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Kampung Arab in Tegal: : A Study about Hadrami Society

الحبي العربي في مدينة تegal: دراسة عن المجتمع الحضري

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ABSTRACT

Purpose –This study examines the Hadrami community in Tegal within the broader academic discourse of diaspora studies, identity formation, and Arab–Indonesian sociocultural interaction. While Hadrami migration to Indonesia has been widely documented in major cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, and Pekalongan, very little attention has been given to medium-sized cities like Tegal. This gap is academically relevant because smaller communities reveal how diaspora identity is negotiated in everyday, semi-urban environments rather than in dominant economic hubs.

Design/methods/approach –This study examines the Hadrami community in Tegal within the broader academic discourse of diaspora studies, identity formation, and Arab–Indonesian sociocultural interaction. While Hadrami migration to Indonesia has been widely documented in major cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, and Pekalongan, very little attention has been given to medium-sized cities like Tegal. This gap is academically relevant because smaller communities reveal how diaspora identity is negotiated in everyday, semi-urban environments rather than in dominant economic hubs.

Findings –The findings show a dynamic relationship between cultural preservation and integration: religious institutions sustain communal identity, while economic activities strengthen their local presence. **Research implications** – Theoretically, the study contributes to diaspora and ethnic-identity scholarship by illustrating that Hadrami identity is contextually shaped by localized social structures. Practically, the findings highlight the importance of documenting minority community heritage in regional Indonesia.

KEYWORDS:

Kampung Arab, Hadrami Community, Tegal, Education, Social



الملخص

المُدْهَفُ: يتناول هذا البحث دراسة مجتمع الحضرميّن في مدينة تegal ضمن الإطار الأوسع لخطاب الدراسات المتعلّقة بالشتات، وتشكّل الهوية، والتفاعل الاجتماعي – الثقافي العربي – الإندونيسي. فعلى الرغم من توثيق المحرّة الحضرميّة إلى إندونيسيّا بشكل واسع في المدن الكبّرى مثل جاكارتا و سورابايا وبكالونغان، إلا أن المدن المتوسطة مثل

تعال لم تحظ بالاهتمام الكافي. وتكتسب هذه الفجوة أهمية أكademية لأن المجتمعات الصغيرة تكشف كيفية تفاوض الهوية في سياقات يومية وشبة حضرية، بعيداً عن المراكز الاقتصادية المهيمنة. **المنهجية:** يعتمد هذا البحث على دراسة المجتمع الحضري في تعال ضمن سياق الدراسات المعاصرة للشتات وهندسة الهوية والتفاعل العربي-الإندونيسي. ويستند إلى تحليل نوعي يركز على البنية الاجتماعية المحلية وآليات الحفاظ على الهوية داخل مجتمع حضري صغير نسبياً. **النتائج:** تبيّن النتائج وجود علاقة ديناميكية بين المحافظة على الثقافة والاندماج؛ إذ تسهم المؤسسات الدينية في تعزيز الهوية الجماعية، بينما تدعم الأنشطة الاقتصادية حضورهم الفعال داخل المجتمع المحلي. **الدلائل البحثية:** يسهم هذا البحث نظرياً في دراسات الشتات والهوية العرقية من خلال إظهار أن الهوية الحضرية تتشكل سياقياً وفق البنية الاجتماعية المحلية. أما عملياً، فتؤكد النتائج أهمية توثيق تراث المجتمعات الأقلية في المناطق الإندونيسية خارج المراكز الحضرية الكبيرة.

1. Introduction

Hadrami in Indonesia have a long history that can be traced back to the eighteenth century, marked by their arrival as traders and preachers who later formed communities across various regions such as Cirebon, Pekalongan, Surabaya, and Tegal. The majority of Hadrami in Indonesia originated from Hadramaut, Yemen, which extends from 47 to 51 degrees East longitude and is now a province of the Republic of Yemen¹. Historically, Hadrami groups who came to Indonesia consisted of sayid, qabail, masyayikh, and fuqara groups.² Their migration increased significantly during the nineteenth century due to developments in transportation such as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the introduction of steamships, which facilitated travel to the archipelago.³

Although some academic works have documented Arab migration and the historical integration of Hadrami in Indonesia, most studies remain descriptive and focus on macro-level migration flows, genealogy, and economic mobility⁴. Although some academic works have documented Arab migration and the historical integration of Hadrami in Indonesia, most studies remain descriptive and focus on macro-level migration flows, genealogy, and economic mobility. This descriptive tendency limits analytical engagement with questions of identity, assimilation, and cultural negotiation. The existing literature does not sufficiently address how Hadrami communities maintain identity, negotiate boundaries, and contribute socio-

¹ Kesheh, Natalie Mobini (2007). *Hadrami Awakening: Kebangkitan Hadhrami di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Akbar Media Eka Sarana.

² Jacobsen, Frode F. (2009). *Hadrami Arabs in Present-day Indonesia: An Indonesia-oriented group with an Arab signature*. London and New York: Routledge.

³ van Bruinessen, Martin (2011). "Indonesian Muslims and Their Place in the Larger World of Islam." Paper presented at the 29th Indonesia Update conference, Australian National University, Canberra, September 30 – October 2, 2011.

⁴ van den Berg, L.W.C. (2010). *Orang Arab di Nusantara*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu.

economically within specific local contexts especially in medium-sized cities such as Tegal.

Diaspora theory argues that migrant groups preserve symbolic ties to their homeland through memory, ritual, and kinship networks. Cultural identity theory emphasizes that identity is dynamically constructed through interaction, negotiation, and adaptation. Ethnic-enclave theory examines how minority groups build economic hubs that reinforce internal cohesion. However, previous studies on Hadrami communities rarely apply these theoretical frameworks to understand identity formation and inter-ethnic relations in smaller urban environments.

Tegal is a significant yet understudied site of Hadrami settlement. The community centered in Delima Street, Kauman, Ganzel, and Waringin preserves religious rituals, maintains endogamy in several clans, and contributes significantly to textile-based economic structures. Yet, despite the rich empirical material, academic attention to Tegal remains minimal. Two major studies, Amaruli (Karimunjawa) and Aryanti (Malang) provide historical and architectural insights but do not examine identity negotiation, cultural continuity, or inter-ethnic interactions in semi-urban settings like Tegal. They do not use a theoretical lens that explains assimilation or identity formation, leaving a substantive analytical gap.

This study seeks to examine the historical and socio-cultural dynamics of the Hadrami community in Tegal. Specifically, it explores the historical processes through which the Hadrami community emerged and developed in the region. Furthermore, the study investigates the strategies employed by community members to preserve and reproduce their cultural and religious identity across generations. It also analyzes how the Hadrami community negotiates processes of assimilation and manages inter-ethnic relations within the broader multiethnic social landscape of Tegal. Finally, the study examines the role of economic activities in reinforcing the community's social position and contributing to its sustained presence and influence in local society.

2. Methods

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method to examine the historical development, cultural identity, and socio-economic roles of the Hadrami community in Tegal. Data were collected through literature research on Hadrami migration, diaspora identity, and Arab-Indonesian sociocultural studies, complemented by in-depth interviews with key informants such as Nabil Hayaze regarding migration history, Asma Baisa concerning the origins of Delima Street and Hadrami settlement, Ahmad al-Katiri on textile-based economic activity, and Amin Maulana on religious practices and communal rituals. Field observations were conducted in Delima Street, Kauman, Waringin, Ganzel, Al-Haddad cemetery, and educational institutions associated with the Hadrami community to document social interaction, architectural characteristics, ritual behavior, clan organization, and economic activities. Documentary sources, including unpublished manuscripts, local archives, interview

notes, and family records, were also analyzed. All data were processed using thematic coding guided by diaspora theory, cultural identity negotiation, and ethnic-enclave concepts. Triangulation across interviews, observational findings, and secondary literature was employed to enhance validity and ensure consistency. This methodological approach allows the study to move beyond descriptive narration and provide an analytical interpretation of identity maintenance, boundary-making, assimilation patterns, and socio-economic contribution within the Hadrami community of Tegal.

3. Results and Discussion

The Origin and Development of Hadrami in Indonesia

There were two periods of the arrival of Hadrami people. The first period Hadrami was from Alawiyyin group. They came in small numbers of people through the sea and reached the seashore areas such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Pontianak, Aceh, and Palembang. Then the second period Hadrami were not only from Alawiyyin group but also Musyayikh group in the ninth century in a huge number of people. They stayed in South Sumatra in their early arrival and then moved into Java island⁵.

Hadrami migration to Indonesia increased massively in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some of the men who had made their fortunes in trade with Indonesia later resettled in Hadramaut. As travel became easier, Indonesianized Hadramis also revisited the old country, resulting in increasing cultural exchange between the two regions⁶.

In the early census of Dutch colonization shows indication on the number of Hadrami who came and stayed in Indonesia is quite high. The number of Hadrami who came to Indonesia is 4,992 people stayed in Java and Madura. In 1859, 2,776 people stayed out of Java and Madura. Therefore, in the Dutch colonial area there were 7,786 Hadramis. There were 12,412 people in the census in 1870 consist of 7,495 people staying in Java and 4,917 people staying in Madura. Their motivation to come to Indonesia due to the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 and a steamer route between Indonesia and the Arabian Peninsula which made it easier for them to come to Indonesia. Thus, the number of Hadrami people increased substantially. It can be seen through the census in 1885 which indicates there were 20,501 people come to Indonesia in the Dutch colonization areas, Java-Madura and beyond those two islands. In 1885, there were 10,888 Hadrami in Java and Madura, and there were 9,613 Hadrami people stayed outside Java and Madura. The results showed an increase of 45 percent and 96 percent in a row in the fifteen-year period since 1870. This

⁵ Interview with Nabil Hayaze, Jakarta, 2018.

⁶ Interview with Asma Baisa, Tegal, 2018.

development continued until the end of the colonial period. In 1900, the results of survey recorded that there were 27,399 Hadrami people in Indonesia. Twenty years later, 44,902 people were recorded in 1920 and 71,355 recorded in 1930. In the Japanese colonial era, there were about twenty thousand Hadrami in Indonesia. The majority of them come from the Katiri region, especially from Wadi Hadramaut which stretches between Shibam and Tarim cities.

The Hadrami came to Banten as the first area in Java Island because the harbor in the western area of Java is Banten whereas the eastern areas of Java are Tuban or Gresik. They began to enter rural and urban areas such as Cirebon, Pekalongan, Cilacap, Solo, Semarang, Tegal, and others. The first thing they did after arriving in Indonesia was finding their relatives. This was not only building intimacy in their communities, but also facilitating them in getting jobs easily since most Hadrami in Indonesia were traders at that time. The newcomers in Indonesia worked as store assistants or small traders on behalf of relatives who had become colonial residents.

Since the arrival of Hadrami to Indonesia, they seem to integrate with the locals easily. According to van den Berg, the majority of them assimilate with the Indonesian population in three generations thoroughly. The Hadrami was dominated by men due to the women being hard to leave their origin. Leaving home was still taboo for women, especially for Hadrami. Therefore, there is a large number of marriages between the Hadrami who lived in Indonesia as a way to communicate with local people⁷. The Hadrami formed an alliance with noble families in various places in Indonesia through marriages in the 18th and 19th centuries. In Java, the Hadrami marriage with an aristocrat family occurred in the 19th century. Some of the marriages in Pontianak and Sumba become their springboard to build their own empire. Since the Hadrami who married the princesses from Islamic empires are from Alawiyyin, most of the princesses become their group. Thus, the people there have descendants from the Alawiyyin group⁸.

Seeing from the history of Hadrami rebellion in Sumatera, the Dutch became scared due to the number of Hadrami which became more and more. Besides, the Arabian provoked native people against the Dutch based on Islamic reason. Finally, the Dutch gave a policy that provided areas for Hadrami exclusively in Indonesia. Later on, the area becomes Kampung Arab where in Tegal becomes a big and first published. The Hadrami were placed in that area and prohibited to come out from the place except they have permission from the Arabian Captain. The residence in Tegal is the first place that has a captain who was selected by the Dutch. The captain is pure blood Arab, not a descendant⁹.

The Origin and Development of Hadrami in Tegal

The peak of Hadrami migration was in 1870-1900 within the opening of the

⁷ Interview with Ahmad Al-Katiri, Tegal, 2018.

⁸ Interview with Amin Maulana, Tegal, 2018.

⁹ Soekarba, Siti Rohmah (2018). "Menengok Kampung-Kampung Arab di Tegal." Unpublished.

Suez Canal and the discovery of steamers as their transportation. Firstly, Hadrami came to the archipelago. They come gradually according to the social and political conditions in their country. Through ships, they come individually or collectively to Indonesia and most of them did not bring wives or children. This is due to the location of the archipelago was quite far with their home areas, the only way at that time was the voyage route through the ships. It would be risky if they brought their wives or children. Therefore, only men were brave sailing to the archipelago.

The recent Hadrami in Tegal are the third until seventh generations. Many of them are from Nahdi, Yafe'i and Al-Katiri families. Their motivation coming to Indonesia is like the other Hadrami which are for trading and *dakwah*. In addition, Hadrami is known- well as adventurer nation. The peak of migration of Hadrami in Indonesia occurred in 1833 in the late of 19th century. Most of them worked as traders or a propagator. Once they arrive at their destination, just like traders, they do not return to their country immediately. They have to sell the merchandise so that they would bring new merchandise. Besides, they returning depend on the season. In the end, this condition forced them to stay for months in the overseas lands.

As long as they lived overseas, they built interaction with local people. They were interested on making a match for their daughters with the Hadrami who are wealthy Arab traders and high social stratum especially from *sayid* group. From this marriage there are many children of Hadrami which refers to children of mixed marriages called *muwalad*. This term is used to distinguish them from Arabic *aqhah* or *wulaiti* (pure). By this birth of *muwalad* group, it makes them become the major group in the Hadrami society in Indonesia, especially in Tegal.

With this increase of Hadrami in Indonesia, the Dutch colonial government established a regulation to every foreigner to occupy in determined areas according to their race and nation. In addition, this rule also required them to bring a permission letter when they travel out from their areas. Due to this regulation Hadrami who married with only native people previously turned into marrying women of their ethnic, especially in the breeds of their generation of mixed marriages, so their numbers and kinship increased¹⁰.

Hadrami Society in Tegal

Originating from predominantly male migrants marrying into the local populations, Hadramins have over time developed intimate relations with majority populations in Indonesia. The Hadramis, in Indonesia as elsewhere, are mainly Sunni Muslims and mainly belong to the Shafi'i school of law¹¹.

Currently, the Hadrami society has various business activities such as grocery, textile, shop perfume, Muslim fashion shop, furniture, restaurants and

¹⁰ Interview with Nabil Hayaze, Jakarta, 2018.

¹¹ Jacobsen, Frode F. (2009). *Hadrami Arabs in Present-day Indonesia: An Indonesia-oriented group with an Arab signature*. London and New York: Routledge.

others. However, we cannot define the special characteristic of Arab in Tegal directly even when we see from the physical condition as a whole, the characteristics of the Arabs in Tegal is not visible. The only thing seen is the buildings of Arabian homes. The residential building is the influence of ethnic grouping policy by the Dutch government which established the Arab region located in Kauman west of Gadjahmada Street in Tegal city today. Residential buildings spread along Delima and Durian streets. (Soekarba, 2017). Seeing from a physical point of view, this form of house in Kampung Arab Tegal almost followed the Dutch colonial architecture style with high windows and doors. These houses look sturdy and some of them have shops gathered with the house, such as Muslim fashion shops, honey, and so on. There are mosques and the tomb of Habib Muhammad bin Thohir Al-Haddad in the Arab residence. In Kampung Arab there is also Al-Khairiyah Educational Institute which is *Madrasah Diniyah Al-Khairiyah*, *Madrasah Tsanawiyah Al-Khairiyah* for boys and girls but having separated places, and Al-Khairiyah Junior High School in Durian Street owned by Hadrami from *Alawiyin*.¹²

There are four Kampung Arab in Tegal which are in Delima Street, Kauman, Waringin, and Ganzel. The Kampung Arab in Delima Street has existed before the arrival of the Dutch to Indonesia. This street was known as Baisa Alley, but then it changed into Delima Street. This naming is due to the large number of Baisa families living on this road. The name Baisa Street is also derived from the name of the person who built this path, Ahmad Baisa. He was a merchant from Yemen. He is the figure who brought the Baisa family in Tegal. He came to Indonesia for trading and spreading Islam. Initially, he came to Cirebon and married with a Cirebon woman. Then he worked as a Dutch soldier. His career increased until he had a position as Arab captain. Baisa moved to Tegal in 1890 bringing his wife and children to move and settle in Tegal. He lived in a place is now known as Delima Street. At that time, the Delima Street was still an empty field. Then, he bought and leased the land where the majority of the tenants of land were Dutch. Before he came to Tegal, there were already several Hadrami families who settled in Tegal such as the Afiffs, Al-Katiri, and Mahdi. Baisa gained a position in the Dutch military corporation and the easy of claiming field due to the race. He was in the second rank along with the Chinese and Indian races, so he was more respected by the Dutch than the natives¹³.

The Baisa Street changed by the Indonesian government become Delima Street. Although the name is changed into Delima Street, but in fact Baisa Street also includes Mangga Street, Salak Street, Durian Street, Kelapa Sawit Street, and Gajah Mada Street. Before the intervention of government, Al-Haddad cemetery was a part of Baisa Street which started from Al-Haddad cemetery until Mangga Street. This

¹² Soekarba, Siti Rohmah (2018). "Kontribusi Budaya Masyarakat Arab Hadhrami di Indonesia." Unpublished.

¹³ Interview with Asma Baisa, Tegal, 2018.

cemetery was a donation from three Hadrami families, one of them is Baisa. Due to its location near Haddad mosque and managed by the Haddads, so this cemetery named Al-Haddad.

Nowadays Delima Street is not only occupied by families of Arabs. Some houses have been sold to Chinese people due to economic factors. To identify the number of families of Hadrami descendants according to their clans, the researchers collect the data from three RT at RW 002, Kampung Pekauman, Tegal city. The data obtained are as follows:

Table 1. Sayid Group

Clan	Number
Al-Jailani	1
Al-Attas	5
Bagir	1
Al-Kaff	8
Syueb	10
Syaikh Abu Bakar	4
Al-Aydrus	1
Syahab	1
Total	31 People

There are 11 families of Hadrami from *sayid* group in Delima street, along with details of the numbers and their clans for each family member. The first family consists of a woman who has the clan of al-Jailani, living alone and her status is a head of the household. The second family consists of a husband, surnamed al-Attas, a wife with Syueb surname, 2 daughters and 1 son who surnamed al-Attas. The third family consists of a man with the surname Bagir. The fourth family consists of a husband surnamed al- Kaff, a wife surnamed al-Kaff and 2 men also surnamed al-Kaff. The fifth family consists of a husband surnamed al-Kaff and a wife surnamed al-Attas, as well as 2 daughters and 1 sons who are all surnamed al-Kaff. The sixth family consisted of a husband, a wife and 1 son who have al-Kaff surname. The seventh family consists of 1 man who has the surname of Shaykh Abu Bakr. The eighth family consisted of 1 mother as head of the household with al-Kaff surname, 1 daughter and 2 sons, these three children were surnamed Shaykh Abu Bakar. The ninth family consists of a husband surnamed Syueb and a wife surnamed al-Aydrus , 2 sons and 1 daughter who surnamed Syueb. The tenth family consisted of Syueb's father, a wife Syahab surname, 2 sons and 1 daughter with Syueb. The eleventh family consists of 1 woman who has the Syueb surname.

Table 2. Qabail Group

Clan	Number
Sungkar	2
Al-Katiri	25
Abdat	1
Al-Amudi	1
Total	30 eople

There are 11 families whose members are the *Qabail*. The details are the first family consisting of husbands, wives, 2 daughters and 1 son of al-Katiri. The second family consists of a mother who is Baisa and 1 son of Abdir. The third family consists of both husband and wife are al-Katiri. The fourth family consists of al-Katiri's husband and his wife al-Yazidi and 3 al-Katiri girls. The fifth family consists of a mother and two daughters who are all al-Katiri. The sixth family consists of al-Amudi's mothers and 1 of his sons with the Bajaber. The seventh family consists of brother and sister of Sungkar. The eighth family consists of mother and 2 daughters al-Katiri all over. The ninth family consists of 2 women, the mother and child both belong to the al-Katiri family. The tenth family consists of 1 woman with al-Katiri clan. The eleventh family consists of husband, wife and 1 daughter all of al-Katiri.

Table 3. Masyayikh Group

Clan	Number
Baisa	18
Al-Yazidi	1
Afiff	13
Bajri	1
Basrewan	1
Badraig	5
Basalamah	3
Al- Yazidi	1
Al-Bakri	7
Minabari	3
Total	56 Eople

There are 16 families whose members are the *Masyayikh* clans. The details are as follows: The first family consists of 4 people, a husband, a wife, 1 son, and one

daughter. The husband and two children surnamed Minabari, while the wife surnamed Afiff. The second family surnamed Al-Bakri consisting of husband, wife, 2 sons, and 3 daughters. The third family consists of husbands surnamed Basalamah, while the wife surnamed al- Katiri, 1 daughter and 1 son. The fourth family consists of a husband surnamed Bajri, and a wife surnamed Basrewan. The fifth family surnamed Badraig consists of husband, 4 sons, and wife surnamed Afiff. The sixth family is Afiff family consist of husbands, wives, 2 sons and 1 daughter. The seventh family is a widow surnamed Afiff. The eighth family is a widower surnamed Bajaber. The ninth is Afiff family consist of a husband and wife. The tenth family of Afiff's family consists of husband, wife surnamed Baswedan, 1 son, and 1 daughter. The eleventh family consists of 1 unmarried man surnamed Baisa. The twelfth family consists of 1 widow and 1 child with a Baisa surname. The thirteen families of Baisa are made up of a husband and wife. Fourteenth-aged families with Baisa are made up of husbands, 2 sons, and 1 daughters. The fifteenth family consisted of a mother surnamed al-Amudi and one of his sons was surnamed Bajaber. The sixteenth family consisted of a husband surnamed al-Katiri and a wife surnamed al-Yazidi and 3 daughters surnamed al-Katiri.

It can be seen that the Hadrami in Delima Street from the whole group married with their clan which can be found in 11 families whose entire members are *sayid*. The *Qabails* are in 11 families. There are 3 families whose family members have different marriages between the *Qabail* and *Masyayikh* groups. The same thing happens in the family of *Masyayikh*. There are 16 families whose members are the *Masyayikh*, but there are 3 families whose members are from the *Qabail*.

The Religious Affiliation of Hadrami in Tegal

In Indonesia, there seems to be a general trend towards non-*sayid* people affiliating with modernistic movements while *sayid* people more frequently go for the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Al-Khairiyah. *Sayid* group held some spiritual rituals such as *haul*, *tahlil* and the *maulid* along with NU. Although their rituals are different from non-*sayid* Hadrami, sometimes the non-*sayid* Hadrami participate in their rituals to respect and fulfill the invitation. *Habaib* and *Masyayikh* relation in Tegal seems good and live in harmony. They respect and do not interfere each other. However this relation cannot be included as intimate relation because they only know each other. The close relation is among those individuals not those groups.

There is also a *sayid* group joining Al-Khairiyah, an organization of Hadrami *sayid*, and attending their *haul* and activities in mosque and Al- Haddad cemetery. The *haul* is held to pray for Al-Haddad and his descendants. In this ritual, children prefer to attend to *haul* rather than go to school. Even, some schools off their day due to this ritual. Besides *haul*, another ritual like *mauludan* is often held in Kampung Arab with some Ulama comes to this ritual¹⁴.

The Hadrami Economy in Tegal

In the beginning of the Hadrami descent arrival is for trading as well as

¹⁴ Interview with Amin Maulana, Tegal, 2018.

spreading Islam around Indonesia. Therefore, the Hadramis are widely spread in cities near the ports of Java, such as Cirebon, Tegal, Pekalongan and Surabaya. The commodities for trading are various such as textiles, perfumes, furniture, herbal medicines, honey, milk and others.

The Hadrami society in Tegal has a wide range of businesses. The Al-Katiris owns Riez Palace Hotel off a busy commercial road. They also own an ATBM woven factory located in Wangandawa, Tegal which produces sarong fabrics the "Cap Pohon Kurma". One of the sarong motifs of Hadrami society is the Goyor-patterned which is a woven sarong made from special materials, quality, and high artistic value. The uniqueness of Goyor-patterned is a warm material which is suitable during both cold and hot weather. The process of making Goyor sarong takes approximately 15 days to produce one sheet of sarong. This is because the Goyor patterned sheath is made in a traditional way. The Goyor sarongs are sold for around 250 thousand rupiah. Initially, the sarong of Goyor was only known in Wanarejan, Pemalang, but over time the sarong was developed to some areas in Java, such as Tegal, Pekalongan, Tuban, Gresik, Solo and Magelang. In Solo and Magelang Goyor sarongs are marketed under the "Cap Botol Terbang". In addition, this product is exported to some countries in the Middle East and North Africa, such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Kenya.¹⁵

The current conflicts in the Middle East affects the export of sarongs. This causes the supplies of sarongs are stack in the factories. One of the real effects experienced by one of our resourcer, Ahmad Husein al-Katiri, who now have to switch to open a cafe in his home to provide the needs of his life. Besides sarong, other textile business is batik. On the other hand, the opposite effect happened to PT Asaputex Jaya. The company's main director, Jamaludin Ali Al-Katiri revealed that the blessings of the Regional Head Election simultaneously in 2018 and the month of Ramadan affected the production of sarongs. The needs of export, local Tegal and surrounding areas, as well as in some areas in the country increased sharply.

PT Asaputex Jaya is a Tegal sarong manufacturer established since 1982 and located in Wangandawa, Tegal. The company produces two types of sarong: Sarong palekat which made of machine and handmade fabric made from rayon yarn and processed by manual wearing traditional loom (ATBM). Jamaludin Al-Katiri revealed that for exporting various types of sarongs with the "Pohon Kurma" brand to some of African countries, the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia, within one month reach three to five containers. One container contains more than 300,000 sarongs. The same condition is also experienced for the domestic market especially for markets in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan Sulawesi, and West and East Nusa Tenggara. In Java, *goyor* gloves are much preferred while consumers outside of Java

¹⁵ Interview with Ahmad Al-Katiri, Tegal, 2018.

Island choose the type of sarong *Palekat* and RBM due to it is rich with motif and *songket* style. In addition, the combination of color and shades of sarong that is identical with a number of areas outside of Java attracted many consumers. The emergence of a sarong product that seeks to understand the market tastes in export destinations due to the experience of Jamaludin Al-Katiri over 25 years handling the export of sarongs in the Middle East and Africa.

The empirical patterns observed in Tegal align with diaspora theory in which cultural reproduction (through rituals, marriage, and kinship networks) coexists with selective integration into local society. The maintenance of clan identity and ritual practices reflects boundary-making mechanisms, while participation in textile trade and neighborhood-level interaction demonstrates adaptive integration. This hybrid form confirms that Hadrami identity is neither static nor fully assimilated but negotiated continuously.

The economic activities of Hadrami families illustrate the ethnic-enclave model whereby commercial concentration strengthens internal cohesion, supports intergenerational wealth, and reinforces social visibility. This dual dynamic—cultural preservation and economic integration—explains how Hadrami communities sustain communal identity while actively contributing to Tegal's socio-economic landscape.

4 . Conclusion

Hadrami Arabs in Tegal in general have maintained a close identification with their host society. The researchers conclude that Tegal has a big colony of Hadrami. Most of them have been spread around in Tegal which indicate that they have welcomed Indonesian people without any self-acclaimed. They have already assimilated and integrated themselves and are considered indigenous people by the local community within local tradition that can be seen from their Islamic tradition, education, and economic remains in Tegal.

As we have seen, Al-Irsyad and Al-Khairiyah Islamic educational institute give contribution in educating people of Tegal. The mosque becomes a place where people improve their faith by *dzikir*, praying and studying Islam in Kampung Arab. Al-Haddad cemetery becomes a place for religion visit (*ziarah*) which teaches us to respect Islamic scholars due to their dedication of Islam in Tegal. Hadrami stores provide products to provide people needs. Textiles help the economic development and reputation of Tegal city among the world. In another word, the existence of Hadrami in Tegal has a good role in education, economy, and social field.

Beyond historical and sociocultural contributions, this study underscores the importance of documenting minority communities in regional Indonesia. Understanding Hadrami heritage can support cultural preservation programs, educational initiatives, and economic development strategies based on local traditions.

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