

Pesantren Al-Khairaat of Gorontalo: *Hadrāmī* Tradition and *Habāib* Domination

Ahmad Zaenuri

IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo.ac.id
zaenuriahmad@iaingorontalo.ac.id

Habibie Yusuf

IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo.ac.id
habibiey87@iaingorontalo.ac.id

Abstract:

Al-Khairaat is an Islamic Boarding School founded by a charismatic cleric of Hadramaut descent, Sayyid Idrus bin Sālim Al-Jufrie in Palu, Central Sulawesi. Since its establishment in 1930, more than 500 branches of Al-Khairaat schools have spread in the central, northern, southeast, and western parts of Sulawesi Island to Gorontalo area. The development of Al-Khairaat became interesting because the school curriculum represents a pattern of Hadrāmī tradition offered in society (ahwal). Besides, the charismatic dominance of Sayyid Idrus bin Sālim Al-Jufrie as a descendant of the Prophet became an appeal in gaining public trust in Al-Khairaat. This research aimed to analyze the extent of how the Hadrāmī tradition applied and the influence of Sayyid Idrus Bin Sālim Al-Jufrie as a descendant of the Prophet to develop Al-Khairaat boarding school. The field research was carried out using an ethnographic method. The research results showed that the tradition of Hadrāmī in the form of wirid, dhikr, and shalawat had become an appeal. It conforms to the social conditions of Gorontalo people, who appear to be traditionalists in the practice of religion and some of their people are similar to the rituals of urban sufism. In addition, people who want their children to become proficient in religion often claim that Al-Khairaat can deliver these values. As for the dominance of habāib, it is more noticeable in culture, social, and symbol in the context of a high appreciation of it in society's social stratification and even things considered non-scientific.

Key Words: *Al-Khairaat, Tradition, Hadrāmī, Habāib, Domination.*

INTRODUCTION

The Islamic *Hadrāmī* community has a different perception of putting *Alawīyyīn's* social stratification in a higher role than other social classes (Subchi, 2019). Through the line of Ali ibn Abi Thālib, this status has made the Prophet's descendants hold a noble position in society. Glory has become its social capital in acquiring the sympathy of the masses (read: Islam) in the process of Islamization and da'wah of the *Alawīyyīn* community. Likewise, the presence of pesantren al-Khairaat in central Sulawesi and Gorontalo cannot be distinguished from the popularity of Sayyid Idrus Bin Sālim Al-Jufrie, who is believed to have a line of *nasab* descendants of the Prophet. Besides, Central Sulawesi and Gorontalo,

as the basis of the *Nabdliyyin* community, have near beliefs in the use of *Manhaj Aqīdah* Al-Asy'arie (Zaenuri & Pratama, 2019) becomes positive energy for acculturation between Al-Khairaat and Nahdlatul Ulama (Rasyid, 2018). Nahdlatul Ulama, with his Syafi'i madzhab, awarded the *Habāib* a special role to become one of the factors for the growth and prosperity of Al-Khairaat in the *Nabdliyyin* group in Sulawesi. This study describes how the *Hadrāmī* tradition was adapted to the al-Khairaat Islamic boarding school, where most of the students are *ahwal* community. Besides, analyzing the level of authority of the *habib/sayyid* position is interpreted by students and student community at the Al-Khairaat Islamic Boarding School.

Up to the present, existing studies on Al-Khairaat have focused mainly on its history. First, Azyumardi Azra's research on *Hadrāmī* In The Malay-Indonesian Diaspora; Preliminary Study of Sayyid 'Uthmān (Azyumardi Azra, 1995). This study deals with the role of *Hadrāmī* scholars in the archipelago after the 18th century when the emigration process of the *Hadrāmī* people reached its peak. Further research related to *Hadrāmī* tradition is the research of Eric Kunto Aribowo and Ummu Hany Almasitoh with the theme Disparity of The Arabic Name: The Spotlight On Children Of Endogamous And Exogamous Marriages Among *Hadrāmī*-Arabs In Indonesia (Aribowo & Almasitoh, 2019). This article examined the exclusivity of *Hadrāmī*, particularly in the *Alawīyyin* community, to marry their peers according to their social status. Marriage in Soerjono Soekanto quoted by Azhari is considered an endogamy marriage (Azhari, Muttaqien, & Kurdi, 2013). In addition to discussing the marriage of fellow *Alawīyyin*, Aribowo's study also addressed the marriage between *Sayyid* and non-*Sayyid* (*ahwal*) referred to as Exogamy. In addition to the *Hadrāmī* related research, there is also research on the Al-Khairaat theme. The research was one of Giu's thesis entitled; *Analisis Kebijakan Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Multikultural Berbasis Paham Deradikalisme di Pondok Pesantren Al-Khairaat Tilamuta Gorontalo* (Giu, 2017). This study primarily focuses on al-Khairaat instilling multicultural ideals in pesantren. From some of these studies, no much research has been conducted on the influence of hadrami's educational system in Al-Khairaat. This study wants to fill this gap.

The *Hadrāmī* tradition is one of the attractions of the Al-Khairat Islamic boarding school, which makes it the people's choice. Traditions intimately associated with rituals such as the reciting of *Ratib al-Haddād*, *Ratib al-Athāsb*, *Maulid Simthū al-Dhurār*, *Maulid Barzanji*, *Maulid al-Dibā'i*, and many other ritual practices are so similar to the traditionalist culture that they become sympathizers and students (*Abnā*) al-Khairaat. Tradition is also an attraction for parents who want their children to be *da'i*, *ustadz*, or offer religious treaties in the future. *Habib* is also one of the important things. *Habib* in Al-Khairaat has still a Prophet's descendant. Many people believe that learning religion knowledge from a Prophet's descendant is legitimate that the teaching of religion is passed down from the Prophet because of the scientific lineage of nasab/history/sanad directly connected to the Prophet. Besides, learning religion with sanad has more blessings and benefits compared to the ones without sanad.

This research is field research with a qualitative method. The qualitative method is a research method used to examine natural objects' conditions, where researchers as a critical instrument. The technique of studying the validity of the data is done through triangulation (combined), and the resulting data is descriptive and inductive analysis (Sugiyono, 2002). Qualitative research results emphasize more meaning than generalization. Qualitative research usually looks more at people in their environment, interacts with them, tries to understand their language and interpretation of the world and its surroundings (Nasution,

1996). The approach used in this study is the ethnographic approach. We use an ethnographic approach to analyze these problems by paying attention to the meaning of the object's behavior (Spradley, 1979).

DISCUSSION

Tradition and Hadrami: a Theoretical Framework

In the Indonesian Language Dictionary, the term "tradition" is interpreted as a customary down-and-down habit (from ancestors) that is still carried out in the community (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, n.d.). With such definition, the custom is an integral part of the tradition or can also be interpreted as a tradition that is ancestral customs. The Anthropological Dictionary is more detailed in defining tradition as the magical religious custom of indigenous people's lives that includes cultural values, norms, laws, and interrelated rules. It then becomes a system or regulation that has been established and includes all conceptions of the cultural system of culture to regulate human actions or actions in social life (Siregar, 1985). This understanding limits that tradition as a habit with corresponding values, norms, laws, and rules. Presumably, the following definitions are closer to this study.

To map the tradition, researchers borrowed Gerard Hendrik Hofstede's theory as quoted about four concepts covering the manifestation of culture/tradition in general (Hofstede, 1991). The four components are symbols, heroes, rituals, and values (Darmawan, 2008).

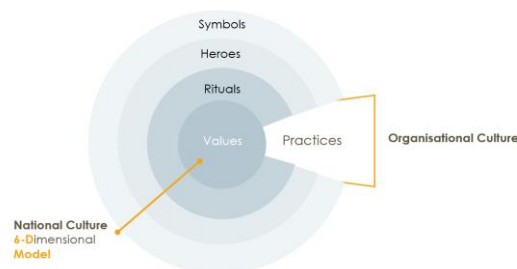


Figure 1. Cultural Slices in Organizations/Institutions (Hofstede Insights, 2017)

Hofstede is of the view that culture is part of a mental program (Dadan Iskandar, 2004). Because it is a mental program, culture can be learned and is not inherited in the form of genes, but is the result of the formation of the social environment, organization or group (Hofstede, 1991) (Armia, 2002). With such a definition, then Hofstede then distinguishes between culture, nature and personality. Nature for him is everything that humans have, such as love, sadness and the need for others. The expression of this trait will be greatly influenced by the culture adopted by the community. While personality is a unique distinct mental quality that cannot be passed on to others.

The civilizing process in Hofstede's understanding begins with the value system that develops in society. The value system will then form social norms and social norms will influence social behavior including forming rituals or habits and creating character or personality and finally becoming a cultural symbol in society (Hofstede, 1991). Further explained that symbols could be words or objects with a special meaning that the cultural community can only interpret. Rituals are special activities as social functions that are

considered necessary. While the characters are the idolized figures and the last is the value, it can be embraced.

Based on the concept of the "tradition" referred to above, the tradition of *Hadrāmī* (Bevens, 1988) referred to in this study is the custom of the Islamic society of *Hadrāmī*, covering the principles, norms, laws, and rules that apply. There is no definitive explanation for the arrival of the Arab community of *Hadrāmī* in Indonesia. However, the identity of *Hadrāmī*, particularly among the *Alawīyyīn*, is linked to the names of early Islamic preachers entering Indonesia, such as Sayyid Jumadil Kubra, Sayyid Ali Nurul Alam, Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati), and other Islamic preachers (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008). It is a historical fact that there was an Arab emigration from *Hadrāmī* to Indonesia in those years.

There was a significant increase in the early 19th century *Hadrāmī* Arab population in Indonesia. In addition to economic motives, it seems that, indirectly, in Indonesia, social, political and economic cultures have been born using the Arab identity (*Hadrāmī*) that has become the attraction of *Hadrāmī* emigration. For instance, the birth of *Jami'at al-Khair* and *Jam'iyyat al-Islām wa al-Irsyād al-Arabiya* (Arab Association for Reform and Guidance) in 1911 and 1914 (Rahmadianty, 2020). Meanwhile, the presence of *Hadrāmī* in political identities, such as the Partai Arab Indonesia (Indonesian Arab Party) and economic identity, was born as the Serikat Dagang Islam (SDI), which became the Serikat Islam (SI) (Mobini-Kesheh, 2004). Many identity groups exhibiting characteristics of *Hadrāmī* clearly indicate that their presence and role in the field are powerful.

Hadrāmī Arabs—especially those of *Alawīyyīn*—have their social stratification positions in Indonesian society. Sequentially, social stratification begins with *Sayyid*, *Habib*, *Syarif*, and *Wan* (Malay community). This social stratification was accompanied by the birth of manners and social norms in society (Alfahmi, 2020). Those who are claimed to be descendants of the Prophet or generally referred to as *Habib* (Plural, *Habāib*) are descendants of the Prophet along the route of Ali bin Abi Thālib and Fatimah Az-Zahra, preceded by his son Husain and continued with Ahmad bin Īsa al-Muhajir. It was Īsa al-Muhajir who emigrated from *Basrah* to Iraq and entered Hadramaut in 925 M, giving birth to Arab descendants of the *Alawīyyīn* site (Malik, 2019).

The presence of *Hadrāmī* in Indonesia has founded its own social identity within society. Quite a lot in some areas, identity forms villages called Arab villages. This is similar to Arab villages in Manado, North Sulawesi, Arab villages in PasarKliwon Solo, Arab communities in Tanggul Madura, and similar groups. In educational institutions within the community of *Hadrāmī*, that identity is characteristic of the institution and, in particular, an attraction for Muslims.

A large number of educational institutions with *Hadrāmī* identities have indirectly established an Arab dominant position in the world of education. Dominance, according to Bordieu, relies heavily on circumstances, resources and strategies. Bordieu also noted four developments in resources: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Economic capital is a financial resource in the form of a financial resource. Cultural capital requires diplomas, information, cultural codes, voice, writing skills, managing, and social status. Social capital includes a network of relationships for the determination of social standing, and lastly, symbolic capital can be positions and big names of families (Haryatmoko, n.d.). The forms of dominance referred to in this study will be seen in pesantren al-Khairaat education institutions scattered in Gorontalo province.

Tradition of *Wirid* and *Shalawat Hadrāmī* Reading: Tradition of *Hadrāmī* in Pesantren Al-Khairaat

Since its inception, the Islamic boarding school Al-Khairaat has adopted the Islamic tradition of *Hadrāmī* as a form (*manhaj*) of learning in the Islamic boarding school. Sayyid Idrus possibly inspired this as the founder of Al-Khairaat, a descendant of *Hadrāmī*—though, in line with *Nasab's* mother, he came from Bugis, Makassar (Sagaf S Pettalongi, 2015). By internalizing *Hadrāmī* practices into pesantren, al-Khairaat becomes full of worship and tradition rituals, or even acculturation between worship and tradition. Of course, the tradition of the *Hadrāmī* is somewhat different from the Middle East Islamist sects, which are more dominated by the interpretation of the Hambali and Salafi *madzhab* (Zaenuri, Ahmad, & Yusuf, 2019).

Various activities become regular al-Khairaat, which is similar to the Islamic habits of *Hadrāmī*. These practices include the recitation of *Rātīb al-Haddād*, *Wirid al-Latīf*, and *Maulid Simthū al-Durār*, and other related practices. *Rātīb al-Haddād* is a series of *dhikr* written by a prominent Yemeni cleric, Habib Abdullah bin Alawi al-Haddad (M. Ma'ruf, 2020). *Wirid* is practiced by Al-Khairaat students in the evening or at night. It is assumed that students can be forcibly removed from all sorts of hazards by reading the *wirid*. From a traditionalist point of view, the *wirid* is considered capable of avoiding the danger of intervention by *teluh* and *jin*, while, from a catastrophe viewpoint, the *wirid* should avoid the danger of natural disasters and other disasters. In addition to avoiding risk, the *wirid Rātīb al-Haddād* also intended to enlighten the learners' minds and minds (Maesaroh, 2019).

In addition to reading *Rātīb al-Haddād*, the pesantren al-Khairaat curriculum's characteristic is to get used to reading *Wiridu al-Latīf*. *Wiridu al-Latīf* is a *wirid* arrangement taken from many *hadiths* of the Prophet and also from verses of the Qur'an. Likewise, the *ratīb*, as mentioned above, *wiridu al-latīf* was also compiled by Habib Abdullah bin Alawi al-Haddad, a great cleric in Tarim, Yemen (Fauzi, Roslan, Nor, Ali, & Zin, 2013). Compared to *Ratīb al-Haddād*, *wiridu al-Latīf* is read both morning and evening, while *Rātīb al-Haddād* is read-only at night. There is also a *shalawat* that is commonly read as characteristic of al-Khairaat, the *shalawat Simthū ad-Durār*. This *shalawāt* was written by Habib Ali bin Muhammad al-Habsyi, a scholar of Hadramaut (Vuri Setianingsih, 2019). Since some of his descendants settled in Solo, this *shalawat* became common to Indonesia and the people of *Hadrāmī* in particular.

Hadrāmī's *wirid* and *shalawāt* reading routines in the sense of organizational tradition/culture have four central values (Hofstede Insights, 2017). First of all, there are religious values to be established through the habituation of *dhikr* and worship. These principles, when presented in practice, are more evolved than the tradition of *Hadrāmī*. In a community of *Hadrāmī*, the habit of *dhikr* together, *shalawat* together is a routine. *Hadrāmī* scholars, such as Habib Salim bin Umar As-Syathiri, suggest reading *dhikr* on some counts in some of his lectures (Suratman, 2020). The *dhikr* value is also widely expressed by Yemeni scholars such as Habib Umar bin Hafidz (Darma Sasmita, 2015).

Wirid reading is one of the appeals made by parents to entrust their children to study in al-Khairaat. Also, this *ratīb* reading, particularly in al-Khairaat Gorontalo City, was conducted in tandem with the community of *An-Nida* Mosque, Tamalate Village, which surrounds the shopping center. The notion of effectiveness and *fadhilah* reciting *ratīb*, *wirid*, and *shalawāt* is also often expressed by *ustadz* and speakers who, genealogically, use their science as the basis of *Hadrāmī*.

Traditionalist community and urban Sufism form the foundation of a group that embraces the practice of *Hadrāmī* (Mawardi, 1970). The tradition of *Hadrāmī*, which places the readership of *rātīb*, *wirid*, and *shalawāt* as transcendent rituals and puts it as a measure of religious piety, further confirms this strengthening tradition society and even in Al-Khairaat Gorontalo. In such cases, parents who want their children to be adults can be religiously advantageous, making al-Khairaat the option. This choice, Al-Khairaat's in Durkheim's theoretical context, was, in reality, a social creation (Pals, 2012) in which people near to the *Hadrāmī* ritual formed a group structure and then developed their children and descendants as new structures to inherit the religious tradition.

In addition to reading *rātīb*, *wirid*, and *shalawāt* with *Hadrāmī* characteristics, which may signify the principles adopted by the educational institution of Islamic boarding school al-Khairaat Gorontalo, the practice is also a ritual conducted by the organization regularly. However, the most important thing to consider in this study of the practice is the significance of the habit of clawing *rātīb al-Haddād*. Some informants recognize that the regular reading of *rātīb al-Haddād* as a reinforcement of the transcendence dimension (*rūbiyah*) of students to make life easier for adults eventually (Inaku, 2020), some mention to encourage the quest for life needs (economic aspects) and to avoid danger (Suratman, 2020).

At a future stage, they were reading the religious routine with the characteristics of *Hadrāmī* is also a sign of recognition. While not all students have a clear understanding of the figure behind *rātīb al-Haddād*, for example, the conviction and pride of *Hadrāmī* scholars, compared to local scholars, occupy the leading role. It could be seen, for example, from the interest of students in the Middle East, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan, less than in Yemen. Some in *Al-Abghaf* (Giu, 2020) and some in *Alawiyyīn nasab* prefer *Dār al-Muthafa* (Al-Jufri'e, 2020). The belief in Habib is also strengthened by the number of students who like to attend Habib gatherings (a kind of birthday) in memory of the founder or central figure of al-Khairaat.

The last segment of the cultural dimension/tradition of reading *wirid*, *dhiker*, and *shalawāt* is a symbol. Rarely, the ritual of reading *rātīb* is used as a symbol of religious piety. Most of the Khairaat' students have memorized the arrangement of this *rātīb* without any book guidance. This implicitly establishes its own diversity identity that al-Khairaat students' characteristic is that it can read *rātīb al-Haddād*, read *wiridu al-Latīf* and read *shalawāt Simthū al-Durār*. Such supremacy would form the social ties between Islam and *Hadrāmī* and al-Khairaat.

Habib's Dominance in Pesantren al-Khairaat of Gorontalo: Economic, Cultural, Social, and Symbolic

Gorontalo is one of the 34 provinces in Indonesia—formerly part of North Sulawesi, a sizable Muslim population. The number reached 96.87% of the total population (BPS, 2018). In addition to having a sizeable Muslim population, religious vibrant is also crowded in Gorontalo. One of them can be seen from the cultured philosophy that is quite famous: "*Adat Bersendikan Syara' and Syara' Bersendikan Kitabullah*." The slogan seems to affirm that religion aligns with the customs that apply to the local people.

The social state of the compound community and the inclusiveness of cultural and religious culture (Islam) have enabled the growth of al-Khairaat in Gorontalo to be huge. In addition to the culture of al-Khairaat, which has parallels with society's social status, the presence of Muslim immigrants, in particular the *Hadrāmī*, has contributed to the growth of

al-Khairaat. Even under certain circumstances, the predominance of the *Hadrāmī* power of the *Alawīyyīn* seems very high.

The commencement of *Hadrāmī* Arabs' entry at Gorontalo is not known with any precision. However, some researchers believe their arrival occurred between the 17th and 19th centuries (La Mansi, 2018). Although the emergence of Islam in eastern Indonesia, particularly in Maluku and North Maluku, began in the 15th century (Amin, 2012) (Fadhly & Warwefubun, 2019), it did not claim that Islam existed in Gorontalo at the time. This is due to the fact that the growth of Gorontalo Islam is a prolongation of the growth of Maluku Islam (Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan) (Jalil, 2017). Therefore, it indicates that the expansion of Islam to Gorontalo occurred only after Islam grew in Maluku. The possibility of *Hadrāmī* Arabs arriving in Gorontalo in the 18th century is more precise based on historical information.

Of the two notions regarding the arrival of the Islamic propagator to the archipelago—whether from Gujarat, India or Arabs, particularly the *Hadrāmī*—Gorontalo Islam is more likely to be the result of the spread of Islam from Arabia. This is confirmed by data indicating that the traits of Gorontalo Islam are comparable to those of Maluku Islam (*Jazīrah al-Mulk*), where Islam acculturated with the kingdoms, whereas Maluku Islam was the consequence of Arab Islam's spread (Berg, 1989), (Jalil, 2017). Furthermore, Gorontalo's position as a commercial route in the Tomini Bay Area has drawn traders from Arabia and Bugis, lending credence to the notion that Arabs affected the growth of Islam in Gorontalo (La Mansi, 2018).

The *Hadrāmī* Islamic community has taken over several areas in Gorontalo, particularly in the urban and trade zones. Some of the key figures succeeded in the political, social, and educational sectors. Fadel Muhammad, the first Gorontalo governor, for example, was an Arab descendent of *Hadrāmī* via the Nasab *al-Haddār* line. The others like Abdurrahman Abu Bakar Bahmid, a political figure in the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD) with about 20% of the vote in Gorontalo, is an Arab *Hadrāmī* figure. In addition to politics, the *Hadrāmī* Islamic community dominates social fields such as health facilities, economic areas such as shops and retail, and religious fields such as the Indonesian Ulama Council, Al-Khairaat Islamic Boarding School, and Al-Huda Gorontalo City.

Borrowing the conceptual framework of Bordieu in (Haryatmoko, n.d.), the domination relies heavily on four things: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. So to see the scale of the supremacy of Arab immigrants (*Hadrāmī*) in al-Khairaat and Gorontalo, all four points will be seen;

Habib's Dominance on Economic

One of the aspects of life dominated by *Hadrāmī* Arabs in Gorontalo is the economic sector. The majority of owners of business and store proprietors in Gorontalo's commercial center are Hadrm and Arab descent groups in general. This is proven by the adoption of Arabic names and terminology in the naming of shops and stores, such as Bin Yusuf, Toko Mesir, Toko Palestina, Misfalah, Musdalifah, Aziziyah, and other related terms. The *Hadrāmī* Arabs' dominance in this economic sphere, particularly in the commerce sector, is widely suspected of being a hereditary skill because their ancestors were traders. This tradition has been handed down through generations.

The *Hadrāmī* Arab community's economic domination does not present a threat to the residents of Gorontalo; on the contrary, their relationship is generally pleasant. Some of the residents of Gorontalo work well with them. This relationship is due to a number of

factors, including religious similarities and the Gorontalo people's typology, which, while being located in the middle to eastern portion of Indonesia, is nonetheless friendly to others. One of the elements contributing to *Hadrāmī* Arab economic domination is the social atmosphere of the Gorontalo community, which is tolerant to immigrants.

In addition to the *Hadrāmī* community's general economic hegemony, the al-Khairaat pesantren have a reasonably significant economic domination. Although certain al-Khairaat Islamic boarding schools in Gorontalo continue to rely heavily on donations (Suratman, 2020). These contributors are reliant not just on the local population, but also on the vast majority of the Arab diaspora. When it comes to acquiring *turats al-Islāmiyyah* literature, one of the key providers for the Gorontalo area is the Pekalongan bookstore, which is run by Arabs. It should also be highlighted that with such a huge number of pesantren and occupying such a huge area of land, Al-Khairaat Islamic Boarding School has a separate economic asset.

Al Khairaat has a large number of Al Khairaat University (UNISA) campuses as well as a number of Islamic boarding schools, for example, in many places with wonderful architecture. The Al-Khairaat distribution center in Palu, Central Sulawesi, has also established a Faculty of Medicine, which is one of UNISA's Leading Faculties (fkunisa.ac.id, 2020). Economic strength is also a driving force behind Al-presence Khairaat's in Sulawesi, particularly in Gorontalo.

Habib's Dominance on Culture

Most of the traditions in al-Khairaat are colored by Hadrāmī culture. Among these habits are kissing the hands of an ustadz or Kyai, Gus and other central figures in religion. The rituals of the *Maulid* Prophet's on certain nights are devoted, as well as at the haul event which is held annually to the founder of al-Khairaat by presenting all al-Khairaat alumni throughout the archipelago. These traditions are generally closer to Hadrāmī customs than to Nusantara culture.

There are various reasons why Hadrāmī culture persists in al-Khairaat, despite the fact that the majority of students are from the general public (*ahwal*). First, the culture gets wrapped in the breath of Islam, or at the very least, acculturation with Islamic principles happens. As with the haul, which is a tradition of commemorating death, it is actually a point of contention in Islam, particularly among modernist Islamic groups such as Muhammadiyah, but the haul package for Hadrāmī Pesantren Al-Khairaat is jam-packed with *istighasah*, *tablil*, and *wirid* reading activities to give it an Islamic flavor more noticeable. With such a model of acculturation of culture and Islam, students and the community do not reject the culture and sometimes even consider it part of Islam. Although in the archipelago there have often been such activities (Mustolehudin, 2014) but in the *Hadrāmī* version the tradition has different contents.

Second, have a shared culture that is frequently practiced throughout the archipelago. Between the *Hadrāmī* Arab and the Muslim community of Gorontalo, there are a lot of religious traditions that are similar. Before this custom was widely practiced in Al-Khairaat, the Muslim community of Gorontalo, for example, had done so at births, circumcisions, weddings, and other ceremonies. The cultural distinction is only in the manner in which the poem's words are recited. The importance of tradition's usefulness in a society that values Islamic culture heightens people's interest in the *Hadrāmī* tradition in al-Khairaat.

Habib's Dominance on Social

One of the social dominances is the placement of high social stratification given to people deemed to be the Prophet's lineage. For example, in the Sayyid Idrus Bin Salim Al-Jufri'e *haul* ceremony, the majority of the Gorontalo people who are abn al-Khairaat came to Central Sulawesi to engage (Arifin, 2020). Although the distance between Gorontalo and Central Sulawesi is considerable, the *Abnā* al-Khairaat congregation participated in the *haul* in the expectation of blessing and benefiting from the da'wah preached by Sayyid Idrus Bin Salim al-Jufri'e. Furthermore, folk stories about the *karamah* of Sayyid Idrus Bin Salim Al-Jufri'e are always explored (*manaqib*), sometimes even in something that is beyond scientific reasoning and displays an orthodoxy attitude (Fogg & Fogg, 2018).

In addition to placing the social stratification of the *Hadrāmī* Arab community—especially from the *Alawiyyin*—which is quite high in the Gorontalo community and the Al-Khairaat Islamic Boarding school congregation, Al-Khairaat also has other social capital such as mastery of strategic social segments. The general chairman of the Indonesian Ulama Council, for example, in the Gorontalo area is mostly controlled by alumni from the Al-Khairaat Islamic boarding school. The Gorontalo Provincial MUI is chaired by a *Hadrāmī* Arab descendant, as well as the Gorontalo Boalemo district is also controlled by the Al-Khairaat pesantren leader who is an *Hadrāmī* Arab descendant. The dominance in the social field shows strong public trust and is able to make Al-Khairaat survive and influential in Gorontalo.

Habib's Dominance on Symbolic

One that is related to symbolic dominance is the issue of title and position. Arab *Hadrāmī's* domination in the symbolic area, particularly in the political/position sector, demonstrates how powerful *Hadrāmī's* impact was in Gorontalo. This may be seen in the governor election, Fadel Muhammad, a son of Arab descendants from the Al-Haddār lineage, was selected as a Governor of Gorontalo. Aside from Fadel, numerous Arab descendants wield political power, like Abdurrahman Abu Bakar Bahmid, a member of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat of the Republic of Indonesia (DPD RI), and Lisna Alamry, a member of the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD.

Easiness in becoming public officers of *Hadrāmī* Arab descendants demonstrates the significant domination of the community in society. The strength of the community's support and trust is also a factor in the Al-Khairaat Islamic Boarding School's effectiveness in educating its kids or, at the very least, developing sympathy among the community. Because from an educational standpoint, all of these political figures are also key actors in the management of Al-Khairaat. Fadel Muhammad, for example, is the head of the Al-Khairaat Foundation, which is fundamental to the Al-Khairaat institution (Adha Nadjemudin, 2017). Abdurrahman Abu Bakar Bahmid is a member of the DPD RI who is an Al-Khairaat Alumni (merdeka.com, 2009). Meanwhile, Lisna Alamry is a representative of the middle class in the *Hadrāmī* Arab community.

There are several reasons why *Hadrāmī* Gorontalo's political control and the role of Al-Khairaat are so strong, one of which is the legitimacy of religion. The legitimacy of religion in a religious society is interrelated. In this case, al-Khairaat was able to play the role of his figures in the local political context. Several figures of Al-Khairaat who are descendants of *Hadrāmī* have religious legitimacy that they are the *abnā* (big family) of Al-Khairaat which are pious people who should be supported. This support became the social capital of Al-Khairaat figures occupying strategic public positions. This is evident, for

example, in Abdurrahman Abu Bakr Bahmid. In addition to being a Senator Member of the DPD RI with the second most votes after Fadel Muhammad, Bahmid is also the general chairman of the Gorontalo Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI).

In addition to the symbolic dominance in the area of power outlined above, Al-Khairaat also has a symbolic dominance in the domain of socio-religious identity. Al-Khairaat is not just the name of the identity of the pesantren, but it is also the name of a religious or Islamic organization. The same is true for Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The difference with NU, in particular, is in the *Hadrāmi's* tradition that is followed, despite similarities in terms of *aqidah*, *mazhab*, and some ceremonies. In fact, the mainboard of Al-Khairaat is frequently part of NU.

From the dominations above, it is known that the dominance of *Habaib* and Arab *Hadrāmi* in Gorontalo in the economic, social, cultural and symbolic fields is a strong enough domination. This power is not only due to similarities in the habit of practicing religious rituals but also in the traditions of people's lives. Thus, Fogg's conclusion (Fogg & Fogg, 2018) about Habib's excessive bureaucratization of traditionalist religious understanding is different from the findings in this study that the dominance of Habib and Arab descendants does not only occur because of the understanding of traditionalist religion but because of the domination of the economy, social culture and symbols.

CONCLUSION

The growth of al-Khairaat boarding school of Gorontalo is indistinguishable from the two main things, the *Hadrāmi* tradition offered to the general public and Arab settlers' role *Habaib*, in spreading Islam. The tradition of *Hadrāmi* in the form of *wirid*, *dhikr* and *shalawat* have become a point of interest because it conforms to the social conditions of the traditionalist and urban-*sufic* people of Gorontalo. Besides, people who want their children to become proficient in religion often claim that al-Khairaat is capable of delivering these values. The dominance of the *habaib*, especially Sayyid Idrus Bin Salim Al-Jufrie is so strong. This dominance is seen to affect more the cultural, social and symbolic fields in the form of high respect for them in the social stratification of the community.

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