II, Batavia, Drukkerijen Ruygrok & Co., 1922.*

*) Priangan.

Pekalongan has been known as the city of *batik*. According to Chantal Vuldy (Vuldy, 1987), the Arab
community was the most important element in the development of the batik industry in Pekalongan. Also, based on van Den Berg's report, in 1885 Sumenep had the third largest population of Arabs in Indonesia after Jakarta and Surabaya (van Den Berg, 1886:105-6). Nowadays, the Indonesian Arabs in Madura are well known as successful entrepreneurs in tobacco trading. The tobacco industry was centralised in Sumenep (Huub de Jonge, 1989).

It can be clearly seen in Table:2 that in 1920 the residency of Surabaya occupied first place as the area with the most populous Arab occupancy in Java. In 1885, however, the city of Surabaya, according to van Den Berg's report, was actually second to Jakarta. In 1885 Batavia (Jakarta) had 1448 Arabs, Surabaya 1145, and Sumenep 1037. Although, nowadays, there is no adequate basis for determining which Indonesian city has the largest Arab population, by examining some registrations from the colonial period and recent developments it can be seen that Jakarta still lays claim to this distinction. Due to its role as the capital of the nation, its rapid development and many more other factors, Jakarta is a very interesting place of residence for many groups of Indonesian people, including Indonesian Arabs.

While Jakarta has been and continues to be a major centre of activities for Arab people, Surabaya is and was one of the most important trading ports in Indonesia
(Vlekke, 1959:49). This factor can be considered as the primary reason why, in the past, many Arab descendants chose Surabaya as their home. Of course there are also other factors, such as the fact the Arabs have established close relationships with other groups in Surabaya as well. They have developed a sort of (self)-interest in this city, for example, in its economic, educational, religious life.

Because of the lack of accurate statistical data, the number of the present-day Arab population of Surabaya city (Kotamadya Surabaya) is unknown. Therefore the statistical data that were collected by Dutch Government will be used in the analyses which follows. In 1920 the total Arab population of Surabaya was 3,597. A more complete description of the Arab population of Surabaya in 1920 is presented in Table:3.

Table:3 shows that, in 1920, most of Surabayan Arabs lived in NJamploengan. In 1975 this village was divided into two villages (kelurahan): "Nyamplungan" of the Subdistrict (Kecamatan) of Pabean Cantikan and "Ampel" of the Subdistrict of Semampir. Most of Arabs lived in Ampel. In 1990 there was a new administrative reform with both Nyamplungan and Ampel being included in the Subdistrict of Pabean Cantikan, North Surabaya (Surabaya Post, 9 August 1990).
Table: Arab population of Surabaya (1920)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Unit (Villages)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peneleh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kranggan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njamploengan</td>
<td>1,745</td>
<td>1,419</td>
<td>3,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krambangan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koepang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasan</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambaklangon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wonokromo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roengkoet</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soekolilo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wringinnanom</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karangpilang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedamean</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menganti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,974</td>
<td>1,623</td>
<td>3,597</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Volkstelling, Batavia* 1922.

In 1981 Ampel with an area of about 38 hectares had a population of 20,797. Hence its population density was about 547 people per hectare. The population consisted of 10,244 males (49.2 percent) and 10,553 females (50.8 percent). The number of families in this region was 6,265. Ampel's population was extremely heterogeneous. There were indigenous ethnic groups (*pribumi*), such as Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese, Banjarese, Bugis, Makassarese, and also groups of non-indigenous peoples; for example, Arabs, Chinese, Indians, and Pakistanis. The Ampel population based on ethnic divisions is listed in Table:4. In this context there is no ethnic separation for indigenous people.
Table:4 shows that, in 1981, the largest body of non-indigenous people was Arabic (3,789). This number was equal to 18.2 percent of the total Ampel population. In 1981 there were 71 Arabs in Ampel registered to have foreign citizenship. In general, those with foreign citizenship consisted of older people. All Arabs in Ampel are Muslims. Further discussion on the problem of religious life of the Arabs will be given in Chapter IV.

2.3. Ampel: The Arab Settlement

Most of Hadrami Arabs chose the same area of settlement when they arrived in Surabaya. The centre of their settlement is Ampel. In 1975, Ampel became one of five kelurahan (villages) within the Kecamatan (Subdistrict) of Semampir of Surabaya.

As the name of a village, Ampel has several meanings. It can be said that every group of people who
live in that region have different folk-etymological explanations for the name. For Javanese and Madurese, two versions are commonly accepted. Firstly, Ampel was a name which referred to the condition of the region when it was opened up as a settlement area. At the time (n.d), there was a lot of "ampel" - a Javanese word for one kind of bamboo - growing densely there. Thus the name "Ampel", refers to the region before the arrival of the religious figure, Sunan Ampel. As a second etymology, "Ampel" is said to be the name given to commemorate the status of the region when Sunan Ampel arrived and opened it up as a settlement area. The word "ampel" derived from a Javanese word "ngampel" which means "to borrow or utilise". In this instance, Sunan Ampel utilised a part of land of the Majapahit kingdom as a settlement area and, subsequently, as a centre for Islamic education. Sunan Ampel was given the region to use by permission of the King of Majapahit, namely Prabu Brawijaya Kertabumi V. In relation to this explanation, one more name must be mentioned, that of Dewi Darawati - a wife of the Prabu - who was said to be an aunt of Sunan Ampel. According to Babad Tanah Jawa, (translated by M. Ramlan (1975:12), the Prabu himself is an uncle of Sunan Ampel. With his aunt's support, Sunan Ampel found no difficulty in using the Ampel land for his mission.

A few Indonesian-Arabs who live in Ampel and its surrounding areas have other interpretation of the name "ampel". Ampel, they suggest, is a compound word. It
derives from two Arabic words, namely al-Am and al-Pil which are compounded to "am-pel", meaning the elephant year. In the history of Islam, the elephant year refers to an event when the troops of Abraha the Abyssinian invaded Mecca with a large force, which included some elephants. At the time, Abraha's objective was to destroy the Ka'ba. Before his aim was achieved, a miracle occurred. The miracle consisted of the birds coming in large flights and flinging stones at the army, which caused a great pestilence to arise and destroy the whole of Abraha's army. In relation to the name "ampel", for those of Arab descent, the emphasis is not on the invasion to destroy the Ka'ba, but on the dawning of Islam which also occurred that year. That year was the year of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. (about 570 A.D.). The name of the event was also adopted as the name for the settlement in memory of the dawn of Islam in that region. (2) It was a coincidence that the pioneer of this event was Raden Achmad Rachmatullah who was popularly called Sunan Ampel.

In the sphere of Indonesian national history, Ampel of Surabaya is well known in connection with Sunan Ampel, one of the Wali Sanga, the nine Muslim saints, who were the earliest propagandists of Islam on Java. The full name of this saint is now given as Raden Achmad Rachmatullah Sunan Ampel. According to Panitia Haul Agung Sunan Ampel Ke-527 (1980), Sunan Ampel was a son of Maktum Ibrahim Al-Ghozi (see also, Babad Tanah Jawa
(1976), nicknamed Ibrahim Asmakandi. He was born in 1401 in Champa [Campa](3), and passed away in 1467. He was buried in the front-yard of the Grand Mosque of Ampel in Surabaya. Sunan Ampel is thus believed to be of Arab descendant and a twentieth-third generation descent from the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. His genealogy begins from the Prophet as follows.

1. The Prophet Muhammad S.A.W  
2. Fatimah Az-Zahrah  
3. Al-Imam Husein  
4. Ali Zainul Abidin  
5. Muhammad Al-Baqir  
6. Dja'far Al-Shodiq  
7. Ali Al-Uraidhi  
8. Muhammad Al-Faqih  
9. Isa Al-Naqib  
10. Achmad Al-Muhajir  
11. Ubaidillah  
12. Alawi  
13. Muhammad  
14. Alawi  
15. Ali Cholik Qasam  
16. Muhammad Shohibu Marbath  
17. Alawi  
18. Abdul Malik  
19. Amir Abdullah Khan  
20. Achmad Syah Djalal  
21. Djamaluddin Husein  
22. Ibrahim Al Ghozi  
23. R. Achmad Rachmatullah Sunan Ampel


Until today most people of Arab descent still live in Ampel. In connection with this historical fact, it can be said that, in the case of the settlement of Surabayan Arabs, the political mission of distinguishing the population on the basis of race was not merely the
creation of Dutch colonialists. It is certain that before the policy of *devide et impera*, the Arab population had been living in Ampel and the surrounding areas. In other words, the Dutch government maintained the already established condition which in fact suited Arab interest. Actually, for Dutch colonialists, the most important thing was to see group consciousness developing well within each group of the population. To that end, the Dutch colonialists introduced many regulations which restricted intergroup or interethnic relations.
Chapter III
THE SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF ARAB SOCIETY

The last chapter pointed to the evidence that Islam in Indonesia came from many countries and was brought by various nations such as Persians, Indians, probably Chinese and, certainly, Arab people. Of the Arabs there were Arab-Persian, Arab-Indian, Arab-Maghribian as well as Hadrami Arabs. Such distinction indicate Arabs of several categories. This chapter attempts, first of all, to describe categories of Arab society. This chapter examines genealogical distinction in Arab society. The kinship system of the Arabs is also a subject of discussion in this chapter. All these factors are included in Arab social stratification.

3.1. Categories of Arab Society

The community of Hadrami Arab constitutes the largest group of Arab descent in Indonesia. Before the twentieth century, more precisely before the establishment of Al-Irsyad (Jamiat al-Islah wal-Irsyad al-Arabiyah) in 1915, the categories of Arab society in Indonesia closely reflected its origin in Hadramawt. Yet there is no a single view on the categories of Hadrami society.

Van den Berg (1886) divides the Hadramis into the sayyids, the fugaha, the bourgeoisie, and the slave.
According to Abdullah S. Bujra (Bujra, 1971), Hadrami society has a system which divides all people into three general strata. The first stratum is the sadah (singular: sayyid), the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. The second is the mashaikh-gabail. The masyaikh (singular: syaikh) are scholars and holy men while the gabail (singular: gabili) are tribesmen. The last stratum is the masikin or du'fa, the poor or weak people. Joseph Chelhod (Chelhod, 1985) notes other categorises: after the sayyids are the fugaha (scholars) and then the gabail, the baya (merchants), and the anadil (artisans) (see also, Abaza, 1988:7). The scholars of Arab descent in Indonesia (Shahab, 1975; Ahmad, 1976) categorise the Hadrami society as follows: sayyid/syarif (noble in religious affairs), masyaikh (experts in educational affairs), al-gabail [gabail] (noble in governmental affairs), al-gerwan, al-chertan or fallah or da'if (common people) and abid (slave) (see also PiJper, 1984:116-7).

After the emergence of Al-Irsyad, the common categories of Indonesian Arabs are sayyid/syarif and non-sayyid. However, it must be firstly mention that, in application, the old pattern of social stratification is also sometimes shown in their life. In order to get a complete picture of the categories of Arab society, both the original and the subsequent forms will be discussed in this section.
3.1.1. Sayyid/Syarif

The sayyid/syarif, who are at the top of the hierarchy, are the groups of Arabs who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad through his grandchildren Husein and Hasan. Both Husein and Hasan are the sons of Fatimah (a daughter of the Prophet) and her husband Ali bin Abi Thalib. Husein is the ancestor of sayyid while Hasan is the ancestor of syarif. Actually the meaning of sayyid is "master" or "lord" and syarif means "honoured" or "respected". The terms are synonyms, with the same degree and significant for men. Arab women who are descendants of the Prophet use syarifah before their given name. Therefore, sayyid has actually much the same sense as syarif. For simplification, in further discussion only the term sayyid will be used. The reason for this is that the Hadrami Arabs either in Indonesia or in other Southeast Asian countries are mostly the descendants of Husein, the ancestor of all sayyids. According to Shahab (Shahab, 1975:87), in Indonesia, of all the Arabs who claim to be the descendants of the Prophet about 95 per cent are sayyid and only 5 per cent syarif.

It is believed that the ancestor of all Hadrami sayyid was Ahmad al-Muhajir [the migrator] bin Isa bin Muhammad bin Ali al-Uraidhi bin Ja'far as-Shadiq. Al-Muhajir ibn Isa, of the eighth generation from Fatimah (the Prophet's daughter) through her son Husein, came to Hadramawt from Basra in Iraq. Before he arrived in
Hadramawt, he first made his way to Mecca in order to perform the *haj* (pilgrimage). From Mecca his steps led to the Hadramawt and he settled in a little town Al-Hajarein in the Wadi Du'an. The Wadi Du'an, famous in antiquity, was one of the best known valleys in Hadramawt. Al-Muhajir's tomb can be seen on the road to Tarim from Al-Hajarein (Stark, 1936:24; van der Meulen, 1947:185; Serjeant, 1957:8). Al-Muhajir left Basra - in 317 H - accompanied by his wife, Zainab binti Abdullah bin Hasan bin Ali al-Uraidhi, his son Abdullah together with their son (al-Muhajir's grandchild) Ismail (Bashri). Besides Al-Muhajir and his relative, there were also about 70 other followers with them (al-Baqir, 1986:14). In Hadramawt, Al-Muhajir revived and spread the Islamic teachings according to the Syafi'i rule (Van den Berg, 1886; Serjeant, 1957:8).

There are many branches of *sayyid* in Indonesia, other names which usually refer to the *sayyid* are various. In Jakarta they commonly called *habib/uwan*; in Surabaya *habib* (the beloved or the honoured); in Palembang *avyi* and *sidi* in Minangkabau. In everyday communication the famous term used to refer to them is *Ba-alwee*. This term denotes that they are also the descendants of *Ba-alwee*, which may also be used as a term for *gabilah* (meaning "tribes"). The following is their comprehension pedigree (Shahab, 1975; Ahmad, 1976).
Adam father of Sheeth, Seeth father of Anush, Anush father of Kenan, Kenan father of Mahalael, Mahalael father of Yarid, Yarid father of Idrees or Akhnub, Idrees father of Matuslakh, Matuslakh father of Lamak, and Lamak father of Nuh (Noach).

SEMITIS

Nuh father of Sam (Sham), Sam father of Arfakshad, Arfakshad father of Salakh, Salakh father of Abir, Abir father of Phalagh, Phalagh father of Arghu, Arghu father of Azer, Azer or Tarah father of Ibrahim.

ISHMAELITES

Ibrahim or Abraham father of Ismail, Ismail father of Kedar, Kedar father of Hamal, Hamal father of Banat, Banat father of Salaman, Salaman father of Humaysa', Humaysa' father of Adad, Adad father of Adsyah, Adsyah father of Adnan.

ADNANITES

Adnan father of Mu'ad, Mu'ad father of Nizar, Nizar father of Mudhar, Mudhar father of Ilyas, Ilyas father of Mudhriakah, Mudhriakah father of Khuzaymah, Khuzaymah father of Kinanah, Kinanah father of Al-Nadhr. Al-Nadhr father of Malik, Malik father of Fihr or Qurayah.

QURAYSHITES

Fihr father of Galib, Galib father of Luay, Luay father of Ka'ab, Ka'ab father of Murrah, Murrah father of Kilab, Kilab father of Qusay, Qusay or Mujammi father of Abdimanaf, Abdimanaf father of Hashim.

HASHIMITES

Hashim father of Abdulmuttalib, Abdulmuttalib father of Abdullah and Abitalib, Abdullah father of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W., Muhammad S.A.W. father of Fatimah and Abitalib father of Ali; Fatimah and Ali parents of Hasan and Husein.

HUSEYNESS


ALAWIYYIN
Sadah (plural of sayyid) are also divided into several categories. According to Ahmad (Ahmad, 1976:17), these categories can be seen as large clans. Nowadays, in Hadramawt, the sayyids always refer to their clan as beit which has generally been translated as House with a capital H. Actually, the normal and suitable term with groups of such size, as was suggested by Bujra (Bujra, 1971:19), is gabilah (tribe).

In Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries (see, Winstedt, 1918) the name of several sayyid clans as follows:

Al-Attas; Asseggaff; Al-Kaf; Al-Aidit; Al-Jufri; Al-Haddar; Al-Hamid; Al-Hinduwan; Al-Fad'ak; Al-Haddad; Alaidrus; Al-Habsyi; As-Sulaibiyya; As-Safi; As-Seriy; Al-Hadi; Al-Bar; Al-Qadri; Al-Syatri; Al-Khanaiman; Al-Masyhur; Al-Bahr; Al-Maulakhela; Al-Munawwar; Al-Musawa; Al-Khrid; Al-Baraqbah; Al-Bin Jindan; Al-Bilfaqih; Al-Baiti; Bin Barahim; Al-Mauladawiyah; Al-Muzawwah; Al-Attamimi; Az-Zahir; Ba-Ali; Ba-Baraik; Bafaqih; Bajened; Bin Syekh Abu Bakr; Bin Smith; Bin Syahab; Jamalul Lail; Qathmir; Bafadhal; Basyaiban; Bazar'ah; Bin Yahya; Baisa; Ba'abud; Bin Syaikhan; Syihab; Baumar; Bingham; Bin Kitban; Binsahil; Binsyuab; Bin Tahir; Brum; Bufuteem; Fadag; Fakhir; Juneid; Khrid; Madehey; Maghraby; Mahdaly; Marzak; Mansur; Moshavyakh; Maulakeyslah; Mohdar; Mudhir; Mugaybil; Munawwar; Mutahar; Safy; Sakran; Semit; Shihabu’d-din; Tagawy; Taha; Waht, and others.

The emergence of many clans among the sayyid as among other Arabs occurs because one family, for certain reasons, can create a new clan. Generally every family of Ba-alwee has its pedigree. In several Indonesian cities, there is a member of Ba-alwee who has the duty of making such a list. When I was conducting research
(1982), the writer of the sayyid pedigree in Surabaya was Sayyid Ali bin Hud Asseggaff. The main task of the writer, besides making a pedigree, is also to research the validity of a nasab (or pedigree). For the same objective, at the level of Indonesia, there is a type of institution, namely Al-Maktab ad-Daimiy li Ihsha wa Dhabti Ansab al Alawiyyin, which is centralised in Jakarta and has branches in Surabaya, Pekalongan, Palembang, and other big cities in Indonesia. This institution has relations with similar institutions in several countries, such as Egypt, Morocco, Yemen, Malaysia, Singapore, and so forth (al-Baqir, 1986:13).

Sayyids are commonly known for their moral authority. They have occupations in religious affairs, though some of them have important role in trade and politics. In the land of Hadramawt several clans have famous reputations (as experts) in religious affairs, for example Bin Syekh Abu Bakr, Alaidrus, Al-Attas, Al-Habsyi, Al-Haddad, Bin Syahab, and others. Besides the authority in religious affairs, the Alaidrus' family, at one period, acted as arbiter between the sayyids families (Serjeant, IX, 1981:243). In Hureidah of Hadramawt, the 'Attas clan whose ancestor 'Umar not only had an important role in regional religious affairs, but also created a council, namely the 'Attas Council in order to spread Islamic teachings outside of Hadramawt. This clan developed connections with several overseas countries, the 'Attas clan introduced a Sufi order called the "Attas
Historically, the tradition of Sufism among the sayyids began in the early thirteenth H or in about seventh A.D. It is believed that the first sayyid to turn to Sufism was Muhammad ibn Ali, called al-Faqih al-Muqaddam. Formerly, the sayyids or the Alawiyyin were known only for fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and sharaf (Arabic grammar). In relation to their Sufi order, the sayyid based their tariqah (order) on the Al-Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the Pious Ancestor (al-Aslaf) (Serjeant, 1957:19-20).

Because of their roles and status as the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (Ahl Beit), Hadramawt people give sayyid clans their respect. When a sayyid enters a public place, people present should kiss his hand (tasbih) even if they are older or regarded as wiser (BuJra, 1971:18; Serjeant, IX,1981:238). Honour and affection toward the descendants of the Prophet form a tradition which was established even in the very early years of Islam. Such an affection was also demonstrated by Imam Syafi'i - one of the four important leaders of the madzhab in Islam. In relation to this he stated in poem (al-Baqir, 1986:20):

Hai! Ahl Beit (descendants) of the Prophet to love you, to be obligated by God in the book of Al-Qur'an, His divine-revelation No valid prayer from a person who does not send deep respect (salawat) to you That is a true sign of your excellence
Because of their roles in religion, many sayyids are considered saints and wali (Van den Berg, 1886:93-4; Abaza, 1988:7). Perhaps the traditional history of the sayyid's saints' activities in Morocco is better recorded by scholars than in other parts of the Islamic world (see, for example, Gellner, 1969; Geertz, 1971). In Islam, the source of charismatic authority which the saints are believed to possess is called baraka: "the manifestation of God's grace on earth" (Rabinow, 1975:25). This blessing can be manifest in people, states, substances, places, and it can also result in knowledge, a good harvest, business success, or good health. In Indonesia, the reflection of charismatic authority of saints can probably be related first of all to the nine wali of Islam (Wali Sanga) in Java.

In the past, several sayyids were well known because of their religious activities, including Sayyid Husain bin Abubakar Alaidrus, Sayyid Ali bin Husain Al-Attas, Habib Ali bin Abdurrahman Alhabsyi (Jakarta), Sayyid Abdullah bin Muhsin Al-Attas (Bogor), and Sayyid Ahmad bin Abdullah Assegaff (Surabaya). In present-day Indonesia several clans are well known: Alhabsyi, Al-Attas, Syihab (Jakarta, Makassar), bin Salim Aljufri (Palu), and Aljufri, bin Syahab (Surabaya). Today, the sayyid Arabs in Indonesia have several schools, namely Al-Khairiyah (Jakarta), Syama-il al-Huda (Pekalongan), Al-Madrasah al-Islamiyah (Surakarta), Al-Mu'awanah (Cianjur), Al-Madrasah al-Arabiyyah al-Islamiyyah
(Banyuwangi), Al-Khairat (Palu), Al-Khairiyah and Attarbiyah (Surabaya), and others.

3.1.2. Categories of Non-Sayyid Group

The first major branch of the non-sayyid group is called masyaikh (singular: shaikh, meaning scholar and holy man). Masyaikh are groups of people who claim descent from well-known and reputed Hadrami scholars and holy men of the past. Van den Berg has pointed out that, among the Hadramis, there were at least two tribes and some urban families who were known as the inheritors of the title. These were the Barik and the 'Amoud or 'Amoud al-Din (see, Abaza, 1988:7).

The masyaikh are loyal to the sayyid. Traditionally, in Hadramawt, both the sayyid and the shaikh wore long white robes with white hats and also overcoats over the white robes which were a symbol of their religious status. Distinguished religious leaders and scholars wore a green turban over the shoulders. Such a dress represented the dress of Islamic learning (Dresch, 1989:140). Differently from the sayyid, the masyaikh were generally not allowed to use the green turban. Neither the sayyid nor the shaikh carried arms since they were protected by God (Bujra, 1971:15).

The masyaikh also consisted of several categories. In this instance, Serjeant (Serjeant, IX, 1981:228-9) informs us that, in Hadramawt, there were three different
mashaikh with different functions in society. First, there were the Masyaikh al-Shaml which means the masyaikh of uniting and gathering together. They were leaders in war and counsel. They were free of all obligations such as taxes, but, on the other hand, they collected the taxes from the tribes. Second, there were Masyaikh al-Daman who had equivalent functions to those of tribal shaikhs everywhere. A Shaikh al-Daman was well known as the shaikh who, in the case of murder, recovered the blood money, damages, and performed all sorts of other functions, etc. In order to perform his function, a Shaikh al-Daman sometimes needed to face another shaikh who was called the shaikh of the guilty man. The latter is the third shaikh and was also called the Shaikh al-Mashaikh, the final arbiter in all cases. In some regions, the Shaikh al-Mashaikh were independent administrators of their areas and also collectors of taxes. Because of such functions, SerJeant assumed that the status of the Shaikh al-Shaml and the Shaikh al-Masyaikh were equal.

Because of the title "shaikh" refers to the knowledge of Islamic teachings, whoever is an authority in the knowledge of Islam can also be called as shaikh (Ahmad, 1976:19). The clans in this group include Al-Alamudi; Al-Bafathol; Al-Bawazir; Al-Bajabir; Al-Bagis; Al-Barras; Al-Basyeem; Al-Basyarahil; Al-Bagawij Basebel; Basmeleh; Al-Baritwan; Al-Kaladi; Assalimi; Al-Sakhak; Al-Syible; Al-Jubaidi; Baktir; and
so forth.

In Southeast Asian countries, mainly in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, there is an additional meaning to the term "syaikh". Besides its original meaning, syaikh can refer to an "agent", especially in relation to haj industry. A syaikh is a man who has the authority to escort pilgrims to Mecca, and there serve as a guide for them in performing the haj (Hurgronje, 1931:222; Roff, 1967:126). According to J. Vredenbregt (Vredenbregt, 1962:126) "the profession of pilgrim syaikh could only be followed by those who had obtained a license from the Meccan authorities". In Southeast Asian countries is usually held by those of Arab descent. It is indeed a good business.

The second major branch of the non-sayyid group is al-gabail or al-gabail (singular: gabilah meaning tribe and gabilah tribesmen). In the everyday life of the Hadramawt people, al-gabail means "the carriers of weapons" (Achmad, 1977). They are the ones who become the leaders of the "tribes", "clans" as well as sultanates. Members of this group include aribah (Arabian Arabs or true indigenous Arabs) (Bujra, 1971:14) and, therefore, represent local administrators. These positions give them higher occupations than the group Ba-alwee, though al-gabail people give respect to the Ba-alwee in recognition of their religious knowledge and ascribed status. More than that, the Ba-alwee have special role, namely that of mediator, in solving dispute problems that
usually involve *gabilah* (tribes), groups, clans among the Hadramis (Serjeant, 1981, IX:241). Every Hadrami tribe has such figures deriving from the *sayyids*. Several clan names that derive from *al-gabail* group, include Al-As; Al-Fas; Al-Faris; Al-Kathiri; Al-Jabri; Al-Makarim; Al-Ukbah; Bamezuk; Bathel; Bathiab; bin Badar; bin Mahri; Chemid; Cholagi; Hadromi; Hilabi; Kreysan, and others.

The third major branch is *al-gerwan*. *Al-gerwan* derives from the word *garwa* meaning "village" and refers to people from a village. In the everyday life of Hadrami society, this term means people who do not carry weapons (Achmad, 1977). Included in this group are all the people who are employed as artisans, workmen, skilled labourers. Clans within this group include are Amar; Argubi; Attui; Authoh or Audah; Al-Jarub; Bashahil; Baraja; Baswedan; BalJun; Bagarib; Basalamah; Baisa; Bamasmus; Bamedak; Bamatroh; Bajurus; Batog; Basbet; Bahswan; Baya'kub; Babduh; Bahruj; Ba-attuwaq; Bachamadah; Bazargan; Balakmas; Baheron; Bachatik; Baksyir; Baksin; Bahadi; Bahr; Basyumbul; Bakarman; Bamathab; Bazarah; Bamakruh; Balaswad; Bajamal; bin Abud; bin Chamid; bin Jubir; bin Qus'i; bin Sheh; bin Usman; bin Zahir; Faqih; Makki; Martag; Syammah, and others.

We have mentioned three branches of *non-sayyid* within the Hadrami Arabs. Unlike the *sayyids* who derive from Northern Arabs who emigrated southward to the Hadramawt, the three branches of *non-sayyid* originally derived from Southern Arabs.
The fourth branch of non-sayyid who commonly found in Hadrami society are the al-chertan or al-fallah or da'if. This branch refers to people coming from farmer clans. Al-chertan derives from the word chiratan meaning plants, fallah means to carry on farming and da'if means weak. According to Bujra (Bujra, 1971), the da'if are also called the masikin (poor) people who belong neither to the line of the Prophet nor to that of Qahtan (South Arabian people). They also do not have ancestors who were religious leaders. They thus belong to the lowest descent status without ascribed religious status. Several clans included in this group are Ainen; Chasaan; Badres; Basadi; Bachartan; Babsel; Basalem; bin Musallam; Buggar; Badudah; Balathan, and others.

The last group in Hadramawt was the "abid". This group consisted of slaves and servants, mostly from Africa. In Indonesia nobody comes from this group. Today, because the process of their integration has been rapidly, the traditional categories of Arab society in Indonesia seem to have become unimportant or unfashionable. As a matter of fact, most individual of Arab descent refuse to be called "Arab". They refuse to form a group which distinguishes them from the majority of Indonesian. Their wish is to be categorised as of indigenous origin based on their place of birth in Indonesia. In brief, whoever was born in Java wants to be called a Javanese; whoever was born in South Kalimantan wants to categorised as Banjarese; whoever was born in
West Sumatra wants to be accredited as a member of the Minangkabau ethnic group, and so forth. Some of them desire to be called merely Indonesian. Such a phenomenon, however, cannot be interpreted to mean that they want to erase their Arabic identity. In this connection, Achmad argues that Arabic identity, however, is an identity which can be classified as highly regarded in the world (Achmad, 1977:103). In the case of Indonesian-Arabs, Arab identity takes on more and more Indonesianised colours. By and large they have adopted Indonesian customs.

3.1.3. The Emergence of the Irsyadîn Group

Up to the end of 19th century the categories of Indonesian-Arabs community was not a disputable problem. All Indonesian-Arabs still acknowledged the old pattern of social stratification which was found in their homeland, Hadramawt. In the first year of the 20th century (1901), they established an organisation called "Jamiyat Khair" or Al-Jamiyat al-Khairiyah (Association for the Good) in Jakarta with several main objectives, such as the spreading of Islam, the teaching the Arabic language through the opening of several schools, and the sending of several male students abroad to pursue advanced study. The organisation was established for every Muslim without discrimination as to his origin.

Several Indonesians were noted as prominent members,
including Kyai H.A. Dahlan of Yogyakarta and R. Hassan Djajadiningrat, brother of the Regent Serang (Noer, 1973:58). The initiators of the organisation came from Arab people, therefore the majority of its members were also Arabs either sayyids or non-sayyids. They were involved in its establishment and became leaders of the committee of the organisation. Some pioneers in the establishment of this organisation were, among others, Said Basandid, Muhammad Al-Fakhir bin Abdurrahman Al-Masyhur, Muhammad bin Abdurrahman bin Syihab, Idrus bin Ahmad bin Syahab, and Syekhan bin Syihab (see also, al-Baqir, 1986:52).

In 1912, in order to response to the rapid development of Jamiat Khair schools, the organisation invited several teachers from abroad. They were, among others, Al-Ustadz Muhammad Al-Hasyimi of Tunis, Syaikh Muhammad Abdulhamid of Mecca, Syaikh Muhammad Attayib Almaghraby of Morocco, and Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty of the Sudan. (1)

Until 1913 there was no problem faced by the organisation Jamiat Khair. A serious problem finally appeared in 1914 when Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty (a Sudanese Arab) gave a fatwa (instruction) in Surakarta that a woman of sayyid or a svaraifah was permitted to marry to a man of non-sayyid descent and their marriage, according to Islamic law, was legal. This instruction, in the view of the sayyids, was seen to open a secret and sensitive problem among the Alawiyin in the case of marriage. This
problem was well known as kafa'ah (the question of whom a man and a woman may marry). In connection with the issue of kafa'ah, Serjeant (1957:21) wrote: "all Saiyids are united on the issue of kafa'ah, eligibility in marriage. That is that they will never marry their daughters to anyone but a Saiyid [sayyid] or Sharif, though their Zaidi cousins of the Yemen are much less strict".

The fatwa (instruction) caused a dispute between Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty and the Alawiyin people who managed the Jamiat Khair. In 1914 Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty retired from his work as an instructor of the organisation. In 1915, together with Arab traders, Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty established a new organisation called Jamiat al Islah wal-Irsyad al-Arabiyyah in which he held the role as the main source of fatwa (instruction). This organisation has similar objectives to Jamiat Khair. The establishment of this new association was mostly supported by members of non-sayyid group of Hadrami Arabs. Apart from its lofty objectives as a religious movement, perhaps, it can be said that the establishment of Al-Irsyad promoted competition between two groups of Arabs descent, sayyids and non-sayyids, in Indonesia. However, it must be firstly understood that not all Arabs were involved in this traditional dispute.

Several members of Al-Irsyad also came from sayyid Arab descent. Several names can be mentioned here: Sayyid Ali bin Rubayya Balwe'el (teacher); Sayyid Abdullah bin Muhammad Nur Al-Ansari (teacher); Sayyid
Salim bin Muhammad al-Bakrie (a member of Al-Irsyad's Committee Board); Sayyid Muhammad Bahwal (a representative of Al-Irsyad to the Majelis Luhur Conference in Surabaya (1940); Sayyid Umar Hubeis, an Al-Irsyad representative in MIAI (Majlisul Islami a'laa Indonesia or Great Islamic Council of Indonesia); Sayyid Ahmad Bahasyuan, Sayyid Hadi Addaba' and Sayyid Sa'id Marsuq (Al-Irsyad's representatives) to the Kongres Muslimin Indonesia III (Indonesian Muslim Congress III) in Surakarta (1941); Sayyid Abdullah Bajerei; Sayyid Umar Naji; Sayyid Said bin Abdullah bin Thalib; Sayyid Umar Hubeis; Sayyid A. Hassan (members of Majlis Tarjih Al-Irsyad) in which Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty himself was the leading figure; and others (Dokumentasi Al-Irsyad. 1938/41). A close relationship between the Ba-alwee and the Al-Irsyad is also illustrated by an Arab descent:

"... It was the fact that in the Al-Irsyad with the rest of its schools there were members of that group [Ba-alwee] in great numbers who, among others, became teachers, students, and the [Al-Irsyad] buildings were also designed by that group [Ba-alwee].

In order to help the poor and for the need of other activities there were philanthropies from that group [Ba'alwee], but there were also alms receivers coming from that group (Ba-alwee) (Verslag Tahoenan 1935-1936 Al-Irsyad Soerabia, p.44).

The disputes between sayyid and non-sayyid groups of Hadrami Arabs in Indonesia was first caused by Assurkaty's fatwa (a Sudanese Arab). However, it is believed that Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty did not desire to
create dissension among the Indonesian-Arabs. When he gave the fatwa he was just carrying out his duty as an Islamic scholar and answering questions which were directed at him.

The disputes between the sayyid and the non-sayyid in Indonesia also had an impact on other Arab countries, such as Egypt, Turkey, and Hadramawt itself. Al-Irsyad still exists until today, though its position as "reformer", over time, is increasingly questionable (Amar, 1990:8-10).

3.2. Genealogical Distinction in Arab Society

"Arab" is a term with a very complicated meaning. Sometimes this term is defined to refer to an ethnic group, a race, or a nation but, as Bernard Lewis suggested, "not as yet a nationality in legal sense" (Lewis, 1970:9). Sometimes "Arab" is seen as synonymous with Islam, though not all Arab people are themselves Muslim. Historically, the term Arab was first applied in describing the Bedouin of the north Arabian steppe in the ninth century B.C. For several centuries, it remained in use for identifying the settled peoples of the neighbouring countries. It was extensively used by the Greek and Roman to denote the population of Arabian peninsula while, in Arabia itself, it seems still referred to nomad Arabians. After the emergence of Islam, Islam was conceived of as synonymous with Arab. The new
concept is that of a nation united by a common territory, language and culture and a common aspiration to political independence (Lewis, 1970:16-7). All these different meanings have survived in certain contexts to the present day.

In a genealogical context, it is a common claimed that all Arabs are descendants of two ancestors, namely Qahtan and Adnan. Qahtan is known as the ancestor of all the South Arabian tribes, while Adnan is the ancestor of all the north Arabian tribes. The members of first group are also called Arabian Arabs ('aribah) and the second group Arabicised Arabs (musta'ribah) (Hitti, 1970:32; Abaza, 1988:6). In the anthropological literature such a form of social structure is commonly called a "dual organisation".

These two groups of Arabian ethnic stock are also found in the land of Hadramawt. With the exception of the sayyids who are represented as offspring of Ismail, son of Abraham (Ibrahim) (and visitor in Hadramawt), all the people of Hadramawt claim to be descendants of Qahtan. Qahtan was known in the Christian Bible as Yoqtan (Genesis 10:25), son of Eber (in Arabic - 'Abar), son of Shelah (Shalakh), son of Arpakhsad (Arfakhsad), son of Shem (Sam), son of Noach (Nuh) (Genesis 10:1, 21-25). Here, we can see that, traditionally, the term Semite refers to all descendants of the eldest son of Noach.

Actually the name of 'Qahtan' itself refers to a federation of tribes that can be found in Qahtan or Yemen
(meaning South). It must be noted that federation was a phenomenon from the pre-Islamic period, but, until nowadays, still occupies an important area southeast of Mecca. Qahtan was classified into two parts: Kahlan and Himyar. The first comprised mostly nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, while the second was composed of a smaller group of settled peoples (Patai, 1962:182). A structure illustrating the genealogical schema of the Qahtan tribes is presented in diagram A.

The diagram A indicates that Himyar and Kahlan were the fifth generation of Qahtan. Himyar is the ancestor of the Yafa' and Kahlan the ancestor of Hamdan. Yafa and Hamdan represent the ancestors of several tribes of Arabs which can also be found in Indonesia. The descendants of Yafa' consist of two sections, namely Upper Yafa' (Yafa al-Ulya) and Lower Yafa' (Yafa al-Sufa).

Upper Yafa' consists of several tribes, such as Banu Bakar al-Hadromi; La'bus (Buksi); Athubai; and Mustah Mufflichi. These tribes can also be divided into several sub-tribes.

Al-Hadromi consists of, among others, Al-Ataf and Sanian.

Al-Labus (Buksi) has several clans; among them are Al-Umar, Al-Abdul Somad; Al-Jurruf; Al-Sachyan; Al-Haram; bin Mantas; Al-Bachinah; Al-Adiyuh; Al-Harb; Al-Mithiq; Al-Syas'ah; Al-Bir; Al-Chambah; Al-Thobib; Al-Ahmad; Alil Mughorro; Al-Mansur and Al-Hadiyun.

Al-Thubai consists of several clans; among them are
Diagram A

THE GENEALOGICAL SCHEMA OF QAHTAN TRIBES

From Raphael Patai,
Golden River to Golden Road,
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,
1962, p.190.
Al-Luthfi; Al-Shada'i; Al-Sarji and As-Suaidi.

**Mustah** has several clans; among them are As-Musodi; As-Jorodi; Al-Basmali; Al-Chalaqi; Al-Robbui (Al-Darwadi); Al-Quraithi; and Bani Thobiiyan. Mufflochi can be divided into several clans: Al-Jabri; Manfar; Banu Bakar; Al-Yunus; Al-Makman; Athorah; Al-Thorichin; Al-Sulaeman Adaharisy; Atholibi; Asa'di; Asilimi; Athomi; Al-Murkbah; Kalthum; Dhi and Athajar (Ahmad, 1976:11).

**Lower Yafa'** is divided into several tribes; among them are Kalad, Nachidi; Yasidi; and Yacher.

**Al-Kalad** has two branches: Al-Jaladi and Al-Ansuni. Members of Al-Jaladi include Al-Attui (the head), Ibin Abdullah; Ibin Abdulbaqi; Al-Muchairi; Al-Alawe (not Ba-alwee who claim to be the descendants of the Prophet); Al-Umar; As-Sunaidi; As-Saidi; Ar-Rochufi; Abin Hasruch; and Al-Haithami. Members of Al-Ansuni are Al-Absi (the head), Al-Gazi; Al-Barakani; Al-Ayyas; Al-Jaddasi; Al-Robil; Al-Bariri; Al-Bakri; Al-Base; Abin Attas Al-Jardani; Al-Anmi; Al-Nagis, and others.

**Al-Nachidi** consists of several sub-tribes: Al-Guhem; Al-Has; Al-Kahalid; Al-Alilayah; Al-Mansur; Al-Bin Najii; Al-Mursyid; Al-Amar; Bani Asar; Al-Thuluthdan; and Al-Kasadi.

**Yasidi** tribe is divided into Al-Naffaji; Al-Chammami; al-Kabbabi; and al-Talbi.

The divisions of the **Yacher** tribe include: Himyar bin Sabak and Chamusi. Himyar bin Sabak consists of several sub-tribes: Himyari al-Jabbal; Himyari al-Wadi;
Himyari al-Musto; al-Iri; al-Alawe (not from the Prophet). Chamusi bin Qahtan is divided into Atthobi; al-Amri; al-Machari; Muslimi Abdali; Muslimi al-Atifi; and al-Saoochi (Ahmad, 1976:12).

Concerning Hamdan bin Qahtan, there are several tribes, the largest one is Al-Kathiri, which is distinguished into two parts: Western Kathiri and Eastern Kathiri. The Western Kathiri, located in Central Hadramawt, is headed by the Kathiri Sultan of Seyyun, while the Eastern section, inhabiting the Zufar coast, is ruled by the governor of Zufar who is a representative of the Sultan of Oman (Patai, 1962:193). The Al-Kathiri federation is divided into several tribes, such as Al-Amir; Al-Fuchoid. Al-Amir consists of several sub-tribes, namely Al-Fas (Bil-Fas); Al-As bin Mahri (Bani Mahra); Al-Ja'far bin Thalib; Al-Mar'i bin Thalib; and Al-Umar bin Said bin Thalib. Al-Fuchoid can be divided into Al-Sanad; Al-Ja'far bin Badar; Al-Munibari; Al-Sagir; Al-Zumeh; Al-Said bin Mar'i. Besides the two examples of the Al-Kathiri federation, there are also several sub-tribes who are in the federation; among them, are Al-Bajrey (Bajri); Al-Jabri; Al-Awamir; and Al-Saif (Ahmad, 1976:10).

Adnan, according to some sources (Patai, 1962:183), had ten sons. Of the ten sons of Adnan one was called Ma'add (Mu'ad) whose son, called Nizar, became the progenitor of the North Arabians. Two of Nizar's sons, Rabi'a and Mudhar are regarded as the ancestors of most
Northern tribes. Collectively, the Northern tribes are known as Qays 'Aylan bin Mudhar, Qays bin of 'Aylan bin Mudhar. The totality of northern tribes is called either Adnan or Qays. Members of the northern tribes are also called Ma'add (Mu'ad), or Nizar, or Mudhar. A genealogical schema of the Adnan tribes and its relation to Hadrami Arabs (especially with the sayyids) is arranged in diagram B.

In the past, in Southeast Asian, many of the sayyid's descendants became rulers of local kingdoms. In Malaysia there was Sultan of Perak, whose family tree can be traced back to Sayyid Jamalul Lail (Winsteadt, 1918). In Indonesia several names can be mentioned, among others, Sultan of Siak who represented the descendants of the sayyid family bin Shahab; the founder of the Kingdom of Mempawa and the city of Pontianak of West Kalimantan is believed to have been a descendant of the sayyid family Al-Qadri; the rulers of Maluku (Moluccas), namely Bachan, Jailolo, Tidore and Ternate, are known the descendants of the great-grandchild of the Prophet Muhammad, namely Ja'far al-Shadiq (Hamka, 1965:438).

Both Adnan and Qahtan claim a genealogical relation with Noach (Nuh). According to the Bible, Qahtan belonged to the fifth generation after Noach, while Adnan constituted the twelfth generation after Noach (Patai, 1967:183). Based on this, it is apparent that the Qahtan or southern tribes were regarded as the older group and Adnan or northern tribes were the younger. The southern
Diagram B

THE GENEALOGICAL SCHEMA OF ADNAN TRIBES
(and its relation to Sayyid group)

Adnan
   /\   /
  /   \  /
 Robi'ah Murchar

Quraysh Chondaf Attamimi Qays Murrah
   /\   /
  /   \  /
BinBinBinBinBin
Syamlan Sheban Gezi Selmeh Garmusy

Banu Banu Banu Banu Tim
Umaiyyah Manaf Muhtalib Abubaker

Hashim

Abdullah Abitalib

The Prophet MUHAMMAD S.A.W.

Fatimah

Hussein

Hasan
(the ancestor of all Syarif)

Ahmad Al-Muhajir
(the ancestor of Hadrami Sayyids)

(Al-Attas; Al-Kaf; Al-Jufri; Al-Haddad; Al-Hamid; Al-Syahab;
Assegaff; Al-Aidit; Al-Hadder; Alaidrus; Al-Habsyi; Al-Hadi;
Bin Syekh Abubaker; Jamalul Lail; Gathmir; Safaqih; Baisa;
Bin Yahya; Juneid; Madehey; Maghraby; Mutahar; Az-Zahir; etc.)
tribes were also regarded as the true aboriginal stock of Arab people in the land of Hadramawt, while the northern tribes were 'naturalised' in the land.

3.3. Kinship System

The most important unit of kinship in Arab society is the family. Unlike the Arabs in the Middle East countries whose family structure still exhibits a traditional pattern, the family structure of Arab emigrants in Indonesia, in several aspects, has changed. In an Arabian country such as Hadramawt, the word ahl has at least two meanings. Firstly, it can be referred to the family unit which consists of father, wife, and unmarried children (ayle). Secondly, it can also denote an extended family who live together in one house (ahl beit). For Indonesian Arabs, the term ahl can also refer to a nuclear family as well as relatives from either father's or mother's sides (Achmad, 1977:99). The well-known mechanism for a family structure is the family name, for example, bin Shaikh Abubakar, Bahmid, and others.

Ahl beit, however, also has a special meaning that indicates people who claim the same ancestor. In this instance, the term ahl beit is only used in connection with the Prophet's descendant.

According to Patai (Patai, 1967:84), in Middle East countries the Arab family is characterised by six features. It is 1) extended, 2) patrilineal, 3)
patrilocal, 4) patriarchal, 5) endogamous, and 6) occasionally polygynous.

The Middle Eastern extended family forms a classification according to the links between the nuclear families. The head of family is an elderly man, whereas its members consist of his wife (or wives), his unmarried children, either daughters or sons, and also his married children. Married daughters depart from their own extended families and become incorporated into the extended family of their husband.

The patrilineal, patrilocal as well as patriarchal are the factors that support the male position. In patrilineal family the descent is traced through the male line. A person is regarded as belonging to the family to which his father belongs, and not the family of his mother. Patrilocal means that the couple establish their residence with or near the husband's family; whereas the patriarchal refers to the principle of father-right where the head of the entire group is the elder male who also becomes head of the entire extended family.

The features - endogamous and occasional polygynous - relate to marriage. Endogamous implies a norm or rule of marriage within a given group. By following this norm, an ideal marriage is contracted within a relatively narrow circle. Occasionally polygynous means a man may marry more than one wife simultaneously. According to Islam a man can lawfully be wedded simultaneously to up to four women (Qur'an IV:3).
The families of Arab descent in Indonesia are not identical with their contemporaries in the Middle East. The first difference occurred when their ancestors settled in Indonesia. Historically, the Arabs came to Indonesia without being accompanied by their women and, therefore, they married indigenous women. The first characteristic of the original family that changed was the "endogamous" pattern. One exemplary picture of the changing characteristics of the Arab family in Indonesia compared with the family of Arabs in the Middle East can be seen from the comparison as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General characteristics of the Arab family in the Middle East and in Indonesia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle East</strong>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hadramawt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patrilineal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patrilocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patriarchal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endogamous clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occasional polygynous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 5 clearly shows that of the six characteristics of Arab family in the Middle East mentioned by Patai, only one, "patrilineality", still remains. The changes of the family system for Indonesian Arabs cannot be separated from their methods of adjusting to the conditions of the various systems which were
commonly found in Indonesian families. Patrilineality can be maintained because this principle also constitutes a very common pattern for Indonesian peoples. Moreover the patrilineal tradition of the Arab people is indeed an unchanged matter because of the different degrees of responsibilities between men and women. Thus an Arabic proverb states: "The people rely on descent from the father and not from the mother; the mother is like a vessel of oil that is emptied" (Patai, 1967:86).

Regarding terms of kinship, an Arab in Indonesia calls his/her mother's brother khal and his/her mother's sister khalati. Indonesian Arabs are of the opinion that their ancestors who came to Indonesia only consisted of men. In Indonesia they married indigenous women. Because of this they call an indigenous Indonesian man khal, and for an indigenous Indonesian woman khalati. All Indonesian people they call akhwal (plural word of khal and khalati) which denotes them to all as maternal relatives.

There are several changes in the terms of kinship for the Arabs in Indonesia. In order to get a clear picture of those changes, a comparison of the kinship terms of Arabs both in Middle Eastern countries and Indonesia are given in Table:6. Diagram C describes relationships between "ego" and several important members of one the Arab family.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship terms of Arabs (Middle Eastern Arabs)</th>
<th>Kinship terms of Arabs (Indonesian-Arabs)</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jadd, sid</td>
<td>jit</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadda</td>
<td>Jidah</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn 'amm ('ammi)</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>father's brother's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint 'amm ('ammi)</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>father's brother's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn 'amme ('ammti)</td>
<td>ameh</td>
<td>father's sister's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint 'amme ('ammti)</td>
<td>ameh</td>
<td>father's sister's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn khal (khali)</td>
<td>khal</td>
<td>mother's brother's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint khal (khali)</td>
<td>khal</td>
<td>mother's sister's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn khale (khalti)</td>
<td>khale</td>
<td>mother's sister's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint khale (khalti)</td>
<td>khale</td>
<td>mother's sister's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abi, walid</td>
<td>abah, bapak</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ummi, walida</td>
<td>umi, ibu</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akhi</td>
<td>kakak (adik)</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukhti</td>
<td>kakak (adik)</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn 'ammi</td>
<td>suami, lanangku</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint 'ammi</td>
<td>isteri</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uladi</td>
<td>anak-anaku</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waladi</td>
<td>waladi</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binti</td>
<td>binti</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amm ('ammi)</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>father's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amme ('ammti)</td>
<td>ameh</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khal (khali)</td>
<td>khal</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khale (khalti)</td>
<td>khale</td>
<td>mother's sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Serjeant (Serjeant, 1967:632), nowadays, in Hadramawt, many women address their husband by their names. On the other hand, when a husband speaks to his wife, he also calls her by her own name. This is, of course, a new trend because in former times women would never have directly addressed their husband in this way. Such a trend can also be found in Arab families in
Diagram C

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY
Surabaya. An Arab, in speaking about his family's members, commonly uses Indonesian terms.
Chapter IV
EXPRESSIVE SOCIOCULTURAL INTEGRATION

This chapter discusses the processes of social and cultural integration of the Indonesian Arabs. It is based on the view that most Indonesian Arabs are either Hadramis who have come as merchants, or through a "matrimonial strategy" (Abaza, 1988), or are the descendants of holy men who arrived several centuries earlier. The discussion touches on many aspects of culture, politics, economics, education, and religion.

With its emphasis on the Hadrami population of Surabaya, this discussion focuses on the importance of the history of Arab activities and their effects on local society and on the different roles that the Arabs have come to play. In other words, the objective of this discussion is to examine the "values" associated with Arab integration.

Integration is a "two-way-process" in which two groups of "peoples" - in this instance the Arab and the host or indigenous Indonesian community - develop interactions, relationships, as well as social solidarity. Therefore, one of the objectives of this discussion is a consideration of the response of indigenous Indonesians to the Arab efforts at integration.

Today, even though they are of mixed blood and often integrated with various indigenous Indonesian local
groups, the Arabs have retained a considerable portion of their 'Arab' descent and contribute different nuances to social life within Indonesian society.

4.1. The Political Dimension

Integration in its various patterns is, first of all, politically important, having a central role in the establishment of political unity. In the national context, it deals with the process of building the nation state. A political unity is the ultimate goal of all sorts of integration processes (Kartodirdjo, 1984:57). In the social context, though it seems to be highly idealistic, integration is associated with "the problem of identification of individuals with the civic society" (Abdullah, 1975:15).

By the 'political' aspect of integration here is meant a political network in which the majority of the population is ready to integrate with a minority in various political movements. On the other hand, the minority group must also be ready to participate in such movements. Integration in politics can be analysed in terms of the involvement of a particular politician, as well as the parties and organisation in which individuals participate both for the importance of their group and the well-being of the nation.

Political integration of the Arabs in Indonesia started before Indonesian Independence. This was
indicated by their participation in the struggle for Indonesian Independence either through physical struggles (see for example, Alhamid, 1946) or through political parties and diplomatic activities. Furthermore, it has been said that the process of integration of Arab descendants into indigenous Indonesian society (pribumi) in the past time was obstructed by colonial legislation (see, Algadri, 1976:52-55).

4.1.1. The Arabs in *Jamiyat Khair* and *Sarekat Islam*

The *Jamiyat Khair* in which Arabs held very important position can be mentioned as the first organisation which led them into the process of integration. This organisation was established by the Arabs in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1901 and officially received ratification from the Dutch government in 1905. Its potential as an integrative movement can be seen in its non-exclusive acceptance of members. According to Deliar Noer, the *Jamiyat Khair* was a Muslim organisation without discrimination as to the origins of its members. It was also open to people wherever they lived. This meant that it was not confined solely to the people of Jakarta (Noer, 1973:60-1). Although the *Jamiyat Khair* was a "socio-Islamic" organisation, via the establishment of this organisation, the Arabs gained a kind of political advantage in the view of Indonesians. Despite its slow growth and its unstable development, it can be said that
the Jamiat Khair preceded the emergence of various other organisations at the national level in Indonesia.

The involvement of the people of Arab descent in the establishment of the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union) can also be considered as an integrative activity. The Sarekat Islam itself, as Benda has suggested, was "the first truly Indonesian political movement .... which .... departed from the associationist path" (Benda, 1958:41). This movement was also the best example of an early inspiration toward nationality consciousness among the Indonesian people.

The Arabs' contribution can be traced as follows. Raden Mas Tirtoadisoerjo, a son of a priyayi (nobleman) in Central Java, at one time, undertook to try his hand in Journalism. With the financial support of the Arab-Sumatran merchants in Batavia he founded an Indonesian commercial Journal, the Medan Prijaji (Nobles' Forum) which was published in Bandung. In 1909 he also founded the Sarekat Dagang Islam (Islamic Commercial Union) in Batavia and, by 1911, he established the same organisation in Bogor. In the latter organisation he gained more and more support from Arab descendants. The first management board of this organisation consisted of Secretary Adviseur Raden Mas Tirtoadisoerjo, President Syekh Ahmad bin Abdulrachman Badjenet, and Commissioners Syekh Achmad bin Sayyid Badjenet; Syekh Galib bin Sayyid Tebe; Syekh Mohammad bin Sayyid Badjenet; Mas Railus and Haji Mohamad Arsyad (Algadri, 1984:144-5).
In a further development, there was a leader of the batik merchants of Surakarta (Solo), namely Haji Samanhoedi. In 1911 he asked Tirtoadisoerjo to come to Surakarta to organise an Indonesian commercial organisation among the batik merchants there. Because of several differences between them, they failed to achieve an agreement. The centre of the problem was that Raden Mas Tirtoadisoerjo wanted the Solo batik merchants to form only a branch of the earlier Sarekat Dagang Islam while Samanhoedi wanted to build a new one.

Despite this failure, success was finally achieved by the Surakarta dealers when Raden Umar Sayyid Tjokroaminoto, a merchant of Surabaya, came to Solo (Surakarta). Tjokroaminoto was asked by Samanhoedi to establish an organisation for batik merchants. Tjokroaminoto agreed with Samanhoedi's suggestion. According to Robert Van Niel (1960:92), upon his return to Surabaya, Tjokroaminoto issued the legal statute of the new Sarekat Islam of Surakarta in his name and in which most of the Surakarta's merchants were to be members. This event was precisely dated as the tenth September 1912. The several purposes of this new organisation were:

"(a) the advancement of the commercial spirit among the indigenous population; (b) the assistance to members who were in difficulty through no cause of their own; (c) the advancement of the spiritual development and material interests of Indonesians, and by so doing assisting in raising their standard; and (d) the opposition to misunderstandings about
Islam, and advancing the religious life among Indonesians peoples in accordance with the laws and customs of that religion" (Van Nie1, 1960:93).

When the Sarekat Islam held a congress in Surabaya (1913), its Arab members in their city gave their support. Part of their continuing support consisted in providing Islamic merchants with an advertising medium through publication of the Utusan Hindi (Indies' Courier) which later became an important organ of the Sarekat Islam. The newspaper was published by the Setia Usaha Company in which Hasan Ali Soerati, a Surabayan Arab, played an active behind-the-scenes role for the entire Sarekat Islam.

In the early years of the Sarekat Islam, the Arabs represented the primary supporters but were marginal to its further growth. The decrease of Arab support in the further growth of the Sarekat Islam cannot be separated from a resolution (1913) that the Sarekat Islam become an organisation open exclusively to indigenous Indonesians. This resolution had minimal influence on stimulating a cooperative reaction from the Arabs. The fact is that numerous Arabs maintained their relations with the Sarekat Islam. In this connection, Van Nie1 (1960:112) mentions several names, including Sayyid Ali al-Habsyi of Jakarta, Sayyid Abdullah bin Husein Alaidrus, chairman of the Jamiyat Khair, and Sayyid Achmad bin Mohammad al-Musawa of Surabaya. These Arab figures strongly emphasised the importance of Islamic aspects of the
4.1.2. PAI (Partai Arab Indonesia)

The most important political event of Indonesian Arab integration can be dated to 1934. On October fourth, 1934, the Arabs declared *Sumpah Pemuda Keturunan Arab* (The Oath of the Youth of Arab Descent) at a conference in Semarang, Central Java. This movement contained three attitudes which affirmed a strong will to become a part of Indonesia, namely:

1) *Tanah Air Peranakan Arab adalah Indonesia* (The motherland of Indonesian Arabs is Indonesia).
2) *Karenanya mereka harus meninggalkan kehidupan menyendiri* (isolasi) (Therefore they have to stop leading a separated life).
3) *Memenuhi kewajibannya terhadap tanah air dan bangsa Indonesia* (To fulfill their task toward the motherland and the nation of Indonesia).

At the same time they also established PAI Persatuan Arab Indonesia (Indonesian Arab Unity), the name of which, in 1940, was changed to Partai Arab Indonesia (Indonesian Arab Party). This change coincided with a greater political orientation of PAI activities. The first executive board of PAI consisted of A.R. Baswedan (Chairman); Nuh Alkaf (First secretary); Salim Maskati (Second secretary); Segaf Assegaf (Treasurer); and Abdurahim Argubi (Commissioner). They also agreed on Semarang as the site of the central executive board, whereas, in other cities, they appointed representatives.
Representatives included M.A. Alatas and Ar. Alaidrus (Jakarta); Ahmad BahasJwan (Surakarta); H.A. Aljelanie (Pekalongan); and Mohdar Alaidrus (Salatiga). All the members of the PAI management were chosen from the ranks of two Arab organisations: Arrabitah and Al-Irsvad. The first was an organisation of Arab sayyids and the second was a non-Sayyid organisation.

A.R. Baswedan (the originator of this movement) stated that the declaration of Arab Youth Oath was a continuation of the Sumpah Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesian Youth Oath) which was declared on October twenty-eighth, 1928 (Baswedan, 1974:11). The establishment of the Indonesian Arab Party was the first of a series of gradual steps by which those of Arab descent were to become true Indonesians (Noer, 1973:56). The PAI movement produced a wave of astonishment from Indonesian leaders (see, Chapter I).

Because of its historical significance, it is important to be precise about the PAI's birthday. According to Salim Maskati (former Second secretary of PAI), the date of the fourth October of 1934 was not the birthday of the party; rather it was the first day of the conference in Semarang which formulated its establishment. The fourth of October was the commencement day of the conference of Arab youth leaders from several Indonesian regions (Jakarta, Pekalongan, Surakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, etc.). At the time, they discussed Baswedan's idea for uniting all groups of Indonesian
Arabs and promoting Indonesia as the motherland of all Arab descendants. This idea had been offered by Baswedan in several issues of the newspaper "Matahari" since August 1934. The PAI as well as the Oath of the Youth of Arab descent was declared the next day, the fifth October 1934, after an agreement had been achieved on the fourth October. Based on this, Salim Maskati stated that the fourth of October was actually the Hari Kesadaran Bangsa Indonesia Keturunan Arab (The consciousness day of Indonesian Arabs) and the fifth of October was the true birthday of PAI.

Because of the young Arabs' movement, the process of political integration of Indonesian Arabs continued. The importance of this movement can be seen in several aspects. First, PAI was established at a time when the Indonesians themselves were still under the colonial government. This indicates that the younger generation of Arabs wanted not only to gain the "fruit" of Indonesian Independence but, all at once, they were ready to struggle for that independence.

Second, PAI was established by Arab youth. A.R. Baswedan was, at the time, twenty six years old, Salim Maskati was twenty seven years old, and Hamid Algadri who also became a member of the central executive board of PAI was twenty two years old. Indeed, the PAI's views of "Indonesia" would be followed by the younger generations of Arabs. In relation to this, PAI had already prepared a psychological campaign by creating a song entitled "Mars
PAI" which, according to Salim Maskati (Maskati, 1939), greatly pleased the Arab children before Indonesian Independence. This song encouraged the Arabs to declare that Indonesia is their motherland. (1)

Third, PAI was a mediating organisation. This role was applied in order to reconcile the totok Arabs (fullblooded Arabs) to indigenous Indonesians and try to turn their attention to the problems facing Indonesia. Before the emergence of PAI, the totok Arabs still paid more attention to their homeland, Hadramawt. For example, they published a newspaper in Surabaya called Al-Mahdjar meaning "country of migration". This referred to Indonesia which, at some time, would be left for to return to their own homeland, Hadramawt. Al-Mahdjar was published until 1927. The mediating function of PAI was also applied in solving the problems of disputes between the two groups, sayyid and non-Sayyid, within the Arab society.

The emergence of PAI can also be considered to be a correction to the IAV (Indo Arabisch Verbond), an organisation created by M.B.A. Alamoedi in 1930, the objectives of which were strongly supported the power of Dutch colonials in Indonesia who urged Arab racial consciousness. Alamoedi was an Amboina-Arab. Although he campaigned for his aims in many Arab settlements in Javanese cities, he centralised his activity in Surabaya. After the emergence of PAI, in 1939 Alamoedi changed the IAV to another name, IAB (Indo-Arabische Beweging) - The
Indo-Arab Movement. He opposed PAI's ideas of Indonesian nationalism for Arab descendants which, according to him, was a "poison" to Arabs in Indonesia. Toward this movement the Arab descendants gave very little response.

Actually the corrective task of PAI was not only limited to Alamoedi's movement, but also to those Arab characteristics which were damaging social life. One very good example was the war declared by PAI on usury practices. In relation to this PAI presented a drama called Toneel Fatimah which was created by Husin Bafaqih, a Surabayan Arab. In this drama the usury practices of Arabs were strongly attacked; usury was classified as a sinful deed in deep contrast to Islamic teachings. The exhibition was conducted in three cities: Surabaya, Jakarta and Semarang. Despite the antagonistic responses coming from the kaum tua (the older generation of Arabs) concerning its open presentation - in Surabaya there was almost a shedding of blood among the Arabs themselves - this drama gained general sympathetic response. Parada Harahap, chief editor of newspaper Tjaja Timocer, made the following comment in his newspaper (October, 9th, 1939):

"We give our praise to and salute the author and play director of that toneel. We believe, whoever watches it will be of the same view with us, that such a toneelstuk becomes self-criticism of the condition of society; performing such an exhibition will provoke sympathy from a lot of people and, thus, the aim of that drama will be achieved. The ideology of that drama will be agreed on by Indonesians 100%" (Translated from, Algadri, 1984:27).
Although the PAI only had the form of a party in 1940, its declarations in 1934 already constituted a political attitude. The declaration itself can be seen as resistance toward the Dutch colonial policy which had classified the Arabs in the group of "Vreemde Oosterlingen" together with Chinese and Indians. The political movement of PAI commenced when this party gave its support to "Petisi Soetardjo" (Soetardjo's Petition). The decision to support Soetardjo's Petition was agreed on at the PAI congress in Surabaya (1937). The PAI's decision was taken on the suggestion of A.S. Alatas, an adviser of the executive board of PAI and also, at the time, a member of Volksraad (Algadri, 1984:169). One of the aim of this petition, among others, was to urge the Dutch government to place Indonesia in the same position as the Netherlands (Dominion Status). This petition was rejected by the Dutch authorities.

Soon after the establishment of GAPI (Gabungan Politik Indonesia, Indonesian Political Federation) in 1941, the PAI also gave its support to this nationalist organisation. GAPI demanded a full parliament as well as a grant of autonomy for Indonesia. This struggle failed because of the lack of response from the Dutch. Actually, by 1940, the Dutch government had announced that while it held ultimate responsibility for Indonesia there could be no question of Indonesian autonomy in parliamentary government (Ricklefs, 1981:183). This destroyed GAPI's expectations.
In the Japanese era, some of the PAI leaders, like many leaders of Indonesian political parties, cooperated with the Japanese. According to Algadri (Algadri, 1984:170), A.R. Baswedan (the originator of PAI) was chosen as a member of Cuoc Sang In (the Japanese version of the Volksraad) together with other leaders. Meanwhile, some PAI leaders were included in the 'non-cooperative' group which, at first, was led by Mr. Amir Syarifuddin. Hamid Algadri himself was one of them.

Islam was the basis of PAI and, therefore, it also developed relations with other Islamic organisations. PAI became a member of MIAI (Majelis Islam A'laa Indonesia, Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia). By 1939 the Arabs established the PAI Isteri (Wives of PAI) which was led by Mrs. Baswedan and Mrs. Anwar Makarim (Vuldy, 1985:117) and which developed cooperation with women's organisations of the PSII (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia, Indonesian United Islamic Party) and of Muhamadiyah. For the Arab youth there was also the Pemuda PAI (Youth of PAI) which cooperated with the youth movements of GERINDO (Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia, Indonesian People's Movement and of PARINDRA (Partai Indonesia Raya, Indonesian Greater Party) (Baswedan, 1974).

In brief, it can be said that PAI was a Nationalist and, at the same time, an Islamic Party. The history of PAI formally ended at its fifth Conference in 1950 in Malang, East Java. At the time, based on the agreement of
the conference delegates, all sorts of PAI sections were dissolved. Moreover, the conference also suggested the abolition of all colonial-created sections within Arab society, such as Kapten Arab (Kapitein der Arabieren) which had obviously separated the Arab people from Indonesians. After the dissolution, the Arabs no longer had an exclusive party. For further political activities, they joined various other political parties.

The process of political integration which was created by leaders of the younger generation of Arabs via PAI gained positive reactions from both indigenous Indonesians and the Arabs themselves. The Surabayan Arabs were very proud of the PAI movement. They said, for example, "no higher level of integration resulted from choosing suffering (penderitaan, meaning becoming "Inlander") when contentment (kesenangan meaning to be a member of Vreemde Oosterlingen or "Foreign Oriental" group) was offered".

4.1.3. Political Integration after PAI

Regarding the dissolution of PAI, there are two versions among Arab descendants. The first version is that PAI had been dispersed in the Japanese era. At the time the Japanese government dissolved all parties which were fused in GAPI (Indonesian Political Federation). After Indonesian Independence this party was not reestablished (Baswedan, 1974:18; Algodri, 1984:170). The
second version is that PAI was formally dissolved at its fifth conference in December 1950 in Malang, East Java. The background to this dissolution was as follows. Before this conference, the existence of PAI was a debatable matter among Arab descendants. A few groups, such as the Al-Irsyad, stated that PAI did not exactly reflect "kepribumian" (the nativism) of Arab descendants. PAI also classified the Arabs into a distinct group within the Indonesian nation. This criticism, of course, appeared as a very different response from that giving rise to the establishment of PAI in 1934. On the other hand, PAI also thought that the Arab organisations, such as Al-Irsyad, were very Arabic in their style. Facing such a dispute, PAI finally dissolved itself and suggested that other Arab organisations do the same.

After the abolition of the PAI, its leaders continued their political activities via various parties either Nationalist or Islamic in their orientation. Such an attitude meant that they were stripped of their "ethnic group" identity in political struggles. They were also involved in several affairs of state. A.R. Baswedan, for example, was chosen to be Junior Minister for Information and, at one time, to be a member of the Indonesian delegation to Egypt which went to look for support for the young state. Hamid Algadri, was one-time secretary of the Indonesian delegation to the Perundingan Linggarjati (Linggarjati Conference), adviser to the Indonesian delegation for the Perundingan Renville
(Renville Conference), a member of the Indonesian delegation for the KMB (Konperensi Meja Bundar, The Round Table Conference) in Den Haag, a member of the Indonesian delegation for a conference on the Irian Barat (West Irian) problem, and a member of Indonesian delegation to the United Nations.

The political contribution of the Surabayan-Arabs cannot be separated from the most historic event of their city, which occurred only three months after the declaration of Indonesian Independence. This event is well known as the Pertempuran Surabaya (Surabaya Battle) which occurred on the tenth of November 1945 in the Hari Pahlawan (Hero Day) in Indonesia. This day is celebrated each year. Prior to this event, the Surabayan population formed various laskar rakyat (popular soldier groups) in order to defend independence. In this connection, the Surabayan-Arabs also formed what they called P.A.R.I (Pemuda Arab Republik Indonesia, the Arab Youth of Indonesian Republic) on the seventeenth of October 1945. This organisation formed a part of PRI (Pemuda Republik Indonesia, Indonesian Youth) and was established on the agreement of several Arab organisations, such as PAI, Al-Irsyad, I.A.B., A.J.B., and Al-Kathiriyah and aimed at: 1) to defend Indonesian Independence; and 2) to support the Indonesian Republic. The executive board of P.A.R.I. consisted of: A.H. Wakki (Chairman); I. Aljufri (Secretary); Ali BaasJim (Treasure); Ali Salim and Salim Attoeway (Assistants). (see, Setiadijaya, 1985:242).
Besides P.A.R.I. there was also P.P.R.I. (Pemuda Puteri Republik Indonesia, the Young Women of the Indonesian Republic) to which the Arab women also made a valuable contribution. The P.P.R.I. of Arab descendants was established on the twenty-third of October 1945 with an executive board consisting of Mrs. Kalsum (Chairwoman); Ms. Aminah (Vice-Chairwoman); Mrs. Aminah Ali (Secretary); Ms. Fatimah (Vice-Secretary); Mrs. Ilih (Treasurer) and Ms. Hadidjah, Ms. Zahrah, Mrs. Fatimah Soeparno, and Ms. Aisyah (Assistants). The establishment of this section was attended by about 150 Arab women. At the opening ceremony, an Arab woman made a speech as follows:

"My Arab sisters, let us support the struggle of Indonesians....Because we were born in Indonesia, live in Indonesia, inhale Indonesian air, and probably will be buried in Indonesia, it is our responsibility to support Indonesians either with materials or through other sacrifices" (Quoted and translated from SetiadiJaya, 1985:251).

4.2. Contemporary Situation of Surabayan Arabs

The spirit of Arab integration was also indicated in their citizenship status. In relation to this the citizenship problem of the Ampel population will be offered as an example. Of the 20,797 Ampel population in 1981, 442 of them held foreign citizenship. With the exception of Pakistanis, three other groups (Arab, Chinese and Indian) still had foreign citizenship. Though
the Arab population formed the biggest number of all foreign descendants, only 71 of them were noted as foreigners. The description of the citizenship status of the four ethnic groups can be seen in Table:7. The 71 (11 families of) Arabs holding foreign citizenship generally consisted of older people. This condition suggests that the majority had no objection to seeking Indonesian citizenship.

The desire of Surabayan Arabs to be thought of as an indistinguishable part of the indigenous population of Indonesia was positively received by the Surabayan government. Arabs were classified as indigenous people in the re-registration of the Surabayan population. At the time, the Arabs filled in the white coloured form which was intended for indigenous inhabitants. The re-registration itself was conducted from the twenty-fourth to thirty-first of December 1975. It was carried out on the basis of the Instruction Letter of the Surabayan Municipality Government Number 0200/186/75 issued on the fourth of December 1975 (Pelita, 6th January 1976; Surabaya Post, 3rd July 1980).

When the PAI was dispersed, its leaders urged three objectives on its people: 1) to abolish all sorts of organisations having an Arabic character, 2) to urge Arab descendants to continue to advance their service of the motherland (Indonesia), and 3) to prove their convictions as true Indonesians (Ahmad, 1976). Participation by the Arabs in social activities can be conceived of as a
continuing process of sociopolitical integration after the abolition of PAI and all its sections.

Table 7
The citizenship situation of Arab, Chinese, Indian and Pakistani in Ampel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic groups</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total M+F</th>
<th>Total Fam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia citizen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>1,827</td>
<td>1,891</td>
<td>3,718</td>
<td>1,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (I)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>4,034</td>
<td>1,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign citizen</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Fr)</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total I+Fr</td>
<td>2,229</td>
<td>2,247</td>
<td>4,476</td>
<td>1,389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kantor Kelurahan Ampel (The office of administrative unit of Ampel village), December 1981.
Notes: I = Indonesian; Fr = Foreign; M = Male; F = Female; Fam = Family.

The Arab population of Surabaya participates in many kinds of social activity. In 1982, in Kelurahan (village) Ampel, for example, which is divided into 17 RW (Rukun Warga, citizenry associations) there was one Arab who was chief of an RW. He was an Arab sayyid and had occupied that position since 1958. Although the bulk of the population of his RW were Javanese, whenever the election of the chief RW was to be held, he was always elected because he was helpful and paid attention to the needs of
his people. In Ampel, there were also 91 RT (Rukun Tetangga, neighbourhood associations). Among these 15 Arab descendants were chiefs, 6 Arab sayyid and 9 Arab non-sayyid. This situation is illustrated in Table:8.

Table:8 shows there were 7 RW which had chiefs of RT chosen from among their Arab population, namely RW 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 15, and 17. In RW 1 and RW 4 there were several Arabs who became chiefs of RT. In these two RW lived many more Arabs than in other RW. As well as chiefs of RW/RT some Arabs also became secretaries or treasurers or performed other functions in such organisations. The RW/RT in Surabaya, as in other cities or regions of Indonesia, formed the lowest level of social organisation. These organisations are purely created and supported by population groups in local settlements; therefore, they have no formal relations with governmental institutions. The managerial members of RW/RT are volunteers. They do not receive any payment for their work.

Before the emergence of PAI, the Surabayan Arabs had separate sinoman. Sinoman were established as village associations for developing mutual assistance among the young people. Although the identity of sinoman as the exclusive organisation of young people has become somewhat blurred, its function as a social organisation is still acknowledged by village people. The existence of such an association among the Surabayan Arabs was always a matter of dispute between PAI people and the older
The basic problem was that the older generation of Arabs wanted to maintain a distinct *sinoman* while the younger generation (or PAI people) supported the same *sinoman* with the other people with whom they lived.

Table: 8
The Arabs, chiefs of RW and RT in Ampel *Sayyid* (S) and *non-Sayyid* (NS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RW</th>
<th>Total RT</th>
<th>Chiefs of RW</th>
<th>Chiefs of RT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1982 survey.

*) one of them was Arab-Indian.

The *sinoman* is an old institution. As a social institution, it has been useful in the construction of social solidarity at the village level. A *sinoman* has several principles which have to be followed by its members: it guaranteed freedom of speech for its members;
its members must work together on important occasions, paying no attention to individualistic attitudes; the latter factor being the most important foundation of the institution. Si noman always has a chief who was elected not on the basis of wealth or other forms of superiority but on the basis of his capacity to mix with all kinds of people and to understand complex social problems (Frederick, 1988:18-19).

In brief, si noman were needed to organise the capacities of the people for helping each other in events such as death, marriage, or the onset of a calamity. This is an organisation of solidarity for village inhabitants. PAI destroyed the exclusive pattern of Arab si noman. Today, the Surabayan Arabs join si noman with other groups of Surabayans. One other aspect of culture that was abolished by PAI from the exclusive life of Surabayan Arabs was hadrah (a typical kind of Arab music).

Other social organisations in which the Surabayan Arabs participated were: LKMD (Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa, the Security Board of Village Society), P2A (Pembinaan Pendidikan Agama, Construction for Religious Education), Jamiatul Qurra wal Huffadz (a body for reciting the Al-Qur'an) and other Islamic organisations such as NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah, and so on. Arab women were involved in the PKK (Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, Education for Family Welfare) and pengajian (Al-Quranic study). Meanwhile Arab youth and children became members of various
organisations, for example Remaja Masjid (Mosque Youth), boy scouts, and Karang Taruna (Youthful Body). In 1981, in a sport competition for youth which was organised by the government of the municipality of Surabaya, Arab youth who represented the Subdistrict (Kecamatan) of Semampir achieved the status of runner-up. They also achieved the same position in the exhibition of "Cak and Ning Surabaya" (symbolising a man and a woman from among indigenous Surabayans). In Ampel there was also a soccer club, Assyabhab, which was built up on the basis of Arab descent and had already been successful in producing many players at the national level. Most members of this club were indigenous people. One more institution that can be classified as having a social function developed by Arabs in Surabaya is the Al-Irsyad Hospital.

Arab participation in the higher levels of social organisation is not unusual. A lot of Indonesian-Arab figures occupy positions at national levels of importance. The most important indication of their integration was that, in Ampel, typical Arab social organisations became less and less numerous. The consequence of this condition was, if they did not establish institutions which available for all groups of people, that they Arabs joined social organisations with other members of the society wherein they lived. Another phenomenon supporting their integrative attitude was their involvement in a variety of social organisations. Participation in various social organisations means that
their motivation was not based on individual interest or group profit.

The Arabs' involvement in various social activities in Ampel reflects the fact that they were ready to participate. Their drive for integration can be found at all levels of the social structure. They always made significant contributions to social activities either at the national or RW/RT levels.

4.3. Economic Dimension

In this section, discussion will be focused on the relative economic efforts of the Arab descendants compared to other Indonesians. It will consider the number of Arab retail enterprises and their variety, whether cooperation does or does not exist between the two groups, whether there is assistance in economic activities and the system of payment in these economic activities. In order to get a clear understanding of the relation positions of the two groups in economic affairs, in certain parts of this discussion comparisons will also be made to traders of Chinese descent.

The most important motivation for the Arabs coming to Indonesia in the past was economic (Van den Berg, 1886:46). This condition is reflected in the fact that the majority of Hadramawt Arab immigrants were of the masikin class (the common people) which traditionally consisted of itinerant traders. It must be noted that the
Arabs, in the early periods in Indonesia, were involved in various economic occupations such as shipping, fishing, carriage-jobbing, acting as solicitors, while a number of them were also involved gardening and fruit-growing. Arab ships sailed to Singapore and along the coasts of the Indonesian islands. Their position as shipping owners also enabled them to become mediators between the European commercial houses and the Indonesian natives. On Dobo island, as was mentioned by De Klerck (De Klerck, 1938:112), the Arabs represented one of the trader groups who liked to buy trepang, mother of pearl, turtles, birds of paradise and edible birds-nests, all products of the neighbouring islands.

Indonesian Arabs were also well known as textile industrialists. In relation to this, several cities wherein the Arabs played important roles were Surakarta or Solo, Pekalongan, Yogyakarta, Cirebon, Surabaya, and Rembang. The Arab textile industry figures from the past can be mentioned, among others, there were Sayyid Achmad bin Umar Alhabsyi (Cirebon), the Afiff family in Cilimus, Awad Soengkar Alurmei, bin Basri Asseggaf and Alaidrus Shahab (Surakarta or Solo), Ali Baswedan and Sayyid Achmad Martak (Surabaya). According to Harahap (1952), the Arabs controlled about 10 per cent of textile mills in Indonesia in the first part of 1942 and of 1951. In 1942 they also had about 28 per cent of the hand-textile instruments and 22 per cent of the machine-textile instruments, but by 1951 this situation had decreased to
19 per cent and 17.5 per cent respectively. At one time, the Surabayan Arabs included batik industrialists but, present-day, Surabayan Arabs have not continued this industry.

Today trade is a dominant occupation for Surabayan Arabs. Their trading efforts are particularly centred on retail shops. In Ampel, for example, retail stores follow the ethnic classifications of the population. There are also classifications based on the merchandise sold. Retailing in Ampel is centred on five streets, namely K.H. Mas Mansur, Nyamplungan, Danakarya, Sasak and Ampel Suci.

The proportions of retailing in 1982 based on the types of merchandise and the ethnic classification of traders: Arab, Chinese, and pribumi (indigenous Indonesian) in the five areas nominated above are illustrated in Table:9.

At least three kinds of important information can be gleaned from Table:9. The first is that the Arabs, more than the other two groups, dominated the textile trade (included in this category are batik cloth, sarong cloth, yarn, woven products, sajadah (prayer mats), Arabic calligraphy, and other products); books, particularly Islamic books; kopiah or pici (caps); barang kelontong (goods for daily use) for example: soap, tooth paste, hair oil, cigarettes, etc.); medicines/medicinal herbs; perfume; and other goods. The Chinese were strongest in rice trading and other food products while indigenous
Table: 9

The proportion of retail shops
based on sorts of merchandise and ethnic classification of Ampel population
1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Sorts of Merchandise</th>
<th>Mas Mansur A</th>
<th>Mas Mansur C</th>
<th>Mas Mansur I</th>
<th>Nyamplungan A</th>
<th>Nyamplungan C</th>
<th>Nyamplungan I</th>
<th>Danakarya A</th>
<th>Danakarya C</th>
<th>Danakarya I</th>
<th>Sasak A</th>
<th>Sasak C</th>
<th>Sasak I</th>
<th>Ampel Suci</th>
<th>Ampel Suci C</th>
<th>Ampel Suci I</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Books</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cap</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Household utensils+</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Medicines</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shoes</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hulled/rice</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wheat/sugar</td>
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<td>Frying oil</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Building materials</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Handicraft</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 23 30 5 2 24 12 8 38 1 38 2 183

Source: 1982 Survey based on permanent shops
Notes: A = Arab; C = Chinese; I = Indigenous Indonesian
+) Including: perfume, soap, hair oil or pomade, cigarette, etc.
Indonesians were specialists in the furniture trade and as professional artisans or skilled labourers, for example tailors, barbers, dental technicians, and carpenters.

The second point is that the Arab shops were centred on Sasak and Ampel Suci streets, and, together with the Chinese, they occupied the street of K.H. Mas Mansur. The Chinese also had several shops along Nyamplungan and Danakarya streets. The indigenous Indonesian shops can be found at Nyamplungan, K.H. Mas Mansur and Ampel Suci streets.

The third point to note is that the total number of shops was 183. Of those 101 were Arab shops; the Chinese had 62 and the indigenous Indonesians had only 20 shops. This is not a surprising distribution because it is well known that the bulk of immigrants, whether Chinese or Arab, came to Indonesia for trade. Present-day Arabs in Ampel inherited their shops from their parents or ancestors.

4.3.1. Cooperation in the Economy

There was no pattern of cooperation in terms of business capital between the Arab merchants and indigenous Indonesians in Ampel. This was due to the fact that their businesses were only on a small scale. It can be said that both the Arab and Indonesian businesses in this region consisted of family businesses (ekonomi
The characteristics of such economic formations were limited capital, small quantities of merchandisable goods and a small labour force. Family members are sufficient to carry out the business. There are limited trading networks and the main objective of the business is the fulfillment of the basic needs of daily life.

Generally, the trade networks of the Arab textile merchants followed the same pattern. It was common for them to receive merchandise in parcels or, in certain cases, transport it directly from other cities of Java, such as Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Pekalongan and Gresik. In these cities, business relations were with the larger textile merchants who were also of Arab descent. One of my merchant informants said that once a month he went to Pekalongan to pick up merchandise. Some merchandise must be ordered first before leaving for Pekalongan but some not. Certain sorts of merchandise must be paid for in cash, but the bulk of it can be paid for in monthly installments, which means that the first payment was usually half the total price and the rest was paid off at next month's visit. Such a process can only be applied by those who are well known by the textile merchants. Merchandise which has to be ordered, however, must be paid for in cash advance. This was not the only mechanism for Surabayan Arabs in the textile trade. Some Arab merchants in Ampel Surabaya can more accurately be called "agents" or "branches" of the textile merchants in other
Javanese cities.

Perfume, one type of merchandise which can be found in several shops on Ampel Suci street, was produced at a refining industry at Panggung street, Nyamplungan village in Subdistrict Pabean Cantikan, Surabaya. The marketing of perfume usually achieved its peak prior to Islamic holidays (for example for Lebaran day: the feast at the end of the fasting period (Ramadhan) on the first of the month of Syawwal). This situation must be seen in the light of Islamic teaching which stated that it is possible in the Prophetic sunnah (tradition) to use perfume before doing prayer (shalat).

Meanwhile, book traders ordered books from many publishers either in cities on Java or the outer islands or in Surabaya itself. Several book traders also printed certain books, especially Islamic books, which were published in many languages such as Javanese, Madurese and Arab-Malay languages (Malay script written in Arabic characters). The Arab traders sold their books in other regions of East Java, such as Madura, Pasuruan, Mojokerto, Bondowoso, Banyuwangi and, to a certain extent, exported to other provinces. The marketing areas in the outer islands were primarily South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, NTB (Western Lesser Sunda) and South Sulawesi. Unlike textile traders, the Arab book traders were related not only to the same Arab traders but also to indigenous book traders.

Cooperation in the economy between the Arabs and
native Indonesians, though not in the form of capital accumulation for shop matters, took place in other ways, best illustrated by the production of pici or kopiah (caps). In this instance cooperation appeared to open up work opportunities for Indonesians. The mechanism was that the Arab traders bought beludru (velvet) in order to guarantee its quality. The velvet was given to native Indonesians who were professionals in preparing caps (tailors). These Indonesians provided other materials, such as layer cloth for the winding of the caps and the top of the caps, sewing thread as well as sewing machines. When the ordered caps were ready, the Indonesians returned them to the Arabs, the owners of the velvet. The native Indonesians prepared many kinds of cap models and orders followed the desires of the owners of the velvet. The system of payment in this form of cooperation depended on the agreement between the trader and producer which was simply based on two issues: the amount of their basic capital and the model of the ordered cap. Orders were not always given to the same tailor. Such cooperation not only involved the native Indonesians in Ampel but, sometimes, also those who lived in Gresik, Pandaan, Bangil and other towns surrounding Surabaya.

Cooperation in the production of a cap is an integrative process. This is a form of creative work opportunity based on the capability and skills which are possessed by different groups.
Other kinds of the economic activity among Surabayan Arabs included the hotel business, horse and cattle commerce (cattle-breeding was usually located in islands outside Java, such as Waingapu on Sumba island in the Province of The Eastern Lesser Sundas), shipping agencies, and the haj agencies. One Indonesian Arab family who is well known because of their role in the breeding of horses is AlJufri.(4). The hotel business of Surabayan Arabs was aimed primarily at the important traders who came to Ampel. The facilities of the Arab hotels were very limited and seemed to accord with the condition of petty traders and, therefore, involved inexpensive accommodation.

Conspicuous economic conditions cannot be found in the life of Surabayan Arabs. Perhaps we can say that, in certain circumstances, their economic life is parallel to economic life of native Indonesians. Because of such conditions, when the Keppres 14A/1980 (presidential decree) was issued, they wanted to be classified as an "economically weak group". The decree itself provided some preferential treatment in order to enable "economically weak groups" to compete with the "economically strong group" (Chinese) in gaining government projects. Apart from the economic benefit conferred by such a grouping, there were also political benefits because, in actuality, the "economically weak group" included pribumi (native) entrepreneurs. It seemed that, in this connection, the Arabs finally
achieved their goal (Surabaya Post, 21st March 1981).

One additional aspect that needs to be mentioned here that is there was no difference for the *sayyid* and *non-sayyid* groups of Surabayan Arabs in relation to economic life. Both groups had the same economic status and, if that status compared to native economic life, an equality of economic condition can also be found there.

4.4. Education Dimension

Education has an important role to play in the process of integration. Here education as a dimension of sociocultural integration is indicated by the lack of ethnic restrictions in entering schools established by Arab descendants. In Indonesia, one of many functions of education is to accelerate the process of integration.

This section discusses the existence of three sample of schools and their role as part of network for integration of the Arabs in Surabaya. These schools were *Al-Khairiyah*, *Al-Irsyad* and *Attarbiyah*. Besides these schools, there are two other schools supported under the auspices of Arabs in Ampel, namely *Sekolah Bahreisi* (Bahreisi School) and *Perguruan Berdikari*. The three schools were chosen for this study because: they are larger, better reflect features of social religious life among the Arabs.

The school of *Al-Khairiyah* in Surabaya was formed as a branch of the same school established by the *Jamiat*
Khair organisation in Jakarta. Al-Khairiyah in Jakarta was founded by Sadid Barsandid, Muhammad Al-Fakhir al Masyhur, Edrus bin Ahmad bin Shahab in 1901. After the Dutch government granted formal legal status (1905), this school was headed by Said Ali bin Ahmad bin Shahab (Atjeh, 1970:103). Al-Khairiyah Surabaya was established in 1909.

Al-Irsyad is "off-shoot" of Jamiat Khair. Since the founding father of Al-Irsyad was formerly a teacher in Jamiat Khair, namely Syekh Ahmad Assurkaty. His arrival in Jakarta (1912) was also based on an invitation from Jamiat Khair. The first Al-Irsyad was established in Jakarta in 1915. The establishment of Al-Irsyad arose out of the dispute between Syekh Ahmad Assurkaty and the group of Ba-alwi (Alawiyyin or sayyid) over the marriage permissibility of a sayyid woman (or syari'ah) to marry a non-Sayyid man. Al-Irsyad of Surabaya was established in 1924. Although this school consistently used the name "Al-Irsyad", it was not a formal branch of Jakarta's Al-Irsyad. This case can be seen clearly in its official establishment document number 127, dated fifteenth January 1924, which declared that the Surabaya's Al-Irsyad Foundation was 1) an institution with legal status; 2) privately established by five people who together became management board without other additional members; 3) based on the objectives of education and instruction; 4) legally without formal relation to the Al-Irsyad Association [Jakarta] and/or other
The establishment of the Foundation of Al-Irsyad Surabaya was funded by Roebayak bin Oembarak bin Thalib; Oesman bin Moehammad Alamoedi; Salim and Abdurrahman Basymeleh; Aboebakar and Salim bin Ahmad Basyarahil and Salim and Ahmad bin Saad bin Nabhan.

Attarbiyah of Surabaya was established in 1949. Its historical establishment was based on a disagreement about the policy of the two former Arab schools (Al-Khairiyah and Al-Irsyad) which were often involved in disputes. In other words, Attarbiyah was established as a mediator. In 1982, members of the management board of the Foundation of Attarbiyah School consisted of Abubakar Alatas (Chairman); Hasyim Alhadad (Vice-Chairman); Abdurrahman Shahab (Secretary); Umar Assegaf (Treasurer) while other members were Edrus Albar, Ibrahim Bobsaid, Abdullah Baridwan, Zein Aqil, K.M. Doong and M. Jarham. The latter two persons were indigenous Indonesians.

The establishment of the three Arab schools, each of which was different from the other, involved an initial integrative missions. Al-Khairiyah was the first organisation in which Arabs or native Indonesians cooperated. Al-Irsyad was established because its founding fathers opposed any form of classification in marriage. This means that Al-Irsyad viewed all people as equal in terms of their social lives. And finally, Attarbiyah allowed some indigenous Indonesians to become members of its foundation management board.

Further discussion will be focused on the roles of
the Arab schools as integrative forces. In this respect, there are three important factors to be described: 1) the educational/instructional system used in those schools; 2) the proportion of students based on ethnic background, and 3) the situation of the teaching staff.

4.4.1. Educational System

First of all, it must be mentioned that the three institutions had different kinds and numbers of constituent schools. In 1982, Al-Khairiyah possessed 4 schools, Al-Irsyad had 5 schools and Attarbiyah owned 4. Al-Khairiyah consisted of kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, and senior high school. In none of these schools was there any separation at the classroom level between male and female students. Students of Al-Khairiyah wore uniforms of the same colour and model as the government schools.

At the Al-Irsyad school, the separation of male from female students begins at the fourth grade of elementary school. Despite the establishment of two kinds of Junior High School based on a sexual division, there was only one headmaster. Also both male and female are allowed to teach. A Senior High School in Al-Irsyad has just opened for female students. Female students of Al-Irsyad were required to wear a special uniform of a certain model and colour. The uniform model must be completed by wearing the jilbab (women's Muslim dress).
Table: 10
The number of schools in three institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School (male)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School (female)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School (female)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data 1981/1982
Notes: K = Al-Khairiyah; I = Al-Irsyad; A = Attarbiyah

Attarbiyah has no Senior High School yet. With the exception of kindergarten, at all levels of school, students were separated on the basis of gender. The uniform of female students at Attarbiyah was the same as that in Al-Irsyad female students. Male students at Junior High School at Attarbiyah, as well as at Al-Irsyad, were required to wear trousers.

The teaching system at the three educational institutions has adopted the system of the government schools. In this instance, general courses occupy 65 per cent of the curriculum and religious courses 35 per cent. In the three schools, religion, however, represents an important lesson and its units were more various than those at the government school. In government school, such training is called a "religion course". In the three Arab schools institution is divided into such elements as Al-Qur'an (or the Koran); Hadith (record of actions or
sayings of the Prophet), Arabic language (the language of Al-Qur'an); Akhlak (Muslim etiquette); Tafsir (exegesis of Al-Qur'an), and others. As distinct from the practice in government schools, where the "religion" course was commonly taught by one teacher, in the Arab schools each particular unit of religious instruction is taken by a different teacher.

4.4.2. Student Situation

Leaving aside kindergarten students, it is useful to observe the proportions of students in the three schools. Most of the Al-Khairiyah students consisted of indigenous Indonesian (90.5 per cent) while Arab students were only 9.5 per cent. On the other hand, at the Al-Irsyad school Arab students numbered about 70 per cent and others 30 per cent. Also, at Attarbiyah Arab students (86 per cent) outweighed indigenous Indonesian students (14 per cent).

A complete description of the students' number at the three schools based on "ethnic" background can be seen in Table: 11.

According to several sources the Al-Khairiyah became a favourite school because of the degree of regulation it required, especially for students. For example, the uniform, was not so different from that for the government school while at the two other schools (Al-Irsyad and Attarbiyah) such regulation cannot be found. The Al-Khairiyah also received more various
students than the two other schools. Table:11 shows that, actually, there were four Chinese among the 70 students who are grouped as Arab students. All these students came from Chinese Muslim families.

Table: 11
The number of students at Al-Khairiyah, Al-Irsyad and Attarbiyah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Number of students/percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Khairiyah:</td>
<td>70(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Irsyad</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attarbiyah</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1982 Survey and some written materials
Notes: A = Arab; I = Indonesian (native)
(*) = including 4 Chinese students.

The potential of these schools as integrative factors can be seen more clearly if we count the total students from all schools. There are 2,333 students in the three schools consisting of 1,319 Arab students (56.2 per cent) and 4 Chinese students; whereas the number of indigenous Indonesian students is 1,024 (53.8 per cent).

The most important integrative potential of these schools is related to their roles as educational institutions. In any case, a school represents a substantial locus for integrative processes.
4.4.3. Teaching Staff

In 1982, there were 60 teaching staff at the Al-Khairiyah school. Of these there were 54 native Indonesians and only 6 Arabs. The number of Al-Irsyad teaching staff was 63 including 42 indigenous Indonesian and 21 Arabs. Attarbiyah had 44 teaching staff consisting of 41 indigenous Indonesians and only 3 Arabs.

Of all teaching staff, the Javanese and Madurese formed the largest number. This situation was, of course, to be expected because the Arab society of Ampel live on the Javanese area and near from the Madurese area (Madura Island). Besides the Arabs, the Javanese and Madurese, members of the teaching staff included Menadonese and Chinese and, in 1949 (when the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia had just been formally acknowledged by the Dutch), there were also several Western members of the teaching staff in the Al-Irsyad school. Concerning the headmaster, all schools of the three educational institutions were led by native Indonesians except the SD (Elementary school) and the SMP (Junior High School) of Al-Irsyad. Teaching staff in Arab schools are called al-Ustadz (for male) and al-Ustadzah (for female), meaning "teacher or lecturer". The management board of the foundation of Al-Khairiyah, Al-Irsyad as well as Attarbiyah consisted of Arabs.

In the history of the development of educational institutions managed by the people of Arab descent in
Surabaya, particularly in the implementation of their programs, there has never been any prohibition from the Indonesian government. This means that the Arab educational institutions have always developed in the same direction, or at least not in contradiction, with government policy on education.

4.5. Religious Belief

The role of religion as an integrative force in nations of great ethnic and cultural diversity is recognised by social scientists. Its strength has been demonstrated in many countries. In Indonesia, religions such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism act as sources of integration (Bachtiar, 1976; Drake, 1989).

Islam as a religion which binds most Indonesians (about 87.1 per cent in 1985) and people of Arab descent have become an important factor in the development and the acceleration of Arab integration. Islam in Indonesia also resulted in part from the initiative of the ancestors of present-day Indonesian Arabs. Their ancestors included the bearers of Islam to this country. Indonesian history also notes that the arrival of Islam was peacefully received by native Indonesians; the bearers of Islam were saluted and honoured by the people, and, furthermore, several Arabs are well known as the founders of several local kingdoms in Indonesia in the past period.
Islam as an integrative network for Surabayan Arabs will be discussed focusing on several issues, such as a comparison of Islamic religious views between people of Arab descent and indigenous Indonesians; their participation in the management of masjid and mushallah or langgar (mosque and smaller mosques or village mosques) including whether there are or are not mosques exclusively for the Arabs, and for other religious activities. All those aspects need to be clarified in order to get a general description of what elements of Islam have already been adopted by the two groups in their lives as Islamic communities and, for the Arabs, as elements of integration.

4.5.1. Arab Religious Views

Generally, the religious views of the Arabs can be divided into two features which are reflected in their classification into two divisions of social stratification: "Sayyid" and "non-Sayyid" or "Alawiyyin" and "Irsyadin". The first feature is inclined toward the NU (Nahdatul Ulama, The Awakening of Ulama) religious view, representing Muslim conservatives within the Arab community. This group is also known as traditionalist Islam (Fiderspiel, 1970:64). The second feature is inclined toward Muhammadiyah (The Followers of Muhammad), representing of Muslim modernists within Arab society.

If we remember the problem at the time of the
establishment of the two Arab organisations in Indonesia, we can see that the non-Sayyid has a strong tendency to struggle for the idea of equal rights of all humankind, or at least the notion that such a right applies to all Arab descendants. The sayyids, on the other hand, always have the desire to preserve their extraordinary status, that is as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, to constitute an aristocracy among Arabs and, in the larger view, among Muslims.

For historical reasons, several sayyids also claimed the status of saints in Islam and, after their deaths, their tombs became sites of visitation where Muslims asked the saints to seek intercession for them with God. Prior to World War II, in Surabaya, the tomb of Syaikh al-Habsyi was the site of annual celebrations. Similar celebrations were held at the tombs of other saints of the Hadrami Arabs, for example at Luar Batang (Jakarta), Solo, Tegal, Pekalongan, and Bogor (Noer, 1973:57). Such a religious tradition mainly sought help from the dead, what was certainly different from the belief of Irsyadin. As a reformer Al-Irsyad opposed bid'ah (heresy) practices among Muslims. On the reform actions of Al-Irsyad and Muhammadiyah, some intellectual among Indonesian Muslims made the distinction between kemajuan ("progress"); pemurnian ("refining") concerning aqidah (articles of faith) and ibadah (worship).

In relation to the process of integration, these two streams of Arab religious thought offer various
possibilities in the Indonesian context. The Al-Khairiyah's view has more potential for living side by side with the religious schools of the majority of the native Muslim because of its neutral attitude towards native traditions. Among those who express a deep respect and sympathy for the religious views of Al-Khairiyah are those who claim to be the adherents of ahl al-sunnah wal-jama'ah ("the followers of the Prophetic tradition and Muslim law created by the Muslim community"). In determining suitable laws (Islamic law) for any kind of problem emerging in society, besides referring to the Al-Qur'an and Hadith (the Prophetic tradition), this group also follows the consensus of Muslim scholars (ulama). Its adherents acknowledge the four schools (madzhab) in Islam: Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i and Hambali, but follow the Syafi'i madzhab.

The character of the Al-Irsyad movement which, sometimes, offers sharp criticism of various nature traditions meant that its religious views are only adopted by Indonesians holding similar view. The people of Al-Irsyad claim that the main objective of their organisation is to refine Islamic teachings and to urge Muslims to return to the teachings of Al-Qur'an as well as that of the Prophetic tradition. Thus Al-Irsyad is very close to Muhammadiyah in its religious views. Neither is concerned with schools (madzhab) in Islam.

In terms of an other of its principles, Al-Irsyad opposed the view that the door of idjithah (the process
of arriving at new judgments under Islamic law) in the problem of *furu'* (detailed problems) was closed after the fall of Baghdad in the middle of the VI H (Hijrah) (or XIII A.D) and only four schools (*madzhab*) are acknowledged. Shaikh Ahmad Assurkaty, the founding father of Al-Irsyad, said that the door of *iditihad* would be steadily opened because the laws of Islam live in all periods. He also opposed *taqlid* (uncritically acceptance of legal and theological decisions of a teacher or teachers) because, according to him, *taqlid* freezes creativity. Assurkaty did not select one of the four schools, though he used the opinion of those *ulama* (*madzhab* scholars) as a guiding principle in deriving Islamic laws from their two main sources: *Al-Qur'an* and *Hadith* (the Prophet tradition) (AtJeh, 1970:106).

Actually, the two religious streams of the Arabs take their integrative potency from Islam itself. Islam is consistently perceived as producing a firmer foundation, a higher integrative factor than the two religious streams themselves.

4.5.2. Religious Activities

One important indicator in observing the participation of Arabs in religious activities is the management of *masjid* (mosques) and *mushallah* or *langgar* (smaller mosques or village mosque). In 1982, Ampel with an area about of 38 Ha had 1 mosque (*Masjid Agung Sunan*...
Ampel, The Greater Mosque of Sunan Ampel) and 40 smaller mosques. Of 17 RW (Rukun Warga) in this village (kelurahan), only RW 10 and 17 did not have their own smaller mosque. RW 14 had more village mosques (7) than any other RW. The second place was occupied by RW 1 with 5 mosques, not including another which was in construction at the time. The number of mosques and smaller mosques in Ampel is illustrated in Table: 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RW</th>
<th>Mosque</th>
<th>Village mosques</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>not including 1 prayer houses still in construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 mosque, Masjid Agung Sunan Ampel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1982 survey.

The mosque functions as the place for everyday prayers, also for Friday prayers which are followed
collectively by Muslims; whereas the mushallah or langgar is only for everyday prayer. As we can see on the map (Map: 1, page 132), Masjid Agung Sunan Ampel is surrounded by many mosques. This situation itself reflects the fact that, even until now, Ampel is an important Islamic site in Surabaya.

From the survey we know that there were 18 village mosques in which there was at least one Arab member of management. Moreover, 3 of the 18 village mosques were established and managed by Arabs: langgar (village mosque) "Saluum" at Gubah Lor street; mushallah (prayer house) of the "Sayyid group" at Ketapang Kecil street; and mushallah (prayer house) of "Al-Kathiri" at Nyamplungan Buntu X street. According to one source, langgar "Saluum" was established by the Saluum family in 1278 H (1870 A.D). In 1982, the maintenance of this village mosque was mainly carried out by Hasan Saluum (68). In the "Sayyid" mosque, every Friday there is usually greater a number of sayyid people coming for Maghrib (noon) and Isya (evening) prayers. In between these two prayers, the sayyid people held a reading of "tarikh" (history) describing, among other matters, the pedigree of the sayyid people. In the "Al-Kathiri" mosque, there is pengajian (Islamic lecture) in the period between noon and evening prayers.

In Ampel it was not only the Arabs (as a group) who managed "special" mosques. Such activity was also conducted by several indigenous ulama (Muslim scholars).
Map 1
Ampel village of Surabaya

Village mosque
Al-Kathiri

Village mosque
Saluum

Village mosque
"Sayyids"

Masjid Agung Ampel
Greater Mosque of Ampel

Mushallah/langgar
Village mosque or
prayer house
A scholar establishes a smaller mosque privately (usually near his house) with, at least, two objectives: it constitutes a place for prayer (either for his family or for people who live surrounding his house (or his neighbours); and it is a place for giving lectures to his students. The mushallah established by ulama are located at Ampel Magefur street (RW 4) (K.H. Imam Nawawi Muhammad); Nyamplungan VI street (K.H. Muhammad Ishak); and Sukodono III street (K.H. Muhammad bin Yusuf).

It is clear that, in the management of mushallah (smaller mosques) in Ampel, there are three types that can be differentiated: 1) Mushallah "wakaf" are managed together by Muslim people without differentiation. (Wakaf is a social institution that provides for permanent utilization of goods for either social or religious objectives). 2) Mushallah "priadi" (private) are usually established by an ulama. 3) Mushallah "Arab" are established and managed exclusively by Arabs.

Although the management of mushallah in Ampel takes three forms, this system certainly does not mean that there are restrictions on the main function of mushallah as places for prayer. All mushallah are opened for every Muslim who wants to pray, to join other religious activities, such as Islamic lectures and the recitation of the Al-Qur'an. Under Islam, there is no restriction on any Muslim, whatever his/her group, ethnicity, nation, madzhab, to pray in a mosque or a mushallah. There is genuine freedom in the life of Islamic society on
entering the mosque. The establishment of a mosque or a prayer house by a person, a group, or whoever has the capability is only one of many methods of encouraging the ummah (Muslim community) to carry out their religious duties.

The management of Masjid Agung Ampel is headed by a Nadzir (chief). Several Arabs are also involved in its management and are active within this mosque. When the management board of Ampel Mosque established a Lembaga Dakwah ("Missionary Institution") under the name: Missi Sunan Ampel in 1975 with the main objective: to strengthen the relations between Mosque and Pesantren (training centre for advanced Islamic studies) in Indonesia, particularly in East Java, several Arab people, among them Ustadz Abubakar Assegaf, were chosen as members of this institution (Panitia Haul Agung Sunan Ampel Ke-527, 1980:46). In its religious trips to several cities of East Java, such as Gresik, Sidoarjo, MoJokerto, Bangil, Pasuruan, Malang, Singosari, Kediri and Tuban, this mission was positively received to by Muslims people in those cities.

4.5.3. Dakwah Activity

The word "dakwah" is taken from the Arabic da'wah which means "to invite" or call people to Islam. Thus, it seems to involve Muslim missionary activities with the purpose of enlisting non-Muslim people. In Indonesia,
besides the original meaning, this word also refers to religious talks (ceramah agama). This activity can also be directed to the same Muslim people. Based on these two meanings, we shall try to discuss the dakwah activities of Surabayan Arabs.

In Ampel, both indigenous ulama (Muslim scholars) and Arabs are very energetic in dakwah. This is particularly true of people, those who live around the Greater Ampel Mosque. Several Arab scholars are well known in Ampel society. In this instance, three ulamas can be mentioned: first, Ustadz Hasan Asseggaf, an expert in hadith Bukhari. In certain months, Ustadz Hassan Asseggaf invites other scholars for khatam hadith Bukhari (to steep themselves in that version of hadith) in his house in Ampel Mulia street. Second, Ustadz Salim Bahreisy, periodically on certain days, gives pengajian (Islamic lectures) in the Greater Ampel Mosque, in the mosque of Ampel Sawahan street, and also in the mosque of Ketapang Besar street. Third, Ustadz Salim Bahmid usually gives religious talks at the village mosque of Ampel Mulia street. Several Arab scholars also privately made perjalanan dakwah (religious or dakwah trips) to several cities outside Surabaya, such as Banyuwangi, Mojokerto, Pasuruan and also to Madura island.

For Arabs in Indonesia, a religious trip is not a new phenomenon following Indonesian Independence. Such activities were also conducted by the Arabs in the nineteenth century and, probably, before that time. This
can be ascertained from a report written by Raffles (see, Morley, 1949:162 and 165), who himself doubted the religious value of such a journey. In other words, the trip was perceived by Raffles as one more of economic rather than religious interest. The notion of an Arab 'religious trip' being combined with trade objectives is also canvassed by Steenbrink (Steenbrink, 1984:154) who postulated its figure as *kyai keliling* ("traveling Muslim scholar"). In his trip, this *kyai* would delivered religious talks and also looked for *haj* candidates, selling mascot, *zamzam* water (water from Mecca's sacred well) and *tasbih* (a formula extolling God's perfection). One of my informants told me that, nowadays, such a trip is arranged more for religious teaching. Moreover, an Arab scholar plans religious trips based on invitations from Muslim communities in other cities outside Surabaya. Many invitations are received for Ramadhan (fasting month) talks (*ceramah Ramadhan*), and other Islamic holidays.

In relation to *dakwah* (Muslim 'missionary' activity), one important institution was established and headed by a Surabayan Arab, namely LPLI Sunan Ampel (Lembaga Laboratorium dan Penerangan Islam, Islamic Information & Laboratory Institution "Sunan Ampel"). Although this institution was established by Arab descendant, its management board included members of various ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Chinese, Balinese, Batak, and others. Although its central office
is in Surabaya, the institution itself forms a national institution with 21 branches from Sumatra to Irian Jaya.

This institution was established by the AlJufri family in 1983. The main objective of this institution is to advance the quality of life of the Muslim umat (people), and under that objective, it has several programs, such as 1) to carry out Islamic dakwah through personal, social and cultural approaches; 2) to research the development of Islam in Indonesia; 3) to research the potential of zakat (religious tax), infaq (donation), shodagoh (alms) and their advantages for Muslim life; 4) to research Islamic concepts for facing future challenges; 5) to act as a consultation board in religious problems, Islamic law, household, education, and other matters; 6) to give training in the reading and writing of the Al-Qur'an, in Arabic, religion and in other non-formal subjects of education (AlJufri, 1989).

The response of Indonesian indigenous people to the Islamic activities of Arab descendants is very positive. Toward the Arab society, a native Indonesian in Ampel, stated: "...awae dewe podo-podo ngulon ..." (literally, together we face to the West), meaning we together face the direction of Mecca (in carrying out prayer). In other words, we are all Muslims together. In brief, Islam, in relation to the process of Arab integration, forms a very powerful network. This situation confirms Van der Kroef's statement (Kroef, 1954:267), that "the main reason for the Arab's acceptance in Indonesia is his
religion". The Arab people, as was pointed out in Chapter II, included the bearers of Islam to Indonesia.

4.6. Marital Aspect

Mixed marriage between people of different ethnic origin is a mechanism in the assimilation process, particularly in advancing sociocultural, political, and economic integration. Amalgamation via marriage represents a form of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (literally, Diversity in Unity). This is the Indonesian national motto which symbolises the Indonesian condition, consisting of hundreds of ethnic groups, distinct cultures and various local languages as well as archipelagic state but living together in one nation state.

Mixed marriages between Arabs and Indonesians have occurred since their ancestors came to the Indonesian Archipelago. This matter is mentioned by many scholars. L. W. C. Van den Berg stated that the Arabs came to Indonesia without their women from Hadramawt, and therefore all Arabs born in the Indian archipelago (Indonesia) are, more or less, of mixed blood. Van den Berg assumed that, in Java, the second generation of poor Hadrami migrants was already completely Javanised. He called the Arabs in the Indonesia archipelago who were the products of mixed marriage "Arab half-castes" (Van den Berg, 1866:213). The fact that Hadrami women do not
leave their country with their husbands is also reported by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann who, at one time, made a journey to Hadramawt (Meulen and Wissman, 1964:45). The custom of Hadrami Arabs of roaming to the countries of Southeast Asian without their women and marrying native women is characterised by Mona Abaza as the "matrimonial strategy" (Abaza, 1988:16).

A similar assumption to Berg's has also been maintained by the Arab people of Surabaya who are proud of their situation. According to them, their ancestors came to Indonesia without their women or they were single. As a result, they took wives among native women. Surabayan Arabs as well as the descendants of Arabs in other regions of Indonesia call the native population "akhwal" (singular "khal" male or "khala" female) which means "relatives on the mother side" (see also Chapter II).

In point of fact, the Arab assumption that only Arab males came to Indonesia is not absolutely so. There were also some Arab women who migrated to Indonesia. Van der Kroef (1954:251) informs us that, in 1938, there were 503 Arab migrants who came to Indonesia. Of this number there were 24 women, and 7 of whom were below 12 years of age.

When I conducted my research in Ampel Surabaya, only 24 Arab descendants were ready to share information about their marriage. Of those, 8 were Arab sayyids and 16 were Arab non-sayyids. All of these sayyids were married to sayyid women, namely syarifah-syarifah. Among the 16 Arab
non-sayyids, 13 were married to non-sayyid women, while none were married to sayyid women. 2 were married to Javanese women, and one was married to a Banjarese woman. This situation seems to indicate that the non-sayyid Arabs are easier to assimilate through marriage than the Arab sayyids. However, the 1981 data of marriage in Kelurahan Ampel (Ampel village) pointed out that it was rare for either the descendants of sayyid or non-sayyid Arabs to marry native people (pribumi).

The marriage status of native and Arab population in Ampel in 1981 is illustrated in Table:13.

### Table:13
Marriage situation of native and Arab population as well as mixed marriages between the two groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ampel population who were getting married</th>
<th>Marriage partner*</th>
<th>Number of married people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>AW</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>AW</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AW</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AW</td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of N/A population who were getting marriage in 1981: 402

Source: Bagian Pencatatan Nikah Kantor Kelurahan Ampel (Division of Marriage Registration of the Ampel Administrative Office), 1982.

Notes: *) not always Ampel population
NM = Native Male AM = Arab Male
NW = Native Women AW = Arab Women
N/A = Native/Arab

In 1981, the number of the native population in
Ampel who married was 300 - 157 male and 143 women. In the same year the number of the Arab population in Ampel who married was 102, which consisted of 49 Arab males and 53 Arab women. Of the 49 Arab males, two married non-Arab women. In that year none of Arab women married a native male partner.

In the course of my research, I visited five households which consisted of native husbands whose wives were Arab women. Two of them were married to Arab sayyid women (sayyidah) and three married to non-sayyid women. Of the three native people married to non-sayyid women, only one had not had any problem in his marriage arrangements. The other two, prior to their marriage, had experienced some difficulties. The two native men whose wives were sayyidah, had not experienced any problems prior to their marriage. Nevertheless the additional point needs to be made that, at the time of their marriage, neither sayyidah was yet included in the Ampel population. Both sayyidah were born outside Java. Their husbands also came from islands outside Java. In other words, they migrated to Surabaya and lived in Ampel after their marriage.

This description shows that, in Ampel Surabaya, the institution of marriage as a network of assimilation and integration is not upheld by the Arab population. It is true that the process of assimilation through a marital network ("matrimonial strategy") was pioneered by their ancestors when they came to the islands of Indonesia, but
for the present generation of Arabs, this strategy seems not to be continued as seriously as their ancestors did. Several mixed marriages between native people and Arabs, particularly native males married to Arab women, were preceded by problems. In 1982, several heads of RW in Ampel stated that they had been called on to solve marriage problems (among Arabs and non-Arabs) within their society.

Marriage as a network of assimilation is acknowledged by people of Arab descent in Indonesia. However, they also say that marriage has lower value in its role as an integrative factor than other factors, such as politics, religion and involvement in social activities. It seems therefore that marriage cannot be identified as an integrative factor. Further discussion of this matter will be taken up in Chapter V.

In summary, we can see that, since the beginning of the twentieth century, people of Arab descent have made much progress in the process of integration. It is clear in the case the Arab population in Surabaya that they strive to integrate by the establishment of sociopolitical organisations and educational institutions in which indigenous Indonesians are also invited to participate, by joining organisations established by indigenous Indonesians (for example, they decided to be members of the same sinoman. A consequence of this latter decision is that their "Arabic" sinoman was abolished). Their actions were designed to have political
significance in the process of integration at both local and the national levels.
In the last chapter we identified the various matters that constitute the expression of Arab integration in Surabaya. We argued that the establishment of several Arab organisations in political and educational fields, their participation in social organisations, their position and cooperation with native people in economic activities and most importantly their participation in the same religion, Islam, all helped express the integration of people of Arab descent with the native people of Indonesia.

As distinct from these aspects, marriage, although representing an effective mechanism of integration in the periods of initial immigration of Arabs to Indonesia, seems not to maintain its potentiality as an integrative factor. The basis for this assumption is the marriage data which was recorded by the Kantor Kelurahan Ampel (the office of the administrative unit of Ampel village) in 1981.

In this chapter, we shall examine some obstacles to Arab integration. Our purpose is to bring out the characteristic features which are considered to be inhibiting factors in the process of Arab integration.

The most outstanding problem in the relationship between Arabs and the native people in Surabaya concerns marriage. This aspect will be discussed first. Some
implications of the marital problem in the form of "ethnic problems" comprise the second part of our discussion. The third section discusses economic behaviour and the last focuses on sociocultural aspects of Arab existence.

5.1. The Marital Problem

People of Arab descent in Indonesia, particularly in Surabaya, consider that inter-ethnic marriage is not an important factor in the process of integration. The most important problem is the increasing incidence of problems which come to the gaze of society at large (see, Baswedan, 1982:67-9). Thus the Arabs regard a marriage as merely a private matter or family affair.

Such a conception of marriage creates a significant obstacle for the integrationist. It is also different from the common idea and expectation which is regarded as proper by all groups of Indonesians. Apart from this ideal concept, a discriminatory pattern of marriage in the view of Arabs can be traced back to the "theory" of marriage in Hadrami society. This case cannot be separated from the principle of kafa'ah (equality of marriage partner). The basic formula of the kafa'ah is that, as was written by Bujra (Bujra, 1971:93), "a man ought to marry one of equal descent status to himself, but that if no such suitable spouse exists he may marry a woman of lower descent".
In Indonesia, the *kafa'ah* system firstly appears in marital problems between *sayyid* and *non-sayyid* Arabs. In relation to marital problems between Arab and non-Arab people, the first common problem is the objection of Arab parents to marrying their children, especially daughters, off to non-Arab people. The objection occurs because, in the view of many Arab people, an Arab woman should never be allowed to marry a man of lower descent than herself. In this instance, the prohibition is connected with descent status. The second problem is the maintenance of the family name. If an Arab woman marries a non-Arab man, her Arab family name cannot be further used by her children. Her children will use their father's name or their father's family name. This is a significant matter because in giving a name, Arab people traditionally use the family name from the father's side (patrilineal). For example, if an Arab man has the family name "bin Shaikh Abubakar", this name will also be used by his grandchildren. The marriage of an Arab son, on the other hand, is not so restricted as to that of an Arab daughter. An Arab son will bring his Arab family name to his children, no matter whom he marries.

Why are Arab people so concerned with one family name?. There are several reasons. Firstly, the family name constitutes an "Arab identity". Though, nowadays, the Arabs in Indonesia represent at least the thirtieth generation from their grand ancestor, they are still proud of their Arabic family because, as several Arab
respondents in Ampel Surabaya said, Arabs are regarded as one of "respected" nations in the world (see also, Achmad, 1977). In the case of Middle Eastern societies, the "family" is especially important in the kinship system. Secondly, through the Arabs, Almighty God revealed the last religion, Islam, which is intended for all mankind and suitable for all periods. Thirdly, many of the Arabs in Indonesia claim to be the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Sayyid and Syarifah).

Arab identity via family name is maintained by performing endogamous marriages. The strongest preference for endogamous marriage in Arab society is that a son marries his father's brother's daughter (bint 'amm). The diagram representation of such a marriage is illustrated as follows:

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Most Arab people, and particularly Sayyid descendants, want to follow this "preference rule" because they have always been concerned with the unity of their family; and this marriage pattern has a connection with inheritance distribution (BuJra, 1971:20).
Regarding the objection of Arab parents to marrying their daughters off to non-Arab men, several Arab respondents in Am pel offered arguments as follows: 1) in looking for a marriage partner for a daughter, the family ties are still the most important consideration; 2) in relation to this, they continued to pay more attention to the problem of "nasab" (descent) in order to avoid future regret; 3) some Arabs claim that their social status is high; therefore, they are only ready to marry their daughter off to people of the same status.

Such objections do not always spontaneously appear when Arab people are facing marital problems. Such an attitude possibly has its roots in a strong Arab "group feeling" which is called 'asabiya. The 'asabiya attitude of the Arab people is related to the concept of "closeness" (garaba). Eickelman (Eickelman, 1989:156) elaborated the contextual meanings of the garaba as follows: "asserted and recognized ties of kinship ... participation in factional alliances, ties of patronage and clientship, and common bonds developed through neighborliness". The garaba refers to the hamula (kinship group), gawm (people or nation), ibn 'amm (father's brother's son) groups. According to Fairchild, "in group" refers to "any group regarded from the point of view of one of its members, in contrast to outside groups" (Fairchild, 1944:133). Several examples of "in group" feeling in relation to marital cases can be seen in the discussion of ethnic problems.
Before we move to the "ethnic problem" section, it is reasonable to mention that the sources of marital problems possibly originated with indigenous people. As an example, I was informed by an Arab youth, my neighbour during my stay in Ampel, that his proposal of marriage to an indigenous girl was rejected by his girlfriend's parents who offered several "stereotypical" reasons concerning Arab people, such as: Arab people consider only themselves and their families important, they are too often married, and stingy. Because of this objection, the Arab youth left Surabaya for Saudi Arabia.

5.2. Ethnic Problem

The Surabayan Arabs attitudes, can be seen to be reflected in "in group" life patterns. This can be seen not only in their settlement concentration at Ampel village, but in the fact that most of the Arab people at that village also live in the same regions (RW 1, 2 and 4). A similar pattern can also be seen in their economic activities (in this instance, the location of retailing shops). Living and working near people of the same group, whatever its condition, is sometimes caused only by "in group" feeling. As a matter of fact, a case can be offered as follows:
Case 1

Time: 1982

I met AB (53), a Sayyid Arab descendant, at the Greater Mosque of Ampel. Firstly we discussed the educational institute of Al-Khairiyah where he studied in the past. Then, our discussion moved from one interesting case to another. Before we finished our discussion, I asked for his address and he mentioned his home address. To confirm his address, I asked one of my respondents that I had met some days before because he lived not far from that address. He responded that he did not know that name. Based on his answer, I concluded that though they lived as neighbours, they were not always acquaintances with one another. Probably, the neighbour's life was only motivated by the same Arabic status (ethnical feeling). One thing that amazed me was that they both had the same family name.

Actually, the formation of the Arab community in Ampel Surabaya was first caused by the historical fact that when the first generation of Arabs came to Surabaya they chose Ampel as their settlement. This situation was developed further by several factors, such as their economic activity being centralized in this region. They also established schools, hospital and hotels there, and Ampel become well known as the "kampung" (village) of Arab in Surabaya.

The attitude of "ethnical superiority" and looking down upon other ethnic groups usually appears if the Arabs are faced with an unexpected marriage. Such a problem represents a very strong obstacle which is felt by indigenous people in Ampel. The following case is as example:
Case 2

MC (29) in 1982, was a native man who wanted to marry a daughter of a non-Sayyid Arab whose family was called GA. For that purpose, MC, represented by his family, sent a proposal to GA. GA's family did not give a good response to the proposal of MC family. GA objected and mentioned that the level of his "ethnicity" was higher than MC's ethnic group. Faced with the GA family's response, this overture was transformed into a serious problem and provoked physical conflict between GA's family and MC's family. The source of the conflict was not the objection of GA's family, but the "ethnicity" problem. Because it was preceded by a conflict, MC and GA's daughter married without any blessing from GA's family. Their marriage was conducted outside Surabaya. After marriage, they lived in a city outside Java where MC got a job. In this city, they were rewarded with a son. GA's daughter informed her father (GA) about her son in Surabaya, though there had not yet been any response. After two and a half years, because of MC's new job, they returned to Surabaya. A few months later, through various approaches, the relation between two families (MC and GA) was gradually made normal. At one time, GA persuaded MC to join his business, but MC had not yet made any response.

This case describes a marriage event and its difficulties. As a matter of fact, the attitude of pride in ethnicity can still be found among several Arab families in Surabaya, though pride in ethnicity may not become a problem unless it involves looking down upon other ethnic groups.

The emergence of "in group" feeling among the Arabs is sometimes created by Arab families (or relatives). This means that the controversy over a marriage event, originally, does not come from the parents of an Arab daughter themselves but from the influence of their family or relatives. This situation can occur because a
marriage among Arab people is not only the personal desire of the man and woman concerned and their parents, but it is also the responsibility of many of their respective relatives (Eickelman, 1989:170). If the source of marital problems is not caused by social status ("nobility") considerations, then the strongest influence usually comes from wealthier families.

The tendency to maintain kinship ties which can be conceived of as steps in supporting ethnic groups, can be seen in two cases:

Case 3
Time: 1972

J (a Sayyid Arab woman or Syarifah) and M (a man of mixed blood Chinese-Ambonese) planned to establish a household. Because there was no blessing from the woman's family, they escaped to an island outside Java. This event made the woman's family panic. The woman's parents, on the grounds that in leaving home J took many pieces of fine items with her, asked the help of the police in looking for J. After the efforts and cooperation of two groups of police in two different and far apart places, J was brought back to Surabaya two weeks after her escape. In this case, the woman's parents would not bless J's relation with M because M himself had just converted to Islam. Actually, J's parents' disagreement was that they planned to marry off their daughter (J) with her cousin who had just arrived from abroad.

Case 4
Time: 1982

A (a native man) and N (a woman of non-Sayyid Arab) agreed to develop a new household. For that purpose, A who was represented by F sent a proposal to N's parents. The process of proposing was carried out in two meetings but no exact response was given by N's
parents. In that situation, with only a few weeks interval, N was married off by her parents to an Arab man, also a non-Sayyid Arab. This Arab man did not yet have a job.

From the two cases, we can see that Arab parents, whether sayyid or non-Sayyid, in looking for a marriage partner for their children (especially for an Arab daughter) have few differences. Both Arab groups tend to establish a kinship with members of their own groups. The two cases we mentioned above occurred within approximately ten years of each other (Case 3 in 1972 and Case 4 in 1982). This time period confirms us the continuing effect that ethnicity problems in relation to marriage.

In the history of Arabs in Southeast Asia, one case of a marital problem, which invited a great deal of controversy among Arabs occurred in Singapore in 1905 (see, Bujra, 1971:94; Abaza, 1988). This marriage united a sayyid woman and an Indian Muslim. Though this marriage obtained the consent of the woman's parents, the controversy arose when a Hadrami Arab questioned the validity of such a marriage (in Islamic law) in the Cairo Journal, Al-Manar; and the editor of Al-Manar made a pronouncement (fatwa) saying that the marriage was halal (legal). In contrast to Al-Manar, the Mufti of Singapore, at the time an 'Attas, made a pronouncement that the marriage was haram (illegal) because it broke the rule of kafa'ah (equality of marriage partner). Indeed, these two pronouncements invited controversies among the Arabs and,
in Singapore, became a matter of political strife between Sayyid and non-Sayyid Arab groups (the Alawi and Irshadi conflict).(1) What happened in Singapore and still happen in Surabaya leads to the conclusion: that disputes about the concept of marriage in the lives of Arab people continue to be unresolved.

5.3.1. Economic Behaviour

In the colonial period, the Arabs and Chinese were classified as the second class in colonial residential affairs (Foreign oriental group). This position was lower than the European's but higher than that of the native Indonesians who were called "inlander" (bumiputera). Although the classification itself represented a part of colonial political policy and was aimed at separating the activities of native people from other groups, it does not mean that none of the Arabs or Chinese manipulated that classification to their benefit. In the economic sector, for example, supported by their favourable position in the economy, wealthy Arabs offered loans with high interest to poor native people (van der Kroef, 1954:260-7). As was explained before (see, Chapter IV), such practices were the subject of criticism by PAI through Toonel Fatimah.

The practice of money lending with high rates of interest gradually disappeared from Arab life in Surabaya. In 1982, such a practice was reported by only
one native who experienced it. The story goes as follows:

Case 5

Time: 1982

L (30) a native man needed one million rupiah to enlarge his capital. He was well known for always succeeding in business and was a child of a wealthy father. In urgent necessity, his Arab friend, AB, offered a loan with interest of 10 percent per month. Indeed, L felt happy and responded to his friend's offer by offering his house as guarantee, though he retained his house certificate. For AB's sake, they agreed to make a contract letter. But, when AB gave the loan to L, AB demanded the certificate of L's house. In the face that condition, L, who was actually a neighbour of AB, refused AB's help. At the same time, L returned AB's money which had just been given. This event put a negative cast to their further relations.

Actually, money lending with high rates of interest is only another form of "usury" practice which was popular in the colonial period and became a heavy burden for native people. Usury practices hamper the integration process because they are a concealed form of exploitation. They represent mutual help in appearance only.

5.4. Sociocultural Problems

Several elements of Arab socioculture have already been mentioned, such as their kinship system, marriage system, and settlement patterns. Because the use of Arabic as the language of everyday communication has increasingly disappeared, it is not the subject of this
discussion. In this section, the discussion focuses on one residual element of Arab culture which is still performed by Arab families in Ampel, namely the custom of visiting.

There is a system of "visiting according to gender" in the life of Arab society. This visiting custom means that a male visitor will be served by a male host and a female visitor will be served also by a female host. If visitors are a married couple, for example, one can see that the distribution of duty in serving them will soon appear to be the hosts'. The male guest is usually served in the front room (living room) and the female guest is served in another room. Therefore, a man who visits an Arab houses will not be served by a woman and vice versa. It is rare for married visitors to be served by husband and wife as hosts in the same room, which would make them all sit down together face to face.

An Arab woman, especially a syarifah, will be ashamed of her family if she visits a man's house. It is impolite for a man, who wants to visit an Arab house to ask about a woman.

A treat which is offered to a visitor is for tasting. Therefore, it can be assumed that a host is humiliated if a visitor does not taste the treat. In Arab visiting customs, if the visitor is a man, a woman who brings the treat never reaches the living room. She just reaches the door to the living room, and then the host who is to serve the visitor will take the treat. This
procedure seems to show that there is a "progression" in bringing the treat to the living room.

It is polite for a visitor to say goodbye after receiving permission to depart from the host. This means that a visitor to an Arab house may not only pay attention to his own interest, his will, but also must pay attention to the host's interest. It is true that the initiative to say goodbye lies with the visitor, but the real initiative definitely belongs to the host. Therefore, there is a proverb regarding Arab visiting customs which says: "A guest enters a house (Arab house) of his own will, but if he wants to go out (back home) this is the host's will".

Indeed, the source of several elements of current Arab sociocultural life came from traditional Arab culture. Integration of culture is mostly dependent on the changing composition of its elements. This process can be reflected in several ways, such as through adaptation, innovation, and modification.
Chapter VI
CONCLUSIONS

This study examines how that people of Indonesian Arab descent have integrated with the rest of the Indonesian people. Integration, as we see it, is not a particular social action, rather it is intimately embodied in various sociocultural systems such as political movements, contemporary situation of Surabayan Arabs, economic activities, educational preparation, religious beliefs, and marriage. By using two kinds of approach, anthropological and historical, in presenting, analysing, and understanding a variety of data, and by nominating and considering the Arab population of Surabaya as a particular case, this study has shown that Arab integration is a continuing phenomenon. Before discussing the major conclusions of the study, I shall summarise the main interpretation developed in this study.

The main part of the study began in Chapter II with a discussion of the historical background of the coming of the Arabs to Indonesia. There is some indication that the Arabs had settled in Indonesia in or around the fourth century A.D., but the evidence for this needs more research. The coming of Arabs to Indonesia is associated with the coming of Islam, the timing and source of which is much more clearly and soundly based. There is substantial evidence that the Arabs in Indonesia came via
several countries such as Persia, India and China and, of course, from such Arab countries as present-day Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Hadramawt. The Arabs came as merchants and holy men for religious purposes.

Nowadays, the majority of Indonesian Arabs are descendants of Hadrami Arabs. Most Arab descendants in Java live in cities on the north-coast. A well-known figure among the first settlers of the Hadrami Arabs in Surabaya was Bobsaid who arrived in 1680. Surabayan Arabs have traditionally concentrated in Ampel village, where the first generation of Arab settlers developed their settlement.

Chapter III examines the social stratification of Arab society. This section considers some of the changes in Arab social stratification that have occurred as a consequence of living in Indonesia generation after generation. The most important earlier Arab social categories - sayyid/syarif, masyaikh, al-gabail, and al-gerwan - have become less relevant in the present-day classification of Indonesian Arabs. The common classification which still exists among Arab people is sayyid and non-sayyid. The changes in Arab social stratification in Indonesia was initiated by the Al-Irsyad movement, one of the early Islamic reforms organisations, which was established by people of Arab descent.

Chapter IV examines the factors that are indicative of the process of sociocultural integration among
Indonesian Arabs. The success of Arab integration in the political sphere is supported by the shift in their political activity and direction before and after Indonesian independence. The Arabs of Surabaya always participated in political movements. In this instance, two well-known figures of Arab descent in Indonesian political movements came from Surabaya, namely, Raden Umar Sayyid Tjokroaminoto and A.R. Baswedan. The involvement of Surabayan Arabs in contemporary social organisations reflects the strength of their integration at various levels of the social structure. Their integration via the economic sector is indicated, among other ways, in their economic cooperation with the indigenous people. Education as an expression of integration is indicated in the opening of Arab schools to all people without restrictions on their origins. The most important factor supporting the acceleration of the process of Arab integration was Islam, a religion for all Hadrami Arabs in Indonesia and most of the native people of Indonesia. Mixed marriages between Arab men and the native women of Indonesia can be perceived as the first step in the process of Arab integration in Surabaya and other regions in Indonesia.

Chapter V looks more closely at marriage and ethnicity as well as those economic and sociocultural factors which can be considered as obstacles to integration. Both marital and ethnic objections exist on the part of the Arab population in relation to the
marriage of Arab women to non-Arab men. A source of tension in the economic realm between Arabs - non-Arabs exists in the continuing role of Arabs as money lenders who demand interest.

Three major conclusions can be drawn from this study. The first concerns the character of the integration itself. The process of integration, is continuing, occurs in various aspects of social life, and is at work at all levels of the social structure. People of Arab descent have been able to adjust to changing condition in Indonesia and have managed to maintain a leading position in Indonesia life.

A second conclusion concerns the differences between sayyid and non-sayyid Arabs in the process of integration. Between these two groups of Arabs, there are difference in education and religious belief. These differences are not related to the Arab relationship with the indigenous people per se, but in the objectives of the establishment of their educational institutions which reflects the divergent religious streams of the two groups. Sayyid Arabs represent the orthodox group within Islam while the non-Sayyid Arabs (Irsyadin) constitute a reformist group.

A final conclusion concerns the obstacles to integration. In this connection, the obstacle in relation to marriage forms an unresolved problem. This problem is basically caused by different attitudes between people of Arab descent and other groups in the basic perception of
marriage and its consequence.
Chapter I INTRODUCTION

(1) According to Steenbrink (Steenbrink, 1984:128), L.W.C. Van den Berg wrote his book in French because, at the time, French was a more international language than English.

(2) There are several ways of writing this name: "Hadramaut"; "Hadhramaut"; and "Hadramawt". In this thesis, I use "Hadramawt" as is also used in the First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, Volume III, Edited by. M.Th. Houstma, A.J. Wensinck, T.W. Arnold, W. Heffening and E. Levi-Provenca1, Leiden, E.J. Brill 1987, p. 207.


(4) Panjimas is the name of a magazine under the ownership of Hamka.

Chapter II HISTORY, POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

(1) This number is the result of the multiplication of 2.5 percent (growth average of Indonesian population from 1930-1980) with the total Arab population in 1930.

(2) There is no agreement about the location of Champa. Some scholars say that Champa is a region in Cambodia, and some believe that it is an other name for "Jeumpa" in Aceh.

(3) According to Arab people a few names of cities and regions in Indonesia derive from Arabic words. Kudus, they suggest, derives from an Arabic word al-Qudzi meaning "holy". Madura is an abbreviation of Arabic words madinatual munawwara which means "the gleaming region". Maluku derives from a compound of Arabic words Jazirat al-Muluk or Jazairul Muluk meaning "the area of many lords" (see also, M. Alhamid, Sekeliling Perdeoeangan Warga Negara Indonesia Toeroenan Arab, Malang, 1946; Paramita R. Abdurrahman, "In Search of Species: Portuguese Settlements on Indonesian Shores", in: The Indonesian Quarterly, Volume II, No.2, January 1974.
Chapter III THE SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF ARAB SOCIETY

(1) Before coming to Indonesia, Syaikh Ahmad Assurkaty studied in Egypt and Saudi Arabia (Mecca and Medina).

Chapter IV EXPRESSIVE SOCIOCULTURAL INTEGRATION

(1) The complete song of "Mars PAI" is as follows:

Wahai Putra Arab Indonesia
Hey, Indonesian Arabs
Bersatuhlah mencari bahagia
Unite looking for happiness
Di dalam Persatuan Arab Indonesia
In Indonesian Arab Unity
Teguhkan Perkuatkan dia (X2)
Confirm, support It (X2)

Bersama-sama jalan
Walking together
Menurut alirannya
According to its ideology
Bersama-sama korban
Sacrifice together
Menuntut maksudnya (X2)
To pursue its purpose (X2)

Ref. Indonesia
Indonesia
Slogan of my association
Indonesia
Indonesia
Tanah Tumpah Darahku
My mother land
Persatuan Arab Indonesia
Indonesian Arab Unity
Makin lama makin bercahaya
The longer the time the brighter its light
Kita tetap bersedia
We steadily strive to be loyal

(2) According to Ricklefs (Ricklefs, 1981:183) Petisi Soetardjo is a declaration of native members of Volksraad impelling the Dutch government "to use the term 'Indonesia' rather than inlander (native) in official documents, to define an Indies nationality and to inquire into a reform of the Volksraad to turn it into a quasi-parliament."
(3) Further information about the Indonesian Youth Movement in Surabaya in 1945, can also be found in: Ruslan Abdulgani, 100 (i.e. Seratus) hari di Surabaya yang menggemparkan Indonesia, Yayasan Idayu, Jakarta, 1974; Nugroho Notosusanto (ed.), Pertempuran Surabaya, Mutiara Sumber Widya, Jakarta, 1985; and Asmadi, Pelajar Pejuang, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1985.

(4) The breeding of horses was pioneered by Habib Mohammad bin Abdul Kadir AlJufri who came to Sumba in 1902. Earlier he had lived in Kebumen (Central Java). He began the breeding of horses in 1915. In this effort, he tried to make cross experiments between several sorts of horses and at last produced "Saddlewood" horses which are well-known in Indonesia. The process of producing "Saddlewood horses" was as follows: firstly, Arab stallions were crossed with Australian mares which produced "Jangkar I" horses. Then, "Jangkar I" horses were crossed with "Pony horses" (Sumba horses) to produce "Saddlewood" horses (see also, Saleh AlJufri, 1989).


Chapter V SOME OBSTACLES TO INTEGRATION

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Abbreviations of Journals

BKI  Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde
IQ  The Islamic Quarterly
JMBRAS Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
TAJS The American Journal of Sociology
TIQ The Indonesian Quarterly

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Abdullah, Taufik.

Achmad, Hisyam.

Ahmad, Hisyam.

al-Attas, Syed Naguib.

al-Bagir, Muhammad.
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Details</th>
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<td>Aljufri, Saleh</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td><em>Panji-panji Muhammad SAW</em>. Surabaya: LPLI (Lembaga Penerangan dan Laboratory Islam, Islamic Information &amp; Laboratory Institution) &quot;Sunan Ampel&quot;.</td>
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Map 2

Municipality of Surabaya

Notes:
Kecamatan (sub-district)

1. Semampir
2. Pabean Cantikan
3. Subutan
4. Krembangan
5. Tandes
6. Gubeng
7. Tambaksari
8. Simokerto
9. Sukolilo
10. Rungkut
11. Wonokromo
12. Tegalsari
13. Sawahan
14. Genteng
15. Wonocolo
16. Karangpilang