

# OUR HUSBAND AND CHILDREN ARE NOT ACKNOWLEDGED

## Endogamy, Gendered Power, and Child Issues in the 'Alawiyyīn Marriage in Indonesia

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**Abstract:** This paper analyzes the endogamous marriage practices among the 'Alawiyyīn community in Pontianak Indonesia and the problems of gender inequality and child discrimination. This ethnographic research was conducted within eight months in 2021 and 2023. The doctrine of endogamy is actually misogynistic narratives towards the *Sharifah* women, silent resistance against exogamy, and refusal of half-blood child. The discussion analyzes the phenomenon of Muslim kin marriage within the socio-setting of religious-historical aristocracy and the patriarchal hegemony of the patrilineal community. It also highlights how the 'Alawiyyīns of Pontianak defend the doctrine of endogamy as institutionalized in the concept of *kafā'at* against exogamy practices among the community. The resistance to endogamy is practiced as a complex negotiation among 'Alawiyyīn members for normalizing exogamy as they re-internalize and institutionalize the doctrine of *kafā'at*. Against the dogma, the exogamy marriage directly affects normalizing non-familial marriages among 'Alawiyyīns, restoring the social status of those performed out-marriage and recognizing their descendants as clan members. However, the insistence of 'Alawiyyīns in defending their kin marriage doctrine at all-cost makes this counter narrative remain in the sideline at the moment.

**Keywords:** Endogamy, Gendered Power, *Sharifah* women, children *Mumallad*, Rabithah Alawiyah.

### Introduction

Among the longest and classic issues pertinent to humanity and power are matters of bloodline, kinship, and authority. Throne and bloodline are intrinsic within the history of the kingdom all over the

world and it is still valid today. Interestingly, such issues are found incorporated in religious texts and institutions. For instance, the patrilineal politics of Saudi Arabia perfectly illustrated how Mohammed bin Nayef, who was commenced as the crown prince in 2015, had been opposed and forced to step down by his cousin and former vice-crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman, who is now first to claim the throne after his father King Salman <sup>1</sup>. The *coup d'état* was called a “Saudi-style *Godfather*,” which suggests its parallelity to the 1972 American epic telling the story of a long-established crime dynasty that experienced violence, corruption, and treason in the event of power transition <sup>2</sup>. A similar historical account occurred in the Ottoman Empire under fratricide law registered by Mehmed II in 1298 that lasted for three centuries. The code, *Kanunname-i Āl-i Osman*, allows any forms of treason, revolt, violence, rebellion, and execution among the potential heirs (*shāhẓādabs*) to display power and claim the succession <sup>3</sup>. Those accounts illustrate how power, authority, bloodline, and kinship have always been preserved and contested in Muslim world.

Hadramī are Arabs from Hadramaut who came to Indonesia in the 18th century. Hadramī played significant role in bringing Islam to several regions, such as Pontianak, Jambi,<sup>4</sup> and Banyuwangi.<sup>5</sup> in Indonesia through many avenues, including sufism<sup>6</sup> and politics.<sup>7</sup> They

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<sup>1</sup> Stig Stenslie, “Royal Succession in Saudi Arabia: The Rise of Mohammed Bin Salman,” in *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics* (Routledge, 2020).

<sup>2</sup> Anuj Chopra, “The Godfather, Saudi-Style: Inside the Palace Coup That Brought MBS to Power,” *The Guardian*, November 29, 2022, sec. World news, accessed October 2, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/29/mbs-v-mbn-the-bitter-power-struggle-between-rival-saudi-princes>.

<sup>3</sup> Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, “Fratricide in Ottoman Law,” *Bellesten* 82, no. 295 (2018): 1013–1046.

<sup>4</sup> R. Rusmini, et al., “Hadrami’s leadership in Islamizing Jambi: Managerial psychology perspective,” *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, 1 (2023)

<sup>5</sup> Amanah Nurish, “Religious and Cultural Embodiment in the Land of Osing: A Portrait of Hadrami Community in Banyuwangi, East Java,” *Islamica* 18, 2 (2024).

<sup>6</sup> Muis Alkadzim, “Mapping the Trajectory of Tariqa Alawiyya in the 13th-17th Century: The Tension between Expansion and Preservation,” *Teosofi* 13, 1 (2023)

<sup>7</sup> Nyong Eka Santosa and Mohammad Reyaz, “Fertile Seedbed for Planting Habib’s Religious Political Authority,” *Religió Jurnal Studi Agama-agama* 13 (2023): 253–277. 10.15642/religio.v13i2.2550.

brought traditional Islam which they are still committed to until today.<sup>8</sup> Hadramī migrants consist of descendants of the Prophet Muhammad as well as non-descendants. Nowadays, the Hadramī who are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad or the ‘Alawiyyīn face pressing controversy of the historical accuracy in regards to their lineage to the prophet. Aside from this lineage issue, the problem of ethnocentrism and the sense of exceptionalism have actually been present for quite sometime.<sup>9</sup> This ethnocentrism issue is even more apparent in several areas and, unfortunately, usually are accompanied with the social problems such as ethnic-based discrimination, stereotypes, and marginalization. In this regard, Pontianak is one of good showcases since there exist quite a large number of ‘Alawiyyīn community.<sup>10</sup>

Family and kinship relations, as explained by Melford E. Spiro, are phylogenetically rooted. Therefore, the universality of religion and culture marks one family’s uniqueness from other clans in the mammal kingdom.<sup>11</sup> A nearly century-old socio-religious organization within the Indonesian counterpart of the global ‘Alawiyyīn diaspora regulates and supervises the “pure” bloodline of descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. The organisation is named “Rabithah Alawiyah” or the Union of the ‘Alawiyyīns. It functions as an exclusive communication center for the ‘Alawi members in the globalizing Muslim world centered in Indonesia.<sup>12</sup>

‘Alawiyyīns strictly adhere endogamy, which is a tradition of community members to marry people from their class or within their own circle.<sup>13</sup> They implements the dogma of endogamous marriage for

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<sup>8</sup> Arif Zamhari, “Defending Islamic Tradition: Theological Responses of the Hadrami Majlis Taklim Groups toward the Salafi-Wahabi Preaching Movement in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, 1 (2022)

<sup>9</sup> Budi Juliandi, Zulfikar, and Syarifah Mudrika, “Syarifah Sungai Raya Aceh Timur: Marriage and the Struggle to Find Identity,” *Samarah* 6, 1 (2022)

<sup>10</sup> Muḥammad Yasser Qodmani, *As-Sadat Bā ‘Alawī wa Ghayḍun min Fayḍi Aqwālibhim as-Sharīfat wa Ahwālibhim al-Munīfati* (Syria, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Melford E Spiro, *Kinship and Marriage in Burma: A Cultural and Psychodynamic Analysis* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1977).

<sup>12</sup> Rabithah Alawiyah, “Sejarah [History],” October 2023.

<sup>13</sup> Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn ‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī al- Tarīmī, *Al-Ghuraru: Ghururu al-Bahā’i Ad-Ḍawā Wa Dururu al-Jamālī al-Badī’i al-Bahī Fī Dhikrī al-‘Immatī al-Amjad Wal-Ulamā’ al-Arifīna an-Nuqqād Wal-Fuqabā’ al-Mubarrizīna al-Aṣyād Wa Banī as-Shaykh ‘Alawī Abnā’u as-Shaykh ‘Ubaydi-Allah Bin (Ahmad ‘Isā Jadīd Wa Banī Bashrā Min Banī al-*

maintaining “sacred” lineage among the ‘Alawiyyīns. Rules of endogamous marriage are more emphasized to the *Sharifahs* within the patrilineal community, making any practice of exogamous marriage a violation of traditions and dogma. Newman and Grauerholz<sup>14</sup> assert that endogamy is actually aimed at maintaining power and wealth to be retained and is also practiced in other groups. The tradition does lead to some consequences and among them is the negative sociocultural implications since it opens up space for social stratification and exclusivity of the ‘Alawiyyīn group based on the justification of religious values.<sup>15</sup> In addition, there is also potential for gender discrimination.

Many studies on endogamy tend to focus on discussing the driving factors and sanctions within the Islamic law perspective. Parwesi, who observes endogamy practices in Bali,<sup>16</sup> confirms that the factors behind the practice are beliefs of ancestral traditions, ideal marriages, marriage prohibitions, and inheritance rights. Meanwhile, Istiqomah adds that the practice of endogamy in the ‘Alawiyyīn community in Ambon is also aimed at supporting the local culture, but surely the main factor is preserving the purity of their identity and bloodline as descendants of the Prophet.<sup>17</sup>

As a consequence from the tradition, young ‘Alawiyyīn of marriage age have no authority to select a mate. Their parents and society are the ones who decide and arrange the marriage, regardless of the young’s personal preferences and emotional liking.<sup>18</sup> This itself is

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*Muhajir*, ed. al-‘Atṭās Abū Bakr Ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Habshī and al-‘Atṭās Abū Bakr Ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Habshī (Cairo, 2002); Sayyid Yūsuf ibn ‘Abdillah Jamal al-Layl, *As-Shajarāt Aṣ-Ṣakīyyat Fī al-Anṣabī Wa Sayr Ala Bayt an-Nabawīyyat* (Riyad, 2002).

<sup>14</sup> DM Newman and E Grauerholz, *Sociology of Families* (Boston: Pine Forge Press, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Hikmawan Saefullah, “Kaum Arab Hadrami di Indonesia: Sejarah Dan Dinamika Diasporanya.”

<sup>16</sup> Ni Kadek Yunita Parwesi, “Perkawinan Endogami di Kalangan Masyarakat Tenganan Pegringsingan Di Kabupaten Karangasem Bali,” 2012.

<sup>17</sup> I Istiqomah, “The Hadrami Arabs of Ambon: An Ethnographic Study of Diasporic Identity Construction in Everyday Life Practices” (2020).

<sup>18</sup> Y Z Shahab, “Exploring Uniting Factor for Multiculturalism Policy: Portrait of Hadrami, Arab Community in Indonesia,” *KnE Social Sciences* (2018); Ariane J Utomo and Peter F McDonald, “Internal Migration, Group Size, and Ethnic Endogamy in Indonesia,” *Geographical Research* (2021); Iain Walker, “The Hadrami Diaspora: A ‘Diaspora for Others’ in the Indian Ocean,” *Journal of indian ocean world studies* 4, no. 2 (2021).

surely subject for analysis in relation to the right of choice and power relations between the individuals, the young ones, and the wider community represented by the older ones. In addition, the practice of endogamy in the ‘Alawiyyīn community also shows the occurrence of internalized gender discrimination in the kinship-based group that is conveyed in both social and domestic spaces.<sup>19</sup> This study correlates the current practices of endogamy in modern-day Indonesia with the strengthening ‘Alawiyyīn transnational network in the last three decades while taking account of its sociological implications for the Indonesian ‘Alawiyyīn community.

This study explores internal dynamics in domestic and social affairs in practicing endogamy within the patrilineal setting of the ‘Alawiyyīn community in Pontianak. It also maps fragmented perspectives of the Indonesian ‘Alawiyyīn on the doctrine of endogamy marriage and its relation to questions of gender equity and child recognition. This research is ethnographic. The authors observed the cultural space of Malay-speaking Indonesian ‘Alawiyyīn as a space with connections to other sites of the Indo-Malay world. Data are mainly based in Pontianak collected between July-September of 2021 and August-December of 2023. Data are collected through fieldwork consisting of literature review, interviews, participant observation, archival review for manuscripts in museum and private collections, and review of relevant social media content. The authors conducted semi-formal interviews with five informants using an in-depth semi-structured format and sent research assistants to interview 46 informants in a structured format. The initial data-gathering format is useful for getting more insight by providing follow-up questions when ideas pop up during discussions.

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<sup>19</sup> Nurul Fattah, “Hukum Pernikahan Syarifah Dengan Laki-Laki Non-Sayyid,” *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6, no. 2 (2013): 1–16; Daniel E Gberevbie et al., “An Empirical Study of Gender Discrimination and Employee Performance among Academic Staff of Government Universities in Lagos State, Nigeria,” *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology* (2014); Sunhee Kim, “The Effect of Gender Discrimination in Organization,” *International Review of Public Administration* (2015); Syarifah Ema Rahmaniah, “Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam,” *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 22, no. 2 (2014): 433–456; Siregar Hamka, “Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Alawiyyun Kota Pontianak,” 2009; Syukur Syamzan, “Endogamy Marriage Tradition of Sayyid Community in Sidenre Village, Binamu District, Jeneponto Regency,” *Jurnal Adabiyah* 19, no. 1 (2019).

Considering ‘Alawiyyīn descents and their agency in Pontianak, a sum of 51 informants consisting of pure-blooded (*aqḥāb*) and half-casted (*mumwallad*) members of the ‘Alawiyyīn group were interviewed.<sup>20</sup> Among those are the current sultan of Kadriah Sultanate, religious preachers, political leaders, senate members, intellectuals, local culturists, and members of Rabithah Alawiyah with diverse age categories. To understand the dissemination of doctrines on endogamy and family relations, the author attended private and public religious gatherings and cultural feasts organized by the ‘Alawiyyīn members of both traditionalist groups of Rabithah Alawiyah and the sultanate of Pontianak. Doing participant observation provided a chance to engage in casual contact with informants, either in houses, mosques, or cafés, and discuss their views on endogamy, gender relations, and mixed child recognition.

### ‘Alawiyyīn and Hadramī Descendants

The history of the Hadramī community and their homeland, Hadramaut, is the history of one of the earliest forms of globalization based on shipping and trade.<sup>21</sup> Hadramī is a term for the tribes who inhabit the Hadramaut region, an area on the Southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula of Yemen.<sup>22</sup> The cultural identity of the Hadramī diaspora is maintained even though many internal ethnic or clan differences spread across various parts of the world.<sup>23</sup> This happened due to endogamous marriage practiced by the descendants of Hadramī.

<sup>20</sup> E Gobée and C Adriaanse, *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaianya Kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda 1889-1936 [Wisdoms of C. Snouck Hurgronje during His Work for Netherlands East Indies, 1889-1936]* (Jakarta, 1991); Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942* (Ithaca, New York, 1999); Lodewijk Willem Christiaan van den Berg, *Le Hadramaut et Les Colonies Arabes Dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia, 1886).

<sup>21</sup> Rabith Jihan Amaruli, “Hadrami Diaspora in Karimunjawa: Between Identity Maintenance and Assimilation,” *Humanika* (2016).

<sup>22</sup> Ismail F Alatas, “The Upsurge of Memory in the Case of Haul: A Problem of Islamic Historiography in Indonesia,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 1, no. 2 (2007): 267–279; Ismail Fajric Alatas, “Becoming Indonesians: The Bā ‘Alawī in the Interstices of the Nation,” *Die Welt des Islams* 51, no. 1 (2011): 45–108; Ismail Fajric Alatas, “Aligning the Sunna and the Jama’a: Religious Authority and Islamic Social Formation in Contemporary Central Java, Indonesia.” (2016); Eng seng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (London, 2006); Syamsul Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia: The Resurgence of Hadrami Preachers* (London, 2023).

<sup>23</sup> Walker, “The Hadrami Diaspora: A ‘Diaspora for Others’ in the Indian Ocean.”

The practice is not always consistent, but endogamy is considered the ideal form of marriage to maintain tradition.<sup>24</sup>

In the Hadramī community, there is a relatively complex social stratification. The highest class is called *sharif* (for men) and *sharifah* (for women) as they are believed to be the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad from his daughter Fatimah and her husband Ali ibn Abi Talib, and therefore called Alawiyyīn. The knowledgeable and respected men among this class are called *habib* or *sayyid*. They act as religious guides and often become mediators of disputes between groups.<sup>25</sup> The second class is the *Mashāyikh* or undergraduate class, who are respected for being good and having religious leadership. The third class is the *Masakin*, the poor who cannot trace their descendants from famous ancestors.<sup>26</sup> This stratification has led to the exclusivity of the Hadramī Arabs.<sup>27</sup> This also affects the internal dynamics of the Hadramī people, as the non-*sayyid* (also called *ahmāl*) believe that the sayyid enjoy social and religious standing from their brothers and indigenous people.<sup>28</sup>

### Endogamy Marriage and Gender Discrimination

Endogamy is the marriage practice between a male and a female of the same race or ethnicity, caste, kinship, geographic location, or other characteristics,<sup>29</sup> and it is closely related to the traditions, values, and norms of the society. The practice occurs as a result of hereditary traditions, matchmaking, and the desire to strengthen family ties, as well as a motivation to maintain the purity of the bloodline among

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<sup>24</sup> Shahab, "Exploring Uniting Factor for Multiculturalism Policy: Portrait of Hadrami, Arab Community in Indonesia."

<sup>25</sup> Jihan Amaruli, "Hadrami Diaspora in Karimunjawa: Between Identity Maintenance and Assimilation."

<sup>26</sup> Muhandis Azzuhri, "Bahasa Dan Kearifan Lokal: Harmonisasi Sosial Masyarakat Arab – Jawa Di Kampung Arab," *Arabi: Journal of Arabic Studies* (2016).

<sup>27</sup> Saefullah, "Kaum Arab Hadrami di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Dinamika Diasporanya."

<sup>28</sup> Rabith Jihan Amaruli, Nazala Noor Maulany, and Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, "Sumpah Pemuda Arab, 1934: Pergulatan Identitas Orang Arab-Hadrami di Indonesia," *Jurnal Sejarah Citra Lekha* (2018).

<sup>29</sup> Darla Still and Jeni Loftus, "Endogamy in the United States BT - Encyclopedia of Family Studies," in *Encyclopedia of Family Studies*, 2016.

offspring.<sup>30</sup> The practice is argued to provide at least two advantages: the dowry property remains in the family, and it minimizes divorce.

The endogamous marriage practice is very common in migrant or diaspora communities.<sup>31</sup> In the case of descendants of the Arab diaspora in Indonesia, it is conducted based on commensurate—lineage to maintain continuity.<sup>32</sup> Lee et al.<sup>33</sup> showed that there was an increase in endogamous marriage in a group of people who were not affiliated with a particular religion. This suggests a rising gap between communities that subscribe to a specific group of people and those that do not. However, Utomo and McDonald<sup>34</sup> presented different findings that in North Sumatra and Jakarta, where there are decrease in endogamy practices among younger and more educated ethnic members. Certainly, endogamy may lead to discrimination.

According to Maliszewska-Nienartowicz,<sup>35</sup> discrimination occurs when giving unequal treatment to several objects or the same situation to different objects or situations. The phrase "gender discrimination" might be regarded in this light when, for instance, women are not given the same opportunities as men. Discrimination can be defined as the unfair treatment of other people due to gender factors associated with females.<sup>36</sup> In various parts of the world, it is objectively more negative or detrimental to females than males.<sup>37</sup> Losses are experienced

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<sup>30</sup> Anugrah Mattewakkang, "Sistem Pernikahan (Studi Kasus Pernikahan Endogami Pada Masyarakat Jeneponto)," *Phinisi Integration Review* 4, no. 3 (2021).

<sup>31</sup> Utomo and McDonald, "Internal Migration, Group Size, and Ethnic Endogamy in Indonesia."

<sup>32</sup> Ahmad Muzakki, "Kafaah Dalam Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab di Kraksaan Probolinggo," *Istidial: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Hukum Islam* (2017).

<sup>33</sup> Sharon M Lee et al., "Group Size and Secular Endogamy among the Religiously Unaffiliated in Canada," *Social Science Research* (2018).

<sup>34</sup> Ariane Utomo and Peter McDonald, "Who Marries Whom?: Ethnicity and Marriage Pairing Patterns in Indonesia," *Asian Population Studies* (2016).

<sup>35</sup> J Maliszewska-Nienartowicz, "Direct and Indirect Discrimination in European Union Law – How to Draw a Dividing Line?," *International Journal of Social Sciences* (2014).

<sup>36</sup> Chimere Arinze Obodo, "Gender-Related Discrimination," 2020.

<sup>37</sup> Jaime L Napier, Alexandra Suppes, and Maria Laura Bettinsoli, "Denial of Gender Discrimination Is Associated with Better Subjective Well-Being among Women: A System Justification Account," *European Journal of Social Psychology* (2020); Gillian K Steelfisher et al., "Gender Discrimination in the United States: Experiences of Women," *Health Services Research* (2019).

in the form of physical, economic, financial, legal, and political.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, gender discrimination occurs among others due to ethnic, religious, and geographical identity factors.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, it occurs in various forms and is caused by multiple factors.

Discrimination has resulted in various losses for females in the social and family spheres. In the employment sector, Chakraborty<sup>40</sup> found job segregation and wage discrimination for females in India. This is due to employment schemes, nutrition, health, and the employment sector being highly dependent on low-paid females. Moreover, gender discrimination has a negative impact on the welfare of female workers. Kim<sup>41</sup> found that the negative impact that occurs will affect the level of performance and will indirectly reduce the quality of life in the domestic sector; White et al. and Steel Fisher et al.<sup>42</sup> stated that girls from poor families are encouraged to be proficient in domestic tasks thereby reducing their opportunities to obtain education. In the case of the Sri Lankan family, gender discrimination has been rooted in the limitation of female roles to create inequality.<sup>43</sup> The social discrimination influenced by religious teachings and local tradition, as will be explained further here in this article, has been adopted by the Indonesian 'Alawiyyin in Pontianak in the form of *kafā'at* doctrine.

### **Pontianak City: Intersectionality within the Patrilineal Society**

Pontianak, The Equatorial City of Indonesia, located on the westernmost side of Borneo, shares a long-standing Hadramī memory. Founded in 1771, the city was named after a female ghost (*kuntılanak*)

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<sup>38</sup> Napier, Suppes, and Bettinsoli, "Denial of Gender Discrimination Is Associated with Better Subjective Well-Being among Women: A System Justification Account"; Samuel Anokye Nyarko, "Gender Discrimination and Lending to Women: The Moderating Effect of an International Founder," *International Business Review* (2022).

<sup>39</sup> Gberville et al., "An Empirical Study of Gender Discrimination and Employee Performance among Academic Staff of Government Universities in Lagos State , Nigeria."

<sup>40</sup> Shiney Chakraborty, "Gender Wage Differential in Public and Private Sectors in India," *Indian Journal of Labour Economics* (2020).

<sup>41</sup> Kim, "The Effect of Gender Discrimination in Organization."

<sup>42</sup> Steel Fisher et al., "Gender Discrimination in the United States: Experiences of Women."

<sup>43</sup> Bayu Setyawan, "Patriarki Sebagai Akar Diskriminasi Gender di Sri Lanka," *Resolusi: Jurnal Sosial Politik* (2020).

which was defeated by a half-blooded Hadramī figure, Syarīf ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Al-Qadrī, son of Ḥabīb Ḥusayn Al-Qadrī of Tarīm with Utin Kabanat or *Nyai Tua*, princess of the previously Dayak Kingdom.<sup>44</sup> Syarīf ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān led his underlings on a long journey as merchants and sea warriors, but some reported that they were part of the maritime pirates. To increase the strategic position of this highly mobile group in the transnational trade competitiveness, it needs to build a market center at a strategic location in West Borneo along with placing huts, a royal palace, a marketplace, and a mosque.<sup>45</sup>

Kesultanan Kadriah (Sultanate of the Alqadris) was founded and became a means of institutionalizing political authority, establishing local leadership of mixed-blooded diaspora, integrating social cohesion of different groups, and predominating local-transnational market linkages. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān manages the market center, selling local goods while governing inhabitants of the land consisting of both native inhabitants and emigrants. While Kesultanan Kadriah is a Hadramī-led sultanate, it was governed as a “Malay state” in the sense that Malay language, art, architecture, symbols, and narratives are preserved over time, even though local governance, hierarchal position, and religious court are no more maintained.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the contemporary sociocultural environment of Pontianak holds the identity and culture

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<sup>44</sup> Shārif Alwī bin Aḥmad bin Ismā‘īl Alqadrī, “Ḥikāyat Ḥabīb Ḥusayn ibn Ḥabīb Aḥmad Alqadrī” (Provincial Museum of West Borneo, n.d.); Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, “Pola Tingkah Laku Politik Lokal Pada Kesultanan Pontianak Sampai Dengan Masa 1950 [Patterns of Local Political Behavior in the Pontianak Sultanate Until the 1950s],” in *Opini Sejarah Sosial FBBK* (Pontianak, 2005); Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, “Kesultanan Qadariyah Pontianak: Perspektif Sejarah dan Sosiologi Politik [Qadariyah Sultanate of Pontianak: A Historical and Political Sociology Perspective]” (Kuantan, 2005); Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie and Pandil Sastrowardoyo, *Sejarah Sosial Daerah Kotamadya Pontianak [The Social History of Kotamadya Pontianak]* (Jakarta, 1984).

<sup>45</sup> Atsushi Ota, “‘Pirates or Entrepreneurs?’ The Migration and Trade of Sea People in Southwest Kalimantan, c. 1770-1820” (November 2010), Atsushi Ota, “Pirate Leader-cum-Collaborator: Raja Akil, the Dutch, and Maritime Migrants in Southwest Kalimantan, c. 1780-1850” (Kyoto, 2015).

<sup>46</sup> Henri Chambert-loir, “Some Aspects of Islamic Justice in the Sultanate of Pontianak c. 1880,” *Indonesia Circle*, no. 63 (1994): 129–143; Henri Chambert-loir, “Beberapa Aspek Peradilan Agama Islam di Kesultanan Pontianak Tahun 1880-an,” in *Sultan, Pahlawan dan Hakim: Lima Teks Indonesia Lama*, ed. Wolfgang B T - Sultan Marschall Pahlawan dan Hakim: Lima Teks Indonesia Lama and Wolfgang Marschall (Jakarta, 2011), 93–109; Egi Tanadi Taufik, “New Face of Religious Affair Minister and the Epistemology of Qur’anic Ethics: A Synchronic-Diachronic Reading on Qs. Al-Hujurat (49): 11-13,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 21, no. 1 (February 1, 2021): 1–22.

of Malay and Arab, respectively, as well as other ethnicities such as the Chinese, Dayakness, and Buginese. Prasojo promotes the term *Tidayu*, an abbreviation of Tionghoa-Dayak-Melayu (Confucian-Dayak-Malay), to refer to the intense intersectionality and inter-rituality within the three groups.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the fact that Hadrami community actually lay their lineage to the prophet using the matrilineal bloodline, the patriarchal culture seems too hard to resist. To give illustration, even though endogamy marriage applies to both patrilineal and matrilineal societies, the hybridized Hadramī community in Pontianak City maintains patrilineal kinship over the matrilineal one.<sup>48</sup> Here, endogamy practices among ‘Alawiyyīn in Pontianak City has shown an extent of gender discrimination and inequality in power relations.<sup>49</sup> It is not the endogamy itself that is gender-biased. Rather, the issue lies on the matrilineal-based endogamous tradition that limits the validity of descentance through the paternal line. The exogamous marriage will be problematic when the male spouse, the husband, is the one that is outside the clan. On the other hand, the practice with opposite, a Hadrami wed a non-Hadrami is still acceptable even if it is not favorable.

One example is Sultan ‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Qadrī who was married to Utin Candramidi, princess of a Buginese king in Mempawah Kingdom, Opu Daeng Manambun. Later, their child was inaugurated as second Sultan of Pontianak (1808-19). ‘Abd ar-Rahmān also married Nyai Kusuma Sari, a Muslim convert Dayaknese of Pontianak, and

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<sup>47</sup> Zaenuddin Hudi Prasojo, “Social Change and the Contributions of the Tionghoa, Dayak and Melayu (Tidayu) in West Kalimantan,” in *Borneo Studies in History, Society and Culture*, ed. Victor T King et al., Asia in Transition (Singapore, 2017), 427–442.

<sup>48</sup> Nadiyah Nadiyah, Norlaila Norlaila, and Anwar Hafidzi, “Does Kafa’ah Apply to the Descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Examine the Concept of Kafaah Towards the Alawites in Martapura, Banjar,” *Journal of Islamic and Law Studies* 5, no. 2 (January 2021); Rahmaniah, “Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam”; Hamka, “Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Alawiyyun Kota Pontianak.”

<sup>49</sup> Muzakki, “Kafaah Dalam Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Di Kraksaan Probolinggo”; Rahmaniah, “Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam”; Nur Rosyid, “The Hadrami Diaspora and The Network Expansion Of Majelis Shalawat In Contemporary Indonesia,” *SHALAH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary* 6, no. 2 (2021): 112–138; Hamka, “Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Alawiyyun Kota Pontianak.”

their only child became the third Sultan of Kesultanan Kadriah Pontianak from 1819 to 1856.<sup>50</sup>

### Endogamy and *Kafā'at* Doctrine in 'Alawiyyin Marriage

*Kafā'at* doctrine, easily defined as compatibility, is the foundation as well as the religious justification, of the endogamous practice within the Hadrami community. Not only it promotes the practice of marrying within the circle as they are the ones deemed compatible, it also goes to the extent that marriage of *sharifah* with an *ahwal* is prohibited. The doctrine acts as a constraint of inter-class and inter-ethnic marriage.<sup>51</sup> It requires each of the 'Alawiyyin to marry someone equal in the bloodline and personal competencies in order to maintain the purity of Prophet Muhammad's bloodline in their descendants and paving the path to the continuity of the 'Alawiyyin.<sup>52</sup> Faithful to this doctrine, Habib Hasan Al-Muthahar, a Hadrami charismatic figure in Pontianak, states: "We are a group of *sayyids* who have lineage of the Prophet's descendants. Therefore, *sharifah* women must marry *sharif* men because they are in *kufū'* (compatible) to maintain the lineage of their children as descendants of Prophet Muhammad."

For some informants, endogamy is regarded as a high-class kinship marriage to maintain the family's nobility. Since the lineage of the 'Alawiyyin is considered higher in social class than that of *ahwal* or other ethnics that are considered non-Arab (*a'jam*/foreigners), a woman of noble descent will be looked down upon by the community if she marries a man who has a lesser lineage and no noble status. Religious gatherings and cultural feasts also internalize the *kafā'at*

<sup>50</sup> Alqadrie, "Pola Tingkah Laku Politik Lokal Pada Kesultanan Pontianak Sampai Dengan Masa 1950 [Patterns of Local Political Behavior in the Pontianak Sultanate Until the 1950s]"; Alqadrie, "Kesultanan Qadariah Pontianak: Perspektif Sejarah dan Sosiologi Politik [Qadariah Sultanate of Pontianak: A Historical and Political Sociology Perspective]"; Pemerintah Kota Pontianak, *Syarif Abdurrahman Alkadrie: Perspektif Sejarah Berdirinya Kota Pontianak [Sharif 'Abd ar-Rahman Al-Qadri: Perspectives on the History of Foundation of Pontianak City]* (Pontianak, 2000).

<sup>51</sup> Istiqomah, "The Hadrami Arabs of Ambon: An Ethnographic Study of Diasporic Identity Construction in Everyday Life Practices"; Nadiyah, Norlaila, and Hafidzi, "Does *Kafa'ah* Apply to the Descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Examine the Concept of *Kafa'ah* Towards the Alawites in Martapura, Banjar"; Spiro, *Kinship and Marriage in Burma: A Cultural and Psychodynamic Analysis*.

<sup>52</sup> Fauzan, et al., "Endogamous Marriage of Prophet's Descendants on the Perspective of Sociology of Islamic Law," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 18, 1 (2023).

doctrine, such in *majelis taklim* when the sheikh gives a public lecture to the *jama'ah*, *majelis burdah* when people recite *qaṣīdat al-burdah*, “ode of the mantle”, and *majelis Maulid* when the people celebrate the birthday of previous Hadramī saints. Such internalization processes in public and private events are essential to maintain and strengthen the doctrine on a daily basis.<sup>53</sup>

Habib Hasan bin Ismail Almuhdor, a well-known Hadramī ulama, as recorded online on his YouTube channel, once responded to a public’s question: *whether it is allowed for a sharifah to marry a non-sayyid and if such happened, could it be considered as destiny*. Habib Hasan, responding to that matter, provides an apologetic reply to that question in his sermon while being recorded online. The video was uploaded in 2019 and got 477,000 viewers in four years, illustrating the high enthusiasm among the viewers on questions of kinship and social class. The comment section also shows different opinions on endogamy from religious and socio-cultural backgrounds. His exact claim is as follows:

Hadramī scholars still debate the law of a *sharifah* being married to a non ‘Alawiyyīn male. However, the *salaf* (traditionalist) *habā’ib* scholars maintain *kafā’ah* in the lineage. Therefore, among the true *sharifahs* are those who do not marry non-*sharif* or *sayyid*. Why? Because they want to maintain the nobility (of *Sāda* society).<sup>54</sup>

Habib Abdussalam Alhinduan, a national-scaled preacher and *tarīqah* teacher (*murshid*) in the sultanate complex of Pontianak, states that maintaining the Prophet’s bloodline is part of *Sharia* and belief (*aqīda*) as it relates to God’s love towards Muhammad’s essence (*nūr* Muhammad). He further remarks, “Had it not been for Muhammad, the world would never have been created.” The statement echoes with popular poetry among ulama as the following: “Had it not been for him [Prophet Muhammad], the sun, the moon ... the stars, the Lawh

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<sup>53</sup> Rijal, *Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia: The Resurgence of Hadhrami Preachers*; Egi Tanadi Taufik, “Defending Traditional Islam in Indonesia: The Resurgence of Hadhrami Preachers, by Syamsul Rijal,” *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 180, no. 1 (2024): 118–121.

<sup>54</sup> *Bolehkah Syarifah Menikah Dengan Orang Biasa? - Habib Hasan Bin Ismail Al Muhdor*, 2019, accessed October 2, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bIVtHLco1T8>.

Mahfudh, and the Qalam would never have been created".<sup>55</sup> This claim signifies the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad. With this saying the 'Alawiyyin claim the importance of the Prophet's bloodline to achieve God's blessing. Such understanding of endogamy marriage as a fundamental aspect of religion is also mentioned by Fatimah Azzahrah (18), a university student graduated from a Sunni traditional pesantren in Pontianak admit that she regularly attended religious forums on the *kafa'at* doctrine. Recent studies indicate how religious and educational institutions help constructing certain understanding and actions related to social relations and human nature.<sup>56</sup> Azzahrah proposes her unique intake on endogamy, backed with her reading of the Quran and the *sunna*, as well as the teachings of her sheikhs and *habaib* teachers in her statement as follows:

I accept endogamy marriage because First, *kafa'at* is fundamental as the first thing considered prior to marriage is the bloodline; Second, because it (the endogamy) is in accordance to several verses of the Qur'an and hadith and sound opinions (of the Muslim jurists) that make *kafa'at* obligatory; Third, to maintain the lineage of 'Alawiyyin itself; Fourth, to maintain the glory of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH.

### Opposing the Doctrine: Exogamy within the 'Alawiyyin Community

Even when a marriage is based on free choice of the children and despite arguments that there is a freedom of choice within the in regards to marriage matter, it is found that parents' permission is also a must for anyone to perform a marriage in the country. It applies to both men and women; the necessity of the parent's permission is even more obligatory for the *sharifah* ('Alawiyyin girls). Here, the parental

<sup>55</sup> al-Qādir ash-Shanqīṭī Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd al- Madanī, *Tanbih Al-Huddhāq 'Alā Baṭlāni Mā Shā'a Bayna al-Anāmi Min Ḥadīth an-Nūr al-Mansūb Li-Muṣannaf 'Abd Ar-Raḥḥāq* (Sharjah, 1994).

<sup>56</sup> Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia," *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006): 389–409; Shofiyullah Muzammil et al., "The Adaptability of Pesantren in Indonesia During the New Normal Era," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, no. 2 (2022): 426–454; Muhammad Irfan Helmy, Ahmad Darajat Jumadil Kubro, and Muhamad Ali, "The Understanding of Islamic Moderation (Wasatiyyah Al-Islam) and the Hadiths on Inter-Religious Relations in the Javanese Pesantrens," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 2 (2021): 377–401.

approval or disapproval of a marriage is dependent upon several factors, Lineage is on top of the list, whereas religious understanding and socioeconomic status come after.

Interestingly, although endogamy marriages are prevalent within the community, practices of exogamy also exist. There are indeed several persons who decide to marry outside the clan due to factors such as love, familiarity and so forth. It is argued that love flourishes due to intense contact and familiarity. Some informants of both *sharifah* and *sharif* declare that they married to someone they met, particularly among fellow villagers or fellow-regions who share similar language, culture, and religion regardless of lineage and bloodline. Similarly, an anonymized *sharifah* (31) is purposely against the *kefa'at* doctrine. She argues that endogamy only leads to conflict and hatred. For that reason, she urges ulama to re-check the authenticity of the doctrine and see whether the Prophet truly obliged such a practice to his descendants.

Connecting that claim to the sociocultural context in Pontianak where its sultans and the people were one a mixed Arab society, a *sharifah* named Vivi Alhinduan contrasts Pontianak with Palembang that also shares a similar historical background with an Arab-Malay sultanate as she says:

I am surprised that Pontianak sharifs are different from Palembang sharifs. In Palembang, when a *sharif* is married to an *ahwal* woman, he would be ridiculed and ostracized, but in Pontianak, they tend to be ignorant (and) thoughtless (because) they shall not be ridiculed by the *jamā'a* (community).

A similar claim was also stated by Habib Hasan Almutahar himself that he could not marry a *sharifah* because of financial shortcoming and lack of no permanent occupation. He also says the following: “My wife is Banjarese (not a *sharifah*). I wanted to propose a *sharifah* but was rejected because I did not have a steady job; hence I met my wife then and we got married.” That experience proves the idea that the provision of Prophet’s bloodline is not the definitive variable in achieving permission to marry a *sharifah*. Obviously, aside from social respect and pure bloodline to the Prophet, a *sharif* must also possess wealth and a stable occupation to gain trust and approval from the parents of another ‘Alawiyyīn family.

Another story is told by, an 'Alawiyyīn woman named Dewi. She admits that she has no interest in marrying a *sharif* as they are regarded lazy with relatively poor economic and no formal educational credential. She further elaborates that she finds it difficult to find a spouse with education background equal to hers, let alone higher than hers. She herself has pursued magister degree and strives for a spouse equal to her education level or even higher. Unfortunately, as she mentioned, she found none and states that “most of these *sharifs* do not have a [educational] degree.”

Based on interviews, none of 'Alawiyyīn community members marry without parental consent as it would put shame on the family. However, exogamic marriages may still occur and, surprisingly, are conducted with the consent of the family. Nonetheless, these only happen in certain circumstances though. Idiosyncratic factors aside, parental consent still plays a major role as *sharifah* cannot choose a spouse against her parent's preference. Although some might try to persuade their parents to give permission, it is highly unlikely for a *sharifah* to get permission when it is exogamous. Indeed, the role of marriage guardian is instrumental in endogamic marriage.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, in Shāfi'i school of law, the father and or those prescribed legally as guardian will be the ones marrying her off so that without the marriage guardian, the marriage will be deemed not valid. The data also shows that parents have an important role in choosing their children's spouses. That kind of power and control might have implications for women and their offspring who have the potential to experience discrimination, exclusion, and even violence in its multifaceted forms.<sup>58</sup> Also, the office of marriage registration will refuse to register her marriage without the consent from the parents or a registered family member.

In addition to religious and legal aspects, those who conduct exogamic marriage also encounter other negative consequences. Affecting both *sharif* and *sharifah*, there is a habit among the 'Alawiyyīn

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<sup>57</sup> Ramadhan Siregar, and Muhammad Syakban, “The Role of Marriage Guardian of the Same Clan in the Traditional Marriage of Batak Toba Muslims in Samosir Regency in the Perspective of Islamic Law,” *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 17 (2023): 41-52. 10.24090/mnh.v17i1.6750.

<sup>58</sup> Ariana Siddiqui-Dennis, “Pushing Against Patriarchy: Indonesian Muslim Women Using Islam as a Form of Resistance,” *Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Undergraduate Honors Theses* (2021).

community to not attending the ceremony of inter-class marriage, signifying their stance against that marriage. The prohibition to participate in the ceremony of exogamic marriage, according to Habib Abdussalam, is well instituted. He always reminds the ‘Alawiyyīn community of the importance of endogamy tradition. During an interview with a 50 years-old *sharif* and member of the royal family of the sultanate of Pontianak, Usman Alqadrie displayed this custom by encouraging all ‘Alawiyyīn members not to attend an exogamic marriage ceremony in his remarks:

Please tell all *sharifs* in Pontianak. If there is a *sharif* who marries an *abwal*, we [members of the ‘Alawiyyīn community] will collectively not attend the ceremony because any *sharif* who gets married to an *abwal* is classified as a traitor.

This consequence, which definitely would be felt difficult by the family, is endured by the spouse. In other words, both men and women in the ‘Alawiyyīn community will suffer this particular consequence, including the children of such marriages. In cases where a *sharifah* is married by an *abwal*, the children will also get the consequence, as they would be negated/denied the right to carry the bloodline of the Prophet and therefore rejected to be part of the ‘Alawiyyīn group. Meanwhile, in cases of exogamic marriage performed by *sharif*, the descendants will still be able to still claim or maintain the ‘Alawiyyīn lineage.

In general, the informants provide distant backgrounds and reasonings for performing and/or not performing exogamic marriage. Some of the *sharif* and *sharifahs* loathe endogamous marriage to fellow the ‘Alawiyyīn community because of factors such as socioeconomic level, higher education degree, personal familiarity, and social stereotypes. However, other ‘Alawiyyīn members make an apparent stance opposing exogamic marriage as some regard such practice as a treasonous act to tradition while the others view exogamy as a sinful deed for violating sharia and ruining *aqida* (creed).<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Tim B. Heaton and Cardell K. Jacobson, “Intergroup Marriage: An Examination of Opportunity Structures,” *Sociological Inquiry* 70, no. 1 (2000): 30–41; Jeroen Smits, “Ethnic Inter-marriage and Social Cohesion. What Can We Learn from Yugoslavia?,” *Social Indicators Research* 96, no. 3 (2010): 417–432; Ariane J. Utomo, “Love in the Melting Pot: Ethnic Inter-marriage in Jakarta,” in *Migration and Marriage in Asian Contexts* (Routledge, 2021).

## Two Dilemmas: 'Alawiyyin Women and Mixed Children

Making endogamy part of tradition within a patrilineal society will always cost two victims, that is, the women who did exogamy blindly and the half-chastened descendants born out of that marriage. As mentioned briefly, endogamous practice within the Ba'alawī especially those found in Pontianak do bring impact on child right protection and gender discrimination. *Sharifah* women who perform inter-ethnic marriages face social penalties such as being marginalized, exiled, and even are removed from the family tree. *Rabithah Alawiyah* asserts that exogamic marriage is illegal and invalid. The rabithah would also not recognize children born outside of their kin group and regard them as outsiders. This stance is consistent with what Habib Jafar Abdul Qodir Alhaddar, a well-known Hadramī scholar among the 'Alawiyyin in Indonesia. Quoting from his recorded preaching, he once stated: "...a *sharifah* who got married to a non-sayyid is a disgrace to all 'Alawiyyins and the children born [are considered] illegitimate because the marriage should have had permission."

That statement refers to the idea that a marriage of *sharifah* with a non-sayyid will lead to the dissolution of the Prophet's lineage. Furthermore, a *sharifah* and her spouse are sinful because they are considered as having violated the provision contained in a hadith ordering/suggesting that the lineage of the Prophet will be maintained until the afterlife.<sup>60</sup> Children of that couple are also not supposed to be born, and their existence is illegitimate. This is stated also by Habib Jafar. The marginalization of Rabithah Alawiyah towards *sharifah* who performed exogamy often escalates to the point of attaching stereotypes to the husband's ethnicity, The Such discrimination, to both the husband and the children do bring negative impact as they affect the psychological and social status of the child. Among those who experience this is a *sharifah* named Kalsum and her family when she says:

Every time there is a family event, my Javanese husband and children feel uncomfortable because the extended family's response is not quite warm. Therefore, we rarely attend family gatherings or any invitations to events. One of our relatives always refers to our son as "Javanese Children." This term refers that our son is Javanese and not considered a *jama'a*.

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<sup>60</sup> Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy et al., "The Making of Living Ḥadīth: A New Direction of Ḥadīth Studies in Indonesia," *Culture and Religion* 24 (2024): 1–20.

In a different case, a *sharifah* had experience with two marriages, the endogamy and exogamy. A *sharifah* residing in Pontianak named Rahma (21) got a divorce from a *sharif* and re-married with a non-*sharif*. Under this specific case, she illustrates the way the ‘Alawiyyīn community treated her and her children before and after the divorce from her former *sharif* husband and his family in her complaint as follows:

Our first marriage with a *Sayyid* had two children, but we divorced and the children were with me and their maternal grandmother. Currently, I am married to a Javanese man, a non-*sayyid* and from this marriage, I have one child. Thus, since that day I have not had access to the children from our first marriage because our parents firmly did not allow me to marry a non-*sayyid* man.

Any *sharifah* who perform exogamic marriage are vulnerable to discriminatory behavior and verbal-emotional violence. This is regardless of the fact that they might actually support the *kafā’at* doctrine. Another *sharifah* in Pontianak named Ani claims that ever since she gets married to an *ahwal* husband, she was unable to participate in religious events and cultural feasts without feeling uneasy about becoming the subject of misconstrued gossip.

### **Kinship Institution and Interpersonal Components of Marriage Life**

Rabithah Alawiyah (RA), while founded in Indonesia, acts as a transnational kinship institution for strengthening the solidarity and brotherhood of the ‘Alawiyyīn community. The association focuses on educational and spiritual development, spreading the teachings of Islam and increasing the proficiency of the Arab language among the members. Interestingly, RA also act as preventive causes to protect daughters of ‘Alawiyyīn families from the danger of getting married to *ahwal* while also functioning as productive causes to establish education centers and social gatherings that are in line with their ideology. Reflecting upon his position as former national secretary of RA, Habib Sayyid Abdussalam Alhinduan states that the ‘Alawiyyīn association becomes a forum for familiarizing many unmarried ‘Alawiyyīn youth to each other, indoctrinating traditions and values of the *jama’a*, building the interpersonal connection between members, and escalating that

familiar connection to open opportunities for endogamic marriage events.



**Figure 1.** *Bincang Anak Muda* (Discussion of the Youth), a private lecture for 'Alawiyyīn youth held Syubban RA Pontianak at a public domain (@syubban.ptk: 2023)

In general, it is safe to say that the forums and indoctrination on the endogamy is quite successful. To give illustration, a young-adult *sharifah* named Annisa (23), who is also a member of the Syubban Rabithah Alawiyah Pontianak, the sub-organization of RA designed for the young generation, refused the practice of exogamy. She was taught that the practice of endogamic marriage is part of religion and not merely because of an ethnocentric claim to maintain the lineage. In addition, Jannah Alkadrie (46) argues another perspective to the issue and state that *kufu'ah* in 'Alawiyyīn marriage is essential as the couple are supposed to have shared values, customs, and religious understanding, making them capable of treating each other better. Jannah also suggests picking a spouse candidate who is a member of RA because its members are faithful practitioners of the 'Alawiyya teachings and would only marry members of the group. Ali Zainal Abidin, a sayyid and a religious teacher (28), argues that RA needs to focus more on developing religious forums for parents, particularly the *sharifah* mothers. They also must be familiar with primary Shafī'i literature trained in Tarim, such as *Bughyat al-Mustarshidin*, which contains a specific chapter on *kafā'at*, endogamy, and the marriage of

*sharifah*.<sup>61</sup> On the importance of educating *sharifahs*, Abidin remarks as follows:

It is very important for Rabithah Alawiyah to arrange *majelis* (forum) for guiding parents of *sharifs* and *sharifahs*. Even for non-‘Alawiyyīn mothers of a *sharif*. (Even though she is a non-*sharifah*), she is considered as part of the *sharif* family and consequently must have thoughts and understanding according to *tariqa ‘Alawiyya* (‘Alawiyyīn’s way of life). (This is important) because mother is the first school for the children.

Interestingly and ironically, Rabithah Alawiyah values and accommodates *sharifah* as union members, but not the non-*sharifah* wives of the *sharif*. The accommodation for *sharifah* women feels surreal to the point that a number of high-rankers of RA marry the widowed *sharifah* women from the previously non-‘Alawiyyīn men for the sake of ‘rescuing them’. For example, Habib Zaky bin Yahya of RA Pontianak believes that, by marrying the widowed *sharifah*, he rescues the *sharifah* by carrying out the *kaḥā’at* doctrine. The emphasis on the urgency for a *syarifah* to prioritize her position even reaches the extent that she is suggested to leave the *ahwal* husband. One national preacher from the ‘Alawiyyīn, Fatimah Iksir Al Hamid, campaign for that in one of her preaching as follows:

A *sharifah* should leave her (non-*sharif*) husband when she wants to be accepted by her family again. This is because she will be held accountable for her marriage by the Prophet and Faṭīma, daughter of Rasulullah. There is nothing else to do except for her (the *sharifah* who performed exogamic marriage) to leave her husband when she wants to be reinstated to the ‘Alawiyyīn community. Women who have chosen to divorce from her non-*sharif* husband must be protected from returning to a divorced non-*sharif*.

The last line indeed refers to the practice of marrying the widowed *sharifah*. At the same time, it becomes an encouragement for *sharif* to protect the pure bloodline of ‘Alawiyyīn community through various means and among them is marrying every *sharifah* woman of the association, whether in a virgin or widow condition. Some *sharif*

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<sup>61</sup> Sayyīd ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Husayn al-Mashhūr, *Bughyatu al-Mustarshidin fi Talkhiṣ Fatāwā ba’dū al-‘Immati min al-Muta’akbirina*, ed. Muḥammad bin Muṣṭafā as- Saqāf et al., 1st edition., vol. 4 (Tarim, 2009).

informants also lean more towards marrying a widowed *sharifah* than marrying a non-*sharifah* who is believed as not *kaful*' and deemed to be source of the tainting the pure lineage of the Prophet's descendants. Such an understanding of the theology of marriage proves the effectiveness of this indoctrination.

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight the different consequence for *sharif* and *sharifah*. *Sharif* who marries a non-*sharifah* would not suffer from social discrimination and encouragement of divorce. A *sharifah* on the other hand is expected to divorce from the *ahwal* husband and re-marries to a *sharif*. Such discrimination becomes a phenomenon internalized and institutionalized within the 'Alawiyyīn community, making those who abandon endogamy marriages subject to this social censure and discrimination.<sup>62</sup>

### Conclusion

The tradition of endogamy within the 'Alawiyyīns has implications for the women and children. The patrilineal structure of Hadramī society entails gender discrimination since there will be consequence suffered mainly by women when they marry outside the clan. Such discrimination also happens in Pontianak and is a show case of power relations in both private and public sphere where *kaful*' doctrine and the urgency of endogamy being. Hence, internalized and institutionalized by and within 'Alawiyyīn. Such discriminatory conduct also is suffered by the children as they are not acknowledged and perceived as outsiders.

The occurrence of exogamous practices among the 'Alawiyyīns in Pontianak indicate the growing resistance against the tradition. Reacting to the fundamental aspect of the dogma, the doctrine of *kaful*'at, some 'Alawiyyīn women re-apprehend the concept of equal marriage that could reduce discrimination against women and half-blooded children. Contradicting traditional dogma of endogamy, the exogamous practices among the 'Alawiyyīns in Pontianak potentially yield in normalizing the trend of non-familial-yet-equal marriage among 'Alawiyyīn members, restoring the social status of Hadramī members who performed out-marriage, and recognizing their

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<sup>62</sup> Martin Slama, "Hadrami Arabs in Present-Day Indonesia. an Indonesia-Oriented Group with an Arab Signature by Jacobsen, Frode F.," *Social Anthropology/ Anthropologie sociale* 18, no. 3 (2010): 368–369; Kim, "The Effect of Gender Discrimination in Organization."

descendants as members of the kinship clan. However, the insistence of the 'Alawiyyīns in in defending their kin marriage doctrine using social, religious and stigmatization makes this counter narrative remain in the sideline at the moment. Still, further study is needed in order to observe the developing phenomenon. Future research on this subject could focus on developing macro- and micro-strategies to mainstream equal marriage and overcome the patriarchal environment within a patrilineal society. []

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