

**NAVIGATING NOBILITY AND
COSMOPOLITANISM: *SHARA'IF'S*
ENGAGEMENT IN JAKARTA'S PUBLIC
SPHERE**

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at
the Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (M.A.)**



**Universitas
Islam Internasional
Indonesia**

By:

Name: Rifa Tsamrotul Syaadah

Student ID: 01212110014

**FACULTY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA (UIII)
DEPOK
2023**

**NAVIGATING NOBILITY AND
COSMOPOLITANISM: *SHARA'IF'S*
ENGAGEMENT IN JAKARTA'S PUBLIC
SPHERE**

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at
the Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (M.A.)**



**Universitas
Islam Internasional
Indonesia**

By:

Name: Rifa Tsamrotul Syaadah

Student ID: 01212110014

**FACULTY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA (UIII)
DEPOK
2023**

NAVIGATING NOBILITY AND COSMOPOLITANISM: *SHARA'IF'S* ENGAGEMENT IN JAKARTA'S PUBLIC SPHERE

Rifa Tsamrotul Syaadah
01212110014
Nengrifats19@gmail.com
Faculty of Islamic Studies

ABSTRACT

Religious identity and women's empowerment models have transformed in the rapidly changing industrial era. Women's Hadhrami, especially Shara'if (female descendants of the prophet), have moved beyond relying solely on traditional teachings within the Yemeni community to contribute to society. Instead, they negotiate their emancipation in the public sphere by embracing women's leadership, political engagement, and social media entertainment as expressions of their Yemeni identity. This thesis addresses four key questions: How does Shara'if negotiate their identity to play roles in the public sphere? Are they attempting to expand their power or disregarding their social capital? How do they interpret their identity and maintain it amidst their nobility as descendants of the prophet? To what extent do they still embrace their Yemeni label when fulfilling their roles in the public sphere? This study adopts a qualitative data analysis approach, encompassing the systematic organization and interpretation of descriptive data collected through interviews, surveys, and observations. In-depth interviews with three shara'if were conducted to understand their aspirations regarding social empowerment in Jakarta's public sphere. The findings of this study reveal that, on the one hand, the identity of Jakartan shara'if grants special privileges to cosmopolitan shara'if, empowering them with prestige and attractiveness in the public sphere. On the other hand, these negotiations have also overshadowed the Women's Hadhrami's identity, leading to the discovery that their nobility can shape their authenticity as shara'if. This study argues that shara'if holds power in advocating for women's empowerment ideologies, which may not be readily apparent to some Shara'if communities in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Jakarta, Negotiation, Nobility, Shara'if, Women's Empowerment*

NAVIGASI KEBANGSAWANAN DAN KOMOPOLITANISME: KETERLIBATAN SHARA'IF DALAM RANAH PUBLIK JAKARTA

Rifa Tsamrotul Syaadah
01212110014
Nengrifats19@gmail.com
Faculty of Islamic Studies

ABSTRAK

Identitas keagamaan dan model pemberdayaan perempuan telah bertransformasi di era industri yang berubah dengan cepat. Perempuan Hadhrami, khususnya Syara'if (perempuan keturunan nabi), telah bergerak melampaui hanya mengandalkan ajaran tradisional dalam komunitas Yaman untuk berkontribusi pada masyarakat. Sebaliknya, mereka menegosiasikan emansipasi mereka di ranah publik dengan merangkul kepemimpinan perempuan, keterlibatan politik, dan hiburan media sosial sebagai ekspresi identitas Yaman mereka. Tesis ini membahas empat pertanyaan kunci: Bagaimana Syara'if menegosiasikan identitas mereka untuk memainkan peran di ruang publik? Apakah mereka berusaha untuk memperluas kekuasaan mereka atau mengabaikan modal sosial mereka? Bagaimana mereka memaknai jati diri dan mempertahankannya di tengah keluhuran mereka sebagai keturunan nabi? Sejauh mana mereka masih merangkul label Yaman ketika memenuhi peran mereka di ruang publik? Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan analisis data kualitatif, yang mencakup organisasi sistematis dan interpretasi data deskriptif yang dikumpulkan melalui wawancara, survei, dan observasi. Wawancara mendalam dengan tiga syara'if dilakukan untuk memahami aspirasi mereka terkait pemberdayaan sosial di ruang publik Jakarta. Temuan penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa, di satu sisi, identitas syara'if Jakarta memberikan keistimewaan khusus bagi syara'if kosmopolitan, memberdayakan mereka dengan prestise dan daya tarik di ruang publik. Di sisi lain, negosiasi ini juga membayangi identitas Wanita Hadhrami, yang mengarah pada penemuan bahwa kebangsawanan mereka dapat membentuk keaslian mereka secara syara'if. Studi ini berargumen bahwa syara'if memiliki kekuatan dalam mengadvokasi ideologi pemberdayaan perempuan, yang mungkin tidak mudah terlihat oleh sebagian komunitas syara'if di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: *Jakarta, Negosiasi, Bangsawan, Shara'if, Pemberdayaan Perempuan*

اجتياز النبالة والكوزمبوليتانية:
مشاركة الشرائف في المجال العام لجاكرتا

رفاع ثمرة السعادة
01212110014
Nengrifats19@gmail.com
كلية الدراسات الإسلامية

الملخص

لقد تغيرت الهوية الدينية ونماذج تمكين المرأة في العصر الصناعي سريع التغير. لقد تجاوزت المرأة الحضرمية، وخاصة الشرائف (من نسل النبي)، الاعتماد فقط على التعاليم التقليدية داخل المجتمع اليمني للمساهمة في المجتمع. وبدلاً من ذلك، فإنهن يتفاوضن بشأن تحريرهن في المجال العام من خلال تبني القيادة النسائية والمشاركة السياسية والترفيه على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي كتعبير عن هويتهن اليمنية. تتناول هذه الأطروحة أربعة أسئلة رئيسية: كيف يتفاوض الشرائف على هويتهن للعب أدوار في المجال العام؟ هل يحاولن توسيع سلطتهن أم يتجاهلن رأسمالهن الاجتماعي؟ فكيف يفسرن هويتهن ويحافظن عليها وسط كرامتهن كأحفاد الرسول؟ إلى أي مدى لا يزلن يحتضنن هويتهن اليمنية عند أدائهن لأدوارهن في المجال العام؟ تتبنى هذه الدراسة نهج تحليل البيانات النوعي، الذي يشمل التنظيم المنهجي وتفسير البيانات الوصفية التي تم جمعها من خلال المقابلات والاستطلاعات والملاحظات. تم إجراء مقابلات متعمقة مع ثلاثة شرائف لفهم تطلعاتهن فيما يتعلق بالتمكين الاجتماعي في المجال العام في جاكرتا. تكشف نتائج هذه الدراسة، من ناحية، أن هوية الشرائف في جاكرتا تمنح امتيازات خاصة للشرائف الكوزمبوليتانية، وتمنحها المكانة والجاذبية في المجال العام. من ناحية أخرى، طغت هذه المفاوضات أيضاً على هوية المرأة الحضرمية، مما أدى إلى اكتشاف أن نبلها يمكن أن يشكل أصالتها على أنها شرائف. تجادل هذه الدراسة بأن الشرائف تمتلك القوة في الدفاع عن أيديولوجيات تمكين المرأة، والتي قد لا تكون واضحة بسهولة لبعض مجتمعات الشرائف في إندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: جاكرتا، التفاوض، النبالة، الشرائف، تمكين المرأة

TRANSLITERATION

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

| | A | P | OT | MT | | A | P | OT | MT | | A | P | OT | MT |
|---|----|----|----|------|---|----|----|------|------|----------------|----------------|------|----------------|----------------|
| ا | ʾ | ʾ | ʾ | — | ز | z | z | z | z | ك | k | korg | korñ | korn |
| ب | b | b | b | borp | ژ | — | zh | j | j | | | | ory | ory |
| پ | — | p | p | p | س | s | s | s | s | | | | orğ | orğ |
| ت | t | t | t | t | ش | sh | sh | ş | ş | گ | — | g | g | g |
| ث | th | z | z | s | ص | ş | ş | ş | s | ل | l | l | l | l |
| ج | j | j | c | c | ض | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | z | م | m | m | m | m |
| ح | — | ch | ç | ç | ط | ṭ | ṭ | ṭ | t | ن | n | n | n | n |
| خ | kh | kh | h | h | ظ | ẓ | ẓ | ẓ | z | ه | h | h | h ¹ | h ¹ |
| د | d | d | d | d | غ | gh | gh | gorğ | gorğ | و | w | voru | v | v |
| ذ | dh | z | z | z | ف | f | f | f | f | ا ² | a ² | | | |
| ر | r | r | r | r | ق | q | q | q | k | آ | ʾ | | | |

¹ When h is not final. ² In construct state: at. ³ For the article, al- and -l-.

VOWELS

| | ARABIC AND PERSIAN | OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH |
|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Long</i> | ا ā و ū ی ī | ā ū ī |
| | | } words of Arabic and Persian origin only |
| <i>Doubled</i> | ىـ iyy (final form ī) وـ uww (final form ū) | iy (final form ī) uvv |
| <i>Diphthongs</i> | وـ au or aw یـ ai or ay | ev ey |
| <i>Short</i> | ا a و u ی i | a or e u or ū / o or ö i or ī |

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To be honest, I am incredibly grateful for the opportunity to express my heartfelt appreciation to those people who have supported me throughout this journey. Completing this thesis would not have been possible without the unwavering support, guidance, and encouragement of them. First and foremost, I am immensely thankful to Allah, I am thankful for the opportunities and abilities that You have granted me. I am grateful for his blessings. Then, my heartfelt thanks go to all the lecturers who have shaped my academic journey up to this time, your teachings have been instrumental in shaping my approach to research and learning in UIII. To my supervisor, Prof. Syamsul Rijal, Ph.D, I extend my deepest gratitude for your unwavering guidance, insightful feedback, and endless patience. Your expertise and encouragement have been instrumental in shaping this research. To the faculty members of Islamic studies faculty, I am profoundly thankful for their valuable insights and suggestions during the various stages of my thesis. Their diverse perspectives have enriched the quality of this work.

Then, one thing I always remembered on, my supporter's family, Mamah, Bapak, and Adek, for their constant support and belief in my abilities. Your love and encouragement gave me the strength to persevere through challenges. Since I start to pursue my master degree in UIII, they believe me in every condition I did. To my husband, Zaky Mumtaz Ali, I am grateful to deserve special moral support and brainstorming session while we discussed together, he provided both academic and emotional support, and for that, I am truly grateful .

Then, my colleagues' friends of Islamic studies faculty, also UIII mates in the first batch, I extend my appreciation for the stimulating academic environment, our laught making, big discussion at dorm or somewhere, have significantly enriched my research experience. Being the first batch student in UIII was very wonderful and have been shaping our heart, imagination, and also brotherhood. Thank you very much!. In particular, I am deeply grateful to Anindhita Timika Aryani, M.Sc, Fakhriyan Ardyanto, S.M., and also other staff for their kindness and good assistance in dealing with academic matters in this campus. Then, I would also like to acknowledge the UIII scholarship for providing my master journey.

Thank you for financial support, which allowed me to focus my efforts on this thesis .

My appreciation goes to all interviewers, *Shara'if* in Jakarta area. I would like to express my gratitude and sincere thanks to Rahma Sarita al-Jufri and Sasha Alaydrus, which provided me to spend their time and information during 3 months of my fieldwork research. In conclusion, this acknowledgment is a representative appreciation for any collective efforts and contributions of all supporters besides me, and I am truly grateful for each and every one of them. I am eternally grateful for being a IIIU student and part of scholarship awardee in this beautiful campus. Thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| TITLE PAGE | i |
| STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY | ii |
| ANTI-PLAGIARISM STATEMENT | iii |
| THESIS ATTESTATION | iv |
| THESIS DEFENSE APPROVAL | v |
| ABSTRACT | vi |
| ABSTRAK | vii |
| ARABIC ABSTRACT | viii |
| TRANSLITERATION | ix |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENT | x |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | xii |
| TABLE OF PICTURE | xiv |
| CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| A. Background..... | 1 |
| B. Research Objectives..... | 9 |
| C. Research Question | 9 |
| D. Literature Review..... | 10 |
| E. Theoretical Framework..... | 12 |
| F. Research Significance..... | 13 |
| G. Methods..... | 14 |
| H. Outline..... | 14 |
| CHAPTER 2 WOMEN HADHRAMI (<i>SHARA'IF</i>) AND CULTURE IN INDONESIA: HISTORY, KINSHIP, AND CONTENTS | 15 |
| A. Bani Alawiyah and The Principle of Teaching in Indonesia: From Past to Future | 17 |
| B. Tracing Women Hadhrami's Paths in Indonesia: A History of PAI's Women Emancipation..... | 20 |
| C. Struggles and Supports of Jakartan <i>Shara'if</i> Movement in Indonesia.... | 27 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| CHAPTER 3 SHARA'IF OF JAKARTA FIGURES: NEGOTIATING PUBLIC ROLES AND AGENCY | 34 |
| A. Newly Emerging <i>Shara'if</i> of Women Empowerment in Indonesia: Power and Authority | 35 |
| B. Supporting the Agency of Jakartan <i>Shara'if</i> : Examining <i>Habaib</i> 's Roles | 44 |
| C. "Be a moderate <i>Shara'if</i> : The Story from Fieldwork | 48 |
| CHAPTER 4 THE IMPLICATION OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT THEORY WITHIN THE COSMOPOLITAN SHARA'IF | 54 |
| CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION..... | 64 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 66 |

TABLE OF PICTURE

| | |
|--|----|
| Picture 2. 1 PAI's Women Organization in Indonesia..... | 26 |
| Picture 4. 1 Naila Kabeer's Theory of Women Empowerment | 62 |

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

A. Background

A superficial analysis may suggest that Women's Hadhrami holds no significant power in the public sphere. The women still uphold a space of freedom to express their opinions frankly and politely declare their love affairs and their right to select their husbands¹. Similarly, Smith mentioned that "the women's authority lies ultimately by the divine ordination in the hands of men"². Generally speaking, the suggestion of the lack of Hadhrami authority among Women's Hadhrami is primarily rooted in the historical context of women's participation in Middle Eastern society and their restricted role in social life³. Moreover, looking back to the history of Hadhrami Yemen migration, the male Hadhrami are prioritized to migrate over their female community into Indonesia. During the 1930s, approximately 110,000 Hadhrami immigrants resided in the Indies, of whom 70,000 resided. Most of these migrants were males, indicating a deliberate decision to choose Indonesia as their preferred destination.

According to Jonge, in the 19th century, many male Hadhrami migrated to Indonesia despite limited financial resources. At the beginning of the journey, they established larger businesses after beginning their careers as small merchants and made real estate investments, and several of them went on to have very prosperous entrepreneurial careers⁴. For instance, Semarang became a significant trading hub alongside Surabaya, Batavia, and Singapore and was still recorded as a male-dominated society then. Therefore, the Hadhrami diaspora is frequently described as a trading or entrepreneurial diaspora, even though it is frequently overlooked compared to the Chinese

¹ Rasha Saeed Badurais, "The Women and the Land: The Conception of Belonging in Hadhrami Society through Almehdar's Operettas (The Victim and the Bedouin Girl)," *IJSSHR* 05, no. 11 November (2022).

² Smith's argument was cited from (Eka Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Negotiating Public Spaces* (Amsterdam University Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN_418531).

³ Cynthia Nelson, "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World," *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 3 (1974): 551–63.

⁴ Carool Kersten, "Transcending Borders: Arabs, Politics, Trade, and Islam in Southeast Asia by Huub de Jonge and Nico Kaptein, Eds. (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002. 246 Pages.)," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 22, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 99–101, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v22i1.1727>.

or Indian diasporas⁵. However, during that period, most Women's Hadhrami remained confined to the private sphere, which partially limited their ability to exercise their capacity and authority within the household fully. In that context, the study of Women's Hadhrami still predominantly focuses on their relationship to the male-public sphere and their empowerment rather than the women themselves. However, the Women's Hadhrami community nowadays plays an important role in fostering women's participation in ideological and cultural aspects of life, consequently leading to women's empowerment in Southeast Asia⁶.

In addition, the term Hadhrami came from Hadhramaut, South Yemen, a region with a special social stratification that places the Alawiyyah in a very high position⁷. They played an important role in spreading Islam in Southeast Asia, such as developing commercial independence and Islamic propagation. Slama stated that most Women's Hadhrami in Indonesia is new and dynamic, focusing on autonomous trading and going to shops. This is most noticeable in Pekalongan, Solo, and Surabaya. Reasonably, the trade relations among the Hadhrami community that existed long before the arrival of Islam made it easy to spread Islam in Southeast Asia and opened up new space for Women's Hadhrami activities as the implementation of Hadhramaut preaching in Indonesia. In the modern era, social and spatial restrictions on Women's Hadhrami were related to public space, only focused on the house, and related to religion with the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad (mawlid), as well as the commemoration of prominent Islamic scholars (haul)⁸.

In addition, in the wake of attempts to reform and modernize the Hadhramaut in the first decades of the twentieth century, women's Hadhrami became an object of discourse concerned with their education as a public endeavor. In this century, women Hadhrami in Indonesia attended public or Islamic schools and worked publicly as the main reason women should receive pro-education and know the principles of religion and morals⁹. In

⁵ Rabith Jihan Amaruli et al., "The Influence of Javanese Culture on Hadhrami Community in Coastal Society of Semarang," ed. T.R. Soeprbowati, B. Warsito, and T. Triadi Putranto, *E3S Web of Conferences* 317 (2021): 01042, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202131701042>.

⁶ Eva Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 1 (2012): 55–81.

⁷ Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, "The Arab Periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies, 1914-1942," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 152, no. 2 (1996): 236–56, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003012>.

⁸ Linda Boxberger, "Avoiding Ribā: Credit and Custodianship in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth Century Ḥadramawt," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 2 (1998): 196–213, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519982599571>.

⁹ Ulrike Freitag, "Hadhramaut: A Religious Centre for the Indian Ocean in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries?," *Studia Islamica*, no. 89 (1999): 165, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1596090>.

the same breath, Freitag mentioned that women's Hadhrami emphasizes education as the big solution because the education a mother provides for her children is their first school (*al-Ummu Madrasatu al-Ula*). In this thesis, I particularly concentrate on women Hadhrami of the descendant of the prophet community as the object of my thesis and particularly emphasize their roles in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Moreover, the dynamics of Women's Hadhrami's life in Indonesia generally has had differentiated activities and roles between male Hadhrami. According to Slama, the condition of Women's Hadhrami in public realms is rarely finding limiting interactions with people, restricted to the domestic realms, and most public activities still need to be handled by their men¹⁰. Historically, internal factors did support and strengthen Hadhrami Arab couples to behave like the local Islam used by the Hadhramaut community. However, external factors over colonial policies affected their communities scattered in other countries. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Hadhrami community was included in the middle category (*vreemde fosterling*), which had to live in urban areas that were far apart to work. In 1919, the Dutch colonial abolished this regulation due to the difficulty in managing Arab immigrants to various cities in Java, such as Surabaya, Solo, and Pekalongan. Besides, the position of the Java region still limited public space for Women's Hadhrami, and this has resulted in facilitating the implementation of certain gender arrangements as a result of the Dutch East Indies colonial regulations, which upheld gender separation and limited women's agency in public realms¹¹.

Furthermore, some scholars examine how the Hadhrami community generally embraces their nobility and boosts religious authority in Indonesian Muslim society. They particularly engage the traditional Islamic practices and strengthen solidarity between many Indonesian Ulama figures¹². For instance, the case of *Habaib* currently maintains their authority in contemporary da'wah and actively interacts with Jakarta's urban areas to create community-building activities. Mostly, the Jakartan *Habaib* are always taken as an important reference in questioning Islamic issues on Jakarta stage.

Moreover, some scholars mentioned the existence of the revival of the *Habaib* in the contemporary era as a response to the Salafi Muslim Movement whose thoughts

¹⁰ Martin Slama, "‘Coming Down to the Shop’: Trajectories of Hadhrami Women into Indonesian Public Realms," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 4 (August 2012): 313–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2012.699089>.

¹¹ Ismail Fajrie Alatas, *What Is Religious Authority? Cultivating Islamic Communities in Indonesia*, Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021).

¹² Ismail Fajrie Alatas and Martin Slama, "Rethinking Diasporic Returns: Ḥaḍramī Trajectories in Indonesia's Religio-Political Field," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 178, no. 4 (2022): 410–39.

rejected the authority and practices of traditionalist groups¹³. Rijal argues that Habib in Jakarta uses traditional preaching tactics to maintain their religious authority as heirs of the Prophet and Arab ancestry. The *Habaib* has the power to gain the opportunity to build religious branding on the Jakarta stage and great prestige by using the legitimacy of the Yemenis community in Jakarta. In addition, the influence of *Shara'if* (female descendants of the prophet) has significant innovation and changes by transmitting knowledge in Jakartan public realms¹⁴. For instance, the popularity of the Mawlid celebration introduced by the *Shara'if* community was introduced by men or women Hadhrami in Jakarta, which involves a significant Islamic annual ritual. Celebrations are strictly divided according to gender lines, as separate by only many women's Hadhrami, especially *Shara'if*¹⁵.

In Jakarta, the *Shara'if* community struggled to express their identity, empower the public sphere, and simply practice gender separation, which is still widely practiced among the *Shara'if* community nowadays. Unlike the celebration of prophet Mawlid, a new spirit of Jakartan *Shara'if* today also maintains traditional Islamic preaching. The popularity of Sharifah Halimah Alaydrus and Sharifah Khadijah al-Junaid as the representation of cosmopolitan Ustadhat (female religious teachers) in Jakarta. She emphasized their da'wa transformation across Indonesian Muslim communities and their religious networks from Hadramawt transmitted by Habib Umar bin al-Hafiz¹⁶. Moreover, the popularity of each *Shara'if* is also supported by Jakartan Muslims who have always organized Majelis Taklim as an emergence for life. In the end, the interconnection between the *Shara'if* and Jakartan society¹⁷.

However, the figure of *Shara'if* nowadays copes with a new dynamic and manifold field of gender relations, focusing on the da'wa and engaging women empowerment in the Jakartan stage. Expanding their agency into the Indonesian public realm is paying particular attention to their economic activities, public roles as skilled employees and professionals, and engagement in the women's wings of Hadhrami-Islamic organizations. Some of

¹³ Syamsul Rijal, *Habaib Dan Kontestasi Islam Di Indonesia: Antara Menjaga Tradisi Dan Otoritas*, Cetakan pertama (Cinere, Depok: LP3ES, 2022).

¹⁴ Claudia Seise, "Women Remembering the Prophet's Birthday: Maulid Celebrations and Religious Emotions Among the Alawiyin Community in Palembang, Indonesia," *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, December 29, 2018, 217-230 Pages, <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0005>.

¹⁵ Seise.

¹⁶ Eva F. Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements," in *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, ed. Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack (Brill, 2021), 151-76, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1v7zbv8.12>.

¹⁷ Ismail Fajrie Alatas, "The Poetics of Pilgrimage: Assembling Contemporary Indonesian Pilgrimage to Ḥadramawt, Yemen," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 3 (2016): 607-35.

Jakartan *Shara'if* had a big impact on society, empowering surrounding women in Indonesia. Their position was popular, influencing new ideologies and sometimes spreading conservative issues to solve the problem beyond the community. Meanwhile, the previous issues faced by female *Shara'if* are always gendered hierarchy¹⁸, supervised and only part of indexable of public life¹⁹. According to my fieldwork, Jakartan *Shara'if* appears to support their expression of women's empowerment emotions, which are also expected from societies and acceptable regarding religiosity, public figure authority, etc.

Generally speaking, women's empowerment highlights the interdependence of individual and structural change in empowerment processes. The structures shape individual resources, agency, and also achievements. The agency represents the processes by which choices are made and put into effect to the concept of empowerment. Moreover, resources are the medium through which agency is exercised, and achievements refer to the outcomes of agency²⁰. These dimensions are considered, in turn, as their interrelationship in the context of empowerment. The empowerment has consequently been a proliferation of studies attempting to measure its case, some seeking to facilitate comparisons between locations or over time, some to demonstrate the impact of specific interventions on women's empowerment, and others to demonstrate the implications of women's empowerment for desired policy objective. Indeed, the critical analysis of attempts to measure women's empowerment is to provide a useful standpoint from which to assess both the narrower implications of measuring what is not easily measurable and the broader implications of replacing intrinsic arguments for feminist goals with instrumentalist ones. Therefore, the term women's empowerment must be clear to highlight and capture the values that they embody and appropriateness²¹.

In addition, the notion of empowerment is inescapably bound up with the condition of disempowerment and refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability. In that so, Kabeer examines the ability to exercise choices can be thought of in three related dimensions, resource (pre-condition), agency (the processes), and also achievements (the outcome of its processes). Regarding women's empowerment, it is a way for all women worldwide to gain recognition and

¹⁸ Ismail Fajrie Alatas and Martin Slama, "Rethinking Diasporic Returns: Ḥaḍramī Trajectories in Indonesia's Religio-Political Field," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 178, no. 4 (2022): 410–39.

¹⁹ Seise, "Women Remembering the Prophet's Birthday."

²⁰ Naila Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1," *Gender & Development* 13, no. 1 (March 2005): 13–24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070512331332273>.

²¹ Kabeer.

acknowledgment of their potential and abilities in many cases²². According to Alcoff, empowerment maintains processes of women's abilities to construct and take responsibility for their gendered identity, politics, and choices²³. Besides the adoption of women Hadhrami's figure, one of the three important things of empowerment, a different agency, and practices are holding nobility from their family in Jakarta. One example is family capital, which has been extended, and also consists of embracing lasting. Klaus Margeiter mentioned the definition of nobility, such as a group or a set of groups of families whose members shared a similar economic basis, similar privileges, specific status symbols, and a similar lifestyle.

Additionally, Margeiter mentioned that people who enjoyed noble status were legally entitled to certain privileges, such as specific types of land ownership, fiscal and judicial exemptions, status symbols such as titles and coats of arms, and pre-eminence in the public space. Beyond the nobility, privileges are traditions that happen in every human; men or women have a big strategy for strengthening themselves. According to Henneman, on the one hand, the tradition of nobility has received considerable recent attention after years of neglect. On the other hand, the tradition of privilege concerns special rights or liberties belonging to people by their occupation, pedigree, legal status, or place of residence²⁴.

Therefore, Some of the Jakartan *shara'if* actively strive to enhance women's empowerment and engagement across multiple organizations and sectors. As Kabeer examines, the emergence of agency throughout women emphasizes that observable action encompasses the meaning, motivation, and purpose individuals bring to activity²⁵. The Jakarta *Shara'if* has a big capacity to define their own life choices and pursue their goals, even in the face of opposition from others. Women can reach goals and accomplishments in various fields, including politics, motivation, and community leadership, all of which align with current trends and needs. Furthermore, the women's empowerment movement seeks to provide a critical role for women in pushing change while minimizing the individual expenses associated with it²⁶. However, some women Hadhrami (*Shara'if*) communities use uncommon ways to promote women empowerment in Indonesia²⁷. In my

²² Kabeer.

²³ Masooda Bano and Hilary Kalmbach, *Women, Leadership, and Mosques: Changes in Contemporary Islamic Authority*, Women and Gender, volume 11 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2012).

²⁴ John Bell Henneman, "Nobility, Privilege and Fiscal Politics in Late Medieval France," *French Historical Studies* 13, no. 1 (1983): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.2307/286591>.

²⁵ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," March 2005.

²⁶ Kabeer.

²⁷ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

opinion, one of the main characteristics of this empowerment is perfectional working and boosting any policies in both substantial and religious. Several scholars have been concerned with the traditional *Shara'if* and their innovation in Indonesia, which necessarily gain empowerment through Islamic proselytization, such as *Majelis Taklim*, *Maulidan*, and *Safar Dakwah* ²⁸.

Some community that supports these celebrations of Hadhrami is the organization of Rabithah Alawiyah, an adherent of traditional religious practices in Jakarta²⁹. However, some construction of domestic doing by *Shara'if* nowadays affects their agencies also relations with societies. Likewise, *Shara'if* had to re-negotiate their vision of gender relations in the diaspora and then make several social changes, not discouraging from appearing in the public sphere³⁰. As a hypothesis, I suggest negotiating the concept as a tool to safeguard capabilities and enjoy women's empowerment. Therefore, they negotiate to pursue achievements and strengths and embrace solidarity corner with the local human in Indonesia. I argue that similar to how Martin Slama describes, women Hadhrami expressed very different ideals and played many types of arenas³¹.

Moreover, the negotiation of identity through a social stage attached to the family capital tends to measure women's empowerment among Indonesian women, especially in *Hadhrami*. Their position no longer leaves their privileges to contribute to society but shifts to profitable business commodities. The phenomenon of women's empowerment has been around for a while. It is a common practice for influencers, artists, and motivators. Specifically, women's *Hadhrami* are prohibited from performing on the stage and communicating due to their nobility as the descendant of the prophet. Thus, they choose to show empowerment. As previous literature mentioned, *women's Hadhrami* were hidden from the sunlight, confined to the house, and occupied with cooking and child care ³².

Historically, in the early 20th century, *Hadhrami* embraced modern influences in the Netherlands East Indies in many fields, especially in education³³. It has become an exclusive community and is stigmatized as a problem. It is very reasonable, given activist *Hadhrami* is breaking the nobility and religious trust in the Yemeni capital. Despite its identity, the *Hadhrami* diaspora (especially activist *Hadhrami*) arguably maintains religiosity in many aspects. Moreover, the efforts to bring the Malay world and the Middle

²⁸ Seise, "Women Remembering the Prophet's Birthday."

²⁹ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

³⁰ Alatas and Slama, "Rethinking Diasporic Returns," 2022.

³¹ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

³² Slama.

³³ Slama, 413.

East into a shared analytical focus are numerous, illuminating, and noteworthy³⁴. In the 17th centuries and 18th centuries, Azyumardi Azra paints a picture of cosmopolitan, dynamic, and numerous historical flows in disseminating Islamic ideas to the Malay world³⁵. By bringing attention to the exchange of Muslims and reformist ideas between Cairo and the Malay world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Michael Laffan challenges readers to reconsider the origins of Indonesian nationalism. By being linked to particular contexts and upholding transregional relationships through genealogies, Engseng Ho shows how the Hadhrami diaspora became an essential component of the Indian Ocean region³⁶. Others still hold the family capital norms and big awareness of the sensitive issues that break their religious norms. Regarding Manger, the female *Hadhrami* are locals who maintain local cultures (*adat wa taqlid*) but simultaneously are part of *Hadhrami* cosmopolitanism³⁷.

To explain this case, I choose the fourth *Shara'if* in Jakarta, signifying women's empowerment Rahma Sarita al-Jufri, Sakdiyah Makruf, Shamira Shihab, and Sasha Alaydrus. These *Shara'if* are graduates from non-Yemeni educational schools and significantly differ in the transformation of religious knowledge obtained. These *Shara'if* are actively gaining people for social changes and measuring women's empowerment. Sakdiyah, as a comedian, actively promotes comedy to oppose Islamic extremism and violence against women. No wonder, in 2018, the BBC version recognized her as the most influential and inspiring woman in the world. Besides, Shameera Shihab is a social media influencer and founder of Thinkerlust.id and Stellar women in Jakarta. She has surrounded women's business issues, especially supporting female leadership at local and international businesses. Shihab exposes such being in social media, and women's business is more female-friendly because it is more traditional as a sector.

Then, Rahma al-Jufri as a politician actively gained the political party of NasDem (Nasionalis Demokratis), which was against women Hadhrami under gendered ideologies on her official YouTube. In addition, she always shows the gender hierarchy among the *Shara'if* in Indonesia towards viewers and her experience as a Yemenis descendant of the

³⁴ Sumit K. Mandal, *Becoming Arab: Creole Histories and Modern Identity in the Malay World*, Asian Connections (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 21, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108164931>.

³⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern "Ulama" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Allen & Unwin/Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2004), <http://gen.lib.rus.ec/book/index.php?md5=e4c2ef2fb81bb2c2c01a6bd5156d8b39>.

³⁶ Engseng Ho, "Before Parochialization: Diasporic Arabs Cast in Creole Waters," in *Transcending Borders* (Brill, 2002), 11–35, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004488045_004.

³⁷ Leif O. Manger, *The Hadhrami Diaspora: Community-Building on the Indian Ocean Rim* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).

prophet family in Jakarta. Last, Sasha Alaydrus as an Instagram beauty vlogger actively promotes Islamic ethics (Akhlaq) towards beauty content on her personal Instagram. In general, Sasha realized that Sharifah nowadays should be confident and differ from the old traditional culture, which has too many distracted within female Hadhrami.

Despite having their role in the Jakartan public sphere, this chapter concludes that compared to the previous generation of the *Shara'if* when female was under-control the *Habaib* in the household, the cosmopolitan Sharifat were not overtly involved in the wider traditional deals in Jakarta's public sphere. On the one hand, the cosmopolitan *Shara'if* substantially played an important role in the public sphere because of the nobility and their position in the cosmopolitan city of Jakarta. On the other hand, their involvement and values within the public sphere were representative that the *Shara'if* was largely supported by the gender policies of Hadhrami's family, which aimed to homogenize the cosmopolitanism values and gender practices in their community.

B. Research Objectives

The *Shara'if's* engagement in Jakarta's public sphere is considered capable of positively impacting a woman's life as a struggle to support women's empowerment in accordance with gender values. On the other hand, this engagement was rejected because a dominant urban gender order of the Hadhramaut extensively limits women's agency³⁸. In this regard, this research aims to investigate the ideological trajectory of Martin Slama by analyzing the presence of cosmopolitan *Shara'if*, and their movement aligns more with the conservative principle of Hadhrami's traditional culture, which was very co-existing in Jakarta's public sphere. This research also investigates how they can attract women's society's sympathy by connecting women's empowerment. Furthermore, this research seeks *Shara'if's* engagement in Jakarta's public sphere, which expressed nobility and cosmopolitanism to create social changes and women's empowerment.

C. Research Question

Women's *Hadhrami's* agency in public realms is the current outcome of a trajectory that differs greatly from those of most other Indonesian women³⁹. As Manager mentioned, *Women's Hadhrami* lived under gendered conditions that differed considerably

³⁸ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop," 317.

³⁹ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

from how gender was organized in the majority population⁴⁰. Whereas some women *Hadhrami* (*Shara'if*) emphasize negotiating the identity with new nobility and strengthening the new empowerment⁴¹.

This kind of validation will lead to shifting the identity of descendants of the prophet, particularly Yemeni nobility issues. In that so, when talking about women's Hadhrami wrapped by gender quality, and the women empowerment movement, some basic questions will appear, such as How does *Shara'if* negotiate their identity to play roles in the public sphere? Are they trying to expand their power or ignore their social capital? How do they interpret and maintain their identity amidst their nobility as the prophet's descendants? Then, to what extent do they engage cosmopolitanism in the public space?

D. Literature Review

Concerning the issue of *Shara'if* voices on the Jakarta stage, I found many pieces of academic literature that scholars or researchers have studied. In the *Shara'if* generation on Jakarta stage, Eva Fahrur Nisa examines the cosmopolitan *Ustadhat* from the new generation of Sharifah Halima Alaydrus and Syarifah Khadijah al-Junayd. Both the two preachers are called cosmopolitan *Ustadhat*. They moved to the global space as a transmission of religious knowledge. However, Eva's research should have mentioned the relevance of cosmopolitanism with the *Shara'if* movement in the public sphere and how it affects their identity⁴².

Despite Martin Slama, he was working on *coming down to the shop: trajectories of Women's Hadhrami into the public realm*. Slama discussed female *Hadhrami's* engagement in the public sphere and explained how *Shara'if* was getting known to the social empowerment sphere. Slama argues that female *Hadhrami* in Indonesia was unique, participating in public life as an entrepreneur and seeking professional jobs to afford a middle-class lifestyle, especially in Jakarta⁴³. In similar research, Slama's research contributed to the renewal of identity within the female *Hadhrami* in Jakarta, but he only demonstrated the *Shara'if's* engagement in the business field and did not elaborate on it with any completing fields. My research will then contribute to any additional *Shara'if's* engagement role in any field within the public sphere.

⁴⁰ Manger, *The Hadhrami Diaspora*.

⁴¹ Seise, "Women Remembering the Prophet's Birthday."

⁴² Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements."

⁴³ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

Moreover, Sophia Madya on religious flexibilities of older Yemenis women in Sanaa has completed my research on the history of Yemenis Women. Yemenis Women were engaged in traditional cultures such as Mawlid, Madrasa, Nadwa, and Halaqah; they have received modern Sufism, especially in regions of Hadramawt and Habib Umar's School⁴⁴. In his statement, Sophia only highlighted the Sufism education that influences the religious identity of Yemenis Women in *Madrasa* without providing the big transmission of religious knowledge in Madrasa and its impact on several Madrasa globally. Hence, the capacities of *Hadhrami* society within *Mawlid* and Madrasa have influenced the majority of Madrasa in Indonesia⁴⁵. In similar research, Sophia examines an article about *religious change among Yemenis women: the new popularity of 'Amr Khaled*. Moreover, Sophia introduces the renewal of Yemen females within the entertainment and mentions Amr Khaled as an aesthetic figure among the Yemen female. This research is important to analyse how they looked out for entertainment⁴⁶.

However, Makhoulouf Carla examines female *Hadhrami* and modernization on changing veil: women and modernization in north Yemenis⁴⁷. Carla analyses the Yemenis women's movement within modernization and highlights the position of Tawakkul Karman as a feminist and her dedication to the liberation movement in Arab countries. Karman succeeded in fighting for the fate of Yemeni women to become part of the government office of the Yemeni state. This is the material for my research study revealing the Yemen of women in recognizing modernization and social empowerment.

Another, Fatima Husein, examines the contribution of the study of *the Hadhrami* diaspora in Indonesia of their Sufi networks and the Islamic development in Indonesia. She demonstrates the role of *Baalawi* women preacher and their transmission of the *Tariqah Alawiyyah* teaching. Husein identified her experiences as a female *Shara'if* and explained narratively about female preachers from the oldest generation into the new generation, such as Halimah Alaydrus and Khadijah Junaid, who conducted with the Sufis method on their data. Her object research was recently similar to Eva's article on Jakarta's female indictment stage, and it did not mention how their capacity involves wider relations

⁴⁴ Sophia Pandya, "Religious Flexibilities of Older Yemeni Women in Sanaa," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 10, no. 2 (2014): 52–79, <https://doi.org/10.2979/jmiddeastwomstud.10.2.52>.

⁴⁵ Hisanori Kato, "The Islam Nusantara Movement in Indonesia," in *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, ed. Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack (Brill, 2021), 110–28, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1v7zbv8.10>.

⁴⁶ Pandya, "Religious Flexibilities of Older Yemeni Women in Sanaa."

⁴⁷ Carla Makhoulouf Obermeyer, "Islam, Women, and Politics: The Demography of Arab Countries," *Population and Development Review* 18, no. 1 (1992): 33–60, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1971858>.

in Indonesia. Therefore, I develop some new cases of *Shara'if* in cosmopolitan cases to generate the transmission of *Shara'if* role in Indonesia⁴⁸.

Moreover, Claudia Seise examines the *Alawiyyah* communities in Palembang and Maulid celebrations. Her article demonstrates the participation of Sharifah amongst female-only maids. Seise highlights the contribution of gender dynamics in Indonesia, especially in the contemporary *Hadhrami* diaspora. Seise focuses on *Alawiyyah Shara'if* and seeks their influence of reciting mawlid towards Muslim women in Palembang, Indonesia. Besides, *Shara'if* in Palembang adopted and incorporated the Sharia fiqh into everyday life. I took several theories an argument from Seise contains the gender dynamics amongst *Shara'if*. Recently, Seise identified more about the strength of female *Hadhrami* connected to Yemenis culture identity, one of each the representation of prophetic celebration (*Mawlid Nabi*). In addition, my research assumed that some cosmopolitan *Shara'if's* activity still upholds this celebration within their whole Hadhrami family. In that so, I seek to fill the gap of this research that *Shara'if's* engagement with the traditional celebration continued and did not distract any else from *Shara'if's* contribution to the public sphere⁴⁹.

Regarding the previous academic literature, a research gap can be found. No literature that focuses examines *Shara'if* adapts in Indonesia and also identifies their transmission within the public. Hence, the research mainly focuses on *Shara'if* identity towards social empowerment because both women are the products of modernization. Even though their role and contributions have not surely demonstrated the networks of religious women of female descendants of the prophet, I argue that three *Shara'if* pointed out the religious acknowledgment capacity in another sphere. Finally, this research hopefully will gain a suggestion for humans in the global world on these *Shara'if* emergences in the newest generation, transmitting an amazing acknowledgment value.

E. Theoretical Framework

The object of research comprises the phenomenon of three *Shara'if* in Jakarta, which makes their identity by applying women empowerment and packaging between Islamic values and family capital in Jakarta. Subsequently, to elaborate on the impact of women's empowerment of *Shara'if* and negotiate their nobility, I will frame it with a

⁴⁸ Fatimah Husein, "Preserving and Transmitting the Teachings of the Thariqah 'Alawiyyah: Diasporic Ba 'Alawi Female Preachers in Contemporary Indonesia," *The Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies* 4, no. 2 (April 14, 2021): 165–87, <https://doi.org/10.26443/jiows.v4i2.82>.

⁴⁹ Seise, "Women Remembering the Prophet's Birthday."

measurement of women empowerment theory by Naila Kabeer⁵⁰ that "women are the ability to exercise choices incorporates three interrelated dimensions, resources (broadly defined to include not only an access but also the future claims, both external to both material and human and social resources); agency (including processes of decision making, as well as less measurable manifestations of the agency such as negotiation, deception, and manipulation); and achievements (well-being outcomes)".

In this study, first, I adopted the term 'capability' referred to gender relations across all women's *Hadhrami* in Indonesia and the ideological conditioning aspect of the empowerment process⁵¹. Second, using the term 'cosmopolitan' by Stade emphasizes that human moves across the global space⁵². Therefore, through this framework, I use a socio-anthropological approach with the perspective of women's empowerment, looking for their role and acknowledging its transmission in the public space.

Naila Kabeer, in her article "Resources, Agency, Achievement: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment," analyses how the current category of "empowerment" or empowerment "may intersect with feminist thought to produce gender knowledge and egalitarian subjectivity in Muslim thought. By using gender as a critical lens, feminists have examined the various experiences that underlie rituals, practices, ethics, and authority in various religious traditions and argue that women's experiences also form an egalitarian body of knowledge in Islamic thought.

F. Research Significance

In the field of religion, this research will contribute to how the women *Hadhrami*, especially *Shara'if*, are starting to become aware of negotiating with their position as the descendant of the prophet. At the same time, their voices will be approved and respected regarding the privilege value behind their background. From a sociological perspective, this research enriches a growing literature on Islamic feminism and gender in the Indonesian context.

⁵⁰ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," March 2005.

⁵¹ Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements," 17.

⁵² Alex Hall and Lorenz Khazaleh, "Cosmopolitanism and Anthropology: Association of Social Anthropologists Diamond Jubilee Conference, University of Keele, 10-13 April 2006," *Anthropology Today* 22, no. 4 (2006): 230.

G. Methods

I particularly engage in the qualitative data analysis approach, which refers to systematizing descriptive data collected through interviews, surveys, and observations and then interpreting it. I closely use this method to identify patterns and themes behind textual data. This research is conducted with certain conditions and facts also analyzed and correlated with other data. In addition to observing directly in the field, I will use in-depth interviews with three *Shara'if* to get the acknowledgment of their ambition around social empowerment in public realms, especially Jakarta. I will take some questions related to female *Hadhrami* histories under the gendered transmission to them because these *Shara'if* strongly engages with the feminist case. The research is largely exploratory and committed to a deductive approach, so that the data analysis will require an open and reflexive engagement with existing literature.

H. Outline

This study is structured as follows. After this introduction, Chapter Two examines the nobility of three *Shara'if* that gave rise to the women empowerment movement in Jakarta. This chapter applies a historical perspective on why only some of Jakartan *Shara'if* shifted into empowerment. Chapter three investigates why and how their identity embraced the Jakarta stage as a new agency and big achievement in pursuing social change goals. I will interview three *Shara'if* about why they chose the Jakarta stage to gain popularity. Chapter four explores how they negotiate their identity among a few *Shara'if* in Jakarta and shift their family capital's label through the public sphere. This chapter will investigate why they still give their Yemeni label when carrying out their role in the public sphere.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN HADHRAMI (*SHARA'IF*) AND CULTURE IN INDONESIA: HISTORY, KINSHIP, AND CONTENTS

The diaspora of Hadhrami has a long history of migration in the region around the Indian Ocean. In addition, the Hadhrami migrated several centuries before the 19th century. In the 19-20 centuries, the number of Hadhrami migrants to Indonesia intensified due to the politics of competition between the Quayti Qabilah and the Kathiri Qabilah. This political unrest caused difficulties, including the effects of poverty in the Hadhramaut region⁵³. Therefore, in the 19th century, it was supported by advances in transportation and poverty so that by 1930, according to Boxberger, more than 30% of the Hadhramaut population lived outside the Hadhramaut region⁵⁴. Moreover, Hadhrami societies have been very active in doing missionary works, as well as doing commercial enterprise⁵⁵, similarly to Ba'Alawi community, migrants have contributed in various parts of Southeast Asia beginning from the 18th century⁵⁶.

Concerning the Ba'Alawi organization in Indonesia, Eva Nisa reported that Ba'Alawi has always had a special place in the hearts of Jakarta congregations. Similarly, the Hadhrami have enjoyed prestige as the descendants of the Prophet (popular for *Habaib*) and because they have better religious knowledge, which is most beneficial for Jakartan Muslim society⁵⁷. Throughout Jakarta's history, such Indonesian 'Ulama (Muslim scholars) have collaborated with the *Habaib* in spreading Islam in Jakarta such Forum Ulama and Habib Betawi (The Forum of Batavian Religious Scholars and *Habaib*) which established in August 2008⁵⁸. Similarly, the Indonesian Arab Union which known (Persatoean Arab Indonesia or PAI) which declared an anti-colonial nationalist movement in Indonesia. These two organizations have become the center of attention of the Arab community and Jakarta in bringing together the thoughts of the Jakarta Habib and 'Ulama forums so that their relationship becomes a part of the business world within their presence of the Majlis

⁵³ Rijal, *Habaib Dan Kontestasi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁵⁴ Soumaya Pernilla Ouis, "On the Edge of Empire: Hadhramawt, Emigration, and the Indian Ocean 1880s-1930s by Linda Boxberger (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002. 292 Pages.)," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 21, no. 1 (January 1, 2004): 114–16, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v21i1.1819>.

⁵⁵ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

⁵⁶ Ismail Fajrie Alatas, "Becoming Indonesians: The Bā 'Alawī in the Interstices of the Nation," *Die Welt Des Islams* 51, no. 1 (2011): 45–74.

⁵⁷ Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," 2012, 21.

⁵⁸ Alatas, "Becoming Indonesians."

Taklim on Jakartans stage⁵⁹. In other words, the *Majelis Taklim* is often associated with Islamic study groups, religious study forums, da'wah meetings, private meetings to teach religion, and religious discussion groups in the living room⁶⁰. The Jakartan *Habaib* manages many Taklim assemblies as formal religious meetings and the increasing popularity of young *Habaib* assemblies among young Jakarta urban Muslims⁶¹.

Meanwhile, more information is needed about the role and contribution of *Shara'if* (female descendant of the Prophet) as a Jakartan public figure. Therefore, this research truly examines the four cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in Jakarta from Ba'Alawi background and has been significantly developing women empowerment in Jakarta. I use the term cosmopolitan. Regard refers to the exclusive definition of the metropolitan, which means 'someone who moves across global space'⁶². Referring to many Hadhrami studies literature in Indonesia, the booming popularity of Habib among urban Muslims, especially in Jakarta, covers the community network of *Shara'if's* generation during the New Order era. This becomes true and common sense if *Shara'if* is known for his low profile, stays at home, private the Taklim Assembly, and avoids the public sphere, as Millie (2011) describes in West Java⁶³. More than this, a previous study, mentioned by Eva, only demonstrated the transnational aspect of their religious knowledge from Yemen to Indonesia and cannot see the aspect of women empowerment in transmitting their religious knowledge, not only to fellow Indonesians but also to Muslim communities in some parts of *Shara'if*, especially in Jakarta urban Moslem.

Moreover, Martin Slama analyzes how *Shara'if* has also acknowledged the capacity of business, popular as coming to the shop. The study conducted by Martin Slama on the agency of Women's Hadhrami living in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Sulawesi underscores the trans-local network through the Al-Khairaat institution, by looking at *Shara'if's* activities in various fields, such as economics, social, and education⁶⁴. However, so far, studies on Women's Hadhrami have been mostly carried out in the paradigm of diaspora studies; with this women empowerment approach, more specifically, I will

⁵⁹ Iqra Anugrah, "Recent Studies on Indonesian Islam: A Sign of Intellectual Exhaustion?," ed. eds. Jajat Burhanudin and Kees Van Dijk et al., *Indonesia*, no. 100 (2015): 105–16, <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.100.0105>.

⁶⁰ Phillip Winn, "Women's Majelis Taklim and Gendered Religious Practice in Northern Ambon," 2012, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Women%27s-Majelis-Taklim-and-Gendered-religious-in-Winn/ef36a511746d47e465ad6453a20f71a9daf599>.

⁶¹ Rijal, *Habaib Dan Kontestasi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁶² Hall and Khazaleh, "Cosmopolitanism and Anthropology."

⁶³ Julian Millie, Dede Syarif, and Moch. Fakhruroji, "The Discipline of Dakwah in Indonesia's State Education System," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 179, no. 1 (2023): 38–60.

⁶⁴ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

analyze the experience and role of the cosmopolitan public figure of *Shara'if* in Indonesia. I argue that the appreciation and experience of *Shara'if's* public figures in terms of nobility and agency with the Ba'Alawi family have strengthened them to shape empowerment and influence the spirit of women with the privileged teachings of Arabic Islam, but what is more important to form new practices about empowerment in the public sphere.

Furthermore, *Shara'if's* strength stems from the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad, with various Islamic moral practices taught by the family's role in transmitting religious knowledge in terms of preaching⁶⁵. Although male Hadhrami and female Hadhrami authority control scientific practice and tradition are considered traditional, I try to show that these cosmopolitan *Shara'ifs* have new authority and style, one of which is with the development of social media, an open-minded character, and more confidence in the public sphere.

In this section, I particularly examine a brief history of the Bani Alawiyya community, which as one of the communities fighting for Islamic teaching, also formulates the emancipation of women in PAI (Persatoean Arab Indonesia).

A. Bani Alawiyyah and The Principle of Teaching in Indonesia: From Past to Future

The presence of the Ba'Alawi family has been the subject of several monographs in Indonesia, and its diaspora of Bani' Alawiyyah spread into many countries in the world, one of each in Southeast Asia. Particularly, they had several approaches and specific interactions within Indonesia's religious, social, and economic spirits and their major goals efforts to disseminate Islamic teaching and practice their business with local societies in the homeland⁶⁶. Moreover, the identity of Bani' Alawiyyah is supposed to build a uniqueness that can connect also interact with another group by forming a social identity. It had a similar reality when most of Bani' Alawiyyah established a new egalitarian and also tolerant perspective, especially focusing on religion and culture in Indonesia⁶⁷.

⁶⁵ Husein, "Preserving and Transmitting the Teachings of the Thariqah 'Alawiyyah."

⁶⁶ Suparto Suparto, Halid Halid, and Samsu Adabi bin Mamat, "BANI ALAWIYYAH IN INDONESIA AND THE MALAY WORLD: Network, Development and the Role of Institution in Transmitting the Peaceful Mission of Islam," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 13, no. 2 (December 1, 2019): 267–96, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.2.267-296>.

⁶⁷ Syed Farid Alatas, "Hadhramaut and the Hadhrami Diaspora: Problems in Theoretical History," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY, 1997), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2650602>.

Seeking the genealogy of *Bani Alawiyyah*, according to Suparto, it's supposed to be the most difficult task in proselytizing Islamic teaching⁶⁸. However, they hold such strong principles on Quran and Prophet tradition (habits), and the understanding of *al-Salaf al-Shalih* is the ancestor of Bani' Alawiyyah in strengthening their nobility. Some scholars mentioned their capability to practice *Tariqahh Alawiyyah*⁶⁹ as a spiritual path, transmit Islamic knowledge, and establish relationships with predecessors through rituals such as Hadhrat, dhikr, and the ratio⁷⁰. Another way to maintain the *Tariqahh' Alawiyyah* (the Ba'Alawi path) is to maintain the Ba'Alawi genealogy and identity, as Kesheh mentioned that upholding the status of sayyids was an essential part of being Hadhrami⁷¹. As a complex, the term Tariqah defines as a malleable discourse that evolves as it confronts new historical contexts⁷².

Historically, the preservation of this Tariqah is carried out by the Bani Alawiyyah in various ways; first, the ritual haul (annual moment), as practiced in Solo every year. The Ba'Alawi community, especially men, commemorates the death of Habib' Ali bin Muhammad al-Habsyi (d.1915) every month of Rabiul Akhir. This activity is an important moment to maintain their identity and move the younger generation on the moral and religious practices taught by Habib' Ali and his descendants. Furthermore, the specialty of Tariqah, which existed among societies, said that the "belief in the *baraka* embodied famous holy men and scholars"⁷³. Second, most Bani Alawiyyah sent their sons to study in Yemen, Hadhramaut, as Freitag mentioned that sending young people continued, especially with the development of transportation technology at the end of the 19th century⁷⁴.

To explain this case, specifically, the Bani Alawiyyah's figure is seen as having the most important authority, especially male Hadhrami, in preserving the practice of the Alawiyyah order in Indonesia, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. This endeavor of the Hadhrami people confirms their power to nurture their diasporic consciousness⁷⁵ and

⁶⁸ Suparto, Halid, and Mamat, "BANI ALAWIYYAH IN INDONESIA AND THE MALAY WORLD."

⁶⁹ The Tariqahh al-Alawiyyah is the path of the Sadat Bani Alawiyyah (sing.sayyid) (Syed Farid Alatas, "The Tariqat Al-'Alawiyyah and the Emergence of the Shi'i School in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Oriente Moderno* 18 (79), no. 2 (1999): 323.)

⁷⁰ Alatas, "Becoming Indonesians."

⁷¹ William R. Roff, review of *Review of The Hadhrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942*, by Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004): 282-84.

⁷² Alatas, "Becoming Indonesians."

⁷³ Anne Bang, *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea*, 2004, https://www.academia.edu/44958703/Sufis_and_Scholars_of_the_Sea.

⁷⁴ Freitag, "Hadhramaut."

⁷⁵ Alatas, "Becoming Indonesians."

examine their patrilineal community as if the Alawiyah order was only brought and practiced by the male Hadhrami community. Meanwhile, the works of literature of female Ba'Alawi are not limited to date; some of them existed as Islamic figures in Solo, Central Java⁷⁶. Husein mentioned that a figure of Fatimah binti Salim Abdat was a teacher of religious studies for girls in the Hadhrami Solo community, and she was one of her students there. It can be seen how female Ba'Alawi try to open changes and strengthen the practice of the Alawiyah order for the Women's Hadhrami community in Indonesia.

However, the revival of female Ba'Alawi⁷⁷ influence in the public sphere continued until the 20th century in various parts of Indonesia⁷⁸. In Jakarta, women are considered in exploring their academic potential and bringing changes to the social order of Arab women in Jakarta. It differs from Manger's statement that separate male and female cultures and traditions are organized around very different ideals and played out in very different types of arenas⁷⁹. They are actively holding public activities, selling religious products⁸⁰, and disseminating da'wah messages through social media⁸¹. Their presence in the era of globalization development signifies the emergence of a new wave of female preachers in Indonesia, especially as graduates from Yemenis institutions⁸². Although Eva reviewed the brief profiles of two popular female preachers, Sharifah Halimah Alaydrus and Sharifah Khadijah al-Junayd, she did not attempt to prove that female Ba'Alawi is role models for preachers who are concerned with the younger generation taking the Hijrah path in Indonesia. Moreover, Eva does not try to connect the rise of female Ba'Alawi figures with external dynamics among the Hijra community and how their contestation is with other young communities in Indonesia, such as the forest camp Hjah in Bandung.

However, by using the women empowerment framework, as I mentioned earlier, I would like to explain the major changes and strengthening of the identity of Women's Hadhrami, especially in the role of the Ba'Alawi public figure in Indonesia. Significantly, this role has yet to be fully understood, especially concerning how they gain authority, trust, and empowerment, how their voice and experience respond to knowledge and practices of

⁷⁶ Husein, "Preserving and Transmitting the Teachings of the Thariqah 'Alawiyyah."

⁷⁷ Additionally, Alawiyyah and Ba'Alawi have different definitions. All Sayyidina Ali bin Abi Talib's descendants are given the title "Alawiyyah," which is also used to refer to them. The Bani Alawi family, or the descendants of Alawi bin Ubaidillah Hadhramaut Yemen, are referred to as Ba'alawi (Alatas, "Hadhramaut and the Hadhrami Diaspora."

⁷⁸ Syamsul Rijal, *Habaib Dan Kontestasi Islam Di Indonesia: Antara Menjaga Tradisi Dan Otoritas*, Cetakan pertama (Cinere, Depok: LP3ES, 2022), 214.

⁷⁹ Manger, *The Hadhrami Diaspora*.

⁸⁰ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

⁸¹ Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements."

⁸² Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," 2012.

women empowerment among *Shara'if* identity, or the context of Indonesian society. Others, I will analyze their role in the context of the digital world, especially social media. Therefore, this analysis is an important effort to understand the identity of the cosmopolitan public figure of Ba'Alawi in Indonesia and how the identity network of Hadhrami intellectuals in the Indian Ocean is constantly changing.

B. Tracing Women Hadhrami's Paths in Indonesia: A History of PAI's Women Emancipation

At the beginning of the 20th century, Indonesian society was marked by rapid social and political development. Various Bumiputera national awakening organizations were born due to the ethical politics developed by the Dutch East Indies. This change also affects groups of Arab descent in Indonesia. This change manifested as an institution as a forum for actualization to show the existence of Arab descendants, especially in seeking their identity as a foreign East community which at that time was mixed up by the colonial government.⁸³ This classification made the Dutch government make laws that required Foreign East to live in special settlements. Therefore, the division of the social status of the Indonesian people and the settlements of the Eastern and Foreign groups resulted in a new sentiment of familiarity, and they tried to show their Arab identity.

Historically, in the period 1900-1942, the Arab Community in Indonesia was known as *Nahdhalah-Hadhramiyyah*⁸⁴ (Hadhrami awakening), which was generally driven by Indonesian youths⁸⁵. The awakening of Arabs in Indonesia was then manifested in three forms of social institutions: modern schools, newspaper writing, and voluntary associations. Simply, the definition of *Nahdla* has a Western-type revival and educational institution that has the goal of achieving an independent Hadhrami Arab group and

⁸³ Suratmin, *Abdul Rahman Baswedan: karya dan pengabdianannya / oleh Suratmin* (Jakarta: Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 2014), http://opac.library.um.ac.id/index.php?s_data=bp_buku&s_field=0&id=52161&mod=b&cat=3.

⁸⁴ The term *Nahdla* is Arabic origin and has connotations similar to awakening, resurgence, and revival, renaissance. This awakening is a new phase in the history of the community in the Dutch East Indies. *Nahdla* means progress, the gateway to the modern world through the adoption of ideas and the establishment of institutions. *Nahdla* is also interpreted as the awakening of the Arab people in a new sense of identity. For two decades, in the 20th century, Arab society has tried to show itself as the people of Hadhramaut and feel that they have loyalty to this country as their beloved homeland. This new orientation created a new focus on Arab sentiment which continued to process until Indonesia became independent (Mobini-Kesheh, "The Arab Periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies, page.3-67.")

⁸⁵ Mobini-Kesheh.

maintaining its identity⁸⁶. The awakening of Arabs in Indonesia was then manifested in three forms of social institutions: modern schools, newspaper writing, and voluntary associations. Simply, the definition of *Nahdlah* is a Western-type revival and educational institution that has the goal of achieving an independent Hadhrami Arab group and maintaining its identity⁸⁷.

An institution called *Nahdlah* is far more than an educational institution or school where the pupils just learn; it is also specific for gathering the Indonesian Arab community. *Nahdlah* has its specialty, 'culture' practices, structure, and principles that might differ from any community, including matters related to supporting Women's Hadhrami live in Indonesia. In the case of women's Hadhrami activities, *Nahdlah* must support and negotiate their agency within the ascribed values and peculiar context with which they are confronted as Women's Hadhrami. Initially, women were not allowed to leave home, following an old tradition that emerged from their parent's role at home⁸⁸. Some social interactions between men and Women's Hadhrami are also restricted, although the Hadhrami men generally are strictly upheld in most of the Hadhrami community⁸⁹. Certainly, in the context of social lives, women Hadhrami are generally hiding identities and are considered to have some specific concept of gender relations between men and women⁹⁰.

Meanwhile, looking back to the history of PAI (Persatoean Arab Indonesia) in the 19th century, regret to boost new analogical perspective of women in real life. Under the new Order regime during PAI's leadership, women Hadhrami were allowed and accepted to contribute to the public sphere. As a consequence, compared to the previous community, *Al-Irsyad al-Islamiy*⁹¹ (founded in 1914) was not strongly involved in the larger gender deals in Indonesia⁹². Because of these realities, I believe Women's Hadhrami

⁸⁶ Mobini-Kesheh.

⁸⁷ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki: emansipasi perempuan keturunan Arab dalam Persatuan Arab Indonesia, 1934-1942* (Jakarta: Atas kerja sama Mizan [dengan] Gerakan Islam Cinta, 2020).

⁸⁸ Maisarah.

⁸⁹ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

⁹⁰ Sasa Alaydrus, In depth-Interview, May 25, 2023.

⁹¹ According to G.F.Pijper, the Al-Irsyad organization originates from Jam'iyyat al-Islah wa al-Irsyad. This organization was founded by Muhammad Rashid Ridha while in Egypt. Irsyadi, is a term for a member of the organization, and also refers to adherents of thought or students of al-Irsyad.

⁹² Tugas Tri Wahyono, "Wanita Keturunan Arab: Peranannya Dalam Organisasi Partai Arab Indonesia (PAI) Di Surakarta," *Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya D.I. Yogyakarta* 14, no. 3 (November 18, 2014): 417–40.

deserves to be studied in separate groups, which they not represent more than men in real life, as leadership figures and also build their agency.

Furthermore, the struggle for the emancipation of Women's Hadhrami is inseparable from the issues of women's struggle movements in other parts of the world⁹³. Since PAI was founded in 1930, the spirit of Arab liberalism in fighting for the emancipation of Arab women in the 19th century has increasingly penetrated the Dutch East Indies. Historically, the existence of women's emancipation promoted by PAI is a modern thought that adopts Western progress according to the times but still adheres to the foundation of the Islamic religion in regulating women. One of the founding figures of PAI, A.R. Baswedan, one of the figures who proposed the idea of emancipating women of Arab descent (Hadhrami). Some of the ideas of women's emancipation⁹⁴ that A.R. Baswedan transmitted to Arab society could not be separated from his activities as a preacher in the Islamic organization Jong Islamieten Bond⁹⁵ in 1930-1931⁹⁶. Besides, Baswedan actively writes in *SADAR*⁹⁷ magazine, whose views are oriented towards the emancipation of Egyptian women and the struggle for Egyptian independence⁹⁸.

In addition, Baswedan carried out the emancipation movement for women inspired by two liberal and reformist Egyptian reformers who raised various issues of Islamic women, namely Qasim Amin and al-Thahthawi. These two Muslim scholars explained that the cause of women's backwardness in Islam is the wrong treatment of women. Women should be given freedom in thinking, will and activities. So, who is Qasim Amin? At first

⁹³ Literally, women's emancipation is the process of seizing women from lower socio-economic positions or from legal restraints that limit the possibility of developing and advancing. Emancipation can also be interpreted as freedom from customary bonds, customs, traditions, provisions, and so on (See the book of Andy Omara on *Perempuan, Budaya Patriarki, dan Representasi dalam Mimbar Hukum* (Yogyakarta: UGM, no years, page.149-151).

⁹⁴ The idea of emerging emancipation is supported as a result of the domination of patriarchal culture which limits women's space for movement. In the book, it is explained that several stages of emancipation include, first, disclosure of wishes in the form of written and spoken protests. Second, the equality of fate between women who are oppressed will give birth to cooperation and the same goal to achieve their emancipation. Third, cooperation will lead to a universal basis that seeks to achieve revolutionary changes in the structure of society.

⁹⁵ Jong Islamieten Bond is an organization of associations of Islamic youth and students in the Dutch East Indies which was founded on 1st January, 1925, in Batavia. This organization seeks to escape from Western oppression and believes in Islamic teachings as the spearhead of its struggle. (Gungun Karya Adilaga, *Simpul Sejarah: Mengikat makna perjuangan Umat Islam Bangsa Indonesia* (Argopuros Pena Aksara, 2017), 4.)

⁹⁶ Suratmin, *Abdul Rahman Baswedan*.

⁹⁷ Before the establishment of this magazine in 1934-1936, Baswedan channeled his thoughts through writings that were published in several newspapers such as the *Matahari* newspaper and several other articles in other newspaper media (Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*, 73.

⁹⁸ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

glance at Qasim Amin's discussion, he is one of the figures in the revival of Islamic feminists in Egypt who raises the issue of women in anticipating the backwardness of Muslims. According to him, this progress will only occur with changes and updates to women's souls. Qasim Amin has written many ideas about women's emancipation in several print media articles in Egypt at that time⁹⁹. In short, three important aspects have become major discussions in the emancipation movement instilled by Qasim Amin in Egyptian women, namely reforms in the field of education, marriage and women's *hijab* (veil)¹⁰⁰. Therefore, the power of PAI broke down and encouraged several ideas of the revival of Egypt and began to be implemented in Indonesia by Baswedan for Women's Hadhrami at that time¹⁰¹.

The involvement of PAI was started in 1934 and began to create the idea of women's emancipation as Qasim Amin's revival in Egypt to keep the goal of PAI in Indonesia. Activities carried out by female PAI activists began with informal meetings between male and female PAI administrators¹⁰². This statement has rarely been acknowledged by previous researchers, who analyzed that the social relations of Women's Hadhrami are still limited to the family environment, as Slama mentioned that their communication is quite limited by the walls of their house¹⁰³. Women's Hadhrami, initially confined to strict *pingit* customs, slowly began to interact and discuss the future of PAI-ers women communities¹⁰⁴. With this informal activity, the *Nahdatoel Moe'minaat* community was formed in 1934 in Pekalongan, numbering around 80 people from various Arab tribes. The association of PAI wives has increasingly spread across several major Indonesian cities, such as Jakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, Gresik, Ternate, Palembang, Jambi, and other cities¹⁰⁵.

Furthermore, in 1940, these female PAI activists began to receive attention and spread awareness of the homeland and Indonesian nationalism along with men. The existence of support for this formation is motivated by the existence of social inequality in Indonesian Arab society, which largely influences the position of women. Based on this decision, the first female Hadhrami PAI conference was formed on 18-23 April 1940, held

⁹⁹ Maisarah, 13.

¹⁰⁰ Mobini-Kesheh, "The Arab Periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies, 1914-1942," 135.

¹⁰¹ Marilyn Booth, "Woman in Islam: Men and the 'Women's Press' in Turn-of-the-20th-Century Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 171.

¹⁰² Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

¹⁰³ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

¹⁰⁴ Wahyono, "Wanita Keturunan Arab."

¹⁰⁵ Akmal Aji Hidayatullah and Yusril Fahmi Adam, "GERAKAN ISLAM MODERN KOMUNITAS ARAB DI SOLO, 1912-1942," *Al-Tsaqafa : Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam* 19, no. 2 (January 2, 2023): 132-44, <https://doi.org/10.15575/al-tsaqafa.v19i2.20362>.

in Batavia, Jakarta¹⁰⁶. Among the conference's decisions in Batavia emphasized that the social role of women needs to be involved in society. This success can be seen as a form of the revolutionary movement among the Arab community to promote emancipation and liberate women from the domination of Arab customs and culture¹⁰⁷.

Indeed, this effort was made to awaken the Women's Hadhrami and their offspring as Indonesians and erase Arab sentiment so that they know their responsibilities as Indonesians. Looking back to the history of PAI women, they strive for Indonesian national values in every activity and program. Wahyono mentioned that starting from meetings, courses, and activities for women's religious education, they enthusiastically put forward advice about love for the motherland and the Indonesian nation. PAI also included the ideas of nationalism in several major commemorations, such as 'Women's Indonesia Day (Kartini RA)'. Through the simple routine steps of PAI women, their ideas of nationalism continue to be transmitted to other Women's Hadhrami and their descendants¹⁰⁸. Meanwhile, even though the age of women-PAI always gets strong rejection by Hadhramis society in general, it has an impact on the awareness form on the part of Women's Hadhrami and men in realizing the emancipation that PAI has decided. Therefore, the awareness of Women's Hadhrami is quite influential in developing general awareness and more confidence in their role and position to participate in the public sphere and compete with Indonesian women¹⁰⁹.

Furthermore, the success of PAI, with its emancipatory ideas in breaking down the culture of Arab society in Indonesia, which limits women's rights, has uncovered the dark curtain of women of Arab descent in Indonesia. PAI's big step in becoming the foundation for the advancement of Women's Hadhrami in Indonesia was also supported by print media such as the magazines of *Sadar*, *Arus Baroe*, and *Insaf*, published in 1936-1941. This media has provided a vehicle for women and men of Arab descent to voice the spirit of emancipation of women of Arab descent in Indonesia, which has become evidence of the presence of women in the public sphere and has become an important part of society¹¹⁰. This success has impacted the cosmopolitan sentiment of Women's Hadhrami nowadays, whose roles and contributions in the public sphere are especially very influential in developing the women's movement in various fields, mostly social media.

¹⁰⁶ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

¹⁰⁷ Huub de Jonge, "Abdul Rahman Baswedan and the Emancipation of the Hadhramis in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 32, no. 3 (2004): 373–400.

¹⁰⁸ Wahyono, "Wanita Keturunan Arab," 438.

¹⁰⁹ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*, 124.

¹¹⁰ Suratmin, *Abdul Rahman Baswedan*.

According to Jonge, he claims that due to the second PAI Wife conference, PAI has expanded its involvement with women in several areas, including social, educational, and nationalistic activities. The PAI women's community first started a push to gradually remove the ping custom placed on women of Arab heritage. This was done in the social realm. The Surabaya branch of the PAI Wives made one of these initiatives in 1940 by speaking out about Arab women's hardships and pursuing the emancipation that Arab women struggled for. The PAI women organized events to collect donations and aid for Jakarta's lower socioeconomic classes¹¹¹. The PAI Wives organization, founded by PAI activists' wives in 1935, has coordinated these operations since then. To educate and encourage women involved in PAI activities to uphold Indonesian national ideals, PAI women teach the planting of nationalist concepts for women of Arab heritage. However, since the Japanese took over Indonesia in 1942, they abolished all local organizations and replaced them with Japanese counterparts¹¹². The women of the PAI later joined other Indonesian women's communities and carried on the fight for their emancipation principles. Since Indonesia gained independence in 1945, the women of the PAI community have abandoned their efforts and started to expand to other Indonesian women's organizations, like Aisyiyah and Muslimat etc¹¹³. Certainly, by adding ideas and understanding of PAI to the community, the obstacles to female PAI are increasingly causing big problems. The acceptance of female PAI community was rejected by the old Arab community, who still found it difficult to let go of the old Arab traditions they brought from Hadhramaut, such as the old *Alawiyah* group.

Moreover, the presence of the al-Irsyad community opposes female PAI based on opposing traditional customs that are not by good Islamic rules. Meanwhile, the presence of PAI women provides a place for Women's Hadhrami to be seen as a way of progress for them. Starting with being active in organizations, writing in newspapers, and socializing with the community¹¹⁴.

This condition eventually separated the female Hadhrami PAI and adhered to two streams in Indonesian Arab society. First, the flow that is based on an Indonesian attitude and loyal to PAI, second, the flow that survives with the founding culture and traditions of

¹¹¹ Husein, "Preserving and Transmitting the Teachings of the Thariqah 'Alawiyah," 8.

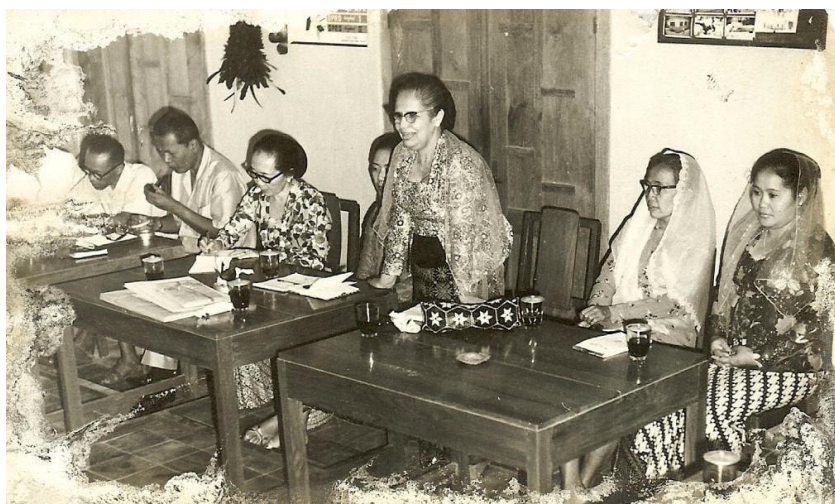
¹¹² Wahyono, "Wanita Keturunan Arab," 437.

¹¹³ Bas Bu, *Ruang Wanita: Perhatian Organisasi-Organisasi Wanita Indonesia Terhadap Saudara-Saudarannya Wanita Keturunan Asing* (Nusaputra, 1952), 24–26.

¹¹⁴ Hidayatullah and Adam, "GERAKAN ISLAM MODERN KOMUNITAS ARAB DI SOLO, 1912-1942."

the Arab nation¹¹⁵ These two streams play a role in their social life in society, and some groups still adhere to conservative understandings, distancing themselves from changes in society¹¹⁶. This situation describes the life of Women's Hadhrami today. Some of them follow the traditional teachings and orders of their ancestors, while some of them start their activities on stage, voice the emancipation of modern Arab women, and socialize with the wider community in Indonesia. This statement is similar to Haddad's in that some women have no power. As mentioned, "the authority lies ultimately and by ordination in the hands of men, " meaning that Muslim women's lives as backward have always been the backbone of the development of Islam¹¹⁷. But moreover, the backward here cannot be well-understood because it certainly needs to be stigmatized in a specific historical and political context. For instance, the problem of gender segregation practices around Moslem countries, especially in the Middle East¹¹⁸ was an example of gender-based polarization at that time¹¹⁹.

Picture 2. 1 PAI's Women Organization in Indonesia



Source: Maisarah

¹¹⁵ Moreover, the ideas of nationalism and the emancipation of the PAI organization are understood as radical actions for those who reject PAI's understanding, especially from the wullaiti (pure-blooded Arabs). PAI's ideas and thoughts are considered that way because PAI women went against the grain and broke the old culture of the Arab community in Indonesia (Tugas Tri Wahyono, *Perempuan Laweyan Industri Batik Di Surakarta* (Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya, 2014), 432.

¹¹⁶ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

¹¹⁷ Yvonne Y. Haddad, "ISLAM, WOMEN AND REVOLUTION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARAB THOUGHT," *The Muslim World* 74, no. 3-4 (1984): 137-60.

¹¹⁸ Luis Radford, "Education and the Illusions of Emancipation," *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 80, no. 1/2 (2012): 37-43.

¹¹⁹ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*.

In Indonesia, we might see the involvement of women Hadhrami nowadays, from unacceptable to acceptable progress which she lived, particularly recognizing the spirit of women's empowerment and resistance among women Hadhrami. Fortunately, this case has a big similarity to the argument of Nayereh Tohadi; she believes that women could renegotiate gender roles and also find a path of compromise and creative synthesis¹²⁰. A similar theory, which I use for the main theory of my research here, is that women should be conceptualized as empowered in three dimensions: agency, resources, and achievement¹²¹. Generally speaking, these theories strongly apply to many groups, communities, and in-person, boosting the women Hadhrami community since the 19th century. Nevertheless, in the next session, I will analyze the journey of a female Hadhrami in Jakarta who regrets and renegotiate the social public sphere from hidden to lighten tradition and culture among them¹²².

To conclude, the processes of women's emancipation, in which a female Hadhrami, especially a Sharifat, negotiate and derive their power from their husband's status, also influence religious communities at that time, including the PAI women. Naturally, the presence of PAI also affected the position of *Sharifah* married to the *Habib* (meant as *kafala*), regardless of Ba'Alawi's engagement in Yemen traditions. In addition, some female Hadhrami amongst PAI's women community also ascribed their power in combination with the legitimacy between kinship and agency. This kind of combination still affects the cosmopolitan *Shara'if* nowadays.

C. Struggles and Supports of Jakartan *Shara'if* Movement in Indonesia

Jakartan *Shara'if* has long been a district with considerable social power, which they put in many agencies¹²³. Despite their extensive contributions, *Shara'if* is still concerned with the family capital traditions and embraced the Arab's nobility guidance, especially as the descendant of prophet status. According to my observation in Jakarta, Rahma Sarita al-Jufri mentioned that 'somehow mostly *Shara'if* have enjoyed their identity while also playing significant roles in gaining their profit in the public sphere'. Then, she concluded the status of *Shara'if* could be ranked differentially relative to each other, not a

¹²⁰ Nayereh Tohidi, "The Global-Local Intersection of Feminism in Muslim Societies: The Cases of Iran and Azerbaijan," *Social Research* 69, no. 3 (2002): 851–87.

¹²¹ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," March 2005.

¹²² Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop," 231.

¹²³ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

privileged one, but such an honor¹²⁴. In any attempt to understand privilege and honor, an examination of understanding of power among women Hadhrami, especially Sharifah, is essential. To get content, the meaning essential here examines movement challenges for *Shara'if*, both a local and *cosmopolitan Shara'if*. Manger mentioned that women Hadhrami are locals, strongly maintain local cultures, called *adat wa taqlid*, and simultaneously are part of cosmopolitanism¹²⁵. In the first chapter, I put the term *cosmopolitan* as regarded to the object of my research, four Jakartan *Shara'if*, as Stade mentioned that *cosmopolitan* is called 'someone who moves across global space'¹²⁶. In this way, the *cosmopolitan Shara'if* movement will be further discussed in this section, departing from its definition, history, and challenges.

In addition, talking about women and the social movement has been an issue in many countries despite religious practices, business, and social politics. It cannot be dissociated because, on Islam's behalf, men's and women's authority has struggled and shared their thoughts and renewal expertise with all Muslim fellows, becoming kind guidance and important figure in social movement¹²⁷. Looking back to Islamic history, in the Prophetic era, Muslim women were actively gaining community in social affairs, such as Aisha, a wife of Muhammad, who took an active role in political affairs. Besides her passion as one of the principal transmitters of hadith¹²⁸, she was criticized by many opponents of political practices after Muhammad's death and straight for defending slenderness between the Islamic groups at that time¹²⁹. Likewise, the famous history of the Battle of Camel (Jamal) in 656 H shows how progressive she is in broadening the political arena during the battle

¹²⁴ Sarita al-Jufri Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1), May 17, 2023.

¹²⁵ Manger, *The Hadhrami Diaspora*.

¹²⁶ Hall and Khazaleh, "Cosmopolitanism and Anthropology."

¹²⁷ G. Krämer and S. Schmidtke, "Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies," 2006, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Speaking-for-Islam-%3A-religious-authorities-in-Kr%C3%A4mer-Schmidtke/bf14ba1094dca531858b85de2ec3da1270cc59d4>.

¹²⁸ Barbara Freyer Stowasser and Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹²⁹ People who are interested in comprehending The history of Aisha *Radliyallahu 'Anha* frequently raise issues with her age at marriage, her struggle with Ali, and the infamous of "hadith al-Ifki". (the incident of the lie) or charge of adultery. The history began with the rumors of Aisyah that had committed adultery with Shafwan ibn Mu'attal are referred to as "Hadith al-Ifki". Moreover, The Jewel of Medina (2008), a contentious fictitious book by Sherry Jones, as the one of the most notorious instances to seek the deep history of fictitious work was based on Islamic history but was altered to suit the author's preferences (see Larsson 2015: 104), portraying Aisha poorly and highlighting her close bond with Shafwan (Jones 2008: 178–179). The Sunni Muslims contend that Aisha was innocent and unfairly accused (Sherry Jones, *The Jewel of Medina* (Beaufort Books, Incorporated, 2008).

with Ali¹³⁰. Laila Ahmed argues that her efforts symbolized a sign of the community's acceptance of women regarding accepted that Aisha was capable became a women leader and is important in that it even occurred¹³¹.

Furthermore, the position of Aisha towards the problem of Sunni-Shi'i debates is very significant to highlight as a model of women's leadership. In this case, it proves that the early contestation between Sunni and Shi'a did not only raise or involve male successors of the Prophet Muhammad but also included the leading female religious authority for Muslim fellows¹³². Besides the female companion of the Prophet, a woman comes from the Middle East in Cairo, Huda Sha'rawi (1879-1947), known as one of Egypt's feminist leaders at that time. She struggled to build a new environment and also the movement of the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923, when many Muslim women in Egypt established a women's movement, namely *Bint al-Nil* (Daughter of the Nile). This movement currently focuses on women's political participation in Egypt and the new Constitution of women's rights in 1956¹³³.

Throughout the history of Muslim women's activism, we might see that women are entitled and capable of collaborating with many agencies to raise emancipation and gender justice. Carrying out of this discussion, the discussion of Muslim women and the social movement cannot be separated from the increment of the modern movement in every part of the Islamic world. In addition to continuing women's struggles, Hadhrami, especially Jakartan *Shara'if*, in the late twentieth century, began focusing their identity on the social movement and gender justice. One of the biggest struggles enhanced by Jakartan *Shara'if* nowadays emerged as a modern social movement than a movement in the last of the eighteenth century, particularly from the 1905s to the 1915s¹³⁴.

In this chapter, I highlight the position of Jakarta as the most well-known cosmopolitan *Shara'if* who actively enjoys and appeals to their soul as a socialist movement. This case obviously can be proven by my interview on May 25, 2023, with Sharifah Sasha Alaydrus in Kalibata, who mentioned that 'In Jakarta, my financial rewards increase and much more benefit to socialize with modernity style, uphold my dreams became a true'¹³⁵. Compared to the *Shara'if* communities in Central Java, such as

¹³⁰ Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (Yale University Press, 1992), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32bg61>.

¹³¹ Ahmed.

¹³² Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements."

¹³³ Lisa Blaydes and Safinaz El Tarouty, "Women's Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization," *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 3 (2009): 364–80.

¹³⁴ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

¹³⁵ Alaydrus, In depth-Interview.

Pekalongan and also Madura in East Java, Jakarta was chosen as the most active in promoting the dakwa stage¹³⁶. Likewise, a suggestion from Rahma Sarita al-Jufri, '*Shara'if*', who lived in Jakarta, is a modern-religious, open-minded, and moderate perspective¹³⁷. The premodern era period should be considered in discussions of women activists and women's organizations. It was not only for women who lived in the Prophet Muhammad's household but also non-Arab female characters in the premodern era. In that so, I will determine Jakartan Cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in the modern age as an important figure for later women activists and Muslim women organizations worldwide¹³⁸.

Sakdiyah Makruf is one of Indonesia's most prominent women Muslims in the comedy entertainment circle. Sakdiyah initially gained status as *Shara'if*, the female descendant of the Prophet, and decided to construct her own traditional culture of Yemen Hadhrami¹³⁹. Later, she was known as the first women comedian of *Shara'if* and rejected irregular roles among Hadhrami's family as she negotiated her position in the public sphere. The possibility of Sakdiyah in the Public sphere by exploring standup comedy, which brings religious conservatism and women's rights issues. Other than that, she almost emphasizes her family capital and the grassroots way, but at the same time, Sakdiyah analyses more about social humanity in a wider scope¹⁴⁰. Based on my in-depth interview with her, Sakdiyah emphasizes many strategic roles of comedy to campaign for women's voices' improvement in social media and public realms.

Meanwhile, she constantly receives comments and ridicule for her comedy because she came from *the Shara'if* community and could not overact on the stage¹⁴¹. Moreover, the capability of Sakdiyah against other cosmopolitan *Shara'if* is concerned with the processes of women empowerment and eradicates many suggestions that women still need to participate in public. Sakdiyah explains more about their family, traditional practices, and a phenomenon of disgrace or *Aib* among Hadhrami migrants in Indonesia. She said, 'I had much more negotiation and kept struggling to marry non-male Hadhrami, reaching

¹³⁶ Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," 2012.

¹³⁷ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

¹³⁸ Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements," 156.

¹³⁹ Ismiana Roosyidah and Adi Bayu Mahadian, "Perempuan Muslim dalam Stand Up Comedy Sakdiyah Ma'ruf," *Jurnal Komunikasi Global* 9, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 134, <https://doi.org/10.24815/jkg.v9i1.16547>.

¹⁴⁰ Dian Adi Marianto, "The Possibility of Non-Litigation Advocacy Through Comedy and a New Media: Analysis of the Indonesian Comic 'Sakdiyah Ma'ruf,'" *KnE Social Sciences*, August 4, 2019, 2, <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v3i20.4923>.

¹⁴¹ Interview Sakdiyah Makruf, In-depth interview, n.d., 23 June 23.

high educational school, and also carrier as a comedian. At first, my parents could not believe all this and worried we were neglecting the traditional's legacy¹⁴².

Then, Rahma Sarita al-Jufri, a politician activist of NasDem (Nasional Demokrat) and Youtuber enthusiast, actively gained a renewal movement for women Hadhrami migrants in Indonesia. Since I interviewed in depth with her, she was enthusiastic to talk more about the history of *the Shara'if* movement in Indonesia. As far as I know, it can be seen from her educational background and separate achievements from the academic level, shown as academics *Shara'if*.

In addition, Rahma's background was separate from the ancient practice held by her family in Pekalongan. She mentioned, 'My parents support all children, between men and women, and encouraged us to be more productive and creative humans, so my parents allowed me to boost my skills in Jakarta.' At the last minute, I asked about her struggles in negotiating her identity and how can she dare to follow the resistance of traditional regulations of Hadhrami. She answers, 'I don't have any experiences of being scolded by my parents to stay at home, but they warned me a lot about keeping a relationship and a soft friendship with the male zone¹⁴³.

However, at the beginning of the interview, she claimed she was breaking inter-ethnic Hadhrami marriage, that she married an *Ahwal* (non-Hadhrami family, especially the descendant of a prophet) man from East Java. Subsequently, it's not become customary by many Hadhrami families, but indeed, in Jakarta, it is often to find. Moreover, despite her experience, I saw her Youtube videos throughout the statement of *Shara'if* involvement in the modern era; she straight forward to connect the *Shara'if* itself with modernization. Rahma's position is still concerned with political issues and gender studies, as demonstrated by her struggles and support in the heart of Jakartan *Shara'if*.

Sasha Alaydrus is a telegram enthusiast in social media and concentrates on the women's beauty vlogger on Instagram. I knew her when I attended the women's forum and conference in Jakarta and presented and influenced the beauty concepts among the youth generation. Sincerely, Sasha is very close to *adat wa taqlid*, the cultural tradition of Hadhramaut, and still holds the status of family capital in her content. For instance, some content shows her *Shara'if's* daily life status, recites weekly Maulid, and creates fun, creative content about women's Arab life. When I asked her about her activities, she answered directly, 'Since my husband and parents support my creativity, respecting Hadhramis family nobility, in accordance to Shariat, I truly express my capacity as a

¹⁴² Sakdiyah Makruf, In-depth interview, 06 June 2023.

¹⁴³ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

content creator loved by Indonesian pupils in social media. In addition, since the first time Sasha contributed on social media, any rejection came from her big family because, as Sharifah, her behaviors were inappropriate, but her bargain drove her parents to understand that societal values have changed. She truly believes that traditional movements were not distracting her authority as *Shara'if*; also, through Social media life, many Jakartan *Shara'if* drove a renewal of capacity and capability on the stage or wherever they live.

However, Sasha has a different marriage case from Rahma al-Jufri and Sakdiyah Makruf in strengthening their Hadhrami identity. Sasha still has been maintaining the law of Kafa'ah marriage or endogamy marriage with the Hadhramis group, following the roles and attitudes of Ba'Alawi's belief to keep more under-relation of Yemen Hadhramaut's culture. She could mention that in the case of seeking profit, as *Shara'if*, she could negotiate whatever she would be, and Sasha was chosen social media beauty vlogger as her goal of empowerment. When I asked her about her struggles as social media beauty vlogger and how she negotiated her identity among Muslim pupils, she answered then, 'My parent is not very sticky for my kindness life, even though some of Jakartan *Shara'if* still hold traditional values, and I don't, I still holding traditional values but in a different context and the era'.

Despite this confession within their struggles, the case of *Shara'if* signifies another model of women's empowerment in serving the public sphere and the community. For instance, Sakdiyah Makruf is a female comedian with the immediate Hadhrami's background and played a role in public comedian relationships both nationally and internationally. According to Makruf, she needed to be positioned in the formal structure of the Hadhrami family like her mother. Nevertheless, her efforts significantly impacted the development of the women's Hadhrami. In the interview, Sakdiyah recognized that the position of *Shara'if* today, between the traditionalist and cosmopolitan, has a role in sharing ideas and in seeking independence the financial for the development of women's emancipation in Indonesia.

Moreover, the case of Sasha Alaydrus signifies another model of *Shara'if* in Jakarta. As a beauty vlogger and social media creator, Sasha arranged some beauty content or a workshop on "women, beauty and solidarity" on October 21, 2022. The speakers came from such women's backgrounds and the Islamic movement in Indonesia. This activity showed that Sasha was also communicated with and socialized by Hadhrami or non-Hadhrami participants. Sasha came from the traditionalist Hadhrami figure and married the Habib, so Sasha was transferred to proper and limited activities in Jakarta. The next chapter

will touch specifically upon the public roles of *Shara'if* in the *Majelis Taklim* and community-related matters.

To conclude this chapter, the observation shows that PAI's women's organization is still actively immersed in the struggle and support for the major of female Hadhrami between the traditional or emancipation domains. Indeed, the PAI's women have created an ideal and significant role, such as education, social philanthropy, and public health. Even today, the women Hadhrami (*Shara'if*) still handle social-solidarity activities in their agency. Undeniably, their activities stressed that a female descendant of the Prophet is encouraged to express an Islamic identity and family culture. Others, The Sharifat, also struggled to achieve the possibility of emancipation within Hadhrami's family and eliminate the old traditional's perspective based on the moderate (nature) itself.

CHAPTER 3

***SHARA'IF* OF JAKARTA FIGURES: NEGOTIATING PUBLIC ROLES AND AGENCY**

The crucial significance of women's emancipation for economic and human development has been recognized by development initiatives since 1990¹⁴⁴. In a similar case, the case of United Nations held the fourth world conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace in Beijing, particularly they upcome an issue of "women's empowerment". According to the United Nations, women's empowerment consists of five elements: women's sense of self-worth, their right to have and determine choices, opportunities and resources, and also powerless in women's life nationally and internationally¹⁴⁵. In a later definition of the concept, Kabeer emphasizes empowerment as the ability to make choices and defines it as gender roles in ways which extend their possibilities and achievement for being and doing¹⁴⁶. Moreover, the term ability is wider to understand and seek in different dimensions, including their homes, works, relationships, achievement, leisure time, and values. This thesis will examine within values of women empowerment among women Hadhrami itself and point out that the meaning of ability is not much different from a general human rights perspective when it does not highlight the gender aspect of women's empowerment¹⁴⁷.

However, the term Empowerment that I used here is also a theory of social change and addresses the realities of women Hadhrami in both developing and industrialized countries, which present significant action and role in the country. In addition, focusing on Jakartan *Shara'if* and their social change in the public sphere, this chapter comprises five parts of the discussion, first discusses the concept of empowerment and its theoretical practice in Indonesia. Second, it deals with the role of formal agency in empowering Jakartan *Shara'if*. Third, it considers the role of Jakartan *Shara'if-led* various agencies as key actors in the promotion of empowerment and, lastly, provides examples of support negotiations of the implementation of women empowerment through the social environment. To conclude, this chapter will be deeply attentive with some assessment of

¹⁴⁴ Paul Shaffer, "Gender, Poverty and Deprivation: Evidence from the Republic of Guinea," *World Development* 26, no. 12 (1998): 114.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Yeboah et al., "Empowering and Shaping Gender Relations? Contesting the Microfinance-Gender Empowerment Discourse," *Development in Practice* 25, no. 6 (2015): 895–908.

¹⁴⁶ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," March 2005.

¹⁴⁷ Ly Phan, "Women's Empowerment and Fertility Changes," *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 39, no. 1/2 (2013): 49–75.

the possibilities for and challenges within Jakartan *Shara'if* to make empowerment a concrete reality.

A. Newly Emerging *Shara'if* of Women Empowerment in Indonesia: Power and Authority

From a different case, it was difficult for those female Hadhrami, especially *Shara'if*, to pursue their involvement in the public sphere because the majority of Indonesian communities still adhere to patriarchal ideals, with the assumption that women are primarily responsible for performing household tasks. Despite their public roles and activities, they are still seen as decent wives and mothers who should be by nature. All the female characters I've written about were conscious of this expectation and carefully considered how they could best handle their household affairs. They understood the importance of carrying out their domestic responsibilities. Besides, they had proven their managerial skills could they enter the public domain.

One of the prerequisites for those *Shara'if*'s development into the public sphere was having a proper arrangement for their household operations. When considering the right place for Muslim women in society, it is important to remember this important problem. This issue cannot be comprehended without knowing how Muslim women view their position within a Muslim social structure. This is one of the factors contributing to the difficulty Muslim women may encounter in adopting a Western-style feminism based on principles that are seen as universally applicable. First, Muslim women may not always view "family ties and kinship ties [as] a barrier to women's liberation' freedom'. The decision made by Rahma Sarita al-Jufri to get married while she was still a university student also, she suggests that she never considered that marriage would be a barrier to her dream of pursuing education. Despite supporting her parents, she was able to have a confidence-self in the public sphere and negotiate her domestic duties from a traditional family's background in East Java into modern space in Jakarta.

Subsequently, according to Amartya Sen, the dynamic of women's empowerment is one of the issues in the development process for many countries until today¹⁴⁸. He mentioned that empowerment must be understood with both theoretical and practical attention because, at that time, he was criticized more for the national development in Bangalia, India, which set aside any aspect of well-being among humans and specifically

¹⁴⁸ Amartya Sen, "Development as Freedom: An India Perspective," *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations* 42, no. 2 (2006): 202.

treated women as passive recipients of welfare in enhancing help¹⁴⁹. He concludes then the passiveness towards women also comes to the education aspect, who always specified as having low education at that time. However, along the day, such new perspectives of women come and support as renewal active agents of change through their agency. In general, many scholars defined empowerment as a complex dynamic that also needs action in many dimensions, such as economics, social politics, and education, which will become more aware and significant for women's life.

Moreover, Talal Asad makes the same point about empowerment by adding the authority to increase their potential for negotiation. In addition, Asad pointed out that sometimes, women have belonged to the authority in leading the position of women. Both power and authority should be distinguished, criticizing the functionalist viewpoint. He defined power as the relationship between an agent and an object as a means, or the antithesis of the exploiter and the exploited, while defining authority as the subordination of human consciousness to a valid rule (and consequently to those who make the rule) Anyway, this statement has been a response by Farrag, mentioned that solidarities exercise the considerable social control of women empowerment. Seeking the alliance group and support from each woman in the community, they highly deserve a high social status and gain political influence for their status¹⁵⁰.

Nevertheless, the dynamic of women empowerment status among *Shara'if* in Indonesia is still relevant and significant, along with the involvement of *Shara'if* mostly wider in the public sphere. With this statement, I place the potential theory of Naila Kabeer as an alternative way to the dynamic of agency to raise women's empowerment among *cosmopolitan Shara'if*. Moreover, despite the visibility of resources and achievement increase in the involvement in women's power and capacity, the agency could be affected to negotiate the *Shara'if* power in raising any capabilities. Kabeer emphasizes that another option for dynamic women empowerment is achievement and resources. The achievements will give any results of agency; then, the resources are how the agency is exerted¹⁵¹. In the *Shara'if's* case, the agency is rare and limits any access to empower their authority and identity as *Shara'if's* leader or public figure. Looking back to the history of the Hadhramic diaspora in Indonesia, since the women Hadhrami migrates, most of them

¹⁴⁹ Sen, 191.

¹⁵⁰ Amina Farrag, "Social Control Amongst the Mzabite Women of Beni-Isguen," *Middle Eastern Studies* 7, no. 3 (1971): 317–27.

¹⁵¹ Naila Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal," *Gender and Development* 13, no. 1 (2005): 21.

regret hiding their position. As Slama mentioned, hiding from the sunlight¹⁵². However, nowadays, the *Shara'if* nation orders to gain empowerment in the public sphere.

Accordabeer, an agency has its challenges that can bring both positive and negative values towards its position¹⁵³. The ability to create and carry out one's own life decisions, particularly in the face of opposition from others, is referred to in its positive sense by the preposition "the power to" in its negative can not a certain actors' ability to trump others' agency to trump the agent, such as through the use of coercion, violence, or other types of authority¹⁵⁴. Seeking the *Shara'if's* life, on the one hand, their decision t any opportunities and the opposition in the public sphere were well-appreciated due to their acknowledgement and achievement goals. The *Shara'if* community frequently faces negative criticism regarding its actual behaviour, which occasionally veers from the customary regulations governing Women's Hadhrami. Particularly, the term "descendants of the Prophet" is always used to react to criticism of their "power over" techniques. Rahma Sarita, however, holds that regardless a person belongs to the Hadhrami tribe or not, every person infringes the law whenever they defy the Prophet's guidance¹⁵⁵. To be empowered is similar to Kabeer's theory that a person must actively exercise their right to choose and do so in a way that challenges established power structures. A process of empowerment frequently begins due to the importance of attitudes and values in validating inequity¹⁵⁶.

In addition, the women Hadhrami dynamic in Indonesia is differentiated by their social status. According to Slama, from the 19th until the 20th century, the participation of Hadhrami migrants, between males and females, mostly embeddedness in cultural norms, nowadays applies to the public stage¹⁵⁷. Most of them are contributed as the 'female headed' with some level of agencies, as well as those with some formal schools, experiences and gain involvement in certain communities¹⁵⁸. In Jakarta, although some of the women Hadhrami were reported to have gained some traditional culture and are still embedded in Yemenis cultural norms, note that they transform social empowerment by building social capital and networks through their group claimed in existing qualities and productive. Similarly, Yeboah mentioned such data on female-lead cases worldwide, which found that women's capacity and responsibility for gaining leadership are mostly enough

¹⁵² Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop," 115.

¹⁵³ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005, 23.

¹⁵⁴ Kabeer, 26.

¹⁵⁵ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

¹⁵⁶ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005, 26.

¹⁵⁷ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop."

¹⁵⁸ Alaydrus, In depth-Interview.

confidence¹⁵⁹. However, the case happened to Persatoean Arab Indonesia (PAI), the Union of Indonesian Arabs, which established a renewal promotion of the emancipation of women Hadhrami in Indonesia, proposed by Abdurrahman Baswedan¹⁶⁰.

Despite a renewal of emancipation, Baswedan began to reach many young people, and women's associations in Indonesia were set up. Initially, PAI's organization only focused on Indonesia's social, religious, and cultural fields¹⁶¹. At that time, Baswedan established PAI Istri, which aimed to strengthen between social and religious within women's Hadhrami, which seemed unequal significant in the Hadhrami brotherhood¹⁶². Moreover, the struggles and efforts of Baswedan can be seen as a revolutioner in the movement of the Hadhrami community, which was an emancipate movement. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the figure of Baswedan was highly recognized by the PAI congress and opposed the existing unserious practice, which gave the Hadhrami a bad reputation in Indonesia and discrimination against women at that time¹⁶³. Despite his successful leader from the Hadhramis group, Baswedan also awakens some consciousness among the members of women in the younger generation, which fulfils women's behaviour in the public sphere. Historically, Jonge mentioned that Baswedan was not inspired by Arabian Peninsula's experience, in which women were excluded from the public sphere, but nowadays, for Indonesian women particularly, have been very difficult to accept a similar women's case¹⁶⁴. However, Baswedan gained Hadhramis identity at that time, which was imperative in improving their position in many fields, such as social, economic, and political aspects. As Pluvier examines how Hadhrami migrants under the party of Indo-Europeans start to awaken feelings of brotherhood and seek equality to respect couple appreciation and establish an equal sentiment between male and female Hadhrami¹⁶⁵. Nowadays, this

¹⁵⁹ Yeboah et al., "Empowering and Shaping Gender Relations?," 42.

¹⁶⁰ de Jonge, "Abdul Rahman Baswedan and the Emancipation of the Hadhramis in Indonesia"; Mobini-Kesheh, "The Arab Periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies, 1914-1942."

¹⁶¹ Initially, PAI was a religious movement. As for what is meant by religious group, PAI as organization that upholding religion, Observing the religious laws, and also promoting Islam from the *Ushul* or *Furu'* route, particularly followed the Indonesian government roles. The Islamic Sarekat Party (PSI), which followed Islamic ideals, as well as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Islamic Unity (Persis), and Muhammadiyah can all be categorized as religious organizations that at the time had a significant impact on PAI. In this situation, Baswedan completely accepts for those who embrace and strengthen themselves to the Nahdlatul 'Ulama (NU), Persatuan Islam (Persis) or Muhammadiyah (MU)'s organization (Suratmin, *Abdul Rahman Baswedan*, 105..

¹⁶² de Jonge, "Abdul Rahman Baswedan and the Emancipation of the Hadhramis in Indonesia," 389.

¹⁶³ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*, 122.

¹⁶⁴ de Jonge, "Abdul Rahman Baswedan and the Emancipation of the Hadhramis in Indonesia."

¹⁶⁵ J. M. Pluvier, *Overzicht van de Ontwikkeling Der Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesie in de Jaren 1930 Tot 1942* (W. van Hoeve- S' Gravenhage, 1953).

statement is still relevant in women Hadhrami's experiences, especially Jakartan *Shara'if*, who struggle to fulfil their independence of women empowerment through their identity. In this chapter, I particularly analyze the four *Shara'if*'s figure and their negotiation within the public and agency.

B. Biographical Sketch of the *Shara'if*

From the main case study of Jakartan *Shara'if*, I have chosen the fourth *Shara'if* from three different generations and activities, starting with Rahma Sarita al-Jufri (the first generation as a political activist), Sakdiyah Makruf (the second generation as a comedian feminist), Shamira Shihab (the third generation as influencer and founder of thinkerlust.id and stellar women), and Sasha Alaydrus (the fourth generation as beauty vlogger on Instagram). These facts of figures suggest that *Shara'if* either adopted the traditional culture of Hadhrami tribes or have similar opportunities to be as influential as their male (*Habaib*) counterparts, particularly because they have leadership skills, management abilities and also relevant religious knowledge.

Rahma Sarita al-Jufri (Political Activist)

Rahma Sarita was born in Surabaya in 1975. She worked as a reporter for the television programs Tvone and Metro. He is the first TV host of Arab-Indonesian ancestry. Rahma was chosen by the Democratic Nationalist Party to run as a legislative candidate in the People's Representative Council in 2019. She has been noted for her bravery in criticizing the government and advancing the emancipation of women of Arab origin in the modern period through her YouTube channel since 2019. Little Rahma Sarita al-Jufri received her father's private instruction in Islamic traditional sciences and completed her formal education in a bilingual school in Surabaya. Rahma claims that her father believes that women and men should not mix in the world's traditional Islamic teaching. In this case, Rahma was educated by her father using this principle. Moreover, her father did not place her daughter in Pesantren or *halaqah* (a group of students which resembles a class) or allow Rahma to travel to study in Hadhramaut, likewise another traditional *Shara'if* in Dar al-Zahra Yemen¹⁶⁶. Eva mentioned that traditional *Shara'if* (traditional *Shara'if* such as

¹⁶⁶ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

Halimah Alaydrus and Khadijah al-Junayd) followed their parents' path in a way to transmit religious knowledge for their particular privileges¹⁶⁷.

In addition, as a member of the core family of *Habaib*, she was also supposed to follow the practice of endogamous marriage to maintain the strong network of the Hadhrami, extending and sustaining the *Shara'if* Hadhrami tradition. When she was about twenty years old, she married Habib (male of the descendant prophet) from the family of al-Jufri in Surabaya. However, in 2018, Rahma divorced Habib, and then she married Ahwal for the second time. In the middle of the interview, Rahma mentioned that she took over the authority of *Shara'if* and felt it had become more prevalent in her family. Due to her second marriage to an Ahwal male living in Jakarta, Rahma Sarita left such engagement to undertake the traditional culture and religious transformation within Hadhrami. In 2019, Rahma left for Indonesia and travelled to England, aiming to journey to Europe and stay for educational purposes¹⁶⁸. However, there was no record of women Hadhrami in Europe among the Sharifa network from the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Similarly, there is almost no data or record of a woman Hadhrami from Ba'Alawi's background who spent time in Europe to pursue a degree and became a learned scholar upon her return to the Archipelago (Indonesia)¹⁶⁹. It was clear that some women Hadhrami from Ba'Alawi's background or *Habaib* family travelled to Hadhramaut; most of them only for transmission of Islamic knowledge or to accompany their husbands, as in the case of Sharifah Khadijah al-Junayd or Sharifah Halimah Alaydrus graduated from Pesantren of Hadhrami also as or Islamic preacher in Southeast Asia, who made travel to Hadhramaut with her brother before she married in Indonesia. In Rahma's case, however, there needs to be documentation or a brief experience of how Rahma studied in Mecca.

At the end of my interview with Rahma, there had been discussions about her struggles as a political activist since her early years of an MPR-RI member, and it was not until the end of her journey today. Moreover, Rahma was supported by her parents and her second husband to exist separately to provide Political activism to *Shara'if*. To confirm Rahma Sarita's engagement as a political party activist in Jakarta, her adopted helper said, "Tbuk Rahma was very active gaining the political issue in her Youtube, it causes her capability since she contributed to the involvement of NasDem in Jakarta. She was the only one from the descendant of Prophet, called *Shara'if*, so brave. I adore her quality so

¹⁶⁷ Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements."

¹⁶⁸ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

¹⁶⁹ Eva F Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," n.d., 2021.

much!¹⁷⁰. In addition 2019, Rahma Sarita began to be involved in a wider range of public political roles. She moved from Journalist to political activist because her husband's believed that Rahma was seen to be able to handle the political structure. Rahma Sarita competed as a candidate for DPR members in the NasDem party from 2019 to 2024. Rahma once handled posting Pancasila through his Facebook account while serving as a representative for East Java. Rahma challenged the Indonesian government for adopting Wakanda instead of upholding Pancasila's harmony. In terms of later, Rahma was subsequently removed from the NasDem party and denied access to the DPR-RI legislative candidates. Rahma apologized for his criticism of the integrity of Pancasila in Indonesia via Facebook social media, nevertheless ¹⁷¹.

Rahma is back to showing his enthusiasm for politics through his YouTube channel, Jabat Jiwa, but with a distinct nuance. Rahma discusses various topics on this channel, including politics in Indonesia, women's empowerment, and the need to end *Shara'if's* patriarchy there. Rahma Sarita concluded by saying, "I'll try to exist on social media and engage in other activities in the public arena when I am convinced that I have completed my responsibilities at home and with my husband's approval. Regardless of my public actions, I continue to maintain my identity as *Shara'if* while simultaneously being under the authority of my parents and spouse. I also promise to inform my parents as much as possible ¹⁷².

Shamira Shihab: Founder of Thinkerlust.id, Influencer

Shamira Shihab was born on January 6, 1986 in Jakarta. Regardless of her educational background or professional experience, she had company management and social media influencer skills equal to those of other males. She is the daughter of Habib Alwi Assegaf, a former minister of foreign affairs (1999–2001). Shamira inherited her father's ability to rise to a high leadership level in Indonesia. Shamira plays a significant role in the thinkerlust. id company, which is enough to motivate Indonesian ladies on Instagram. Shamira disclosed that she had made significant contributions to companies that significantly impacted the issues and feelings experienced by women during a Unilever lollipop webinar event. Shamira pointed out that even though patriarchy is prevalent in Indonesia and men dominate in the southeast region, the number of women serving as the

¹⁷⁰ Astuti Puji, In-depth Interview, May 18, 2023.

¹⁷¹ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

¹⁷² Rahma.

country's top executives is still rather large. She would do so, in my opinion, to empower women through community and creativity by launching stellar woman and thinkerlust.id. She rapidly grew the women's community from a small company that started in 2016 with a few members. Shamira has been actively encouraging Indonesian workers to participate in the pre-loved fashion industry on Instagram since 2019. She asserts that women often feel "guilty" daily, but this may be changed with mutual respect and equality among women, particularly in fashion¹⁷³.

As a female leader, Shamira has never declared herself to be *Shara'if* or used her personality to embody Nabi Muhammad in contrast to those of Rahma Sarita, Sasha Alaydrus, and Sakdiyah Makruf, who engaged in confidential dialogues about their experiences as members of the Prophet's descendants over social media or in front of the public. Shamira's admission is consistent with Kabeer's opinion and statement that women occasionally prefer to emphasize their initiative or accomplishments above resources (where their ancestry originates from)¹⁷⁴. As part of the Hadhrami community, Shamira particularly did not decide to wear a veil or *hijab*, unlike other *Shara'if*'s positions in Jakarta or the traditional *Shara'if*. When I interviewed her about her several socio-religious activities and hijab, she did not answer well; she just mentioned that 'it was my privacy'. Moreover, Shamira also had already mentioned while a Zoom interview that her personality as *Shara'if* was not affected by her carrier, and nevertheless, her parents did not educate her as a traditional *Shara'if*, such as pursuing a degree in a Middle East country.

"In my opinion, the majority of women Indonesia still uphold the middle east traditional practice. Obviously, my parents told me that Islam is Rahmah (baik dan global), especially to the women. I don't realize myself as *Shara'if*, me as Moslem women, a leader of thinkerlust.id, should be empower the world (especially women) to pursue an independent woman. Then, don't be shy or felt women guilty in many activities, just go ahead!"¹⁷⁵.

Sakdiyah Makruf: International Comedian Activist

Sakdiyah was a female comedian from Indonesia who came from Sharifa, a female descendant of the prophet. She was giving a speech and performing stand-up comedy on the KUPI Stage when I first met her at the Indonesian Women's Ulama Congress (KUPI)

¹⁷³ Shamira Shihab, In-depth Interview by Zoom, June 12, 2023.

¹⁷⁴ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005, 215.

¹⁷⁵ Shihab, In-depth Interview by Zoom.

in Jepara, East Java. Sakdiyah was born on February 11, 1982, in Pekalongan, East Java. Sakdiyah grew up in a patriarchal and conservative culture. He was unable to play outside the house with his parents in Pekalongan. Like fellow *Shara'if* in Jakarta, some of whom retain the customary system among *Shara'if*, Sakdiyah will be wed off by her parents to Habib in Pekalongan to save her Arab ancestry. In addition, Sakdiyah also maintains her modernity-promoting schemes by pursuing a career in comedy and adoring Western culture. While this happened, her parents disapproved of Sakdiyah's ideas because they went against conservatism and patriarchy¹⁷⁶.

In the case of Sakdiyah, a comedian figure in Indonesia, she had a special place among Indonesian Pesantren. She was invited to many local Ulama in East Java, such as Nahdlatul Ulama's birthday, *Majelis Taklims* (Islamic learning councils), etc. One of her viewers (NU background) said: "Sakdiyah had a special chauffeur to take her to different places where she was invited to give a speech and also stand-up comedy. Since the first time I met her, I have sought the difference personal of *Shara'if* in herself. Apart from her personal privileges as *Shara'if*, she has strong legitimacy that boosts the emancipation of women in Indonesia"¹⁷⁷. However, not all of *Shara'if*'s position demonstrated a similar achievement like Sakdiyah Makruf. Her capacity in understanding the gender knowledge and socio-religious activity and also the fact that she pursued her master degree in America as the centre of comedy learning for so many years had already given Sakdiyah a strong basis for respecting her agency in public roles¹⁷⁸. According to Mulyani, there was 'blue-blood legitimacy' as a female descendant of the prophet's kinship could be a specific ascribed 'power' within public role¹⁷⁹. However, in my opinion, the privilege of Sakdiyah is not adequate for negotiating significant public roles and also making her position more existing all the time. She further negotiated the possibility and also achievement of public roles apart from her public access¹⁸⁰ within the Nahdlatul Ulama stage, comedian's community, both male or female, and also her existence in the public sphere more enjoyed and often claimed as *Shara'if*'s comedian.

Therefore, in accordance to conclude these *Shara'if*'s cases, a woman has the "legitimacy" to discuss participation in public life with the important men in her home thanks to a well-run domestic sphere. As a result, women accessing religious, cultural, and

¹⁷⁶ Makruf, In-depth interview, 2023.

¹⁷⁷ Laila Umi, In-depth Interview, November 15, 2022.

¹⁷⁸ Marianto, "The Possibility of Non-Litigation Advocacy Through Comedy and a New Media."

¹⁷⁹ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 95.

¹⁸⁰ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005, 112.

educational resources might strive to coexist in both the public and private worlds. Do they shoulder a double load? It might differ from the background of Kyai's wife (Bu Nyai). However, the Kiai home is comparable to an aristocratic or high-class family. All of the Kiai's homes have multiple assistants for various tasks, and they come from various backgrounds, including their students, extended family, or locals. Therefore, rather than being employees of the Kiai home, these women serve as its managers. The name was described as a manager in the Kiai household by Mansurnoor in his studies on the Kiai in Madura¹⁸¹. Indeed, in *Shara'if's* life, especially the cosmopolitan one, their involvement in social activities in the public sphere does not necessarily mean as compete for gender relations or urgent economic needs. However, they are more likely to have actualises diri (self-actualisation), negotiate themselves and show experiences and abilities in various agencies. In addition, the *Shara'if* strongly enjoy pursuing their achievement and showing their ability to the public sphere by implementing gendered solutions.

C. Supporting the Agency of Jakartan *Shara'if*: Examining *Habaib's* Roles

Since many *Habaib* is fairly flexible and open-minded, it is challenging to portray the Kiai image as a conventional, zealous, and inflexible individual. In Sasha Alaydrus's case, her father had an initial significant influence in the Jakartan public sphere, where Sasha received her early education from her father and was allowed to attend the government school in Condet Jakarta, which was an unusual possibility for women at that time. She mentioned that only thirty per cent of *Shara'if* possible to do higher education, especially when she stayed in Pekalongan. Sasha Alaydrus, known as Asa, comes from Ba'Alawi's family and is the son of a popular Jakartan Habib preacher in Condet, East Java¹⁸². She was born in Pekalongan, Central Java, but no longer moved to Jakarta, as her parents considered at that time. Her professionalism today is active as a beauty content creator on social media and actively gaining a comedian with her husband, Usamah

¹⁸¹ Suzanne April Brenner, *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998), 109.

According to Alwi Shahab, in the 1950s, around 95% of the residents of Pekojan in West Jakarta, who were of Arab descent, moved to the Condet area. This can be proven by the communication between Arab immigrants who spoke Arabic or restaurants with Arabic nuances. Condet was also highlighted in the resolution of the company leaders in Batavia on June 8, 1753. The contents of the resolution were a decision regarding the sale of land in Condet covering an area of 816 morgen or 52,530 ha. He sold it to Frederik Willem Freijer. (<https://republika.co.id/berita/senggang/nostalgia-abah-alwi/o61p0j282/menelusuri-legenda-condet-yang-dibangun-dalam-satu-malam>).

Arbatah. Sasa described that, for the first time, the opportunity for Sasha to be involved in social media roles from the family's traditional culture was so difficult to support. In case, Sasha was around the *Habaib* family and was reluctant to take up her position as a beauty content creator in social media. However, time flies until Sasha negotiates her dreams and breaks any side arguments of old-traditional *Shara'if* because she looks up to the involvement of the Jakartan *Shara'if* figure nowadays. She said:

"My father, Habib Thaha, had a huge initial effect on my journey on social media. Besides, my husband supported me in establishing the *dakwa* content on media. Otherwise, I would not have experienced it having an entertainment (beauty content creator). Even some Hadhramis families said that most Alaydrus women spend their time at home caring about the nobilities or *Muruah* in front of the male¹⁸³. Sasha also described how her husband greatly offered to seek other beauty content creators on social media and gained dialogue with Instagram viewers, males and also females. Since the first time, people have made negative comments and suggestions about her content, especially when she dressed up and seemed to be confident during her dance¹⁸⁴. She said to her husband:

"Since the early beginning as a content creator, I asked your permission for my activities many times; he reminded me that I am *Shara'if* and will get many consequences for my whole activities in media. My husband said, "You may be popular but responsible for your nobility, and I love your involvement every day, so you did what the prophet has been saying through Hadith' *Innallaha Jamilun wa Yuhibbu al-Jamal*; Allah is beautiful and loves the beauty"¹⁸⁵.

In the interview, Sasha mentioned that Usamah Abrata (her husband) was one of the keys to her achievement in negotiating identity and public space. She was very grateful that some of the *Shara'if* still encourage hide-self involvement, such as forbade in higher education, child marriage, etc. Moreover, Sasha acknowledges her husband, Habib (male descendant of the prophet) from Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Timur, who empowered her and her daughters to reach many dreams as we can in any field. Her husband seems more enthusiastic than she is.

For Rahma Sarita al-Jufri, the opportunity to be involved in political roles in the public sphere also stems from the traditional culture of the Hadhrami family, especially the worldview of *Shara'if*. In the interview, she described how her family in Madura was traditional and passionate about religion and politics. In Rahma's case, her father had an

¹⁸³ Alaydrus, In depth-Interview.

¹⁸⁴ Alaydrus.

¹⁸⁵ Usamah Harbata, In depth interview, May 2023.

initial significant influence, where the highest education is the top level her family might reach. Since she was a kid, her parents were too much protection for all her daughters and more likely to carry out the domestic chores, whereas the cultural case in Maudra at that time did not have such a public sphere opportunity.

In general, the involvement of men's groups in supporting the ideas and providing women's ability to be empowered still exists in the Muslim community. Indeed, some assumptions come to the public that men were granted more privileges that allowed them more voices¹⁸⁶. For instance, the book of *Tahrir al-Mar'ah* (Women's Emancipation), written by Qasim Amin, is widely regarded in the Islamic world as the first work by a Muslim scholar to advocate for educating and empowering women. During his life, Qasim Amin was known as *Ulama* (Islamic scholar), who campaigned for the authority of women to access public education¹⁸⁷. Besides, within the history of pesantren in Indonesia, the two Indonesian scholars, Kyai Bisri Syansyuri and Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, as religious figures who encouraged also provided bright ideas and accessibility for women's education. Mulyani mentioned that pesantren is a great synthesis in developing pesantren education for women and is also highly supported by male religious figures¹⁸⁸.

In addition, within PAI, women's organizations have supported female figures in the public sphere, providing ideas and agencies in Jakarta so that PAI women could actively campaign for their emancipation in Indonesia¹⁸⁹. Moreover, Abdurrahman Baswedan was a progressive leader due to the spread of Islamic values and modernization among the Hadhramis community. The success of PAI women faces significant positions and personal potential to women Hadhrami in negotiating the public realms.

However, there is no evidence that the *Shara'if* were familiar with this idea; such a discourse was rare in Hadhrami history. They perceived the authority they might share with their male colleagues and the progressive beliefs they held to be natural. One thing connects their case; they were well aware of their rights and what they could accomplish while remaining true to religion and public principles. Additionally, they were surrounded by male religious leaders, such as *Habaib* or religious families, who were encouraging and attentive to gender issues. Besides, it would be erroneous to assume that the possibility gained by such *Shara'if* individuals in public roles was solely a result of

¹⁸⁶ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 109–10.

¹⁸⁷ Adele K. Ferdows, "Women and the Islamic Revolution," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15, no. 2 (1983): 235.

¹⁸⁸ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 110.

¹⁸⁹ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

the *Habaib's* favour, the capital of the Hadhamis family, particularly claimed elite groups, as the prophet's descendant. However, one of the things that encouraged their public participation might have been *Habaib's* stature. More importantly, their position also had something to do with their potential, skills, and possibilities concerning society in general.

Nevertheless, the theory of Naila Kabeer through gender equality and women's empowerment was extremely significant and coherent in incorporating the *Shara'if* issues into this chapter. In this regard, the *Shara'if* had negotiating power when it came to "negotiating" the public spheres, not just with their male counterparts but also with the people who were engaged with the patriarchal view from the perspectives of the Hadhrami family and also from local society. Some of them (*Shara'if*) had to struggle with very Hadhrami's traditional cultural points of view of *Shara'if* from their family capital perspectives. Indeed, Rahma Sarita al-Jufri played several prominent public positions in the early development of social media, political party communities, and social humanity programs because she had the necessary capabilities for these tasks. Within this case, I agree with Afsaruddin's assertion that "...in Islamic/ate societies, the exercise of formal or informal power and the negotiation of public space have frequently been less of an experience for women of means and education than for women who do not enjoy the same advantages"¹⁹⁰.

In addition, although Afsaruddin has used the phrase "female public space" to emphasize the distinction between the public and private or domestic spheres, in my opinion, she could not adequately capture the complexity of women's lives in various contexts. This distinction should be reevaluated to consider the changes in women's lives, even though it might be utilized as a starting point to analyze women's socio-political and economic reality. It is extremely important to recognize that "Islam [...] does not have a uniform impact on women's lives"¹⁹¹.

Moreover, in this chapter, it would be simpler to conclude that it has different effects on women in various contexts and shapes various patterns of female participation in public life, including the public religious space, with which Muslim women (*Shara'if*) are typically not associated because religious leadership has traditionally been viewed as a male-dominated environment.

¹⁹⁰ Asma Afsaruddin, "Literature, Scholarship, and Piety: Negotiating Gender and Authority in the Medieval Muslim World," *Religion & Literature* 42, no. 1/2 (2010): 6.

¹⁹¹ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 108.

D. “Be a moderate *Shara'if*: The Story from Fieldwork

Despite having the opportunity to participate in public life, Muslim women frequently face restrictions when they do so, such as questions about their authority and family privilege and whether or not they frequently will ask the *Shara'if* "Are they still adhere to traditional norms of morals behaviour and also respectability"? Hegland, who was concerned about the Shia women and the majlis practical in Peshawar and Pakistan, mentioned that Shia women were engaged in subtle gender negotiation and modification through the practice of their religious morning rites. Particularly, besides the women engaged with the *males*, they actively carried out political activity through these *males*. They did so by educating and asking for many values from the Shi'a norms and gender expectations¹⁹². Moreover, they worked under male supervision in sex-segregated female groups and covered themselves appropriately with purdah veils¹⁹³.

Furthermore, women from Hadhrami's family who were visible in public also upheld the standards or principles of respectability, particularly when there were set and established standards either from the 'Islamic' perspective or from their society's standard. They may discover a straightforward path and gain acceptance for their presence in public arenas in this way. They respect those principles, make accommodations, and uphold them in public. They all wear the standard hijab that does not cover all over the head (an Indonesian head covering that resembles the veil), the first obvious example of their adoption of 'Islamic' ideals. When I interviewed Sasha Alaydrus, she said that most people were asking about the issue of *Shara'if's* veiling or dress code, which seemed controversial among Muslim women. Social media viewers are very attentive to *Shara'if's* style and among Jakarta's offline neighbours¹⁹⁴. In general, the attention to the veiling issues has similar popularity to the case of Nyai from Pesantren, who attached to the *kerudung rubu'*, which mostly resembles the jilbab, which is more popular among the current women

¹⁹² Mary Elaine Hegland, "The Power Paradox in Muslim Women's Majales: North-West Pakistani Mourning Rituals as Sites of Contestation over Religious Politics, Ethnicity, and Gender," *Signs* 23, no. 2 (1998): 96.

¹⁹³ Purdah, also spelled Pardah, Hindi Parda ("screen," or "veil"), is a practice that was first used by Muslims and later embraced by many Hindus, particularly in India. It involves securing women from public view by covering their faces and bodies with clothing (including the veil) and using high-walled enclosures, screens, and curtains inside the home. Purdah is considered to have a history in Persian culture and was acquired by Muslims in the seventh century AD during the Arab conquest of what is now Iraq. Purdah became a practice among the Hindu upper classes of northern India as a result of Muslim rule's dominance of the region. Purdah observance was rigidly upheld and widespread among the highly conscious Muslim minority in India during the British era. Since that time, purdah has mostly faded from Hindu practice, while many Islamic nations still maintain some form of female seclusion and veiling. (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/purdah>)

¹⁹⁴ Alaydrus, In depth-Interview.

generation¹⁹⁵. In the interview, I saw the style of Sasha Alaydrus, Rahma Sarita, Sakdiyah Makruf, and Shamira Shihab may differ (some of them do not full-covering the head), but the mission they want to carry out with this veiling style is almost the same. In addition, according to them, as Muslim women, they seek to demonstrate that they are willing to adhere to the 'Islamic' dress norms used in Indonesia at the time.

Moreover, for *Shara'if*, there is no compromise; they feel it is an obligation, and it is uncommon to hear them question the established norm. While for some women activists, the fight for empowerment also includes the freedom to choose whether or not to wear the veil, for the pesantren women, there is no compromise. They all appear dressed as nearly as possible to what may be considered Islamic attire¹⁹⁶.

However, it is interesting to learn more about the style-culture of *Shara'if* and their consideration in negotiating their authority. In this case, the *cosmopolitan Shara'if* in Jakarta bravely showed off their independent style while the common *Shara'if* still recognizes to strengthen their Islamic values, traditions and compatibility. Besides, the traditional *Shara'if* also considered adhering their attention to the limitation of their relationship with *Ahwal* (common) males¹⁹⁷.

Vice versa, the *cosmopolitan Shara'if* suggested that nowadays, the limitation has been losing themselves but still hanging around with Hadhrami-Yemeni instruction, *al-Insaniyyah Qabla al-Tadayyun* (The Humanity before religion)¹⁹⁸. In the middle of the interview, when I asked her for acknowledgement of the religious practices in Yemen and the *Habaib* figure, they still to complied and upheld Habib Umar bin al-Hafidz as the father figure of Yemen. The discussion of Habib Umar and his connection with the Islamic dakwa transformation in Indonesia has been discussed in chapter two.

A discussion entitled "*al-Insaniyyah Qabla al-Tadayyun*" (The Humanity before Religion) was promoted by Habib Ali Zainal Abidin bin Abdurrahman al-Jufri in Indonesia, one of each held at the Faculty of Ushuluddin, Islamic State University of Semarang, Central Java¹⁹⁹. One of the speakers said that Humanity is the natural characteristic of humans, which Allah created to be their *fitrah* (pure). So, humans can distinguish between good and bad characters. For him, Humanity is a tool that can empower Muslim communities and a tool to moderate development, the principles that Indonesia

¹⁹⁵ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 112.

¹⁹⁶ *Hermeneutics and Honor: Negotiating Female "Public" Space in Islamic/Ate Societies* (Cambridge, Mass. : Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1999), <http://archive.org/details/hermeneuticshono0000unse>.

¹⁹⁷ Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," 2012.

¹⁹⁸ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

¹⁹⁹ I participated this formal event in Malang, June 2018.

tried to preserve and embed within it²⁰⁰. However, the public domain still upholds the understanding of moderation, not a wider public in general. Through several conversations with *Shara'if* during the fieldwork, they stated that the reason for becoming women's empowerment was not to reject the Yemen authority of women in a traditional public space; it was more to maintain capacity and 'moderate' development and strongly believe that *Shara'if* tried to moderate minded and connected within it²⁰¹.

Before discussing cosmopolitan *Shara'if* and their approach to the moderate and their commitment in more depth, briefly explain what a moderate is and how its moral values have affected the life of cosmopolitan *Shara'if*. When I attend the International Conference of Al-Azhar Alumni at the Islamic Center in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB), a moderate is simply understood as developing tolerance towards different ideas. In addition, the reflection of Moslem in the picture of tolerance was about contribution, development, harmony, and peace. On the conference day, one of the speakers emphasized that the Arab people considered using it and spreading their experiences within Indonesia to live harmoniously. To examine the wider moderate, I took some scholars' perspectives to seek general discussions in this chapter. In addition, scholars have mainly adopted the following concepts when defining "moderate" Islam: support for civil liberties, adhering to both Shari'a and secular law, cooperation with and cooperation through legal state institutions, support for an electoral system in which all parties (of any affiliation) have an equal opportunity to compete, and a more flexible (non-rigid) and tolerant worldview toward alternative perspectives²⁰².

Moderate Islam has a different status from Puritan Islam. In addition to correcting President George W. Bush's claim that the fight against terrorism is a crusade—a term that historically denotes a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians—the promotion of the distinction between moderate Islam and Puritan Islam, using terminology from Khaled Abou El Fadl, was also significant. This is not only a war waged by the US government against terrorists but also a war within Islam, specifically between moderate and Puritan, so the dichotomy of moderate vs Puritan has additional significance in lightening the burden faced by the US government in eradicating terrorism by sharing the

²⁰⁰ Ali Zainal Abidin Abdurrahman al-Jufri, "الإنسانية قبل التدين".Pdf," Google Docs, 2015, 212, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1AxM8dOz85fKbjALkC1pj6o46hZfocKCd/view?usp=drivesdk&usp=embed_facebook.

²⁰¹ Alaydrus, In depth-Interview; Makruf, In-depth interview; Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

²⁰² Dilshod Achilov and Sedat Sen, "Got Political Islam? Are Politically Moderate Muslims Really Different from Radicals?," *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique* 38, no. 5 (2017): 610.

responsibility with Muslims²⁰³. In addition to Barlas, several scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have expressed their disagreement with the phrase "moderate Islam." For example, John L. Esposito and Graham E. Fuller believe that evaluating a person's "position regarding Palestine/Israel, Algeria, Kashmir, and Iraq" is one of the litmus tests for identifying a moderate Muslim²⁰⁴. Moderate Muslims support Israel or "avoid any confrontation, even political," according to Fuller, whereas militant Muslims criticize Israel or oppose US policies toward Israel²⁰⁵.

In addition to the criteria mentioned by Esposito and Fuller, Abid Ullah Jan provides a further standard for determining whether or not a particular Muslim qualifies as moderate, namely that Muslim's attitude toward the Qur'an²⁰⁶. Then, according to M. A. Muqtedar Khan, the reason why some Muslims are hesitant to identify as moderate Muslims is that the term "moderate Islam" is used to describe people "who [have] sold out politically to the 'other side'²⁰⁷.

Indeed, Yusuf Al-Qaradawi asserts that Islam is a religion of moderation, while violent extremism is an antithesis of religion regarding both thinking and action. In this context, "remoteness" refers to excessive deviation from the central (i.e., mainstream) Islamic doctrines in one or more ways²⁰⁸. In other words, Al-Qaradawi claims that the solution to stop young people from embracing radical extremism is to master an understanding of Islam. Moreover, he mentioned a general lack of information about Islam

²⁰³ Khaled M. Abou El Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists*, Reprint edition (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2007).

²⁰⁴ John Esposito, "Moderate Muslims: A Mainstream of Modernists, Islamists, Conservatives, and Traditionalists," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 22 (July 1, 2005): 12, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajiss.v22i3.465>.

²⁰⁵ Graham Fuller, "Freedom and Security: Necessary Conditions for Moderation," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 22 (July 1, 2005): 21–28, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajiss.v22i3.466>.

²⁰⁶ Abid Ullah Jan, "Moderate Islam: A Product of American Extremism," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 2005): 29–38, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v22i3.467>.

²⁰⁷ M. A. Muqtedar Khan, "Islamic Democracy and Moderate Muslims: The Straight Path Runs through the Middle," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 2005): 39, <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v22i3.468>.

²⁰⁸ Yusuf Abdullah al-Qardhawi, also known as Yusuf Qardhawi, was born on September 9, 1926, in the village of Safa Turb, which also served as the final resting place for Abdullah ibn al-Harits, a companion of the Prophet. Since he was in 5th years old., Qardhawi memorized the Qur'an. At the 7th old, he began studying general sciences in primary school, such as algebra, history, and health sciences. Yusuf Qardhawi left behind two contributions to Muslim society, namely Islamic legal studies and Harakah and Sahwah Islamiyyah. Through the revival of ideas, he impacted the da'wah of Harakah and Sahwah Islamiyyah (Islamic movement and activism) to awaken Muslims from slumber, stagnation, and many internal problems (Muhammad Subhan Setowara, "The Yusuf Qardhawi's Thought on al-Daulah al-Shar'iyyah al-Dustūriyyah and Its Relevance to the Concept of Indonesian Polity," *Ulumuddin Journal of Islamic Legal Studies* 1, no. 2 (December 31, 2020): 28, <https://doi.org/10.22219/ulumuddin.v1i2.14912>).

as a major cause of extremism, intolerance, and inflexible interpretation²⁰⁹. In a similar case, the Islamic figure in Indonesia came to declare a peel moderate thorough *Habaib*, one of each Habib Ali Zainal Abidin al-Jufri. He concludes that "moderate" (*washatiyah*) does not imply choosing between two options. Moderate is sometimes defined as falling somewhere in the middle. Moderation is the absence of harshness, uncertainty, and softness. The implication is that we are a moderate group that does not engage in excessive laxity or violence. He continued that moderation can connect the heart and mind with an accepted standard. Currently, Habib mentioned in his book *al-Insaniyyah Qabla al-Tadaiyun*, that the Hadhramis groups in Indonesia, especially as the descendant of the Prophet, swayed as a moderate group that is spreading Islamic moderation values to create harmony in the life of society and the showcase *Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin*²¹⁰.

However, the *Shara'if* that I observed has a progressive definition towards moderation. When I discussed this observation with one of *the Shara'if* from Jakarta, Rahma Sarita al-Jufri, she said moderate is partly due to the flexibility of *Shara'if's* identity and authority. More importantly, the *Shara'if* used to be very careful and strict about the personal relationship with the Prophet. Rahma said, 'In *Shara'if* case, we have been strongly supported by the family and also inspired by the *Habaib* whom manages Islamic values dakwa in Jakarta. However, in my observation, I found that most *Shara'if* expected to act as 'coordinators of religious moderate figure' power in the public sphere. In many instances, Shamira Shihab attained great influence and authority in society as conducting a social leader (CEO) and holding Islamic values and power in her own right. When I asked Shamira about *Shara'if* authority, she mentioned:

'Yeah, my personality as CEO's women in thinkerlust does not mean that *Shara'if* position completed my career. In one hand, I want to show my identity as *Shara'if* which will help my personal character to be pious hahaha (she laughed), but in another hand, my employers particularly do not necessarily excited to me as prophet descendant in Jakarta. In this regard, my effort to portray the *Shara'if* as a moderate community figure is relatively true. In a broader experience, I still have a strong attachment to my employers, either moslem or non-moslem, even Arabian or Indonesian'²¹¹.

Another point that can be picked up from her statement is establishing the nuance of *Shara'if* character within the moderate attachment and responding to the public that *Shara'if's* leadership needed to be more sensitive to locals. It points to how the life

²⁰⁹ Achilov and Sen, "Got Political Islam?," 611.

²¹⁰ Abdurrahman al-Jufri, "الإنسانية قبل الدين," Pdf, 230.

²¹¹ Shamira Shihab, In-depth Interview, June 14, 2023.

of *Shara'if* within the public was implementing the Islamic concept, making clear the influence of Hadhrami's intention to moderate *Shara'if* as she creates a dream for her future carrier. In addition, the previous statement also suggests that women Hadhrami, especially *Shara'if*, are not exceptions regarding Hadhrami Arabian's cluster but focus on the instructional process of negotiating herself in the Indonesia sphere. In my opinion, A *Shara'if* who managed a well-known authority and identity insofar will control their emotional and emotional context in gaining the women empowerment case. As Rosaldo mentioned in her book 'Women, culture, and Society', in general, women have it related to the distinction between power, influence, and authority ²¹².

Indeed, to conclude the representation of my fieldwork of cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in Jakarta, this chapter mostly consists of the existence of cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in the arrangement of the new identity. I stressed in this chapter that the cosmopolitan *Shara'if* is inseparably linked to their nobility and had strong access to the women's empowerment movement. The cosmopolitan *Shara'if* also has an influential record towards many agencies, acknowledgement and achievements, which still needs to be respected by the Hadhrami's regulation. They further 'negotiated' themselves for public roles involving power and, undeniably, their privileges as female descendants of the Prophet. Nevertheless, the *Shara'if* nowadays could be separated into two different capabilities: leadership and separate management (regarding entertainment, education management, etc).

²¹² Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, *Woman, Culture, and Society* - Edited by Michelle Zimbalist R..., 1974, <https://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=3030>.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLICATION OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT THEORY WITHIN THE COSMOPOLITAN *SHARA'IF*

This chapter will explore women's empowerment and examine their negotiation methods as symbolic power expressions. A depth analysis might give the bad impression that Muslim women are powerless, such as a statement of Haddad that "the authority ultimately and by divine ordination in the hands of men". Based on women's subordination in the home, Haddad claims that numerous anthropological descriptions of Muslim countries portray Muslim women's life as archaic²¹³. Currently, this statement has rather sweeping and subjective assumptions and certainly needs to understand the real complexities and further investigation from the historical and political context. For example, to a certain extent, gender segregation in various Muslim nations, most notably the Middle East, has also been seen as an illustration of gender-based polarization²¹⁴. According to some scholars, the physical and symbolic separation of the sexes inevitably creates a place for men and women that is separate from one another, limiting women's physical mobility is consequently just limited to the household²¹⁵.

Moreover, the criticism of the relevance of women's lives has also questioned the usefulness of the distinction between the public and private in analyzing diverse communities. Cynthia Nelson is one of them. She made her evaluation in a major work titled "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World", using data from her anthropological research into Egyptian society in particular and Middle Eastern society in general. She suggests reconsidering the idea of "power" as a standardized trait in specific social systems and seeing it instead as a particular kind of social relationship or reciprocity of influence²¹⁶. In addition, Nelson argues in support of the concept of a "negotiated order," a continuous dialectical process of social life in which both men and women are involved in an interchange of influence vis-à-vis each other, as opposed to the idea that Middle Eastern men always assume power over women, as earlier male-biased ethnographies seemed to imply. Nelson has demonstrated that women can and do exercise more power in various spheres of social life than previously recognized, for example, through the

²¹³ Haddad, "ISLAM, WOMEN AND REVOLUTION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARAB THOUGHT," 275–306.

²¹⁴ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Women and Men in Late Eighteenth-Century Egypt* (University of Texas Press, 1995), 11, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/751804>.

²¹⁵ Camillia Fawzi El-Solh Mabro Judy, "Introduction: Islam and Muslim Women," in *Muslim Women's Choices* (Routledge, 1994), 7.

²¹⁶ Nelson, "Public and Private Politics," 551.

structural linking of relatives and religious and supernatural control. Nelson has done this by drawing on ethnographic literature from the Middle East²¹⁷.

Through the negotiation of females between public and private, some feminist ethnographers have responded favourably to Nelson's appeal for them to explore the Middle Eastern areas of women's power²¹⁸. Since the Middle of the 1970s, anthropologists and other social scientists interested in ethnography have studied the various ways in which women take on positions of power in a mostly patriarchal society by influencing the choices that their menfolk and other close relationships make. However, as ethnographers have emphasized, there are other places where power and influence are used. For most Middle Eastern women, the household is likely the principal site of power. In "new areas of struggle and renegotiation of the relations between genders," the Iranian academic Kandiyoti has advanced the idea of the "patriarchal bargain"²¹⁹. Another scholar, Nayereh Tohidi, also has contested the notion that women are helpless and repressed in writing in a similar spirit. As an alternative, she has opted to acknowledge the spirit of empowerment and resistance among Iranian women, claiming that women can "renegotiate gender roles and codes and [...] find a path of compromise and creative synthesis"²²⁰.

However, in the Indonesian context, this statement is particularly true within the history of the Jakartan *Shara'if* (female descendant of the prophet), who engage considerable power and the prestige of religion in their journey. In Jakarta, some *Shara'if* culturally constructed their social relation and inherited empowerment. Meanwhile, the original cases also came to another country, where female religious in Senegal participated in a Sufistic congregation among the men predominate. She has suggested that by focusing on a few of the group's pious women, these women were "able to partially overcome their ideological, culturally constructed 'handicap' in the religious life and in the larger society". In her investigation of women's participation in the Mouride Tariqah in Senegal, Coloun also noted Muslim women's participation in the public religious sphere²²¹. Another scholar, Coloun, mentioned the case of Sokhnas Magot Diop, who took over her father's position as Tariqah head and inherited the authority and clout bestowed by *Barakah*²²². *Barakah* is absolute and can be understood as the "bounty grace"²²³; in my

²¹⁷ Nelson, 552–54.

²¹⁸ Nelson, 514–15.

²¹⁹ Saba Mahmood, "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival," *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202–37.

²²⁰ Tohidi, "The Global-Local Intersection of Feminism in Muslim Societies."

²²¹ Eva Evers Rosander, "Women and Muridism in Senegal: The Case of the Mam Diarra Bousso Daira in Mbacké 1," in *Women and Islamization* (Routledge, 1998), 176.

²²² C. Coulon, "Women, Islam, and Baraka," 1988, 133.

²²³ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 20.

opinion, it usually connects to people who have nobility and religious family background. In response to such circumstances, Smith contends that women not only "have a form of power in the domestic sphere" but are also "able to exercise degrees of power that extend into the male domain" in their religious activities, her ability to connect with her followers through leadership. Because of the devotion of her followers and her extensive network of powerful contacts, Sokhnas possessed an important level of political influence in the area wherever she lived²²⁴.

Additionally, a brief discussion of *Barakah*, this term also sometimes happened and connected to the women Hadhrami, especially in the case of *Shara'if*. When I interviewed Rahma Sarita, she told me that many people considered Rahma's powers and abilities; they claimed, as well as her family turned the *Barakah* into her personality. She said, 'I knew and understood so much towards my position as *Shara'if*, and I have a father who comes from al-Jufri's title, he was Habib, and also my big family in Madura are respected by almost people there. I believe that my position today is not recorded from the *Barakah*, but my great works and my negotiation in reaching a carrier"²²⁵.

Besides, Sasha Alaydrus has a different perspective from Rahma; she mentioned that her engagement with the Hadhrami family was strong and promoted the *Barakah* towards her content in social media. She said, 'I feel blessed when my dad and mom permitted and supported my carrier as a beauty content creator, while my friends in Pekalongan were forbidden it. Now, my followers come from different patterns, and I did not feel isolated in my carrier; it caused blessing from my Arabs family. My Jiddah (grandfather), Umma (Mother), and Abi (Father) are always praying and keeping a Shalawat Nabi (prophetic reading tradition) to me. Alhamdulillah its *Barakah*²²⁶ (blessing). Commenting on such two situations, I took an argument from Smith, discussing the domestic case; he argues that women not only have a form of power in the domestic sphere, but they deserve a religious practice, extremely they can exercise degrees of power that

²²⁴ Coulon, "Women, Islam, and Baraka," 134.

²²⁵ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

²²⁶ If we consider the meaning of baraka from the perspective of social integration, E.C. Hagopian declares in his book, *The Status and Role of The Marabout in Protectorate Morocco*, mentioned that since 18th century, Islam brought to Morocco by gaining two main Islamic concepts. First, Jihad (based on the successful expansion of the great Berber empires in the beginning of 11th century), and Baraka (influence the Morocco society in the beginning of 12th century). Both the two main concepts, Hagopian examines that Baraka as a supernatural power facilitating the beneficial thing and also the miraculous action. Besides, Berbers were already familiar with the idea of baraka, and since it was a fundamental aspect of mysticism, Moroccan society readily accepted it because, at least there, the concept of baraka embodied the essence of mysticism. Baraka denotes a transition that strengthened the old Berber institution by combining maraboutism with its mystical components with baraka (Dietrich Von Denffer, "Baraka as Basic Concept of Muslim Popular Belief," *Islamic Studies* 15, no. 3 (1976): 175).

extend into the male domain sphere" (J Smith, 2013, hlm. 128). In this case, I conclude that some kinds of power attention and attention among Jakartan *Shara'if* has to generate a wider space and enter the *Habaib* space domain, where the *Shara'if* are sometimes disassociated as a social figure in the public sphere. It is important to recognize that the Jakartan *Shara'if* is sometimes disassociated, and it has been understood that the Hadhramis family involved the productive activities not only in a *Habaib*-dominated space but also in the *Shara'if* itself.

In addition, the *Shara'if* public space is not something new to highlight the complexity of the lives of women Hadhrami in Indonesia. To emphasize the distinction between the public and the private or domestic, Afsaruddin used the phrase "female public space," however, she could not adequately capture the complexity of women's life in various contexts²²⁷. Although this split could be utilized as a starting point to examine women's sociopolitical and economic reality, it should be reevaluated to reflect the changes in women's lives.³⁷ It is significant to acknowledge that "Islam [...] does not have a uniform impact on women's lives."²²⁸. Currently, it would be more accurate to say that it affects women differently in various contexts and shapes various patterns of female participation in public life, including the public religious space, with which Muslim women are typically disassociated because religious leadership has traditionally been thought of as a male-dominated environment.

In shaping the Cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in Jakarta issues in Indonesia, they have played significant roles in traditional lives and several productions in different social contexts. Martin Slama asserted that 'women Hadhrami have been able to become independent, like working outside the household, coming down to the shop, selling Abaya in Pekalongan, also became a women leader in some institutions'²²⁹. Besides, according to Maisarah, the women Hadhrami tried to renegotiate themselves and uphold emancipation by learning and supporting the PAI's women in arranging the possibility of women working²³⁰. Moreover, in Islamic preaching, Eva Nisa has asserted, 'Shara'if preachers such Halimah Alaydrus who incorporated many values for the transmission of Islamic knowledge in Indonesia and also influenced the ideological perspective of women empowerment'²³¹. In addition, looking back to the discussion of Indonesian Ulama's figure in Indonesia, they asserted a brilliant idea in which the possibility of women working that

²²⁷ Afsaruddin, "Literature, Scholarship, and Piety," 27.

²²⁸ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 26.

²²⁹ Slama, "'Coming Down to the Shop.'"

²³⁰ Maisarah, *Mendobrak kultur patriarki*.

²³¹ Nisa, "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," 2012.

has never been conflicted or contradictory with Islamic principles. For instance, Quraish Shihab, well known as Indonesian Ulama and the former minister of religious affairs, besides, he comes from Hadhrami's family, claimed that "In Islam, a woman has a right to work, as long as she needs the work, and as long as religious values and morality are preserved"²³². Another well-known ulama in Indonesia, Alie Yafie, argued that "if women have been able to become state presidents, the kind of trivial matter, like working outside the home to pursue a career, should be fine"²³³. Besides, various organizations and movements are also active among Indonesian women, as they are acceptable through their empowerment and appreciation²³⁴.

I argue that the cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in Jakarta is actively participating in improving women's empowerment, working to develop a larger community, and serving as role models for Indonesian women. Similarly, discussion with Smith, women in Indonesia have greater freedom in the workplace than their counterparts in Middle Eastern nations because "their work is not isolated or separated from men's" and "Indonesia's women are generally more liberal than [those] of the Middle Eastern Islamic countries"²³⁵. The *Shara'if's* life, this section will be discussed in-depth the experiences of Jakartan *Shara'if* and their distribution in many fieldworks as well as those concerned in the public sphere. Based on my fieldwork from April to May, I found the different Cosmopolitan *Shara'if* actors in the Jakarta world and sought the dynamic of women empowerment spreading within the four *Shara'if* communities, which I will discuss further in this chapter.

From the main case study of Cosmopolitans *Shara'if* in Jakarta, I have chosen four *Shara'if* from four different generations, also social relations in the public sphere. Starting with Rahma Sarita al-Jufri (the first generation), Sakdiyah Makruf (the second generation) and Shamira Shihab (the third generation), and Sasha Alaydrus (the fourth generation). Rahma came from Al-Jufri's clan and negotiated herself as a politician women and journalist; Sakdiyah Makruf was an international comedian of women that upholds a gender approach in the content, while Shamira Shihab came from Shihab's clan, negotiating herself as a founder of thinkerlust.id on social media, then Sasha Alaydrus came from

²³² Quraish Shihab M, *Kodrat Perempuan Versus Normal Kultural in Lily Zakiyah Munir, Memposisikan Kodrat* (Bandung: Mizan, n.d.), 77.

²³³ Ali Yafie, *Kedudukan Dan Kepemimpinan Perempuan n Lily Zakiyah Munir, Memposisikan Kodrat*, 1999th ed. (Bandung, n.d.), 68–75.

²³⁴ Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*, 22–23.

²³⁵ Bianca J Smith, "Gender and Power in Indonesian Islam: Leaders, Feminists, Sufis and Pe," 90, accessed June 14, 2023, <https://www.routledge.com/Gender-and-Power-in-Indonesian-Islam-Leaders-feminists-Sufis-and-pesantren/Smith-Woodward/p/book/9781138652163>.

Alaydrus's clan family, as beauty content creator on social media. These facts suggest that *Shara'if*, either in their Hadhrami's background family in origin 'adopted traditional space', have similar opportunities to be as influential as their male counterparts, particularly if they have leadership skills, gain the socio-religious activities and also management abilities and relevant religious knowledge. This chapter particularly will determine how comprehensive the theory of women's empowerment, examined by Naila Kabeer, with the story from my fieldwork focusing on three dimensions: resources, *agency*, and *achievement*.

The first is a resource. According to Kabeer, the resources are called pre-conditions, where a broader sense of the world is acquired through various social relationships²³⁶. Resources encompass tangible assets in the traditional economic sense and a range of human and social assets supporting the exercise of choice. Resources are obtained in this larger sense of the word through various social interactions in the many institutional domains that make up society (such as the family, market, and community). Such resources could be actual allocable funds, hopes, and claims for the future. Access to such resources will affect the distribution and exchange norms that are governed in various institutional settings. The distribution of "allocative" resources tends to be included in the distribution of "authoritative resources" because these rules and norms confer authority on some actors over others in establishing the principles of distribution and exchange. The capability of setting priorities and upholding claims²³⁷. Due to their status within certain institutional frameworks, heads of homes, leaders of tribes, and members of the community's elite all possess the power to make decisions²³⁸.

Shara'if is quite active in these resources, partnering with *Cosmopolitan Shara'if's* efforts in the public realm. In addition to building communities or markets in Indonesia, *Shara'if* Jakarta engages in significant social contact with numerous local and global community domains. The courage to engage in discourse with several public figures tends to be given priority in their distribution. In agreement with Kabeer's assertion, it was realized that women effectively use allocative distribution to assert their power²³⁹. Nevertheless, in my fieldwork, I found that almost all of the cosmopolitan *shara'if* I met were still aware of the importance of resources, although some

²³⁶ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005, 438.

²³⁷ Kabeer, 384.

²³⁸ Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 1979), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-16161-4>.

²³⁹ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005, 387.

of them were concerned with the traditionalizing of the family capital or strengthening the privileges. When I questioned one of *the Shara'if* as to why they did struggle with the resource to negotiate herself, she said, "That is an ideal opportunity, dealing with the *Shara'if's* position in Jakarta to be more attractive, then all community will concern to our fabulous achievement"²⁴⁰. Her opinion reflects her personal opinion, focuses on the resource meant as her concern, and reflects on other women's lives.

The second aspect of power is agency, or the capacity to choose and carry out objectives. The agency is more than just visible action; it also refers to the meaning, inspiration, and goal people bring to their work, sometimes known as "the power within." While the agency is frequently operationalized in the social science literature as "decision-making," it can also take many other forms. It can manifest as negotiating and bargaining, trickery and manipulation, subversion and resistance, and more abstract cognitive processes like reflection and analysis. Both individuals and collectives can use it.

Regarding power, an agency can have both positive and bad connotations. The ability to define one's own life choices and to follow one's own goals, especially in the face of opposition from others, is referred to as having the "power to" in a positive sense. The ability of an actor or class of actors to trump the agency of others, such as through violence, coercion, or threat, is another way that agency can be used.

Moreover, the agency is known as the "power over" notion of agency. Power can, however, also exist without any express agency. But even in the absence of overt agency, power can nevertheless exist. The social norms and laws controlling behaviour tend to guarantee that specific results are repeated without any visible agency being exercised. These results extend that they impact the already highlighted strategic life decisions and attest to the power exercised through "non-decision-making". For example, South Asian marriage customs provide parents with the right to choose their children's spouses, but this authority isn't likely to be perceived as a source of power unless it's contested²⁴¹.

Sen defines capabilities as the capacity that people have to live the life they want and realize cherished ways of "being and doing." Capabilities are comprised of resources and agency. He uses the term "functionings" to refer to all potential forms of "being and doing" that are valued by people in a particular setting and "functioning achievements" to refer to the specific forms of "being and doing" that certain persons can attain. Power is irrelevant in cases where achieving desired ways of "being and doing" can be attributed to

²⁴⁰ Rahma, In-Depth Interview with *Shara'if* (1).

²⁴¹ Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd ed (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

indifference, incapacity, or personal choices and priorities, only when one's failure to meet their objectives reflects some ingrained restriction on their freedom to make decisions²⁴².

Nonetheless, it became clear during my fieldwork interviews that many cosmopolitan *Shara'if* had been lucky enough to gain agency. They stressed that agency is a crucial priority for empowered women, particularly *Sharif*. Rahma Sarita mentioned that when *Shara'if* upholds their agency and becomes a leader, they will undoubtedly have current achievements. From that point of view, she really gained the agency, but she suggested that there should be a woman leader from *Shara'if* to contextualize it, and also could be achieved through the *Shara'if* process in the public sphere. Meanwhile, looking back to the history of the Hadhrami Diaspora, the women's Hadhrami migrated to Indonesia lately than men's Hadhrami but successfully swept up the man's position in the public sphere²⁴³. This is something which commonly happens also to the traditional *Shara'if* in the popular Islamic preaching in Jakarta, in which the agencies are strongly united²⁴⁴. The commitment of *Shara'if* to the agency is related to the dimension of women's empowerment concept as the power that maintains their nobility.

Then the last dimension is an achievement. According to Kabeer, the necessity for additional qualifications to Kabeer's concept of choice is brought up by a concern with "achievements" in the measurement of empowerment. In terms of empowerment, we are more concerned with potential disparities in the ability of individuals to make decisions than we are with differences in those decisions. Because it is exceedingly unlikely that all members of a particular community will accord different conceivable forms of "being and doing" equal value, an observable lack of consistency in functioning successes cannot be automatically construed as evidence of inequality²⁴⁵. In addition, Kabeer mentioned that achievements are an outcome that has transformational implications for gender inequality and context-specific structures. To conclude the three-dimensional theory of Naila Kabeer, some pathways are related to the contribution of Jakarta *Shara'if* in the public sphere.

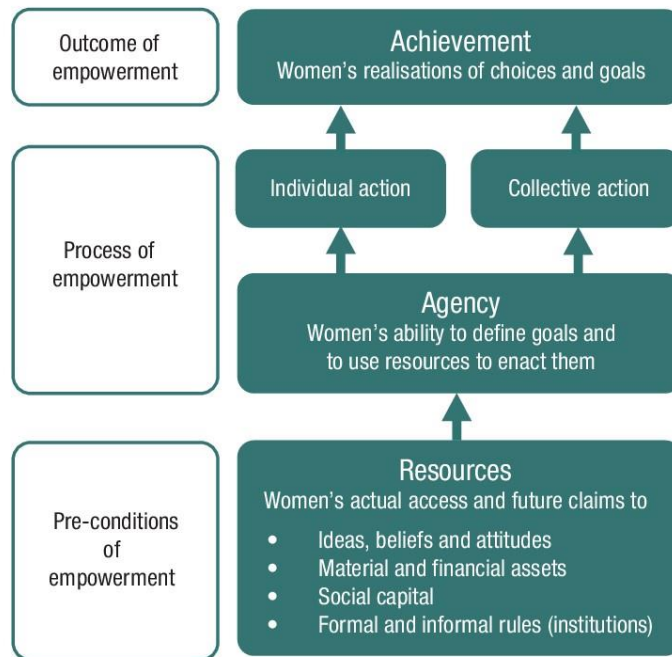
²⁴² Sen, "Development as Freedom," 123.

²⁴³ Slama, "Coming Down to the Shop," 421.

²⁴⁴ Husein, "Preserving and Transmitting the Teachings of the Thariqah 'Alawiyyah."

²⁴⁵ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," 2005.

Picture 4. 1 Naila Kabeer's Theory of Women Empowerment



Source:https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291945484_Progress_on_women%27s_empowerment_from_technical_fixes_to_political_action

However, considering gender inequality in these accomplishments alone gives the idea that women under empowerment are mostly a result of poverty. It is deceptive for two reasons; first, it neglects gender inequality that is more likely to be found in the upper classes of society. A society's level of prosperity may serve to lessen gender disparities in fundamental well-being, but it may also exacerbate other social constraints on women's freedom of choice²⁴⁶. Second, it ignores the aspects of gender disadvantage among the poor that do not manifest as deficiencies in fundamental functioning. For instance, significant gender differences in life expectancy and child nutrition, two often used measures of gender inequality in fundamental well-being, do not exist.

Meanwhile, Kishor emphasizes that several markers of empowerment could have succeeded in capturing empowerment in the different circumstances with Sen and Kabeer. The other interpretation suggested that the achievements in the challenge were dependent on other factors, which were more accurately captured by the "source" and "setting" variables, rather than on whether or not women were directly "empowered"²⁴⁷. This

²⁴⁶ Sen, "Development as Freedom.",p.53.

²⁴⁷ Sunita Kishor, *Empowerment of Women in Egypt and Links to the Survival and Health of Their Infants* (International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 1997), 23.

discussion's framework can support a variety of ideas. It involves a point about empowering measures initially. The research presented here indicates that while bigger structural change is important, there is also a place for personal agency in the fight against gender inequality. According to Kishor, individuals cannot eliminate structural inequities in a setting where cultural norms limit women's capacity to make wise life decisions. Although there is some evidence that some women can and do behave in ways that are contrary to the norm, their impact on the status of women as a whole is likely to be limited, and they could have to pay a heavy price for their independence²⁴⁸. In his research, Kishor asserts that women's empowerment initiatives depend on group cohesion in public spaces and personal assertiveness, such as women's groups and social movements, in particular, are crucial for encouraging change and decreasing individual expenses.

In concluding the last chapter, some of *Shara'if's* cosmopolitan achievements can be seen as indicators of empowerment that pay attention to the components of women's problems. In another case, the empowerment act of *Shara'if*, as I mentioned before, made him aware of the importance of placing freedom of choice and mastery of power (leadership). According to Kabeer, As long as the decision benefits the well-being of those making it, the power-choice equation has a strong intuitive basis. Furthermore, considering the parallels between freedom of choice and the exercise of power, it makes sense that inequality indicates the exercise of power, whether through the lack of choice experienced by women as the subordinate group or by purposeful discrimination on the part of men as the dominant group. In Indonesia, Arab women's capacity to promote Arab unity in their families cannot improve if gender inequalities in their communities restrict their access to public spaces. The cosmopolitan *Shara'if* nowadays could effectively manage their careers and compete by boosting Indonesia's women's empowerment movement²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁸ Kishor, *Empowerment of Women in Egypt and Links to the Survival and Health of Their Infants*, 24.

²⁴⁹ Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," March 2005.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The physical isolation and preservation of traditional culture among female descendants of the Prophet Muhammad have sparked debates regarding their perceived exclusivity within women's domains. *Shara'if*, However, the cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in Jakarta have taken an active role in utilizing their skills in the public sphere, negotiating their departure from the confines of traditional Hadhrami values. Some *Shara'if* attempted to abandon their privileges as female descendants of the Prophet by engaging the support of organizations for women's emancipation or empowerment within their societal structures. This study has argued that *Shara'if* has negotiated with their families to gain authorization for prolonged presence in public spaces, aiming to enhance their authority and expand their opportunities there. Nevertheless, the *Shara'if* continue to contribute to their community by leveraging the power of the Hadhrami family while simultaneously upholding the traditions and customs exclusive to the community.

The cosmopolitan *Shara'if* play a significant role in presenting their identity in public. They employ personal branding techniques, utilizing social media platforms such as Instagram and online threads to exhibit their Arab heritage. However, they assume that their Arab identity does not significantly impact their professional journeys and circumstances, as it is not held in the same regard as the authority of the Pesantren families in Java. Based on my observations of their social media interactions, the *Shara'if* actively seek acceptance and recognition for their family background. Rahma Sarita, in particular, has found a sense of security and appreciation for her identity by engaging with politicians and using her given name, al-Jufri, on her Instagram. This study suggests that *Shara'if* has faced challenges maintaining their identity while navigating their power and cosmopolitan behaviours. Despite these challenges, they continue to uphold their Arab identity to reinforce their authority and role within Jakarta's public sphere.

Employing Kabeer's theory in analyzing the cosmopolitan *Shara'if*, both online and offline, this study has identified three key dimensions integral to their actions (chapter 4). The findings of this study align with Kabeer's theory, which suggests the presence and application of three interconnected dimensions: resources, agency, and achievements within the cosmopolitan *Shara'if* community. Firstly, resources are social and cultural conditions and values for development processes. The *Shara'if* are concerned with their development access by negotiating their movement in the public sphere. Secondly, Supporting agency. Although *Shara'if* claimed their privilege as a descendant of the

Prophet was a blessing, they are trying to involve a global agency and societal impacts in the fin public sphere. Thirdly, Implementing the achievements. The *Shara'if* also realizes many choices and goals to maximize their impact on the public. They often raise an achievement, whether in individual or collective action and continuously emphasize the importance of unity in the community. For example, they dare to criticize the government, support women's businesses on social media, etc.

This study provides valuable insights into the process of identity negotiation and role engagement of cosmopolitan *Shara'if* in the public sphere of Jakarta. This research contributes to the existing literature on women's empowerment by exploring the role of negotiation within *Shara'if's* renewal movement in Indonesia, specifically focusing on Jakarta. However, it is important to note that the findings and conclusions of this study may need more generalizability to the wider population of *Shara'if* in Indonesia, *Shara'if* such as those in Java Sumatra. Therefore, further research is needed to support the development of *Shara'if* communities throughout Indonesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdurrahman al-Jufri, Ali Zainal Abidin. “الإنسانية قبل التدين .Pdf.” Google Docs, 2015. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1AxM8dOz85fKbjALkC1pj6o46hZfocKCd/view?usp=drivesdk&usp=embed_facebook.
- Achilov, Dilshod, and Sedat Sen. “Got Political Islam? Are Politically Moderate Muslims Really Different from Radicals?” *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique* 38, no. 5 (2017): 608–24.
- Adilaga, Gungun Karya. *Simpul Sejarah: Mengikat makna perjuangan Umat Islam Bangsa Indonesia*. Argopuros Pena Aksara, 2017.
- Afsaruddin, Asma. “Literature, Scholarship, and Piety: Negotiating Gender and Authority in the Medieval Muslim World.” *Religion & Literature* 42, no. 1/2 (2010): 111–31.
- Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. Yale University Press, 1992. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32bg61>.
- Alatas, Ismail Fajrie. “Becoming Indonesians: The Bā ‘Alawī in the Interstices of the Nation.” *Die Welt Des Islams* 51, no. 1 (2011): 45–74.
- . “The Poetics of Pilgrimage: Assembling Contemporary Indonesian Pilgrimage to Ḥaḍramawt, Yemen.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 3 (2016): 607–35.
- . *What Is Religious Authority? Cultivating Islamic Communities in Indonesia*. Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.
- Alatas, Ismail Fajrie, and Martin Slama. “Rethinking Diasporic Returns: Ḥaḍramī Trajectories in Indonesia’s Religio-Political Field.” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 178, no. 4 (2022): 410–39.
- . “Rethinking Diasporic Returns: Ḥaḍramī Trajectories in Indonesia’s Religio-Political Field.” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 178, no. 4 (2022): 410–39.
- Alatas, Syed Farid. “Hadhramaut and the Hadhrami Diaspora: Problems in Theoretical History.” SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY, 1997. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2650602>.
- . “The Ṭarīqat Al-’Alawīyyah and the Emergence of the Shi’i School in Indonesia and Malaysia.” *Oriente Moderno* 18 (79), no. 2 (1999): 323–39.
- Alaydrus, Sasa. In depth-Interview, May 25, 2023.

- Amaruli, Rabith Jihan, Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, Dewi Yuliati, and Endang Susilowati. "The Influence of Javanese Culture on Hadhrami Community in Coastal Society of Semarang." Edited by T.R. Soeprobowati, B. Warsito, and T. Triadi Putranto. *E3S Web of Conferences* 317 (2021): 01042. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202131701042>.
- Anugrah, Iqra. "Recent Studies on Indonesian Islam: A Sign of Intellectual Exhaustion?" Edited by eds. Jajat Burhanudin and Kees Van Dijk, Noorhaidi Hasan, eds. Mirjam Künkler and Alfred Stepan, and ed. Martin van Bruinessen. *Indonesia*, no. 100 (2015): 105–16. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.100.0105>.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern "Ulama" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Allen & Unwin/Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2004. <http://gen.lib.rus.ec/book/index.php?md5=e4c2ef2fb81bb2c2c01a6bd5156d8b39>.
- Badurais, Rasha Saeed. "The Women and the Land: The Conception of Belonging in Hadhrami Society through Almehdar's Operettas (The Victim and the Bedouin Girl)." *IJSSHR* 05, no. 11 November (2022).
- Bang, Anne. *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea*, 2004. https://www.academia.edu/44958703/Sufis_and_Scholars_of_the_Sea.
- Bano, Masooda, and Hilary Kalmbach. *Women, Leadership, and Mosques: Changes in Contemporary Islamic Authority*. Women and Gender, volume 11. Leiden Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Blaydes, Lisa, and Safinaz El Tarouty. "Women's Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization." *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 3 (2009): 364–80.
- Booth, Marilyn. "Woman in Islam: Men and the 'Women's Press' in Turn-of-the-20th-Century Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 171–201.
- Boxberger, Linda. "Avoiding Ribā: Credit and Custodianship in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth Century Ḥaḍramawt." *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 2 (1998): 196–213. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519982599571>.
- Brenner, Suzanne April. *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998.
- Bu, Bas. *Ruang Wanita: Perhatian Organisasi-Organisasi Wanita Indonesia Terhadap Saudara-Saudaranya Wanita Keturunan Asing*. Nusaputra, 1952.
- Coulon, C. "Women, Islam, and Baraka," 1988, 113–33.

- Esposito, John. "Moderate Muslims: A Mainstream of Modernists, Islamists, Conservatives, and Traditionalists." *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 22 (July 1, 2005): 11–20. <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajiss.v22i3.465>.
- Fadl, Khaled M. Abou El. *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists*. Reprint edition. New York, NY: HarperOne, 2007.
- Farrag, Amina. "Social Control Amongst the Mzabite Women of Beni-Isguen." *Middle Eastern Studies* 7, no. 3 (1971): 317–27.
- Ferdows, Adele K. "Women and the Islamic Revolution." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15, no. 2 (1983): 283–98.
- Freitag, Ulrike. "Hadhramaut: A Religious Centre for the Indian Ocean in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries?" *Studia Islamica*, no. 89 (1999): 165. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1596090>.
- Fuller, Graham. "Freedom and Security: Necessary Conditions for Moderation." *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 22 (July 1, 2005). <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajiss.v22i3.466>.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. 1st ed. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 1979. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-16161-4>.
- Haddad, Yvonne Y. "ISLAM, WOMEN AND REVOLUTION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARAB THOUGHT." *The Muslim World* 74, no. 3–4 (1984): 137–60.
- Hall, Alex, and Lorenz Khazaleh. "Cosmopolitanism and Anthropology: Association of Social Anthropologists Diamond Jubilee Conference, University of Keele, 10-13 April 2006." *Anthropology Today* 22, no. 4 (2006): 25–26.
- Harbata, Usamah. In depth interview, May 2023.
- Hegland, Mary Elaine. "The Power Paradox in Muslim Women's Majales: North-West Pakistani Mourning Rituals as Sites of Contestation over Religious Politics, Ethnicity, and Gender." *Signs* 23, no. 2 (1998): 391–428.
- Henneman, John Bell. "Nobility, Privilege and Fiscal Politics in Late Medieval France." *French Historical Studies* 13, no. 1 (1983): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.2307/286591>.
- Hermeneutics and Honor: Negotiating Female "Public" Space in Islamic/Ate Societies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1999. <http://archive.org/details/hermeneuticshono0000unse>.
- Hidayatullah, Akmal Aji, and Yusril Fahmi Adam. "GERAKAN ISLAM MODERN KOMUNITAS ARAB DI SOLO, 1912-1942." *Al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Ilmiah*

- Peradaban Islam* 19, no. 2 (January 2, 2023): 132–44. <https://doi.org/10.15575/al-tsaqafa.v19i2.20362>.
- Ho, Engseng. “Before Parochialization: Diasporic Arabs Cast in Creole Waters.” In *Transcending Borders*, 11–35. Brill, 2002. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004488045_004.
- Husein, Fatimah. “Preserving and Transmitting the Teachings of the Thariqah ’Alawiyyah: Diasporic Ba ’Alawi Female Preachers in Contemporary Indonesia.” *The Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies* 4, no. 2 (April 14, 2021): 165–87. <https://doi.org/10.26443/jiows.v4i2.82>.
- J Smith, Bianca. “Gender and Power in Indonesian Islam: Leaders, Feminists, Sufis and Pe.” Accessed June 14, 2023. <https://www.routledge.com/Gender-and-Power-in-Indonesian-Islam-Leaders-feminists-Sufis-and-pesantren/Smith-Woodward/p/book/9781138652163>.
- Jan, Abid Ullah. “Moderate Islam: A Product of American Extremism.” *American Journal of Islam and Society* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 2005): 29–38. <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v22i3.467>.
- Jones, Sherry. *The Jewel of Medina*. Beaufort Books, Incorporated, 2008.
- Jonge, Huub de. “Abdul Rahman Baswedan and the Emancipation of the Hadramis in Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 32, no. 3 (2004): 373–400.
- Kabeer, Naila. “Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal.” *Gender and Development* 13, no. 1 (2005): 13–24.
- . “Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1.” *Gender & Development* 13, no. 1 (March 2005): 13–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070512331332273>.
- Kato, Hisanori. “The Islam Nusantara Movement in Indonesia.” In *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, edited by Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack, 110–28. Brill, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1v7zbv8.10>.
- Kersten, Carool. “Transcending Borders: Arabs, Politics, Trade, and Islam in Southeast Asia by Huub de Jonge and Nico Kaptein, Eds. (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002. 246 Pages.)” *American Journal of Islam and Society* 22, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 99–101. <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v22i1.1727>.
- Khan, M. A. Muqtedar. “Islamic Democracy and Moderate Muslims: The Straight Path Runs through the Middle.” *American Journal of Islam and Society* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 2005): 39–50. <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v22i3.468>.

- Kishor, Sunita. *Empowerment of Women in Egypt and Links to the Survival and Health of Their Infants*. International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 1997.
- Krämer, G., and S. Schmidtke. "Speaking for Islam : Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies," 2006. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Speaking-for-Islam-%3A-religious-authorities-in-Kr%C3%A4mer-Schmidtke/bf14ba1094dca531858b85de2ec3da1270cc59d4>.
- Lukes, Steven. *Power: A Radical View*. 2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Mabro, Camillia Fawzi El-Solh, Judy. "Introduction: Islam and Muslim Women." In *Muslim Women's Choices*. Routledge, 1994.
- Mahmood, Saba. "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival." *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202–36.
- Maisarah. *Mendobrak kultur patriarki: emansipasi perempuan keturunan Arab dalam Persatuan Arab Indonesia, 1934-1942*. Jakarta: Atas kerja sama Mizan [dengan] Gerakan Islam Cinta, 2020.
- Makruf, Sakdiyah. In-depth interview, n.d.
- Mandal, Sumit K. *Becoming Arab: Creole Histories and Modern Identity in the Malay World*. Asian Connections. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108164931>.
- Manger, Leif O. *The Hadrami Diaspora: Community-Building on the Indian Ocean Rim*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010.
- Marianto, Dian Adi. "The Possibility of Non-Litigation Advocacy Through Comedy and a New Media: Analysis of the Indonesian Comic 'Sakdiyah Ma'ruf.'" *KnE Social Sciences*, August 4, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v3i20.4923>.
- Marsot, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid. *Women and Men in Late Eighteenth-Century Egypt*. University of Texas Press, 1995. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/751804>.
- Millie, Julian, Dede Syarif, and Moch. Fakhruroji. "The Discipline of Dakwah in Indonesia's State Education System." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 179, no. 1 (2023): 38–60.
- Mobini-Kesheh, Natalie. "The Arab Periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies, 1914-1942." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 152, no. 2 (1996): 236–56. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003012>.

- Nelson, Cynthia. "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World." *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 3 (1974): 551–63.
- Nisa, Eva. "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage." *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 1 (2012): 55–81.
- Nisa, Eva F. "Female Voices on Jakarta's Da'wa Stage," n.d.
- Nisa, Eva F. "Women and Islamic Movements." In *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, edited by Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack, 151–76. Brill, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1v7zbv8.12>.
- Obermeyer, Carla Makhlouf. "Islam, Women, and Politics: The Demography of Arab Countries." *Population and Development Review* 18, no. 1 (1992): 33–60. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1971858>.
- Ouis, Soumaya Pernilla. "On the Edge of Empire: Hadhramawt, Emigration, and the Indian Ocean 1880s-1930s by Linda Boxberger (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002. 292 Pages.)." *American Journal of Islam and Society* 21, no. 1 (January 1, 2004): 114–16. <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v21i1.1819>.
- Pandya, Sophia. "Religious Flexibilities of Older Yemeni Women in Sanaa." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 10, no. 2 (2014): 52–79. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jmiddeastwomstud.10.2.52>.
- Phan, Ly. "Women's Empowerment and Fertility Changes." *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 39, no. 1/2 (2013): 49–75.
- Pluvier, J. M. *Overzicht van de Ontwikkeling Der Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesie in de Jaren 1930 Tot 1942*. W. van Hoeve- S' Gravenhage, 1953.
- Puji, Astuti. In-depth Interview, May 18, 2023.
- Radford, Luis. "Education and the Illusions of Emancipation." *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 80, no. 1/2 (2012): 101–18.
- Rahma, Sarita al-Jufri. In-Depth Interview with Sharifat (1), May 17, 2023.
- Rijal, Syamsul. *Habaib Dan Kontestasi Islam Di Indonesia: Antara Menjaga Tradisi Dan Otoritas*. Cetakan pertama. Cinere, Depok: LP3ES, 2022.
- Roff, William R. Review of *Review of The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942*, by Natalie Mobini-Kesheh. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004): 282–84.
- Roosyidah, Ismiana, and Adi Bayu Mahadian. "Perempuan Muslim dalam Stand Up Comedy Sakdiyah Ma'ruf." *Jurnal Komunikasi Global* 9, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.24815/jkg.v9i1.16547>.

- Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist. *Woman, Culture, and Society - Edited by Michelle Zimbalist R...*, 1974. <https://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=3030>.
- Rosander, Eva Evers. "Women and Muridism in Senegal: The Case of the Mam Diarra Bousso Daira in Mbacké 1." In *Women and Islamization*. Routledge, 1998.
- Seise, Claudia. "Women Remembering the Prophet's Birthday: Maulid Celebrations and Religious Emotions Among the Alawiyyin Community in Palembang, Indonesia." *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, December 29, 2018, 217-230 Pages. <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0005>.
- Sen, Amartya. "Development as Freedom: An India Perspective." *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations* 42, no. 2 (2006): 157–69.
- Setowara, Muhammad Subhan. "The Yusuf Qardhawi's Thought on al-Daulah al-Shar'iyah al-Dustūriyyah and Its Relevance to the Concept of Indonesian Polity." *Ulumuddin Journal of Islamic Legal Studies* 1, no. 2 (December 31, 2020). <https://doi.org/10.22219/ulumuddin.v1i2.14912>.
- Shaffer, Paul. "Gender, Poverty and Deprivation: Evidence from the Republic of Guinea." *World Development* 26, no. 12 (1998): 2119–35.
- Shihab M, Quraish. *Kodrat Perempuan Versus Normal Kultural in Lily Zakiyah Munir, Memposisikan Kodrat*. Bandung: Mizan, n.d.
- Shihab, Shamira. In-depth Interview, June 14, 2023.
- . In-depth Interview by Zoom, June 12, 2023.
- Slama, Martin. "'Coming Down to the Shop': Trajectories of Hadhrami Women into Indonesian Public Realms." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 4 (August 2012): 313–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2012.699089>.
- Srimulyani, Eka. *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia : Negotiating Public Spaces*. Amsterdam University Press, 2012. https://doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN_418531.
- Stowasser, Barbara Freyer, and Barbara Freyer Stowasser. *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Suparto, Suparto, Halid Halid, and Samsu Adabi bin Mamat. "BANI ALAWIYYAH IN INDONESIA AND THE MALAY WORLD: Network, Development and the Role of Institution in Transmitting the Peaceful Mission of Islam." *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 13, no. 2 (December 1, 2019): 267–96. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.2.267-296>.

- Suratmin. *Abdul Rahman Baswedan: karya dan pengabdianannya / oleh Suratmin*). Jakarta: Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 2014. http://opac.library.um.ac.id/index.php?s_data=bp_buku&s_field=0&id=52161&mod=b&cat=3.
- Tohidi, Nayereh. "The Global-Local Intersection of Feminism in Muslim Societies: The Cases of Iran and Azerbaijan." *Social Research* 69, no. 3 (2002): 851–87.
- Umi, Laila. In-depth Interview, November 15, 2022.
- Von Denffer, Dietrich. "Baraka as Basic Concept of Muslim Popular Belief." *Islamic Studies* 15, no. 3 (1976): 167–86.
- Wahyono, Tugas Tri. *Perempuan Laweyan Industri Batik Di Surakarta*. Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya, 2014.
- . "Wanita Keturunan Arab: Peranannya Dalam Organisasi Partai Arab Indonesia (PAI) Di Surakarta." *Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya D.I. Yogyakarta* 14, no. 3 (November 18, 2014): 417–40.
- Winn, Phillip. "Women's Majelis Taklim and Gendered Religious Practice in Northern Ambon," 2012. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Women%27s-Majelis-Taklim-and-Gendered-religious-in-Winn/ef36a511746d47e465ad6453a20fbc71a9daf599>.
- Yafie, Ali. *Kedudukan Dan Kepemimpinan Perempuan n Lili Zakiyah Munir, Memposisikan Kodrat*. 1999th ed. Bandung, n.d.
- Yeboah, Thomas, Albert Arhin, Emmanuel Kumi, and Lucy Owusu. "Empowering and Shaping Gender Relations? Contesting the Microfinance-Gender Empowerment Discourse." *Development in Practice* 25, no. 6 (2015): 895–908.
- (2014). *Religious Flexibilities of Older Yemeni Women in SanaaA*. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 10(2), (Spring 2014), pp.52-79.