

ISSN: 1412-4734

E-ISSN: 2407-8646

Volume 17, Number 1, 2017



# Ahkam

*Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*

- ❖ KHAMAMI ZADA  
The Rohingya's Muslim Asylum Seekers in Southeast Asia: From National to International Law Perspective
- ❖ ILYYA MUHSIN  
Endogamous Marriage of Jamaah Tarbiyah: A Sociological Study of The Jamaah Tarbiyah in Salatiga
- ❖ MUHAMMAD MAKSUM  
Building Flats Through Waqf Land: Legal Breakthrough and Obstacles
- ❖ MUSTAPA KHAMAL ROKAN  
Conceptualization of Economic Right for Small Traders at Traditional Market in Indonesia
- ❖ FAUZAN & ANIS FUADAH ZUHRI  
Analysing the Essence of Fiqh Subjects in Curriculum 2013
- ❖ AMANY BURHANUDDIN LUBIS  
Al-Shurūṭ wa al-Ḍawābiṭ al-Shar‘iyyah li al-Ghidā’ al-Ḥalāl: Khibrah Indūnisiyā



Volume 17, Number 1, 2017

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*Ahmad Tholabi Kharlie*

EDITORS

*Arip Purkon*

*Fathuddin*

*Maman R Hakim*

*Ahmad Bahtiar*

INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

*Tim Lindsey (University of Melbourne Australia)*

*Nadirsyah Hosen (Monash University Australia)*

*Ahmad Hidayat Buang (Universiti Malaya Malaysia)*

*Raihanah Azahari (Universiti Malaya Malaysia)*

*Mark Elwen Cammack (Southwestern University)*

*Razeen Sappideen (University of Western Sydney)*

*Carolyn Sappideen (University of Western Sydney)*

*Nik Ahmad Kamal bin Nik Mahmud (International Islamic University Malaysia)*

*Muhammad Atho Mudzhar (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta)*

*Masykuri Abdillah (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta)*

*Muhammad Amin Suma (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta)*

*M. Arskal Salim GP (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta)*

*Asep Saepudin Jabar (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta)*

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

*M. Isha Helmy*

*Erwin Hikmatiar*

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Bradley Holland*

*Umi Kulsum*

ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Amany Burhanuddin Lubis*

AHKAM has been accredited based on the determination of Director General of Research Reinforcement and Development, Research, and Technology Ministry of Higher Education of Republic of Indonesia, No. 36/a/E/KPT/2016 (valid until 2021).

AHKAM Jurnal Ilmu Syariah (ISSN: 1412-4734) is a periodical scientific journal published by Faculty of Sharia and Law of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta in collaboration with Indonesian Scientist and Sharia Scholar Association (HISSI). This journal specifically examines the science of sharia and obtains to present various results of current and eminence scientific research. The administrators receive articles as contributions Sharia and Islamic law disciplines from scientists, scholars, professionals, and researchers to be published and disseminated.

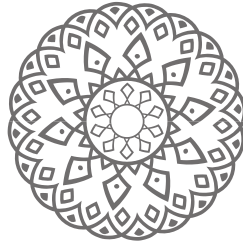
**EDITORIAL OFFICE:**

Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta  
Jl. Ir. H. Juanda 95 Ciputat, Jakarta 15412  
Telp. (+62-21) 74711537, Faks. (+62-21) 7491821  
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/index>  
E-mail: [Jurnal.ahkam@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:Jurnal.ahkam@uinjkt.ac.id)

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1 KHAMAMI ZADA  
The Rohingya's Muslim Asylum Seekers in Southeast Asia:  
From National to International Law Perspective
- 25 ILYYA MUHSIN  
Endogamous Marriage of Jamaah Tarbiyah: A Sociological  
Study of The Jamaah Tarbiyah in Salatiga
- 47 MUHAMMAD MAKSUM  
Building Flats Through Waqf Land: Legal Breakthrough  
and Obstacles
- 65 MUSTAPA KHAMAL ROKAN  
Conceptualization of Economic Right for Small Traders  
at Traditional Market in Indonesia
- 93 FAUZAN & ANIS FUADAH ZUHRI  
Analysing the Essence of Fiqh Subjects in Curriculum 2013

- 113 ABDUL ROUF  
Kriteria Hukum Fikih Ja'fari
- 133 FUAD THOHARI, ACHMAD SASMITO, ANDY ES, JAYA  
MURJAYA, RONY KURNIAWAN  
Kondisi Metereologi Saat Pengamatan Hilal 1 Syawal  
1438H di Indonesia: Upaya Peningkatan Kemampuan  
Pengamatan dan Analisis Data Hilal
- 153 AZHARI AKMAL TARIGAN  
*Ta'zir* dan Kewenangan Pemerintah dalam  
Penerapannya
- 171 MUJAR IBNU SYARIF  
Syarat Kesehatan Fisik Bagi Calon Presiden dalam  
Perspektif Politik Islam dan Politik Indonesia
- 199 HUSNI MUBARRAK  
Penalaran *Istiṣlāḥī* dalam Kajian Fikih Kontemporer:  
Studi Kasus Fatwa Hukum Imunisasi di Aceh
- 223 YUSEP RAFIQI  
Kritik Hermeneutik dan Kontekstualisasi Ayat-Ayat  
Hukum
- 241 أماني برهان الدين لوبيس  
الشروط والضوابط الشرعية للغذاء الحلال: خبرة إندونيسيا



## ENDOGENOUS MARRIAGE OF JAMA'AH TARBIYAH: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE JAMA'AH TARBIYAH IN SALATIGA

*Ilyya Muhsin*

**Abstrak:** Studi ini mengkaji pernikahan endogami Jama'ah Tarbiyah di Salatiga Jawa Tengah yang ditelaah dari perspektif sosiologis. Pernikahan ini dianalisis dengan teori modal dan habitus Pierre Bourdieu, sehingga akan didapatkan bagaimana praktik ini berjalan di wilayah inklusif oleh kelompok yang eksklusif. Dengan modal yang dimiliki, Jama'ah Tarbiyah mampu memaksakan kuasa kepada kadernya untuk melakukan pernikahan endogami ini. Namun, ketika jalan koersif dilakukan, ada kekerasan simbolik di dalamnya. Pada akhirnya, aksi tersebut memunculkan aksi yang menjadi *habitus* atau perilaku yang membiasa. Habitus inilah yang memunculkan doksa. Ketika doksa itu berbenturan dengan kepentingan personal, muncul heterodoksa (*counter doksa*). Dari pergulatan teoretis tersebut, ada implikasi sosial yang terjadi ketika pernikahan endogamis ini dilakukan.

**Kata kunci:** pernikahan endogami, tarbiyah, habitus, doksa, heterodoksa

**Abstract:** This article discusses the endogamous marriage of Jamaah Tarbiyah in Salatiga, Central Java based on a sociological perspective. The framework of Bourdieu theory, particularly capital and habitus concept, was applied to analyze the case. Jamaah Tarbiyah was able to force the cadre to get married in endogamous system based on 'its own capital'. But, when the system was on process sometime it run in coercive way and there was a symbolic violence. As result, the coercive way raised a habitual action (habitus). The habitus resulted a doxa as well as a heterodoxa (counter doxa) when doxa opposed to personal interest. Dialectic of the habitus, doxa, and heterodoxa influenced on the member's social life when endogamous marriage was practiced.

**Keywords:** endogamous marriage, tarbiyah, habitus, doxa, heterodoxa

**ملخص:** هذه الدراسة زواج إندوغاميسلدى جماعة التربية في سلاتيجا جاواه الوسطى بحثا عميقا من منظور اجتماعي. وتحلل هذه الدراسة زواج إندوغاميسلدى نظرية رأسمالية وهابيتوسمن منظور بيير بورديو حتى يعرف تطبيق هذا الزواج في سلاتيجا الشامل لدى الجماعة المحددة. تمكنتهذه الجماعة بما لديها من الرأسمالية على أن تفرض السلطة لكوادرها على أداء زواج إندوغاميس. عندما سار الزواج تحت الإكراه في هذه الجماعة، هناك عنف رمزي، ويولد هذا العمل إلى الإجراءات التي تسمى بمهابيتوس أو السلوك المعتاد. ويؤدي هذا السلوك إلى دوكسا لدى الشخص في الجماعة. وعندما اشتبكت دوكسا مع المصالح الشخصية، ظهرت هيتيرو دوكسي (دوكسا مضادة). هناك الآثار الاجتماعية عندما يتم هذا الزواج إندوغاميس لدى الجماعة.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** زواج إندوغاميس، تربية، هابيتوس، دوكسا، هيتيرو دوكسي.

## Introduction

Marriage is a bond outwardly and inwardly, which must be based on love. Love is a state of interest in one person to another, with whom he felt emotional and spiritual unity. The existence of a friendship between a man and a woman who love each other turned into a bodily state after the form tends to be rational and spiritual (Fadlullah 2000:143). Therefore, love is essentially a basic one for the domestic life realization of *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah* (mercy).

The question is then, how a matchmaking from one party to another party who may not know before but then they are united, so that the basis of love is denied? Would it bring up the issue, considering two different individuals are united that causes the frictions that may threaten the integrity of the family continuation?

In this case, the matchmaking is part of the process of endogamous marriage, considering that there is a process in the arranged marriage by bringing together two parties that basically have not known each other to be united in a marriage. If a match is made by the parties concerned only in similar tribe, class, school, even religion, then the parties perform marriages then the wedding is called endogamous marriage.

Endogamous marriage is a marriage system that requires a spouse from similar clan (one tribe or offspring) or prohibit a person to marry another one who comes from different clan/tribe (Halim 1987:43). However, the term actually has relative meaning that needs limitations for detailed explanation. The determination of these limitations depending on the interests that can be religious endogamy, village endogamy, tribe or lineage endogamy, economic endogamy, even caste endogamy. Thus, in this case, the endogamy restrictions may be extended to the direction of school, and it is practiced by Jamaah Tarbiyah.

Why the practice is done by Jamaah Tarbiyah? How is the process being operated? Then what are the social implications of such practices? Thus, this study discussed it. This study was done in Salatiga, a city that places the second rank as the most tolerant place in Indonesia. However, in the middle of an inclusive society, such exclusive practice as endogamous marriage occurs which raises its own dynamics. This is the interesting side to discuss this marriage practices in Salatiga.



In practicing this endogamous marriage, arranged marriage is a necessary thing as the matchmaking drives to the endogamous marriage. Related to this, at the level of the case, Rifi Hamdani (2013) examines the tradition of arranged marriages of the migrants from Madura Yogyakarta. Similar study was done by Eva Yulistiana Ning and Pambudi Handoyo (2015) who examine the tradition of arranged marriages in Bakeong Sumenep, Madura. Both emphasize the tradition of arranged marriages as part of the two developed logics in Madura, namely: the logic of fear and the logic of protection.

Other studies about endogamy can be seen from the restriction itself. Tribe or race endogamy can be seen from the marriage phenomenon between Arab races in Indonesia, such research was conducted by Kurnia Rizkiati in Kampung Arab (Arab village) Al Munawar Palembang (2012) and Nunung Indahyati on Arab communities in Semampir, Surabaya (2014). With the same race, but mainly focused on cultural assimilation, the study can be seen from Sri Noor Hasanah research that examines the Arab community in Ketapang in West Kalimantan (2008) and Titin Wigarti that examines the descent of Arab Condut Jakarta (2008). Ba'alawi Sada designation for the Arab community is also a concern in the subject of this endogamous marriage, and this was researched by Fathurrahman Azhari, et al. in Martapura Banjar district, South Kalimantan (2013). From some research, there are similar resemblance related to how to maintain Arabic identity in the middle of Indonesia by doing this endogamous marriage.

Aside from the perspective of race or ethnic origin, there is also research associated with the prestige of a particular group or clan. Related to this, Dedi Muhadi did research in Buntet Islamic Boarding school (*pesantren*) related to the matchmaking between *pesantren* communities (2015). The study reveals that it is about paramount prestige and dignity in arranging marriage on behalf a clan between children of religious leaders. It almost similarly happened in the endogamous marriage custom in Bali as being researched by Ni Putu Yuli Wardani (2013). Likewise, a similar picture of clan or relative endogamous marriage in village of Condong Campur, District Pejawaran, Banjarnegara was investigated by Dewi Puspita Sari (2016) that reveals such marriage is to preserve the clan lineages with different supporting coverage.

Research related to marriage system of Jamaat Tarbiyah that implemented matchmaking in Piyungan Bantul Yogyakarta was done by Habib Nana Setya Budi (2008) who only observed in the level of sharia or legal only. This of course raises the issue of adjustment between the two parties who have not known each other before. The study related to adjustments to the marriage was conducted by Ratna Sri Puspitasari (2015) and Ahmad Fauzan Awaris (2014) to spouses who fully obeyed to the authority of *murabbi* (matchmaker) in Jamaah Tarbiyah. In addition, in this matchmaking process, Jamaah Tarbiyah uses marriage proposal, and related to this, Benny Suryanto (2016) has analyzed from the perspective of Islamic law. This marriage proposal submission is a must, because this is where there is the process of getting to know each other. However, the use of this marriage proposal certainly does not guarantee happiness. Therefore, Dewi Rayani examined this from the psychological side of the Jamaah community (2012), whether a marriage like this brings happiness.

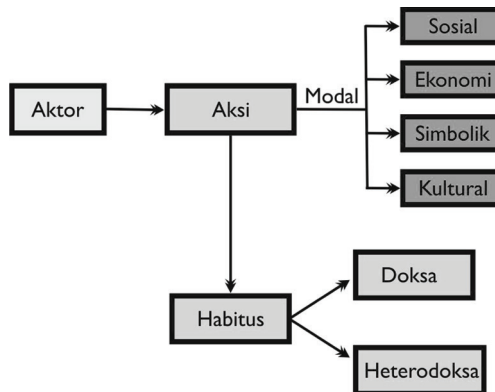
From various studies that have been carried over, basically, this study sought to examine the endogamous marriage from a sociological perspective. The object is Jamaah Tarbiyah in Salatiga that insists the writer to perform in-depth investigation to the perpetrators either formally or informally. Because this is a sociological research, the used analysis of course applied a sociological analysis by using the theory of capital and habitus of Pierre Bourdieu.

In this case, Bourdieu developed the concept of arena (fields) or sphere, habitus, capital, and symbolic violence. Arena is defined as a space that is structured with the rules of the functioning of its own with its own power relations. In whatever arena, the agents who occupy various available positions (or create new positions) involved in the competition to control of the typical interest or resources in the arena (Bourdieu 2010:xviii). Those who occupy certain positions can maintain or even change the configuration of power at the level of the arena (Lash 2004:263).

In the context of capital ownership, the result of the accumulation of capital will determine one's position and status in the society. The position of the various agents in these arenas is determined by the number and relative weights of capital under their control. Capital allows people to control their own destiny and the fate of others (Ritzer

and Goodman 2010:543). Bourdieu divides the capital into four types, namely: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Fashri 2007:98-99).

In the arena of battle, Bourdieu also describes a fight between doxa (the dominant discourse) to the outskirts discourse that seeks to sue and challenge the dominant discourse (heterodoxa). Doxa owned by those who are in the dominant classes and have a larger capital so that they can have the power to influence others. Doxa is a discourse that is accepted as the truth and not be questioned again contributing factor. Doxa can be a custom shaped to such broader discourse as belief and ideology. Besides heterodoxa which is the discourse opponents, Bourdieu also introduces Ortodoxa, the discourse that tries to maintain doxa (Rusdiarti 2003:38).



Scheme on Power Relation Theory of Pierre Bourdieu

### The Genealogy of Jamaah Tarbiyah

Jamaah Tarbiyah is a religious community that became the ideological child of the Muslim Brotherhood (Ihwanul Muslimin/IM) in Egypt. Its genealogy comes from the movement dissemination of IM to the whole world, so that his spirit was up to Indonesia. IM ideology into Indonesia brought by Indonesian students who studied in Egypt and had in contact with the Muslim Brotherhood movement (van Bruinessen, 2002). They spread *manhaj* (method) propaganda of IM to the academicians in college in the form of *da'wah* (preaching) movement (Grace 2009:76).

In this dissemination, DDII role is very important. DDII is Masjumi transformation, which felt a failure to preach through political struggle that led to the dissolution (van Bruinessen 2002). With these facts, the figures of DDII choose the path of the revitalization by initiating the birth of the Islamic social movements on campuses. These new social movements are relatively immune from state control. Mosques in the secular campus were chosen as the headquarters of the Islamic social movement fostered by DDII (Latif 2005:391).

This campus missionary movement is the forerunner of Jamaah Tarbiyah in Indonesia. It is powered by two factors: First, the emergence of groups of young people who have high morale in studying and practicing Islam, in response to the political pressure of the New Order government against Muslims. Second, the existence of a public sphere is relatively roomy, named mosque or campus prayer room, where the idealism of youth Islam experienced ideal seedbed and rapid germination (Damanik 2002:63).

In the movement on campus, DDII formed *Mujahid Da'wah* Training (LMD) at ITB (Grace 2009:84). From this LMD, it formed and spread across large and famous campuses in Indonesia, such as UI, IPB, UGM, UNAIR, and so forth. From this phase, the cadres of Jamaah Tarbiyah printed early and later became early leaders of Jamaah Tarbiyah. In the post-New Order, this group gave birth to Justice Party on July 20, 1998 and then morphed into a PKS on April 20, 2002. KAMMI which is the organization of Jamaah movement at the student level, although it is not in one command organizational of IM also was formed on March 29, 1998 in conjunction with the holding of the College Gathering Preaching Forum (FSLDK) X at the University of Muhammadiyah Malang (Grace 2009:123-124).

From the above discussion, Jamaah Tarbiyah is an ideological child of IM formed by the LDK on campus, and then through FSLDK, Jamaah Tarbiyah manifests this through KAMMI and PKS. Thus it can be said that Jamaah Tarbiyah is a great house for LDK, FSLD, KAMMI and PKS. LDK and Jamaah Tarbiyah is an integral part as jargon prevailing among them is *al-Jama'ah al-hizb hiya al-hizb wa huwa al-Jama'ah*, which means PKS is Jama'ah (*Jama'ah Tarbiyah*) and vice versa Jama'ah is the Party. Thus Jama'ah Tarbiyah is PKS. As an

ideological political organization, it has a very structured and tiered cadres levelling to obtain militant and exclusive cadres.

### **Militancy and Power: The Reason of Endogamy Marriage of Jamaah Tarbiyah Salatiga**

The nature of militant and exclusive cadre system creates opportunities toward the movement of endogamy marriage amongst the Jamaah Tarbiyah people. Militants cadres may open an easy way for “coercive” step that there is an exclusive adherence toward this marriage rules for those cadres. There is a developed doctrine that a marriage among this organization fellows is the best way to be able to spread the organization propaganda. This is what will save the generation from various regeneration disorders. Three things to be considered: first, maintaining *manhaj* and concept of the organization. Second, marrying someone outside the organization is considered denying the clan so it will not get the blessing. Third, keeping *tarbiyah* (the teaching), *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) and *aqidah* (creed) of Jamaah Tarbiyah due to the creed and *harakah* should always be running.

Due to those reasons, Jamaat Tarbiyah also has the power and provides rules that the cadres should marry other fellows from similar school. To note, this is not applied in writing but this is suggested. Related to this, informant HHS said:

“For myself, to make this into something obliged is too hard. And I think it is not an obligation but this is something motivated. Because it also can make us stay awake but also further it strengthens the organization. Here, we have been given the material so that we can think of getting a trully tarbiyah partner. “It is also similarly shared by infomant N, who states that” The liability in writing does not exist but usually there is an oral direction to keep fikroh (concept) and mission and vision in order to maintain the Rabbani generation whose vision and mission is similar.”

Nevertheless, the suggestion could be interpreted as a “force” suggestion. This has been told by informant GY, when he says:

“If a policy requiring a marriage between fellow cadres, for me, this is not something negative. This is about a suggestion. Looking for a mate who is also a fellow cadre is to know who he/she is and where he/she comes from. Based on my experience from the preaching of murabbi that ‘it is substantially possible to marry a fellow cadres’. So it’s not an

absolute obligation. In Tarbiyah, there is specific guidelines on how we select a mate, then how to develop a cadre through matchmaking. Because it may be known history of cadres from the matchmaking”

Although it is only a suggestion, but for anyone who violates the suggestion, the perpetrator will get a continued warning, exclusion, and even sanction. Although this is not being admitted, but there are cases where sanctions were experienced by cadres. These were experienced by informant N and informant A. Informant N was an active cadre of the organization who later came out after he married to the daughter of a prominent NU. He said:

“Usually the tarbiyah people who get a couple from different school sometimes would be indirectly become the subject of gossip. Moreover, the brothers who got partners who are not in one clan are going to get more negative judgement as because the stock for sisters is a lot. Ikhwan (male) are free to choose the desired sisters but why they chose the outsiders. According to their language, if there were those who were raedy, why should you choose others. “

While informant A, an active sister of the organization state that the sanctions are even more systematic. Although there is a proclamation as she is a sister within the organization, but she is being gossiped and experiences a satire of uncomfortable experience. Threats are also posed by her male preachers. In her narration:

“If you respect me (murabbi) please cancel your wedding and I (murabbi) will find one better. However I was not too obedient and still maintained my opinion. After that I crashed with my murabbi, even my friend, another fellow (who married to someone who is not a fellow) but from a different murabbi, was ostracized and punished”

However, compared to other regions, Salatiga is still permissive associated with this endogamy marriage recommendation. This is because the regeneration process is still in the stage of growth and development, resulting in the slack of a “must” suggestion of the endogamous marriage practices. In this case, there is no compulsion for cadres, but the marriage is still recommended to do no matter where cadres are. Thus, there are dynamics that occur in the practice of endogamous marriage in Salatiga. Moreover, the marriage practice in Jamaah tarbiyah is not formally announced that contains written provisions. The endogamous marriage is conducted under the verbal provisions which is then used as a convention that should be adhered

by all the members and cadres of Jamaah Tarbiyah. It is based on the informant L narration. According to him:

“In Salatiga it tends not as tight as in other areas. There is only such advisory and suggestion and far from the stage of suppression. But this is obliged in West Java to marry a fellow. If someone marries to different fellow, sanctions will be given though this is not something direct. She/He could be expelled from the Jammah, because he/she is not obedient to the leader. And the expelling system of members from the congregation is also based on verse, namely that if there is a disobedient member, God will replace him/her with someone better.”

However, sanctions against the perpetrators depends on the attitude and the decision of *murabbi/murabbi'ah*. *Murabbi/murabbi'ah* can give a reprimand, exclusion, or even sanction, and it depends on the context of what happened. However, the level of knowledge and the militancy of cadres also have a significant influence on the practice of this endogamous marriage. If the *manhaj* (way) awareness was high, of course, the practice of this match will take place properly, so *murabbi/murabbi'ah* will stay finding, directing and facilitating. It is based on the informant IT narration who states that, “If he has a good and strong understanding then it will not happen like that. Unless the cadres are beginners so that it can't be tolerated.”

This matchmaking between Jamaah Tarbiyah fellows is something important thing to do. The purpose of regeneration is the most important thing, it is also about maintaining and spreading the teaching of Jamaah Tarbiyah in every facet of the cadres' life. This is in line with the narration of GY:

“Surely it would be more solid, stronger and developed. Moreover, the cadre system is number one. So, if the cadre does not work, then it will be lost / broken. So the cadre system or inheritance is especially if between cadres are united. So, it will strenghten and guide the younger siblings so that the next generation can take it and use it as a reference. Because, for example, when there are cadres who need information, it will be difficult to inform this if there were no ancestors who were experienced the matter. “

To note, the aim is to be able to obtain substantial harmony and happiness in marriage. This is due to the similarity of the creed and the teaching so that there is an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of each in accordance with what has been taught in this

Tarbiyah. It is based on the narration of IT that:

“The ultimate goal is to have more harmonious life in future. Then later, there was not a problem between cadres. So it should be a mutual understanding from fellows. Then the other objectives is that the growth of the cadre is more connected to reach the faster targets.”

It is also strongly related to how the adjustment process from matchmaking can run well. In this case, there are ideals that are expected to happen, and it certainly could be met with a couple who is from similar creed and teaching. Because for Jamaah Tarbiyah, the best couple is a couple who are from similar school. Outside the *manhaj* and concept of the organization, ideals will never be found, because it is at different tracks and interests. This is the background why Jamaah Tarbiyah forwards the concept of *kafu'ah* of a clan of endogamy marriage. The idealized partner will have the same values and the same thinking in developing the household life. That's why, despite having different walks of life, by having similar values and interests in establishing family life in accordance with the ways of this Jamaah, the differences in the background will be minimized.

Therefore, in order to get a similar clan spouse, endogamous marriage should be done, so that the purpose of the wedding itself can be reached and at the same time maintaining and preserving the lives of Jamaah ways in the family. It is shared by informant A who states that one stream marriage is definitely true.

Thus, the endogamous marriage is done of course for the interest of Jamaah Tarbiyah and for the fellows themselves. Those two things are tightly linked and cannot be separated. If a fellow does not marry to similar fellow, the interests of the organization of course will run into obstacles. There will be conflicts of interest because there are differences in *manhaj* and concept, and it does not want to be experienced by both the cadres and the Jammah.

In the practice level, the endogamous marriage must go through the process of matchmaking where the role *murabbi/murabbi'ah* is very important. They facilitate, direct, and even accompanies the fellow during *taarof* process (introductions) and *khitbah* (proposals). In the process, each cadre who had entered the age of marriage or who are ready to get married are required to fill out a proposal form that has been prepared. The form contains personal data and profiles to



be filled honestly and completely. Regarding this process, informant N said:

“We are told to make a CV that includes from the smallest things to salaries to be shared and photos. After reading the CV we then decide whether to continue or not. Usually the communication between *murabbi* and *murabbi'ah* was not formal and systematic. It could be the *murabbi* and *murabbi'ah* are a married couple that the communication should not be formal. The *murabbi* then describes the physics between brothers and sisters ranging from the look and ethnicity. Later, if there is a new proximity of the CV, it is later exchanged. If it fits in the first phase, namely the phase of CV exchange, the fellows are newly reunited later and assisted by *murabbi* and *murabbi'ah*. The actual wedding affair is actually finished in *murabbi* and *murabbi'ah* hands, they only bring the parents for final blessing. Even if parents do not agree, then *murabbi* or *murabbi'ah* are ready to plunge.”

According to the informant IT,

“At the time of filing of the biodata that there are three cadres were submitted not one. Among these three cadres who fit for the criteria that are likely to be expected. I am as the example, so I volunteered my bio. Then there is a lady I expected (in Bios with photograph). Well, in bio proffered to me there were three photos. Suppose I choose the A, *murabbi* has acknowledged her data and then gives considerations such as ‘You are ideally with the C’.”

However, IT refused and still put A as his choice, so *murabbi* agreed and then accompanied IT to do *khitbah* to her parents.

From these explanations, *murabbi / murabbi'ah* plays an important role in this match. The *murabbi/murabbi'ah* describes each cadre who wants to be paired to a prospective partner. The biodata and profile are common but not detailed in nature, and it will be deepened further when there is a follow-up of the exchange of personal data and each agree on.

### **Endogamy Marriage Factual Practices of Jamaah Tarbiyah Salatiga**

An “unusual” idealization policy of course will bring up the pros and cons. In this case, there are four cases that could be described in the endogamous marriages practices among cadre of Jamaah Tarbiyah in Salatiga. First, the cadres who are married to other fellow and be happy in it without having to submit a proposal. This is experienced by informant L who confessed “I was not suggested because I’ve

found my partner myself from similar Jamaah Tarbiyah. Since I am engaged in this Jammah I prefer the same pair. For others who are still difficult to find a mate, they usually experience the procedure via murabbi to be introduced.”

Second, cadres who are married to fellow cadres and find happiness through marriage proposals from *murabbi/murabbi'ah*. This is experienced by informant GY and this is in accordance with what is being stated by him:

“My husband was once here staying for a long period. The religious leader stays upper of this village. My husband helped the kiai (religious leader). We met once in one day before the wedding which was directly becoming the interwine. I also met once in that time and immediately felt fit. I had not had any experience in meeting with men and still really plain. In this case I have a principle that my future husband should be like this, that. And when the ta'aruf time I've prepared 33 questions and I asked those all. He has 16 brothers and told me everything. So, he has understood the processes of Jamaah Tarbiyah. And my 33 questions were answered by him before the marriage. Then, the material was also obliged to be questioned. So this is not only enough to state “I love you”. Because the material is important. “

From this process, GY further stated that she immediately liked her future husband when the ta'aruf. She saw directly how he thought, how he delivered, and he fitted into GY criteria. Though she had not previously thought to get married, but when she was listening and seeing the direct exposure of her future husband, she was immediately approved his application and live a happy life with him.

Third, Tarbiyah cadres who marry the outsider but was unhappy and regretted her decision. This is experienced by informant N and informant D, Tarbiyah sisters who are married to people outside of Jamaah Tarbiyah. N said, “I am married aside through murabi/murabi'ah because the parents of my mother asked me to marry according to what has been desired by my parents as the process through murabi or murabi'ah took too long and followed many stages. Thus, my murabi or murabi'ah put the decision on my parents and did not get involved”. However, according to the confession of N that her marriage was not happy. There is a different principle in living the household. This of course led to the household becomes unharmonious and it could not find a solution.

Akhwat D also experienced the same thing and then lead to divorce. Akhwat D did not get married through matchmaking system in Tarbiyah and married to the outsider. Mother D tells us that there are regrets when the marriage took place without constituting advanced and detailed introductions. As a result, even though the marriage has been running a dozen years and blessed with three sons, but the marriage was not sustained and end up in court. Her husband filed a divorce by proposing reason that the communication could not be established well.

Fourth, Tarbiyah cadre who married to outsider and was happy with his marriage. This is experienced by brother N and sister A. According to N:

“For the business of getting married I did not want to be too intervened by murabbi. For me, marriage is the realm of the parents, not the domain of a teacher or murabbi. So I prefer to listen to what my parents words than murabbi’s words. Because I had to adjust the culture and the preaching effectiveness that it is possible if I get a pair whose concept is alike.”

The same thing is also expressed by informant A, an active Tarbiyah sister who follows Liqa’. Her murabbi’ah was very angry with her because she conveyed that she would marry a man who was not from Jamaah activist. The murabbi’ah anger is told by informants A: “If you respect me (murabbi) please cancel your wedding and I (murabbi) will find one. However I was not too obedient and still maintained my opinion. After that I crash with my murabbi, even my fellow friend of this Jammah but with diferent murabbi (to marry someone who is not a fellow) was ostracized and punished.” However, behind these outrages, there are continuous efforts undertaken by murabbi / murabbi’ah to persuade A again. Moreover, A is a potential cadre so that the return to the Jamaah Tarbiyah will always be awaited.

### **Capital and Habitus: The Fight Between Doxa and Heterodoxa**

As being described above, basically there are pros and cons occur behind the practice of endogamous marriage among the fellow of Jammah Tarbiyah. However, of the four cases that represent the pros and cons, Jamaah Tarbiyah has great power against its cadres. This is because the level of regeneration is strict and the regeneration patterns

is continuous, so Jamaah Tarbiyah automatically has great power against its cadres and the cadres regarded it as an awareness of the way of life they have chosen.

From here, one can see that the Jamaah Tarbiyah has a strong capital. If it is seen from the capital theory of Pierre Bourdieu, Jamaah Tarbiyah has those all four capitals proposed by Bourdieu. Those are cultural capital, symbolic capital, social capital, and economic capital. First, the cultural capital. Cultural capital in the context of Jamaah Tarbiyah is in the form of how the members of Jamaah Tarbiyah receive teaching, practice, faith, worship, and homogenous religious understanding referring to an integrative foster against these cadres to create a *kāffah* (true) and ideal people. By creating this phase, the next level will create cadres who have concept in accordance with the hopes of the ideals. If each cadre has an understanding of the practice, faith, and similar worship, it is easy for the cadres to get the harmony and tranquility when they are paired in a domestic bond. Therefore, for the Jamaah Tarbiyah, fostering is a strong capital which will form a cadre that can be united in a single ummah integrally in various aspects and dimensions of life.

Second, the symbolic capital. The symbolic capital is represented by the existence of obligation for Jamaah Tarbiyah to make community improvements (*ummah ishlāhul*) by adhering to the upright teachings of Islam. It is of course in line with what is stated by Hasan Al-Banna. According to him, *“No rules and teachings that can guarantee the happiness of the human spirit and show them practical way to obtain that happiness, unless the upright teachings of Islam, according to human nature, it is clear and easy to implement”* (al-Banna, 2011: 219).

From this, Jamaah Tarbiyah has a strong desire to spread the perfection of Islam in all aspects of life. Through various missionary movement done based on the *manhaj* (ways) outlined by the Muslim Brotherhood (IM) as an organization that unites Muslims around the world, Jamaah Tarbiyah has strong legitimacy to be able to bring Muslims toward having more attitude life, character and morals which corresponds to the values of Islam. Of legitimacy is then Jamaah Tarbiyah has prestige to be proud by its cadres. This is the symbolic capital that could be used as capital to carry out this endogamous marriages practices among the cadres.

Third, social capital. Social capital is derived from the consciousness of the cadres who have received coaching about strong creed and Islamic values. This leads to the potential of morals, character, and the Islamic faith. This then brings on a change of the way to communicate, to dress up and to interact with others who will confirm their status, prestige and dignity as fellows. The affirmation of status, prestige and dignity is then implemented on each of the missionary movement from the volunteer of Jammah Tarbiyah which will make them as someone different from other groups and are able to provide the a good counterpart or balance in life interaction. Of course, this is being a very significant social capital. With this social capital, any organization's policies would gain recognition and legitimacy of its own that will be shared and executed by all the parties involved. For example in this case is the endogamous marriage, where there is a necessity suggestion to marry a fellow member or cadre of Jamaah Tarbiyah that should be carried out no matter any obstacles.

Fourth, the economic capital. This Jamaah Tarbiyah economic capital is potentially enormous. This is because its members are militant and continue to evolve with the development of structured, systematic, hierarchical, remember, and sustainable regeneration. Of course this is a means of outstanding economic production, especially the militancy of its members drives the cadres to sacrifice for the benefit of the organization. According to informant N, these cadres will be willing to sacrifice and place it as a struggle to keep brotherhood and *aqidah* (teachings). The teaching and *harakah* should always be running. Because there are ladder-level propaganda, the first is at individual, then the at Islamic-based family, then the Islamic society, until the *Dawlah Islāmiyyah* (Islamic State). For them these phases cannot be abandoned.

With these four capitals, Jamaah Tarbiyah then perform the action as the actors with power to its cadres. However, when there is a strong capital which later became the coercive capital to impose an organizational policy, there will be a symbolic violence that became the way for a social mechanism for reproducing power. In the end, the action will bring an action that creates *habitus* or habitual behavior.

*Habitus* is what will then bring doxa and the endogamous marriage can be regarded as a doxa that must be maintained and perpetuated

by this Jamaah cadres. Doxa is the dominant view that exist within an organization or group, and it must be run in a congregation as a way to keep the dignity and the struggle of Jamaah members.

From this doxa, various advantages will be born which influence is very significant on the growth and development for Jamaah Tarbiyah. There are at least two advantages that can be obtained, namely: first, when the wedding was held between fellows, there will be harmony to fight any Tarbiyah activities without any hindrance from the partner. In contrast, if one partner is not a cadre, of course there will be resistance when he/she wants to follow the activities of Liqa 'and others.

Second, when the marriage happens between fellows, the regeneration process will continue naturally, with the birth of children who will of course be educated by parents who are both the members of Jamaah Tarbiyah. It is of course very beneficial for the growth and the development of Jamaah Tarbiyah. In addition, this will also impact on the growth and development of educational institutions owned by this organization because their children will of course be sent to Tarbiyah schools. So, there will be a strengthening on economics, education, and the regeneration from this endogamous marriage.

However, when doxa clashed with the area of personal interest, heterodoxa will appear (counter Doxa). It is then carried by the informant N and informant A when the marriage problems which is personal and is related to a private and family life (parents) has been maintained by both. They do counter confidence toward *habitus* that has been formed. In the end, they are ostracized, penalized, quipped, and even awarded a penalty, which makes them later quit from Jamaah Tarbiyah although there is still an effort to continue to persuade them to return to the organization.

Of the struggle between the two factions, namely between doxa and heterodoxa, at a later point in which there is a negation of the heterodoxa after marriage with a partner outside Jamaah Tarbiyah suffered a regret. There is disharmony, misunderstanding, words inequality between them, so the concept of a desirable household did not meet expectations. As a result, there is an interruption of the journey of household. This is experienced by informant D and informant N as being described above.

From the theoretical struggle, there are basically social implications happen, that when matchmaking or endogamous marriage is done. In this case, the exclusivity happens by denying the social role of family and the role of individuals. The social role of the family is putting aside the role of parents and prefer to follow murabbi, while the role of the individual is putting aside the love and the freedom of individuals to be able to choose the expected one who is the murabbi's choice. It certainly has a great social impact in society.

However, on the one hand, the social impact of the course did not deter the Jamaah practice, considering they have a strong capital base to be able of doing coercive action against its cadres. Moreover, this Jamaah Tarbiyah is a group with a structured, systematical, and tiered cadre system so that will bring exclusivity and militancy of its members.

But on the other hand, the social impact of course cannot be denied. The social role of the family and the individual of course must be observed and respected, so it's not exactly be the antithesis of the teachings of Islam itself, which necessitates individual freedom. Moreover, respect for parents is very vital for the life of the individual that cannot be replaced by the role of murabbi / murabbi'ah within the scope of the organization.

## **Conclusion**

From the above discussion, basically Jamaah Tarbiyah is an exclusive group that has members who are nurtured structurally, systematically, and levelly that giving rise to the militancy of the cadres. With the existence of such militancy, Jamaah Tarbiyah has the power to act coercive in issuing the policy, including in this case is endogamous marriage, marriage between members of Jamaah Tarbiyah. This is done to keep the methodology, the dignity and the struggle of the organization. Basically this endogamous marriage is not used as a formal decision that is provided in writing. However, this endogamy marriage is based on oral conditions which is then used as a convention that must be obeyed by all the members and cadres of Jamaat Tarbiyah.

Because it is something "unusual", of course it needs power to

be able to impose the convention to the cadres. The owned power of Jamaah Tarbiyah is relatively strong enough, considering that the regeneration and the development pattern are strong, tiered, and sustainable. Moreover, coupled with four capitals owned by Jamaah Tarbiyah, i.e. social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and economic capital, so the practice of endogamous marriage has a great coercive power for the cadres.

Later, the habitus emerges which raises doxa. But, on the journey, not all doxa is run wholeheartedly by the cadres, as some are doing heterodoxa and deviate from the provisions of the organization. This is done because there is a huge social implications that have been created from the doxa practice.

Of the major social implications, there are two implications that cannot be denied, that the role of individual freedom to choose their partners without having to be bound by the organization pathways and also the social role of parents who have the right for their children in the affairs of this marriage. Therefore, Jamaah Tarbiyah certainly should not negate these two things that might become antithetical to the teachings of Islam itself to guide the cadres to do good to parents and also the guarantee for the independence of wills and do for individuals.[]

## References

### **Books**

- Al-Banna, Hasan, *Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin 1*, 17<sup>th</sup> ed., Solo: PT Era Adicitra Intermedia, 2011.
- Azhari, Fathurrahman, et.al. "Motivasi Perkawinan *Endogami* pada Komunitas *Alawiyin* di Martapura Kabupaten Banjar", *Mu'adalah Jurnal Studi Gender dan Anak*, Vol. 1 No. 2, July-December 2013.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Arena Produksi Kultural: Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*, Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2010.
- Damanik, Ali Said, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*, Bandung: Penerbit Teraju, 2002.
- Fadlullah, Sayyid Muhammad Husain, *Dunia Wanita dalam Islam*, Transl. Muhammad Abdul Qodir Al-Kaf, Jakarta: Lentera Basritama, 2000.
- Fashri, Fauzi, *Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol: Apropriasi Reflektif Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu*, Yogyakarta: Juxtapose, 2007.
- Halim, Ridwan, *Hukum Adat Dalam Tanya Jawab*, Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1987



- Hamdani, Rifi, "Tradisi Perjudohan Dalam Masyarakat Madura Migran Di Kecamatan Depok, Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta," *An Undergraduate Paper*, Comaparative Religion Department Faculty of Ushuludin and Islamic Thought Yogyakarta State Islamic University, 2013.
- Haryawan, Susy, *Salatiga, Kota Paling Toleran di Pulau Jawa*, lihat dalam [http://m.kompasiana.com/paulodenoven/Salatiga-Kota-Paling-Toleran-di-Pulau-Jawa\\_564aa527c323bd2005203a48](http://m.kompasiana.com/paulodenoven/Salatiga-Kota-Paling-Toleran-di-Pulau-Jawa_564aa527c323bd2005203a48). seen on 19 April 2016.
- Hasanah, Sri Noor, "Asimilasi Pada Masyarakat Sayyid/Syarif Golongan Etnis Arab (Studi Kasus Syarif dan Syarifah di Desa Tuan-Tuan Kecamatan Benua Kayong Kabupaten Ketapang Kalimantan Barat)", *An Undergraduate Paper*, Usuludin Faculty Department of Religious Sociology Yogyakarta State Islamic University, 2008.
- Indahyati, Nunung, "Pernikahan Antar Etnis Arab dan Jawa di Kelurahan Ampel Kecamatan Semampir Kota Surabaya." *An Undergraduate Paper*, Department of Sociology Faculty of Social and Political Science UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2014.
- Kurdi, Fathurrahman Azhari Zainal Muttaqien Sulaiman. "Motivasi Perkawinan Endogami pada Komunitas Alawiyyin di Martapura Kabupaten Banjar." *Mu'adalah; Jurnal Studi Gender dan Anak* 1.2 (2013).
- Lash, Scott, *Sosiologi Postmodernisme*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2004.
- Muhadi, Dedi, "Tradisi Perjudohan dalam Komunitas Pesantren: Studi Pada Keluarga Kyai Pondok Pesantren Buntet", *An Undergraduate Paper*, Department of Law of Family Faculty of Syari'a and Law Jakarta State Islamic University, Jakarta, 2015.
- Ningsih, Eva Yulistiana and Pambudi Handoyo, "Perjudohan di Masyarakat Bakeong Sumenep Madura: Studi Fenomenologi tentang Motif Orangtua Menjudohkan Anak", *Jurnal Paradigma*. Volume 03 No. 03 Year 2015.
- Puspitasari, Dewi, dan Puji Lestari, "Kajian Fenomena Perkawinan Endogami di Kelurahan Condong Campur Kecamatan Pejawaran Kabupaten Banjarnegara." *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi E-Societas* Yogyakarta State University, Edition 5.5 (2016).
- Rahman, Nenni. "Perkawinan Endogami Perspektif Hukum Adat Dan Hukum Islam." *Al-Risalah* 2.1 (2016).
- Rahmat, M. Imdadun, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia*, Jakarta: Erlangga, 2009.
- Rayani, Dewi, "Dinamika Kebahagiaan Pernikahan Pasangan yang Menikah dengan Proses Perjudohan Dinamika Perjudohan (*Ta'aruf*) dalam Komunitas Tarbiyah Islamiyah", A *Tesis on* Faculty of Psychology Gadjah Mada University, 2012.

- Ritzer, George, dan Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi dari Teori Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir*, Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2010.
- Rizkia, Kurnia, “Pernikahan Endogami Pada Masyarakat Keturunan Arab: Studi di Kampung Arab Al Munawar Kelurahan Ulu Kecamatan Seberang Ulu II Kota Palembang”, *An Undergraduate Paper* Faculty of Social and Political Science Department of Sociology University of Sriwijaya Palembang, 2012.
- Rusdiarti, Suma Riella, “Bahasa, Pertarungan Simbolik dan Kekuasaan,” in *Majalah Basis*, No. 11-12 52nd Annual, November-December, 2003.
- Suryanto, Benny. *Tinjauan hukum Islam terhadap proses pernikahan menggunakan “proposai nikah” (studi kasus di unit kegiatan mahasiswa INSANI Universitas Diponegoro)*. Diss. UIN Walisongo, 2016.
- Van Bruinessen, Martin, “Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in post-Suharto Indonesia,” *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2002).
- Wardani, Ni Putu Yuli, “Pelaksanaan Perkawinan *Endogami* Pada Masyarakat Bali Aga di Desa Adat Tenganan Pegringsingan Kecamatan Manggis Kabupaten Karangasem”, *An Undergraduate Paper*, Civic Education Department Faculty of Social Science Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha Denpasar Bali, 2013.
- Wigarti, Titin, “Asimilasi Sosial Budaya Komunitas Keturunan Arab Di Kelurahan Condet Bale Kambang, Jakarta Timur,” *An Undergraduate Paper*, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Department of Sociology, Universitas Islam Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2008.
- Yudi Latif, “The Rupture of Young Muslim Intelligentsia in the Modernization Indonesia,” In *Studia Islamika*, Volume 12, No. 3, 2005.

### ***Interview***

- An Interview with A, an ex-cadre of JT, Tuesday, 13 September 2016.
- An Interview with GY, JT cadre who practices endogamous marriage, Friday 6 January 2017.
- An Interview with HHS, a 9<sup>th</sup> semester students of IAIN Salatiga who a cadre of JT from KAMMI. Wednesday, 4 January 2017.
- An Interview with D’s mother, an official of Salatiga State Library, Saturday, 14 January 2017.
- An Interview with N’s mother, an Islamic elementary school NH, Monday, 16 January 2017
- An Interview with IT, a non active main cadre of Jamaah Tarbiyah, Tuesday, 13 December 2016.

46 - Ilyya Muhsin

An Interview with L, The Ex-Chief of LDK IAIN Salatiga, The Cadre of Jamaah Tarbiyah, Tuesday, 13 September 2016.

An Interview with N, Monday, 12 September 2016

---

**Ilyya Muhsin**, Faculty of Sharia IAIN Salatiga, Jl. Tentara Pelajar No. 2, Mangunsari, Sidomukti, Kota Salatiga, Email: [ilyya\\_muhsin@yahoo.com](mailto:ilyya_muhsin@yahoo.com)



AHKAM Jurnal Ilmu Syariah (ISSN: 1412-4734/E-ISSN: 2407-8646) is a periodical scientific journal published by Faculty of Sharia and Law of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta in collaboration with Indonesian Scientist and Sharia Scholar Association (HISSI). This journal specifically examines the science of sharia and obtains to present various results of current and eminence scientific research. The administrators receive articles as contributions Sharia and Islamic law disciplines from scientists, scholars, professionals, and researchers to be published and disseminated. The article will be situated in a selection mechanism, a review of proved reders, and a strict editing process. All articles published in this Journal are based on the views of the authors, but they do not represent the authors' journals or affiliated institutions.

AHKAM has been accredited based on the determination of Director General of Research Reinforcement and Development, Research, and Technology Ministry of Higher Education of Republic of Indonesia, No. 36/a/E/KPT/2016 (valid until 2021).