



# Marriage Requirements for Cadres of Pondok Pesantren Gontor: Exploring the Concept of *Kafā'ah*

Zulham Wahyudani<sup>1\*</sup>, Muhazir<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>Institut Agama Islam Negeri Langsa, Jln. Meurandeh- Kota Langsa, Aceh, Indonesia

\*(Corresponding author) e-mail: [zulham.wahyudani@iainlangsa.ac.id](mailto:zulham.wahyudani@iainlangsa.ac.id)

## Abstract

This study aims to analyze the marriage requirements for cadres of Pondok Pesantren Gontor. Each cadre who wishes to marry must choose their own partner and obtain approval from the pesantren's leadership. If the leaders, including the *kyai*, does not grant approval, the cadre is not permitted to marry the chosen partner. In the tradition of Pondok Pesantren Gontor, approval from the pesantren's leaders is crucial to receiving blessings in the marriage. Such a practice has been in place for many years to maintain the pesantren's existence. This study seeks to analyze these unique marriage conditions for Gontor cadres and how these requirements are viewed from the perspective of *kafā'ah*. This research is empirical and uses a qualitative approach. Data was collected through interviews with the cadres and teachers at Pondok Pesantren Gontor, as well as an analysis of the pesantren's website. The concept of *kafā'ah* was derived from several sources of literature. The study finds that a potential wife must agree to adhere to the conditions applicable to cadres throughout their lives, including obedience to the pesantren's leaders, being ready to work at the pesantren 24 hours if needed, and being prepared to be assigned anywhere according to the pesantren leaders's orders. The concept of *kafā'ah* in this context can be justified as the alignment of the potential wife's vision and mission with those of her husband (a Gontor cadre). This concept of *kafā'ah* differs from the textual understanding found in traditional fiqh texts and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). This alignment is seen as essential for achieving welfare and as a form of self-dedication at Pondok Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo, East Java, although this concept differs from the textual interpretation found in fiqh texts and the KHI.

**Keywords:** Gontor Cadres, *Kafā'ah*, Modern Islamic Boarding School, Marriage.

## Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis persyaratan pernikahan bagi kader Pondok Pesantren Gontor. Setiap kader yang ingin menikah harus memilih pasangannya sendiri dan mendapatkan persetujuan dari pimpinan pesantren. Jika pimpinan, termasuk *kyai*, tidak memberikan persetujuan, maka kader tersebut tidak diizinkan menikah dengan pasangan pilihannya. Dalam tradisi Pondok Pesantren Gontor, persetujuan dari pimpinan pesantren sangat penting untuk mendapatkan berkah dalam pernikahan. Praktik semacam ini telah berlangsung selama bertahun-tahun untuk menjaga eksistensi pesantren. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kondisi pernikahan unik bagi kader Gontor dan bagaimana persyaratan ini dilihat dari perspektif *kafā'ah*. Penelitian ini bersifat empiris dan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dengan kader dan guru di Pondok Pesantren Gontor, serta analisis situs web pesantren. Konsep *kafā'ah* diperoleh dari beberapa sumber literatur. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa calon istri harus setuju untuk mematuhi kondisi yang berlaku bagi kader sepanjang hidup mereka, termasuk ketaatan kepada pimpinan pesantren, siap bekerja di pesantren 24 jam jika diperlukan, dan siap ditempatkan di mana saja sesuai perintah pimpinan pesantren. Konsep *kafā'ah* dalam konteks ini dapat dibenarkan sebagai keselarasan visi dan misi calon istri dengan suaminya (seorang kader Gontor). Konsep *kafā'ah* ini berbeda dari pemahaman tekstual yang ditemukan dalam teks-teks fiqh tradisional dan Kompilasi Hukum Islam (KHI). Keselarasan ini dipandang penting untuk mencapai kesejahteraan dan sebagai bentuk pengabdian diri di Pondok Pesantren Gontor di Ponorogo, Jawa Timur, meskipun konsep ini berbeda dari interpretasi tekstual yang ditemukan dalam teks-teks fiqh dan KHI.

**Kata Kunci:** Kader, *Kafā'ah*, Pondok Pesantren Gontor, Pernikahan.



## Introduction

Discussions about the cadres of Pondok Pesantren Gontor (referred to as Gontor cadres) have been extensively studied from the perspective of self-*waqf*, as noted by Nice Durroh and Muhammad Saleh.<sup>1</sup> However, no one has examined the marriage practices of Gontor cadres as individuals who dedicate themselves. Some authors have discussed the concept of *kafā'ah* in their works. For instance, Nurul Fattah wrote about the *kafā'ah* of Syarifah women marrying non-sayyid men.<sup>2</sup> Isra Fahriati discussed it concerning Acehese aristocratic families, where the titles Cut and Teuku require marriage within the same social level.<sup>3</sup> However, no research has focused on the concept of *kafā'ah* in the marriage practices of Gontor cadres. Pondok Pesantren Gontor is well-known for its extensive studies in teaching and education. Therefore, it is not surprising that many alumni from Pondok Pesantren Gontor have made significant contributions at both national and international levels.<sup>4</sup>

The discussion about the term *kafā'ah* in the marriages of Gontor cadres is interesting to study for several reasons. First, unlike traditional Islamic jurists, this criterion is not specified and formulated in shari'ah and the principles of fiqh munakahat. In other words, it appears as though new requirements have been added to fiqh munakahat. Second, the concept of *kafā'ah* traditionally refers only to equivalency in terms of religion, lineage, status, and beauty. Therefore, this discussion will offer new perspectives on the idea of *kafā'ah*. Third, from a geographical standpoint, Pondok Pesantren Gontor is the largest pesantren in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Consequently, every decision made by the director (kyai) of Pondok Pesantren Gontor is particularly significant and influential.

Pondok Pesantren Gontor has unique provisions for its cadres. Cadres who have pledged self-*waqf* to the pesantren have specific consequences and responsibilities. Their entire beings, both body and soul, are considered *waqf* assets under the policies of the director (kyai), aligned with the boarding tasks and interests. They are even prohibited from engaging in tasks outside the pesantren,<sup>5</sup> including matters of marriage. When it comes to marriage, the director (kyai) must select the spouse. If a cadre has a potential partner, they must seek the kyai's approval.<sup>6</sup> If the kyai does not grant permission, the cadre cannot marry that person.

---

<sup>1</sup> Nice Duroh Duroh, "Wakaf Diri di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqh dan UU No. 41 Tahun 2004", *Inklusif (Jurnal Pengkajian Penelitian Ekonomi Dan Hukum Islam)*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2016), p. 1–29. Farichatul Azkiyah, "Wakaf Diri di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Positif", *Al-Mazaahib: Jurnal Perbandingan Hukum*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2020), p. 69–92. Farichatul Azkiyah, "Wakaf Diri di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Positif", *Al-Mazaahib: Jurnal Perbandingan Hukum*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2020), p. 69–92.

<sup>2</sup> Syamzan Syukur, "Endogamy Marriage Tradition Of Sayyid Community In Sidenre Village, Binamu District, Jeneponto Regency", *Jurnal Adabiyah*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2019), p. 89–102. Nurul Fattah, "Hukum Pernikahan Syarifah dengan Laki-Laki Nonsayyid: Perspektif Jam'iyah Rabithah Alawiyyah Yogyakarta", *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2021), p. 129–44.

<sup>3</sup> Isra Fahriati, "Terjerat (Cinta Terlarang Oleh Latar Belakang dan Keturunan)", *DESKOVI: Art and Design Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2018), p. 35–40.

<sup>4</sup> Ali Amin, "Alumni Pesantren Gontor dan Jaringan Islam Global", *Journal of Islamic Education Policy*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2018), p. 79–95.

<sup>5</sup> Mukhlisin Muzarie, *Hukum Perwakafan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kesejahteraan Masyarakat: Implementasi Wakaf di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*, Cet. 1 edition (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 2010), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Saleh, "Model Wakaf Diri Menurut Ekonomi Islam pada Lembaga Pendidikan PONPES GONTOR di Ponorogo", diploma (Makassar: Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2019), <http://repositori.uin-alauddin.ac.id/15220/>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

Unlike traditional fiqh munakahat, the marriage provisions at Pondok Pesantren Gontor require approval from the director (kyai). In fiqh munakahat, male and female candidates must be Muslim, mature (baliqh), intelligent, and have a clear identity.<sup>7</sup> The Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) is more specific about the consent of the bride and groom, requiring a firm and tangible statement of approval, whether written, verbal, or signaled, as long as both parties are of age, good character, and suitable for marriage.<sup>8</sup> However, Gontor cadres must meet an additional requirement: they must obtain approval from the kyai after fulfilling the fiqh and KHI requirements. Without the kyai's permission, they cannot marry.

According to fiqh, marriage is considered legal if it meets certain requirements and *rukun* (pillars). However, classical fiqh literature also emphasizes the concept of *kafā'ah*, or compatibility. Many scholars agree that compatibility between the male and female is essential in various aspects, including religion, lineage, occupation, and independence. This concept of *kafā'ah* means that Gontor cadres are prohibited from marrying non-cadre candidates because the latter may not be able to adhere to the pesantren's rules. For example, a potential wife may not understand or obey the pesantren's conditions, or she may not be ready to work 24 hours for the pesantren if she is also employed as a civil servant or in private business. This conflict with pesantren provisions can lead to issues, especially if she is required to work at one of the pesantren's branches in Sumatra, Java, or Sulawesi, which could cause psychological strain from being far from her family. The director (kyai) of the pesantren must consider these factors carefully, as the inability of the potential bride to comply with these conditions could lead to conflicts in the cadre's marriage. In the worst case, a cadre might choose to resign if he wishes to marry a candidate whom the kyai has rejected.

However, the practice of marriage among Gontor cadres has been a tradition for many years since Pondok Pesantren Gontor became a *waqf*.<sup>9</sup> The pesantren accommodates the *waqf* commitment of its cadres to ensure its life, welfare, and spirit. There is even a saying from the kyai that the pesantren is their "first wife," and the cadre's potential wife is the "second wife." As a result, the personal considerations of the potential bride and groom must align with the vision, mission, and duties of the pesantren. On the other hand, the kyai's permission holds significant charismatic authority for the cadres, who are also students (*santri*).<sup>10</sup> The kyai's approval is considered sacred, as the kyai is seen as a muallim, or spiritual teacher. Gontor cadres believe that seeking the kyai's blessing, known as *barakatul masyayikh*, brings them blessings, knowledge, and lessons. The kyai's approval is seen as an act of love that will protect them on the Day of Judgment.

Several studies have highlighted the issue of *kafā'ah*. For instance, Budi Juliandi<sup>11</sup> and colleagues argued that among sharifs, marrying a sharifah is a cultural practice to protect

---

<sup>7</sup> Khairani Khairani and Cut Nanda Maya Sari, "Pengulangan Nikah Menurut Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus di KUA Kecamatan Kota Kualasimpang)", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2017), p. 397–415.

<sup>8</sup> Amir Syarifuddin, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam di Indonesia: Antara Fiqh Munakahat Dan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, Ed. 1., cet. 1 edition (Rawamangun, Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> "Pernikahan Kader, 'Istri Pertama Kader Adalah Pondok'", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pernikahan-kader-istri-pertama-kader-adalah-pondok>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>10</sup> Afina Amna, "Otoritas Kharismatik Dalam Perkawinan: Studi atas Perjudohan di Pondok Pesantren Al-Ma'sum Tempuran, Magelang", *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2018), p. 91–102.

<sup>11</sup> Budi Juliandi, Zulfikar Zulfikar, and Syarifah Mudrika, "Syarifah Sungai Raya Aceh Timur: Marriage and the Struggle to Find Identity", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2022), p. 273–88.

lineage and uphold the concept of *kafā'ah*. Atun Wardatun's<sup>12</sup> research on the AMPA Co'i Ndai tradition in the Bima community found that this tradition is a form of *kafā'ah* practice intertwined with local customs. Similarly, studies by Hanin Adila Muhammad Aminudin,<sup>13</sup> Anwar Hafidzi,<sup>14</sup> and Mokhammad Samson Fajar<sup>15</sup> indicate that the community generally understands *kafā'ah* as it is described in fiqh books, focusing on similarity in religion, culture, and wealth. However, the concept of *kafā'ah* practiced by the cadres of Pondok Pesantren Gontor is different. The Gontor cadres have their own unique understanding of *kafā'ah*, making it interesting to review their specific interpretation and application of this concept.

## Method

This study uses empirical research with a qualitative approach.<sup>16</sup> Data collection was conducted through direct interviews with Gontor cadres who got married with the permission and approval of the kyai of the Pesantren. The primary data comes from these interviews,<sup>17</sup> using a purposive sampling model to select respondents. Data on the concept of *kafā'ah* was obtained from various sources, including journals, books, and websites relevant to the theme of *kafā'ah* in selecting wives. The article begins by discussing the additional marriage requirements stipulated in fiqh and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). It then analyzes the relevance of the kyai's permission in maintaining the existence of Pondok Pesantren Gontor in relation to the concept of *kafā'ah* in fiqh munakahat.

## Islam and equality: the concept of *kafā'ah* in marriage

Etymologically, the word *kafā'ah* comes from Arabic: *kafā'un-kafā'atun*, meaning same, kind, proportional, equal, and matching.<sup>18</sup> In the context of marriage, *kafā'ah* refers to harmony and equality between the prospective bride and groom in terms of economic, moral, and social levels, ensuring neither party feels burdened by the marriage.<sup>19</sup> According to Islamic jurists (*fuqaha*), there are different interpretations of *kafā'ah*. The Maliki school of thought considers *kafā'ah* to be based only on religion and the absence of defects. The Hanafi and Hanbali schools, on the other hand, link *kafā'ah* to prosperity and wealth. Most fiqh scholars agree that *kafā'ah* involves considerations of religion, lineage, independence, and

---

<sup>12</sup> Atun Wardatun, "Ampa Co'i Ndai: Local Understanding of Kafā'a in Marriage among Eastern Indonesian Muslims", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 54, no. 2 (2016), pp. 311–36.

<sup>13</sup> Hanin Adila Muhammad Aminudin and Mustafa Mat Jubri@Shamsuddin, "The Understanding of Malayisan Society on Kafa'ah Concept in Marriage", *Journal of Muwafaqat*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2019), p. 104–18.

<sup>14</sup> Anwar Hafidzi, Rusdiyah Rusdiyah, and Nurdin Nurdin, "Arranged Marriage: Adjusting Kafa'ah Can Reduce Trafficking of Women", *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2020), p. 177.

<sup>15</sup> Mokhammad Samson Fajar and Faris al Badr, "Kafā'ah Contextualization in an Effort to Form Harmonious Family in the Modern Era: An Analysis Of Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement", *Al-'Adalah*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2020), p. 203–30.

<sup>16</sup> Malcolm Williams and Tim May, *Introduction to The Philosophy Of Social Research* (London: University College London Press, 1996), p. 8-9.

<sup>17</sup> Robyn Dowling, Kate Lloyd, and Sandie Suchet-Pearson, "Qualitative methods 1: Enriching the interview", *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 40, no. 5 (2016), p. 679–86.

<sup>18</sup> Mahmud Yunus, *Kamus Arab-Indonesia* (Jakarta: ayasan Penyelenggara Peterjemah Penafsiran Al-Qur'an, 1973), p. 378-379.

<sup>19</sup> Otong Husni Taufik, "Kafā'ah Dalam Pernikahan Menurut Hukum Islam", *Jurnal Ilmiah Galuh Justisi*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2017), p. 246.

profession. *Kafā'ah* also ensures that the marriage does not bring embarrassment to the wife or her guardian according to tradition.<sup>20</sup>

The table below presents the perspectives of various Islamic schools of thought on the definition and criteria of *kafā'ah*:<sup>21</sup>

Table 1.1 Difinitions of *Kafā'ah*

Madhhab	Definition	Criteria
Imam Hanafi	The potential husband and wife should be similar, equal, and compatible.	Sharing the same religion (Islam), having compatible lineage, being free individuals, showing piety, and having suitable professions.
Imam Shafi'i	Equality and equivalence in marriage are crucial, and neglecting them would be shameful.	Adhering to Islam, compatible lineage, independence, and suitable professions.
Imam Hanbali	Equality between men and women in five areas is emphasized.	Adhering to Islam, having suitable occupations, possessing wealth, demonstrating independence, and having offspring.
Imam Malik	Equality and fairness are the rights of women, not just responsibilities of their guardians.	No shame or harm inflicted upon the wife.

The various Islamic schools of thought, represented by the imams, provide different definitions and criteria regarding *kafā'ah* for marriage, as shown in the table. However, they generally agree that *kafā'ah* should ensure equality between men and women, guiding them towards marriage. These Islamic standards are essential requirements to establish a valid and harmonious marital union.

In Islamic law, *kafā'ah* suggests that a Muslim man and a non-Muslim woman are not considered equal partners (*sekufu*). This concept is mentioned in QS. Al-Baqarah: 2 (221).

"Do not marry an unbelieving woman until they believe: a slave woman who believes is better than an unbelieving woman, even though she allures you. Nor marry (your girls) to unbelievers until they believe: a man slave who believes is better than an unbeliever, even though he allures you. Unbelievers do (but) beckon you to the fire. But beckons by His Grace to the Garden (of Bliss) and forgiveness. And makes His signs clear to humankind: they may receive admonition."

Allah SWT explains why marrying a non-Muslim woman is forbidden. This underscores the importance of *kafā'ah* in preventing apostasy. The strict requirement of being

<sup>20</sup> Zuhaili Wahbah, *Fiqih Islam wa adillatuhu*, vol. 9, trans. by Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2011), p. 213-214.

<sup>21</sup> Najmah Sayuti, "Al-Kafa'ah Fi Al-Nikah", *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2015), pp. 179–201. Kiki Sakinatul Fuad, "Posisi Perempuan Keturunan Arab Dalam Budaya Perjuduhan : (Studi Tentang Kafa'ah Nasab Dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Arab)" (Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 2015), accessed 13 Nov 2022.

Muslim for a marriage to be valid emphasizes the need to safeguard the religion. Consequently, Muslims will strengthen their devotion to Allah SWT.

Furthermore, the concept of *kafā'ah* in relation to religious commitment is also subject to debate.<sup>22</sup> Individuals who have recently embraced Islam may not share the same level of religious upbringing as those born into Muslim families. A devout Muslim may not be compatible with someone who lacks religious devotion and morality. Similarly, individuals who engage in sinful behavior like alcoholism or adultery are not suitable partners for pious individuals with strong moral values and a religious mindset.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is advisable for guardians to marry their daughters to pious men. A pious husband should be on par with a devout wife in upholding purity and honor. According to Imam Nawawi, *kafa'ah* in marriage should consider factors such as religion and piety.<sup>24</sup> This highlights the importance of *kafā'ah* in maintaining religious devotion within marriage, ensuring that both spouses are comfortable following Allah's commands and avoiding His prohibitions.<sup>25</sup>

The concept of *kafā'ah* is evident in the patrilineal system, which aims to maintain the lineage or status of offspring. In certain cases, parents or guardians insist that a sharifah (descendant of the Prophet Muhammad) marry a sayyid (descendant of Muhammad through his grandsons Hassan and Hussein). This marriage is intended to preserve the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad. The concept of *kafā'ah* is crucial in this context, as a sharifah who violates this customary rule commits a sin by disregarding the Prophet's decision. According to a Hadith attributed to the Prophet, his lineage will continue until the Day of Judgment. In many cases, sharifahs eventually agree to forego marriage with non-sayyid candidates, even if it means remaining unmarried or becoming widowed. They prioritize the preservation of the Prophet's lineage over marrying men who are not of equal status. This illustrates the lesson that a sharifah's love for the Prophet should outweigh her romantic feelings for individuals who do not share her lineage.

The concept of *kafā'ah* plays a significant role in maintaining traditional practices (*adat*) in Minangkabau marriages. According to Minangkabau tradition,<sup>26</sup> individuals seeking a spouse must come from the same nagari (village community). This tradition serves several purposes. Firstly, it ensures that the husband remains closely connected to both his wife's and mother's households, as he holds roles in both as a *sumando* and *mamak*, respectively. This helps maintain strong family ties and community bonds. Secondly, marrying within the same community is believed to preserve the purity of lineage, resulting in clearer ancestry for future generations. Thirdly, endogamous marriage helps protect family assets by ensuring that they remain within the family and are not shared with outsiders.<sup>27</sup> This principle is taken seriously to ensure that family wealth is passed down through generations to heirs. The concept of *kafā'ah*, which emphasizes equality and compatibility, is highly valued in these marriages, as it contributes to territorial protection, lineage purity, and the

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibrahim Muhammad Al-Jamal, *Fiqh Wanita*, trans. by Anshori Umar Sitanggal (Semarang: Asy Syifa, 1986), p. 369.

<sup>23</sup> Sohari Sahrani and Tihami, *Fikih Munakahat: Kajian Fikih Lengkap*, (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009), p. 56.

<sup>24</sup> Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh As-Sunnah*, trans. Mahyuddin Syaf, vol. 2 (Bandung: Al-Ma'arif, 1993), p. 239.

<sup>25</sup> Najmah Sayuti, "Al-Kafa' Ah Fi Al-Nikah", *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2015), p. 179.

<sup>26</sup> Asmaniar Asmaniar, "Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau", *Binamulia Hukum*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2018), p. 131–40.

<sup>27</sup> Andi Darussalam and Abdul Malik Lahmuddin, "Pernikahan Endogami Perspektif Islam Dan Sains", *Tahdis: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Al-Hadis*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2017), p. 1–20.

preservation of family property. The underlying idea is that the more equal the match, the better it is for all involved.

However, when there is inequality between husband and wife, complications arise. In such cases, both partners must make additional adjustments, sacrifices, and put in extra effort, leading to a genuine struggle to maintain harmony or consider separation. It's important to note that separation (*thalaq*) is something that Allah SWT dislikes.

Furthermore, the concept of *kafā'ah* is applied in the mission or *da'wah* aspect of marriage among the cadre of the Welfare Justice Party (PKS). In PKS, the process of *ta'aruf* (getting to know each other for marriage) for cadres typically begins with men expressing their readiness to marry by submitting their biodata to the *murabbi* or religious teacher. The relationship between men and their *murabbi* is established over time through a cycle process, allowing the *murabbi* to understand their character, nature, level of faith, and even their aspirations as if they were part of his own family. The *murabbi* then seeks a partner for them by considering key factors such as similarity or *kufu* (*kafa'ah*) in educational background, economic status, and cultural compatibility. To facilitate this process, PKS has established a division called the *lajnah munakahat* (marriage committee), tasked with arranging marriages for cadres.<sup>28</sup> The aim is to minimize differences in education, culture, region, and level of faith while maximizing *kafā'ah*, enabling cadres to foster strong familial relationships.

From the discussion above, it is evident that *kafā'ah* in marriage, aimed at fostering a harmonious and blessed union, is highly valued in Islam. Understanding the concept of *kafā'ah* is crucial as it seeks to uphold the continuity of the Islamic faith and the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad's descendants until the Day of Judgment. In *kafā'ah*, the presence of these two aspects is essential. Marriages between individuals of different religions are considered invalid, and a *sharifah* who marries a non-*sayid* is deemed to commit a sin. This is because the heritage of the Prophet's descendants cannot be attributed to them. Groups like the *habib* are deeply concerned about preserving the legacy of the Prophet Muhammad, as they possess degrees and honors that are not inherited by individuals not directly descended from the Prophet.

Another aspect of the concept of *kafā'ah* in marriage relates to property ownership, territory, and educational levels. In Islam, there is a permission to prioritize the protection of property. The concept of *maqāsid al-shari'ah*, also known as *hifd mal*, highlights the importance of safeguarding property ownership in Islam. Therefore, if someone has a strong attachment to their property and desires to pass it down to their descendants, ensuring compatibility in this regard becomes crucial. Consequently, a guardian responsible for overseeing a marriage may reject a suitor who is unable to demonstrate the ability to protect and manage property. This is because the lack of interest or capability in property management may eventually lead to adverse consequences for both parties involved.

Similarly, a person's level of education reflects their commitment to self-improvement and their ability to take care of themselves and their family. Essentially, the concept of *kafā'ah* represents a concerted effort to pursue happiness through qualities that are valued and trusted within a community or belief system. While factors such as lineage, property, territory, and education are important considerations, they do not guarantee happiness in

---

<sup>28</sup> Asaas Putra, "Studi Fenomenologi Ta'aruf Sebagai Cara Menentukan Pasangan Hidup Pada Partai Keadilan Sejahtera", *Jurnal Ilmiah LISKI (Lingkar Studi Komunikasi)*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2015), p. 209–23.

every marriage. However, by striving to maximize *kafā'ah*, couples can at least endeavor to understand each other's integrity and compatibility.

### **The concept of *kafā'ah* in Gontor cadre**

Pondok Pesantren Gontor has been dedicated to supporting its cadres since 1951, with the aim of ensuring the pesantren's continued existence. Cadres who commit to lifelong *waqf* play a crucial role in upholding the pesantren's educational standards. This concept of self-*waqf* among Gontor cadres aligns with the objectives of maqasid al-syariah, which seek to maximize the benefits of Pondok Pesantren Gontor's survival while minimizing harm. The commitment of these cadres extends to preserving the sunnah and the core values of Gontor. Their dedication ensures that even in the event of the cadre or kyai's passing, the pesantren remains steadfast. By nurturing successful cadres, Pondok Pesantren Gontor continues to thrive and fulfill its mission.

Pondok Pesantren Gontor has several rules that all cadres must adhere to. These include obeying the leaders without question, being willing to be assigned anywhere as directed, and being prepared to make sacrifices to defend the institution. Additionally, cadres must be available around the clock to participate in pesantren activities. Despite signing agreements, cadres are not allowed to take legal action against the pesantren. When it comes to marriage, which is chosen by the leadership, if a cadre has a prospective partner in mind, they must seek approval from the director (kyai).<sup>29</sup> Sometimes, cadres view the director's blessing as a mark of high respect, demonstrating the concept of ta'dzim. Ta'dzim involves showing polite behavior, humility, and respect towards teachers.<sup>30</sup> At Pondok Pesantren Gontor, cadres are expected to exhibit ta'dzim towards their leaders as part of the institution's core values, known as the Five Souls of Pondok (Panca Jiwa Pondok).

The permission and blessing from the kyai (leader) in marriage hold significant benefits and contribute to peace in daily life. For Gontor cadres, marriage is intended to be a one-time commitment, making it more suitable for the kyai to select a candidate for them. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the kyai ensures that cadres do not encounter unnecessary difficulties in their marriage. Secondly, the kyai carefully selects candidates who possess maximum compatibility (*kafā'ah*) with the cadres. It's undeniable that both the kyai and the cadres play crucial roles in maintaining the integrity of Pondok Pesantren Gontor. For cadres, the kyai serves as both a teacher (murabbi) and a spiritual guide (murabbi rhaniah). Apart from imparting knowledge, the kyai also molds the personalities of the cadres and provides guidance on navigating life within Pondok Pesantren Gontor and in their personal households.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from embodying the Five Souls of Pondok, the director's approval for cadres' marriages is also part of the board's five-term care strategy, particularly focused on regeneration. The director's consistent approval aligns with Pondok Pesantren Gontor's core values and motto, ensuring its continuity and development not only in Java but also across regions like Aceh, Lampung, Padang, Kendari, Poso, and others. The leadership, reflecting on the pesantren's existence through its cadres, meticulously considers each prospective

<sup>29</sup> Jeq, "Wawancara Gus Podok Modern Darussalam Gontor", interview (2 May 2019).

<sup>30</sup> Khoirul Anwar and Ramadhita Ramadhita, "Menggapai Keluarga Sakinah Melalui Berkah Kyai: Strategi Pemilihan Pasangan Hidup Santri Tradisional di Kabupaten Malang", *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2020), p. 130–44.

<sup>31</sup> Mohammad Masrur, "Figur Kyai dan Pendidikan Karakter di Pondok Pesantren", *Tarbawiyah: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2018), p. 278.



cadre's life partner. The director (kyai) selects candidate cadres who are committed to perpetuating Pondok Pesantren Gontor's ideals. Thus, the leadership instills in these candidates the concept of *kafā'ah*, emphasizing their readiness to dedicate their lives entirely to Pondok Pesantren Gontor.

Pondok Pesantren Gontor prioritizes the concept of *kafā'ah* in the marriage of its cadres, viewing them as successors to the pesantren. Hence, the kyai always plays a role in selecting prospective partners for cadres. The kyai advises unmarried cadres to seek partners who fully comprehend and uphold the pesantren's vision, mission, values, systems, and way of life. Furthermore, the kyai emphasizes that it is the cadres who need the pesantren, rather than the other way around. Cadres should be willing to dedicate themselves entirely to the pesantren's cause, even to the extent of sacrificing their lives for it. Pondok Pesantren Gontor demonstrates deep concern for the well-being and future of its cadres.

Pondok Pesantren Gontor's approach to regeneration stands out for its sincere ethos. Cadres are taught that the pesantren is a place where sincerity is paramount. They're reminded that if they believe they've contributed to the pesantren, their sincerity may be in question. Even if they've chosen a partner and feel the kyai doesn't appreciate them, they're urged to serve the pesantren without expecting recognition or special treatment for their contributions.

The history of Pondok Pesantren Gontor has always been closely tied to the marriages of its cadres. Initially, these cadres willingly pledged themselves to serve the pesantren, driven by a sincere desire to contribute. This dedication leads them to make sacrifices for the pesantren without expecting monetary gain. However, some people, including those who have studied or lived at Gontor, may not fully understand or accept these cadres due to differences in backgrounds, leading to disparities in status and dignity. *Kafā'ah* serves as a means to bridge this gap,<sup>32</sup> encouraging many cadres to marry fellow Gontor alumni who share the same values. Examples include the marriages of Ustadz Mufidz Khairul Huda,<sup>33</sup> Ustadz Arfiandoni,<sup>34</sup> Ustadz Moh. Alwi Yusron,<sup>35</sup> Ustadz Ahmad Faisal,<sup>36</sup> and Ustadz Firdaus Ilham.<sup>37</sup>

Secondly, many cadres marry the children of senior cadres. This often happens because the kyai selects them or because they are paired by other senior cadres. It is believed that the values instilled in the Five Souls of Pondok—sincerity, simplicity, self-reliance, Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwwah Islamiyah*), and a free spirit—are already present in the children of cadres due to their upbringing by their parents.<sup>38</sup> Local customs play a significant role in determining the honorability of a profession, making the possibility of becoming a Gontor

---

<sup>32</sup> M. Hasyim Assagaf, *Derita Putri-Putri Nabi: Studi Historis Kafa'ah Syarifah*, Cet. 1 edition (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2000), p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Ketua Badan Wakaf PMDG, Al-Ustadz Drs. K.H. Akrim Mariyat, *Dipl.A.Ed. Hadiri Walimah Kader Al-Ustadz Mufidz Khoirul Huda | Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/ketua-badan-wakaf-pmdg-al-ustadz-drs-k-h-akrim-mariyat-dipl-a-ed-hadiri-walimah-kader-al-ustadz-mufidz-khoirul-huda>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>34</sup> "Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Kembali Nikahi Kader Pondok Putra Ponorogo", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pondok-modern-darussalam-gontor-kembali-nikahi-kader-pondok-putra-ponorogo>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>35</sup> "Pernikahan Kader, 'Istri Pertama Kader Adalah Pondok'", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pernikahan-kader-istri-pertama-kader-adalah-pondok>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>36</sup> *Kader Gontor Menikahi Putri Sidoarjo | Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-gontor-menikahi-putri-sidoarjo>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>37</sup> "Kader Gontor Nikahi Putri dari Ngawi", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-gontor-nikahi-putri-dari-ngawi>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>38</sup> "Wawancara kader-kader Gontor", interview (9 May 2020).

cadre a reliable measure.<sup>39</sup> This aspect is considered a form of *kafā'ah* in terms of profession or occupation. Consequently, the children of senior cadres are seen as suitable partners for the cadres. Examples include the marriages of Ustadz Hifni Nafsi,<sup>40</sup> Ustadz Zulfahmi Syukri Zarkarsyi,<sup>41</sup> and Ustadz Adnan Asyatibi.<sup>42</sup> What is intriguing is that many cadres who marry end up raising children imbued with Gontor values, ensuring that the next generation is also committed to upholding the existence of Pondok Pesantren Gontor.<sup>43</sup>

Thirdly, most cadres tend to marry candidates from the same area, particularly from Ponorogo. This is because Pondok Pesantren Gontor is located in Gontor village, Mlarak sub-district, Ponorogo regency. Given that many students at Pondok Pesantren Gontor hail from Ponorogo, marriages often occur between cadres from the surrounding areas who share regional similarities, educational backgrounds, and Gontor values. Examples include the marriages of Ustadz Imam Basuki,<sup>44</sup> Ustadz Jumhurul Umami,<sup>45</sup> Ustadz Anwar Fatoni,<sup>46</sup> and Ustadz Prayitno. Hence, it's evident that marriage within the cadre regeneration process isn't just a personal matter between spouses; it also reflects Pondok Pesantren Gontor's broader concern for upholding its values and ethos.

According to information on Pondok Pesantren Gontor's website, the director (kyai) consistently attends cadres' weddings alongside his wife. During each marriage sermon, the director emphasizes that Pondok Pesantren Gontor should always be considered the cadres' first wife. This firm advice underscores the importance of prioritizing the pesantren above all else, even after marriage. Cadres' wives are encouraged to actively support and engage in Pondok Pesantren Gontor's development efforts. Essentially, the marriage of cadres is recognized as integral to sustaining the pesantren's existence and nurturing future generations of cadres. To support cadres getting married, the pesantren provides assistance for wedding expenses, including attire like dresses, shirts, shoes, and sarongs. Additionally, the pesantren offers various welfare benefits such as housing, transportation, education subsidies for their children, opportunities for Umrah pilgrimage, health care, and more. These welfare provisions ensure that cadres can devote themselves to serving the pesantren while fulfilling their religious duties.

---

<sup>39</sup> Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh As-Sunnah*, vol. 2, trans. by Mahyuddin Syaf (Bandung: Al-Ma'arif, 1993), p. 239.

<sup>40</sup> K.H. Syamsul Hadi Abdan Hadiri *Pernikahan A-Ustadz Hifni Nasif | Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/k-h-syamsul-hadi-abdan-hadiri-pernikahan-a-ustadz-hifni-nasif>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>41</sup> "Pernikahan Kader, 'Istri Pertama Kader Adalah Pondok'", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pernikahan-kader-istri-pertama-kader-adalah-pondok>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>42</sup> "Antara Gontor, Perjuangan, dan Ikatan Suci", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/antara-gontor-perjuangan-dan-ikatan-suci>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>43</sup> "Kader Gontor Terus Bertambah", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-gontor-terus-bertambah>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>44</sup> "Akad Nikah Ustadz Imam Basuki Berlangsung di PP Al-Muqoddasah", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/akad-nikah-ustadz-imam-basuki-berlangsung-di-pp-muqoddasah>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>45</sup> "Kader PMDG Berumah Tangga", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-pmdg-berumah-tangga>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

<sup>46</sup> "Kiai Hasan Hadiri Pernikahan Kader Ustadz Anwar Fatoni", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kiai-hasan-hadiri-pernikahan-kader-anwar-fatoni-s-th-i>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.

However, in the jurisprudence of marriage (fiqh munakahat), priority is given to equality in terms of religion. This principle is emphasized in a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), where he said: <sup>47</sup>

تُنكح المرأة لِأَرْبَعٍ: لِمَالِهَا، وَلِحَسَبِهَا، وَلِجَمَالِهَا، وَلِدِينِهَا، فَاطْفَرْ بِدَاتِ الدِّينِ تَرَبَّتْ يَدَاكَ

“Women are married for four reasons: wealth, lineage, beauty, and religion. Therefore, prioritize the religious devotion of a woman, as that will bring blessings to your marriage.”

This hadith explains that generally, people marry women for four main reasons. Prophet Muhammad SAW advised prioritizing religious devotion when choosing a partner, as devout women are considered valuable assets in this world and the hereafter. Marrying fellow alumni of Pondok Pesantren Gontor means fulfilling the Prophet's teachings, as they already possess religious knowledge. Many Gontor cadres have similar educational backgrounds, often holding bachelor's degrees in Islamic studies. However, the concept of equality in marriage within the context of Pondok Pesantren Gontor does not align with Surah al-Hujurat: 49 (13):

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا

"O mankind! We created you from single (pair) of male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that ye may despise (each other))"

The verse illustrates that marriage isn't confined to specific groups, nations, ethnicities, education levels, or social status. It emphasizes that Allah created humans diversely to foster understanding among them. Additionally, Allah prohibits any group from boasting about their lineage, nationality, or tribe. This indicates that the criterion of *kafā'ah* lies solely in religion, as all humans are created equal by Allah. Piety is the only factor that distinguishes His people. Therefore, any discrimination in selecting partners based on education, vision, or mission, as practiced by Gontor cadres, goes against the essence of this verse.

However, the prohibition of marriage with incompatible partners is driven by considerations of benefit. The aim is to ensure the success of the cadres in fulfilling their duties at the pesantren. The cadre's spouse should fully support the pesantren's policies, acting as the cadre's primary partner. The true benefit of adhering to *kafā'ah* for both the cadres and Pondok Pesantren Gontor is to maintain the foundation's solid and continuous development. This aligns with Imam Malik's perspective, who considers benefit as an independent legal basis, even if it isn't based on religious arguments. In essence, the benefit for the cadres and Pondok Pesantren Gontor (the first wife) is the establishment of a harmonious household and the avoidance of negative influences from any subsequent wives. As for subsequent wives (second wives) who prioritize social action, their effectiveness is solely based on love, sincerity, and patience. Such marriages are also seen as a means to enhance worship, even if they involve polygamy. Thus, the initiative of the pesantren's leadership has led to the arrangement of marriages for second wives for its cadres.

<sup>47</sup> Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail al Bukhari, *Shahih al-Bukhari*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al Kotob Al Ilmiyah, 1992), p. 249.

The pesantren cadres are informed about arranged marriages either directly by Gontor's director or with the assistance of senior cadres.<sup>48</sup> These arranged marriages typically occur during gatherings where male and female cadres who are ready to marry come together. This arrangement often leads the cadres to trust that their potential partners are chosen by the leadership, alleviating worries about finding suitable partners. Some even perceive the inclusion of the slogan "sami'nā wa atho'nā" in every institutional policy as a sign of respect for the kyai or leader, aiming to receive blessings and partners that meet their expectations.<sup>49</sup>

While it is believed that couples are a provision from Allah SWT, the leadership cannot dictate these provisions if the matchmaking doesn't succeed or if the match is outside the cadre itself. Nonetheless, the cadres' sincerity and commitment to the institution lead them to comply with all of the pesantren's provisions, including matters of marriage, by fully submitting to the director (kyai) of the pesantren.

The institution's leader, when considering a partner from outside the cadre, takes into account the cadre's duties, principles, and functions. If the prospective partner is willing to be proposed, the leader ensures they understand the cadre's main job description and are at a similar level. This sometimes leads to debates about marriage. If the candidate is not open to polygamy, the kyai advises the cadres to cancel the marriage and seek other candidates. This helps minimize conflicts that may arise as a consequence of marrying a pesantren cadre, particularly regarding not obstructing or prohibiting cadres from following the policies of their first wife (Pondok Pesantren Gontor).<sup>50</sup>

In practice, this marriage reflects the concept of *kafā'ah* for Gontor cadres, emphasizing a unified vision and mission to perpetuate the regeneration for Pondok Pesantren Gontor's survival. The study reveals that nearly all respondents agree on the importance of *kafā'ah* in selecting cadre pairs. Their argument for safeguarding *kafā'ah* revolves around the benefit of the pesantren. Additionally, the *kafā'ah* provisions implemented by Pondok Pesantren Gontor are deeply respected by cadres preparing for marriage. According to respondents, maintaining the existence of Pondok Pesantren Gontor is the primary concern, particularly regarding religious matters. Other factors such as welfare, education, and family background are seen as the pesantren's responsibility toward its cadres.<sup>51</sup>

According to Imam Hanafi, the pesantren leader's (kyai) consideration in seeking *kafā'ah* is justified. In the Hanafi school of thought, the main concern is to prevent the child from losing their social position or honor.<sup>52</sup> If the guardian refuses the marriage contract ('aqad), the judge (qadhī) intervenes to facilitate the marriage and return the woman to her parents. In this context, a Gontor cadre who has pledged themselves essentially grants the head of the institution authority as a guardian in all matters concerning Pondok Pesantren Gontor's policies. This includes the right to approve or reject a potential partner to prevent cadres from losing their status in regeneration by marrying someone who is not endorsed by the director (kyai).<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, if the candidate is a woman who works and has her own

---

<sup>48</sup> "Pernikahan Kader, 'Istri Pertama Kader Adalah Pondok'".

<sup>49</sup> "Wawancara kader-kader Gontor", interview (9 May 2020).

<sup>50</sup> Said Syarifuddin, "Maslahat as Considerations of Islamic Law in View Imam Malik", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2020), p. 85–106.

<sup>51</sup> "Wawancara kader-kader Gontor", interview (9 May 2020).

<sup>52</sup> Abdur-Rahman al Jaziri, *Kitab Al-Fiqh 'Ala Mazahib Al-Arba'Ah*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1990), p. 55-56.

<sup>53</sup> "Wawancara kader-kader Gontor", interview (9 Dec 2020).

income, she is typically rejected because she does not contribute to the cadre's responsibilities. Additionally, in many divorce cases, career women may struggle to fulfill their obligations as a wife.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, the director (kyai) also considers this aspect of *kafā'ah* for the harmony of their cadre's household.

Leaders of the pesantren, such as the kyai, teachers, and parents, often discourage cadres from marrying outside the pesantren's community. They provide negative views and motivations for such unions. When conflicts arise between the first and second wives, the relationship becomes strained. This strain often leads to decreased involvement in the pesantren, as seen when conflicts occur, causing partners to become inactive in the pesantren. Cadres also find themselves needing to invest extra effort in helping their partners understand the intricacies of Pondok Pesantren Gontor and its community. Consequently, they may pay less attention to their spouses and children, becoming overly focused on their commitments to the pesantren.

There are several factors contributing to the marriage of Gontor cadres. The first and foremost among them are the policies of the pesantren itself. The pesantren implements a five-term regeneration program, overseen by the director (kyai), which actively assists cadres in finding suitable life partners. This program aims to unite cadres and potential spouses who are willing to dedicate themselves to the development of the pesantren. As part of this policy, cadres are encouraged to prioritize their commitments to the pesantren over any other activities or jobs they may have had previously. The Board of Directors plays a crucial role in assessing whether the criteria for *kafā'ah* are met and in selecting appropriate partners for cadre members.

The second significant factor is the obedience of cadres to the director (Kyai) of the pesantren. This obedience reflects the reverence they hold for the Kyai. From the moment they enter as santri, cadres are groomed to become integral members of the pesantren, instilled with a deep respect for the Kyai as the guardian of its ethos. They are taught to honor and obey their parents as well as the Kyai. Many cadre couples are matched by the director (Kyai) and comply with the director's wishes and choices.

The third factor is the presence of Pondok Pesantren Gontor itself. The idea of *kafā'ah*, or compatibility, plays a significant role in the marriages of Gontor cadres. The degree of *kafā'ah* often becomes a key consideration in these unions. The criteria for matching cadre candidates may vary, ranging from similar educational backgrounds (both graduates of PM Gontor), shared origins (from Ponorogo Regency), or being offspring of senior cadres. What unites them is a shared vision and goal—to live in accordance with the ethos of Pondok Pesantren Gontor and perpetuate its legacy, making their compatibility equal or *sekufu*.

When pesantren cadres marry each other, they naturally have an easier time understanding each other. This is because they share the same vision, mission, thoughts, and understanding as members who have dedicated themselves to self-*waqf*. This compatibility enhances their ability to work together for the pesantren and reduces conflicts in their home life. Moreover, the marriages among cadres strengthen the bond within the *waqf* community itself. Cadres recognize the important role the pesantren plays in their lives, fostering loyalty and closeness among them, especially during events like Umrah, family gatherings, pesantren activities, or study tours with fellow cadres.

---

<sup>54</sup>Muhammad Firdaus Soraya Devy, "Cerai Thalaq di Kalangan Isteri Karier (Studi Kasus di Mahkamah Syar'iyah Banda Aceh)", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* Volume 3 No. 2. Juli-Desember 2019, vol. 3, no. 2 (2019), p. 378–299.

The marriages among Gontor cadres have a significant impact on the population of pesantren cadres. As they have children, most of these offspring are likely to become cadres themselves, following in their parents' footsteps. These descendants, in turn, will continue this tradition into the next generation. This is highly beneficial for Pondok Pesantren Gontor, as it ensures a continuous supply of cadres who support its policies. Essentially, by marrying fellow cadre members, they are indirectly nurturing a generation that upholds the values and goals of Pondok Pesantren Gontor. These children receive their education from a young age at the pesantren and later pursue bachelor's degrees at Darussalam University (UNIDA), an institution established by Pondok Pesantren Gontor. Consequently, this next generation becomes even more dedicated and committed cadres.

It's evident that Pesantren aims to foster harmonious families, akin to a team of warriors for the Pesantren's cause. Cadres engaged in Pesantren activities require support and understanding from their partners. Therefore, the ideal partner is someone who shares the same values as the Pesantren cadre. Marriages among cadres are encouraged to align with the Pesantren's expectations, which may be influenced by its vision and mission. When a cadre is ready for marriage, they seek a partner who fits these criteria. The notion is that marriages rooted in shared vision and mission are more likely to achieve harmony and fulfillment. Couples with similar beliefs provide enduring motivation to uphold the original purpose of the cadre's marriage.

## Conclusion

In the marriage process for Gontor cadres, the candidate must be selected and approved by the pesantren's director (kyai). Without the director's permission, marriage is not allowed. The director considers whether the potential spouse is willing to abide by the cadre's commitments, including obedience to the director, readiness to work around the clock, and willingness to be assigned anywhere as directed. This policy shapes the evolution of Pondok Pesantren Modern Gontor. According to Gontor, the pesantren is considered the cadre's primary spouse, while the cadre's second spouse is viewed as a partner who must share the same goals and mission, supporting cadres who dedicate themselves to the pesantren.

The concept of *kafā'ah* is vital when considering a potential spouse for a cadre, ensuring compatibility in vision and mission. In Islam, this compatibility fosters harmony and reduces conflict in married life. This principle is especially relevant in the context of self-*waqf* at the modern Islamic boarding school of Gontor in Ponorogo, East Java. *Kafā'ah*, as defined in Islam and KHI, emphasizes equality between spouses in social, moral, religious, and economic aspects. This equality is crucial for a balanced and fulfilling marital relationship, reflecting the teachings found in fiqh texts.

## References

- "Akad Nikah Ustadz Imam Basuki Berlangsung di PP Al-Muqoddasah", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/akad-nikah-ustadz-imam-basuki-berlangsung-di-pp-muqoddasah>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Al-Jamal, Ibrahim Muhammad, *Fiqih Wanita*, trans. by Anshori Umar Sitanggal, Semarang: Asy Syifa, 1986, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Amin, Ali, "Alumni Pesantren Gontor dan Jaringan Islam Global", *Journal of Islamic Education Policy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2018, pp. 79–95 [<https://doi.org/10.30984/j.v3i2.862>].

- Aminudin, Hanin Adila Muhammad and Mustafa Mat Jubri@Shamsuddin, "The Understanding of Malayisan Society on Kafa'ah Concept in Marriage", *Journal of Muwafaqat*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2019, pp. 104–18.
- Amna, Afina, "Otoritas Kharismatik Dalam Perkawinan: Studi atas Perjudohan di Pondok Pesantren Al-Ma'sum Tempuran, Magelang", *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2018, pp. 91–102 [<https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2018.11108>].
- "Antara Gontor, Perjuangan, dan Ikatan Suci", *Gontor*, <https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/antara-gontor-perjuangan-dan-ikatan-suci>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Anwar, Khoirul and Ramadhita Ramadhita, "Menggapai Keluarga Sakinah Melalui Berkah Kyai: Strategi Pemilihan Pasangan Hidup Santri Tradisional di Kabupaten Malang", *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2020, pp. 130–44 [<https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2019.12202>].
- Asmaniar, Asmaniar, "Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau", *Binamulia Hukum*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2018, pp. 131–40 [<https://doi.org/10.37893/jbh.v7i2.23>].
- Assagaf, M. Hasyim, *Derita Putri-Putri Nabi: Studi Historis Kafa'ah Syarifah*, Cet. 1 edition, Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2000.
- Azkiyah, Farichatul, "Wakaf Diri di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Positif", *Al-Mazaahib: Jurnal Perbandingan Hukum*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2020, pp. 69–92.
- Bukhari, Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail al, *Shahih al-Bukhari*, vol. 2, Beirut: Dar al Kotob Al Ilmiah, 1992.
- Darussalam, Andi and Abdul Malik Lahmuddin, "Pernikahan Endogami Perspektif Islam Dan Sains", *Tahdis: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Al-Hadis*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2017, pp. 1–20 [<https://doi.org/10.24252/tahdis.v8i1.3997>].
- Dowling, Robyn, Kate Lloyd, and Sandie Suchet-Pearson, "Qualitative methods 1: Enriching the interview", *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 40, no. 5, 2016, pp. 679–86 [<https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515596880>].
- Duroh, Nice Duroh, "Wakaf Diri di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqh dan UU No. 41 Tahun 2004", *Inklusif (Jurnal Pengkajian Penelitian Ekonomi Dan Hukum Islam)*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2016, pp. 1–29 [<https://doi.org/10.24235/inklusif.v1i1.800>].
- Fahriati, Isra, "Terjerat (Cinta Terlarang Oleh Latar Belakang dan Keturunan)", *DESKOVI: Art and Design Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2018, pp. 35–40 [<https://doi.org/10.51804/deskovi.v1i1.286>].
- Fajar, Mokhammad Samson and Faris al Badr, "Kafâ'ah Contextualization in an Effort to Form Harmonious Family in the Modern Era: An Analysis Of Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement", *Al-'Adalah*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2020, pp. 203–30 [<https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v17i2.6568>].
- Fattah, Nurul, "Hukum Pernikahan Syarifah dengan Laki-Laki Nonsayyid: Perspektif Jam'iyah Rabithah Alawiyah Yogyakarta", *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2021, pp. 129–44.
- Fuad, Kiki Sakinatul, "Posisi Perempuan Keturunan Arab Dalam Budaya Perjudohan : (Studi Tentang Kafa'ah Nasab Dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Arab)", Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 2015, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Hafidzi, Anwar, Rusdiah Rusdiah, and Nurdin Nurdin, "Arranged Marriage: Adjusting Kafa'ah Can Reduce Trafficking of Women", *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2020, p. 177 [<https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v5i2.1991>].

- al Jaziri, Abdur-Rahman, *Kitab Al-Fiqh `Ala Mazahib Al-Arba`Ah*, vol. 4, Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1990.
- Jeq, "Wawancara Gus Podok Modern Darussalam Gontor", interview, 2 May 2019.
- Juliandi, Budi, Zulfikar Zulfikar, and Syarifah Mudrika, "Syarifah Sungai Raya Aceh Timur: Marriage and the Struggle to Find Identity", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2022, pp. 273–88 [https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v6i1.9149].
- Kader Gontor Menikahi Putri Sidoarjo* | *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-gontor-menikahi-putri-sidoarjo, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- "Kader Gontor Nikahi Putri dari Ngawi", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-gontor-nikahi-putri-dari-ngawi, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- "Kader Gontor Terus Bertambah", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-gontor-terus-bertambah, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- "Kader PMDG Berumah Tangga", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kader-pmdg-berumah-tangga, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Ketua Badan Wakaf PMDG, Al-Ustadz Drs. K.H. Akrim Mariyat, Dipl.A.Ed. Hadiri Walimah Kader Al-Ustadz Mufidz Khoirul Huda* | *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/ketua-badan-wakaf-pmdg-al-ustadz-drs-k-h-akrim-mariyat-dipl-a-ed-hadiri-walimah-kader-al-ustadz-mufidz-khoirul-huda, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- K.H. Syamsul Hadi Abdan Hadiri Pernikahan A-Ustadz Hifni Nasif* | *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/k-h-syamsul-hadi-abdan-hadiri-pernikahan-a-ustadz-hifni-nasif, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Khairani, Khairani and Cut Nanda Maya Sari, "Pengulangan Nikah Menurut Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus di KUA Kecamatan Kota Kualasimpang)", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2017, pp. 397–415 [https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v1i2.2375].
- "Kiai Hasan Hadiri Pernikahan Kader Ustadz Anwar Fatoni", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/kiai-hasan-hadiri-pernikahan-kader-anwar-fatoni-s-th-i, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Masrur, Mohammad, "Figur Kyai dan Pendidikan Karakter di Pondok Pesantren", *Tarbawiyah: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2018, p. 278.
- Muzarie, Mukhlisin, *Hukum Perwakafan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kesejahteraan Masyarakat: Implementasi Wakaf di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*, Cet. 1 edition, Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 2010.
- "Pernikahan Kader, 'Istri Pertama Kader Adalah Pondok'", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pernikahan-kader-istri-pertama-kader-adalah-pondok, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- "----", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pernikahan-kader-istri-pertama-kader-adalah-pondok, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- "----", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pernikahan-kader-istri-pertama-kader-adalah-pondok, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- "Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Kembali Nikahi Kader Pondok Putra Ponorogo", *Gontor*, https://www.gontor.ac.id/berita/pondok-modern-darussalam-gontor-kembali-nikahi-kader-pondok-putra-ponorogo, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Putra, Asaas, "Studi Fenomenologi Ta'aruf Sebagai Cara Menentukan Pasangan Hidup Pada Partai Keadilan Sejahtera", *Jurnal Ilmiah LISKI (Lingkar Studi Komunikasi)*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2015, pp. 209–23 [https://doi.org/10.25124/liski.v1i2.823].
- Sabiq, Sayyid, *Fiqh as-Sunnah*, vol. 2, trans. by Mahyuddin Syaf, Bandung: Al-Ma'arif, 1993.



- , *Fiqh As-Sunnah*, vol. 2, trans. by Mahyuddin Syaf, Bandung: Al-Ma'arif, 1993.
- Sahrani, Sohari and Tihami, *Fikih Munakahat: Kajian Fikih Lengkap*, Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009.
- Saleh, Muhammad, "Model Wakaf Diri Menurut Ekonomi Islam pada Lembaga Pendidikan PONPES GONTOR di Ponorogo", diploma, Makassar: Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2019, <http://repositori.uin-alauddin.ac.id/15220/>, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Sayuti, Najmah, "Al-Kafa'Ah Fi Al-Nikah", *Kafa`ah: Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2015, p. 179 [<https://doi.org/10.15548/jk.v5i2.107>].
- , "Al-Kafa'ah Fi Al-Nikah", *Kafa`ah: Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2015, pp. 179–201.
- Soraya Devy, Muhammad Firdaus, "Cerai Ṭhalaq di Kalangan Isteri Karier (Studi Kasus di Mahkamah Syar'iyah Banda Aceh)", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam Volume 3 No. 2. Juli-Desember 2019*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2019, pp. 378–299.
- Syarifuddin, Amir, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam di Indonesia: Antara Fiqh Munakahat Dan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, Ed. 1., cet. 1 edition, Rawamangun, Jakarta: Kencana, 2006.
- Syarifuddin, Said, "Maslahat as Considerations of Islamic Law in View Imam Malik", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2020, pp. 85–106 [<https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v4i1.6754>].
- Syukur, Syamzan, "Endogamy Marriage Tradition Of Sayyid Community In Sidenre Village, Binamu District, Jeneponto Regency", *Jurnal Adabiyah*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2019, pp. 89–102 [<https://doi.org/10.24252/jad.v17i119i1a5>].
- Taufik, Otong Husni, "Kafâah Dalam Pernikahan Menurut Hukum Islam", *Jurnal Ilmiah Galuh Justisi*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2017, p. 246 [<https://doi.org/10.25157/jigj.v5i2.795>].
- Wahbah, Zuhaili, *Fiqh Islam wa adillatuhu*, vol. 9, trans. by Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani, Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2011, accessed 13 Nov 2022.
- Wardatun, Atun, "Ampa Co'i Ndai: Local Understanding of Kafā'a in Marriage among Eastern Indonesian Muslims", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 54, no. 2, 2016, pp. 311–36 [<https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2016.542.311-336>].
- Wawancara kader-kader Gontor, interview, 9 May 2020.
- , interview, 9 Dec 2020.
- Williams, Malcolm and Tim May, *Introduction to The Philosophy Of Social Research*, London: University College London Press, 1996.
- Yunus, Mahmud, *Kamus Arab-Indonesia*, Jakarta: ayasan Penyelenggara Peterjemah Penafsiran Al-Qur'an, 1973.