

**THE PRACTICE OF *KAFAAH* IN THE VIEW OF  
PARTAI KEADILAN SEJAHTERA (PKS) CADRES  
(Case Study in DPC PKS Lowokwaru)**

**THESIS**

Submitted to Fulfill of The Requirements for  
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(Case Study in DPC PKS Lowokwaru)****THESIS**

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## MOTTO

النَّاسُ يَأْتِيهَا

أَكْرَمَكُمْ إِنَّ لِتَعَارُفُوا وَقَبَائِلَ شُعُوبًا وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ وَأُنثَى ذَكَرٍ مِّنْ خَلَقْنَاكُمْ إِنَّ

خَيْرٌ عِلْمٌ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عِنْدَ 

*"Men, we have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes that you might get to know one another. The noblest of you in Allah's sight is the most righteous of you.*

*Allah is wise and All- Knowing".*

(Q.S. Al Hujurat/ The Chambers: 13)

## DEDICATION

Trully, this thesis is dedicated to:  
 My Beloved 'Abi Umi' ( H.Syafi'i And Hj.Kusmawati )  
 For Endless Praying, Everlasting Love, And Uncountable Material

My Lovely Sister (Ka' Dewi) and Brothers (De' Huda and De' Fadli)  
 For Support and Beautiful Unforgettable Togetherness  
 I am Proud of Become Your Sister

As Well As My Big Family  
 For Giving Real Love and Motivations

All of My Teachers  
 For Their Available Knowledge, Patience, and Support  
 Till I Could Finish This Thesis

My Special One Who Would Like To Become 'Imam'  
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 Thank You For The '*Rainbow*' Friendship  
 I Do Love And Miss You All

And Also Big Family in Islamic Dormitory *Ma'had Sunan Ampel Al-Ali*  
 Thank You For Creating Unforgettable Colorful Memories  
 And Valuable Experiences

For My Family in Malang (Abah, Umi and Bude)  
 And in Ponorogo (My Big Grandfa's Family)  
 Thanks For Unforgettable Help and Pray

Lastly, To All of My Younger Brothers and Sisters in FKM-Sumut,  
 KAMMI UIN, LDK At-*Tarbiyah* and FLP Branch of Malang  
 Thank You For 'Welcome' and 'Funniest' Relationship  
 And Unforgettable Smile

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Hopefully, this thesis will be useful for every one, who needs information related to this thesis. The constructive criticism and suggestion are expected from all the readers. It goes without saying however that it is my sole responsibility if mistakes are found in this thesis.

Malang, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2007

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## ABSTRACT

Sri Hidayati. 03210013. 2007. **The Practice Of *Kafaah* In The View Of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Cadres (Case Study in DPC PKS Lowokwaru)**, Thesis. Islamic Law Faculty. Family Law Departement. State Islamic University (UIN) of Malang. Advisor: Sudirman M.A.

**Key Words:** *Kafa'ah*, Cadres, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera.

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People connected to a certain community do not only influence their changing in the way of behaving, but also in thinking and their considerations in taking decision. It happens to Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) cadres in Malang. There is a unique phenomenon among them. Most of PKS cadres expect that their partner in marriage is from one community. It means the marriage happens between cadre and cadre or sympathizer. Moreover they assume that this marriage as the ideal sample, eventhough this phenomenon does not happen for all the cadres. But the practice of marriage in the same party happened to some couples in Lowokwaru. Therefore, the researcher does a research in DPC Lowokwaru.

Related to those phenomenon, research problems are explored, namely what the factors that influence *kafaah* practice in PKS cadres are, and what the opinions of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) cadres about that are. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to describe the factors that influence PKS cadres for selecting and marrying people from their own community, and also to describe the opinions of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) cadres of the same view in couple selection as a practice of *kafa'ah*.

This study used phenomenology paradigm and applied as qualitative research approach. The data collecting method used in this study is primary and secondary data. Primary data was taken from observation and interview to some cadres who has practiced this *kafa'ah* by getting married in the same community. Then, secondary data was got from the number of cadres who has not gotten married, and a paper about marriage guidance from PKS Malang. After finding and reading the data, the researcher selected the data based on the research problem by classifying the data. Finally, the researcher conducted and analyzed the collected data by using descriptive qualitative analysis. Then, the last step is to draw conclusion.

The discussion reveals that core cadres are the group who pay attention more to the same view in political party (community) existence. Some of them have practiced this *kafaah* criteria because of two factors. The *first* is the external factors. It is the *murabbi/ah* authority in choosing cadres' partner. The *second* is the internal factors. They are: (a) Cadres' understanding about marriage rule in Islam and in that community. (b) Parents' understanding about the marriage rule in PKS. (c) The cadres have to be mentally and materially ready. (d) Cadres' understanding about

proselytization methods (*fiqh ad-dakwah*). Thus, there are two impacts that influence this phenomenon. The *positive impact* is as the preventive effort to avoid the dating (*pacaran*) custom nowadays. Besides, for the party (*jama'ah*) this marriage will accelerate the proselytization process through family institution while the *negative impact* that this phenomenon will impress *jama'ah* inclusivity to other people and also will limited *sakinah* interpretation as the marriage purpose.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **A. Background of Study**

Islam, as a religion that comes from Allah with its Al-Qur'an and Sunnah orientation as the way of life, has placed family in a very important and strategic position for individual and society construction. The quality of personality depends on the establishment in family. Family establishment is aimed to develop love and harmony (*mawadah warahmah*) among all of family members. Love based on the religion is the main resource for getting happiness and developing their personalities.

Marriage for most Prosperity and Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*) activists is a process to fulfill a half of religion, where there is a new life consisting of two persons who do not recognize each other previously, and usually they will

avoid interactions and communications each other without aims. A couple will build empire of mission<sup>1</sup> in family that is filled by high spirit of Islam. Family is not only a medium or a place for people connected by a marriage or lineage, but it also has a large function. *Sirah Nabawiyah*<sup>2</sup> has taught us that the settlement of Islam comes from the settlement of ourselves and family.<sup>3</sup> Forming Dai figures (*Takwin Rijal Ad-dakwah*) comes from both ourselves and family shape. So, the family will be an institution of proselytization that has a rule and function to uphold Islam as God's religion on this earth.<sup>4</sup>

Seen from another angle, married is a part of proselytization. So in its realization, it has to be created in accordance with Islamic guidance on one hand, and by considering the goodness from proselytization in every step on the other hand. This has an implication in couple selection (*pemilihan pasangan*).<sup>5</sup> Besides general criteria as stated in Islamic law guidance, there are also some important things to be taught before taking an important decision. Whether couple selection will give a good implication for proselytization or only contribute for themselves.<sup>6</sup>

If we define that *ikhwan* have to be appropriate with the *akhwat*, it means the *akhwat* does not get married with *ikhwan* that makes her and the family in suffering situation according to tradition and custom in the society.<sup>7</sup> *Kafaah* for a couple is very necessary to keep a harmonious family, although there is no Islamic law experts who consider this criteria as an absolute legitimation to get married. When an *ikhwan*

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<sup>1</sup>This term was given by a woman (read: *akhwat*), Ika Farida, Economic Department 2002. She has a strategic position in one of proselytizing organization.

<sup>2</sup>A history in Islam about the biography and life of our prophet Muhammad SAW.

<sup>3</sup>QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 123-133, QS.Asy-Syu'ara (42): 124, dan QS.At-Tahrim (66): 6.

<sup>4</sup>Didin Hafihuddin, "Keunggulan Keluarga Islami," *Al-Insan* (No.3 Vol. 2, 2006), 48.

<sup>5</sup>A process to choose a partner when someone wants to get marriage and before decide the important decision.

<sup>6</sup>Cahyadi Takariawan, *Di Jalan Dakwah Aku Menikah* (Solo: Intremedia, 2005), xxi.

<sup>7</sup>Hasan Ayyub, *Fikih Keluarga* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2001), 33.



wants to get married with an inappropriate *akhwat*, it will be difficult to manage the family well and create *sakinah, mawaddah, warahmah*. If the couple still maintains this condition, it will open a chance for unexpected problems to appear. This conflict will be serious because of the differences. Sometimes the differences come from the economic problems, or the way of thinking. But the differences often appear from their point of view in solving problems.<sup>8</sup>

Islam tries to guarantee that a family will reach happiness if a man and a woman take religion as their first criteria to choose their partner. But to keep and save a harmonious family, Islamic doctrines have discussed about *kafaah* according to the couple's appropriateness so that they do not regret and force each other, because a marriage could not be built by force.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, in the Islamic view, the equality of religion and belief between husband and wife is absolute.

Actually, there are not any constitutions (written doctrines) showing an obligation for an activist to look for a partner from cadre. But the guidance from PKS can form them to have a loyalty and a commitment to choose their couple from their own community. So, it seems like a new concept in PKS family. It means that there is a concept of similarity in community and thinking. Even for the shake of taking care of harmonious family, *akhwat* is permitted to refuse married proposal of people from different movement or party. It is worried that if one day there will be a conflict between two parties that will indirectly influence the relationship of the couple. Both

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<sup>8</sup>Abdul Fathi Abdullah, *Adab dan Tuntunan Meminang*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Qolami, 1994), 134.

<sup>9</sup>Husein Muhammad Yusuf, *Memilih Jodoh dan Tata Cara Meminang* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1987), 94.

of them will be in uncertain situation, between a loyal cadre in party and a husband or a wife in their family.<sup>10</sup>

The fact shows that there is an interesting phenomenon about the way of couple selection in PKS family, where commonly a male (*ikhwan*) or a female (*akhwat*) activist will choose and marry the opposite sex who has the same view<sup>11</sup> in the proselytization. On the contrary, particularly for *akhwat*, most of them will choose and hope an *ikhwan* to be their partner. Subriyatin Nikmah, one of the activists which researcher holds an interview, said “I prioritize an *ikhwan* as my husband in couple election, because however building a family requires many equalities, including the way of thinking (idea). Subriyatin Nikmah<sup>12</sup> said that she wishes that later her husband is someone who is more than her, either from religious equality (*kafaah diniyah*) or science, and of course the man is from one party with her.<sup>13</sup> It is in line with an opinion told by Nisa<sup>14</sup> who gives criteria in her soulmate selection that they are from one community. It is because family is medium to continue the struggle, instead of starting from zero. So later in the application, a spouse who has the same vision and life mission is really needed.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Cahyadi Takariawan, *Izinkan Aku Meminangmu* (Solo: Era Intermedia, 2004), 118.

<sup>11</sup>The similarity perception and style of think to build a family. Usually it will be gotten if their couple from one party, organization, or one community with them.

<sup>12</sup>Subriyatin Nikmah, *Interview* (Malang, February 11<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>13</sup>*The translation : yang pasti saya mengidamkan bahwa yang menjadi suami saya kelak adalah seorang ikhwan, karena walau bagaimanapun dibutuhkan banyak kesepadanan dalam membina keluarga, termasuk kesepadanan dalam pola pikir. Lebih jauh lagi saya jelas mengharapkan suami saya itu orang yang lebih dari pada saya, baik dari sisi keagamaan (kafaah diniyahnya) dan keilmuan, dan tentunya dia harus satu partai dengan saya, yakni sama-sama kader PKS)*

<sup>14</sup>Nisa Ainul Arfi, *Interview* (Malang, February 11<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>15</sup>*The translation: rasionalisasinya adalah karena bagi saya membangun sebuah keluarga berarti melanjutkan perjuangan dakwah yang telah ada, bukan memulai dari titik nol lagi. Sehingga dalam realitanya nanti, kita terlebih saya membutuhkan pendamping yang memiliki visi dan misi yang sama dalam membangun keluarga.*

The urgency of the same view and ideology has been applied by Khairil Amanah. She is one of the core cadres in PKS. So, she has a strategic position in the structure of PKS. She is also one of the functionaries in Ma'had Sunan Ampel Al-Aly as a teacher (*murabbiyah*).<sup>16</sup> Even though she has a lot of experience to scrape with the other students from various backgrounds, her militancy to the party influences her to be consistent as a cadre and choose a partner from her own community.

This phenomenon often happens in the cadre cases, not activists. A cadre in PKS' frame is an activist that has listed his name in the data based on cadre regeneration division (*bidang kaderisasi*),<sup>17</sup> either he is as a Core Cadre Member (*Anggota Kader Inti*), Supporting Cadre Member (*Anggota Kader Pendukung*), or as an Honored Cadre Member (*Anggota Kader Kehormatan*).<sup>18</sup> Their militancy and loyalty to the party, and also belief (*ketsiqohan*) to their *murabbi/ah* make them difficult to receive a partner from the other party or community. They will need an adaptation and a process to exist in proselytization activities. Thus, most of them submit this couple selection process to their *murabbi/ah*.

Therefore, a *murrabbi/ah* has a responsibility to look for *mad'us*,<sup>19</sup> partner who are appropriate with their own character, *tarbiyah*<sup>20</sup> level, and criteria. Surely, a

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<sup>16</sup>A term named for a teacher who teach (*mentarbiyah*) Young Member (*Anggota Muda*) and Beginner Member (*Anggota Pemula*) PKS in a small group in intensive Islamic studies (*halaqah*) once for a week. It has run continually. Usually in one group there are twelve persons for maximum numbers.

<sup>17</sup>One of divisions in PKS structure. It concerns about the spirituality of cadres, militancy, and levelization. The great agenda from this division is managing *tarbiyah* process for improving the quality of cadres.

<sup>18</sup>Sapto Waluyo, *Kebangkitan Politik Dakwah: Konsep dan Praktek Politik PKS di Masa Transisi* (Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005), 394.

a. Core Cadre Member are the members who has followed many trainings from the party and they are considered complete to fulfill the qualification to be a core cadre by the selector committee.  
b. Supporting Cadre Member is the cadre who give full supporting to all of the party's activities.  
c. Honored Cadre Member is the people who has given contributions and they are degreed by Center Leader Assembly (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat / DPD) PKS.

<sup>19</sup>This term is used to mention the members of the halaqoh that educated (*ditarbiyah*) by a *murabbi/ah*. Usually, the high number approximately twelve (12) persons in every one halaqoh.

*murabbi/ah* will choose their partner from the same party or community. Because a *murabbi/ah* has to account for their choice, if they fail to create a harmonious family, it will be shameful and it can be a trouble in the future.<sup>21</sup> Finally, as we have seen, *ikhwan* or *akhwat* is always matched with a person who isn't different from them. It means that their candidate has to have the same perspective and mission in the way of thinking.

Prosperity and Justice Party (PKS) becomes the object of study because PKS as a phenomenal party in Indonesia has had a unique history since the general election in 1999. PKS also has a clear difference from the other parties.

Prosperity and Justice Party (PKS) is a result of verification from Partai Keadilan which did not reach the quota of 20 % of votes. PKS appeared 20 years ago as an underground movement which presented a social political power and bargained political will in Indonesia. Now, after Indonesia upheld the general election in 2004, PKS is more famous in society, especially among Islamic activists. PKS becomes a social movement that is indirectly connected with the mainstream approach. The social change that is engineered by our country is called a development.<sup>22</sup>

PKS is also called cadre party. Because in its application, PKS as a political party pays a great attention to their cadres. This party does not only get involved in political activities but it also deals with wedding affairs and family. It manages cadre personalities systematically and deeply, either from their spirituality, emotionality, daily movement, or couple selection process. For the last part, PKS organizes the

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<sup>20</sup>A term given to name an intensive Islamic studies (*halaqah*) process.

<sup>21</sup>Satria Hadi Lubis, *Buku Pintar Mengelola Halaqah* (Jakarta: FBA Press, 2006), 108.

<sup>22</sup>Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia Cet II* (Jakarta: TERAJU, 2003), 22.

process carefully, because this process will influence the quantity of cadres, and it will be easier to increase an acceleration.

However, principally, family as one of the proselyzation institutions need an intensive guidance. This is an interesting phenomenon from the other parties in Indonesia. PKS has a detail database about its cadres. So this party will know the number of cadres with their classification. When the other parties loose their activities after general election, PKS still exists with its full agenda and activities. The greatest activity is *halaqah* as a *tarbiyah* process. In the early period, this activity was named *usrah*, a formal *kaderisasi* system adopted by some Islamic movements in Indonesia to educate their members.<sup>23</sup> This process is indispensable for a long time.

*Halaqoh* is the essence of all activities in PKS. The militancy of cadres shows that their *halaqoh* is running well and very productive. This *halaqoh* will set their thinking frame to get a partner in the same view and status as Prosperity and Justice Party cadres. It is also a concept (doctrine) that influences their private involvement to decide their future more than the other doctrines, like couple selection or their next daily activities. We know that marriage is an important decision, because it will determine our future and our way of life. Thus, it is better if we decide our choice carefully.

The most PKS voters in Malang in 2004 general election is the residents of Lowokwaru. It is easier for the researcher to get informant from families that practice *kafaah*. Thus, the researcher will know their background in practicing this criteria (both of them as cadres) in couple selection. Besides that, most PKS voters in

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<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*, 92.

Lowokwaru are students. Most of them are studying in some universities in Malang. They come from numerous areas. But they have high loyalty and consistent ideology wherever they are. Most of them will select a partner from the same community, and certainly appropriate with their characters. The data indicates that the ages of most functionaries in PKS are less than 40 years. When Indonesia held a general election in 1999, there were approximately 60% of young voters from 124 million people. Therefore, this party is called young, professional and intellectual party.<sup>24</sup> Finally, without considering whether they name the process as *kafaah* practice or not, surely the phenomenon of the similarity in political view as a part of requirements in couple selection becomes a new interesting problem around political party turbulence and its activities.

## **B. Problems of Study**

Based on the background above, the research problems are as follow:

1. How do the PKS' cadres formulate their *kafaah* criteria?
2. How do the PKS' cadres see the practice?

## **C. Scope and Limitation of Study**

In order that the study is able to answer the formulated problems appropriately, the researcher needs to emphasize its scope and limitation. This study focuses on the practice of *kafaah* in couple selection of PKS cadres. The researcher limits the discussion on cadres only, because in the PKS rules, cadres have more spesific meaning than activists. In this scope, the phenomenon of marriage in the

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<sup>24</sup>Al-Chaidar, *Pemilu 1999: Pertarungan Ideologis Partai-Partai Islam versus Partai-Partai Sekuler* (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 1999), 141.

same view is in PKS cadres, not activists. Then, the objects of this research is the family which is applied the similarity in political view as their criteria to choose their couple.

#### **D. Purposes of Study**

This research aims to describe the factors that influence PKS cadres for selecting and marrying from their own community and to describe the opinions of PKS cadres of the same view in couple selection as a practice of *kafaah*. Thus, this thesis will give many informations how the PKS activists choose their partners before they decide to get married.

#### **E. Significance of Study**

This research will enrich the reader's knowledge about the marriage custome in PKS. There is a little difference about the marriage concept of *kafa'ah* in PKS' cadres with the other concept in Islamic guidances (*fiqih*). The reader will know that PKS is not only concern in the political section, but also in cadres' privacy of cadres' life. The research also will contribute a new concept of *kafaah* in couple selecting in PKS cadres' regulation generally.

#### **F. Definition of Key Terms**

To avoid different perceptions between the readers and the researcher in understanding this study, it is important to give some operational definitions of the key terms applied in the study :

1. *Kafaah* : a comparable situation between male and female which includes their status, social stratification, behaviour quality, and wealth.<sup>25</sup>
2. Cadre : (a) a small group of highly trained soldiers, workers, managers, etc. (b) a member of soldiers, workers, managers.<sup>26</sup>

The cadre in this research is a person who includes in a Core Cadre (*Kader Inti*). It means that he/she usually has a position on the structure of PKS.

### **G. Organization of Study**

The discussion has been organized into six chapters including an introduction and conclusion. Chapter One, Introduction, describes general information about the work. A background which gives a wide explanation of the basic reasons why this research is considered important. The problems of study is another significant point to present. Furthermore, the scope and limitation, the purpose and the significance of research, and the last is the organization of study are described. Thus, from this chapter, the readers would be able to understand the issue more precisely. Chapter two studies about the related theories in this research, that is studying about the concept of *kafaah* in Islam and about Prosperity and Justice Party ( PKS). This chapter will describe the pattern of couple selection in PKS family. We will know the mechanism of marriage for PKS activist either they are from Malang or outside Malang. We will know too the contribution of a *murabbi* or *murabbiyah* in the process of choosing the partner of cadres, which is named *kafaah*. In the Chapter

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<sup>25</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh As-Sunnah*. Juz III (Kansar City: Shirkah Manar Ad Dauliyah, 1997), 36.

<sup>26</sup>A S Homby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (NewYork: Oxford University Press, 1995), 157.



Three will study about research methodology which includes: paradigm, kind and approachment, data sources, data collecting method, and finally processing methods. Next, Chapter Four focuses on the findings of data that is needed for analysis. Then, Chapter Five focuses on the research result which includes the analysis of factors that influence PKS cadres for selecting and marrying from their own community and the opinions of Prosperity and Justice Party (PKS) cadres about the same view in couple selection as a practice of *kafaah*. The last, Chapter Six draws concluding remarks where some conclusions and suggestions are outlined. The study tries to answer the problem of study. Then, some suggestions are presented for further discussion and research.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### A. Previous Study

In accordance with this research, there are some previous studies. They are:

1. **Siti Hurriyah** (2004) wrote the thesis entitled "*Kesepadanan Dalam Perkawinan Ditinjau Dari Hukum Adat Bali dan Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus di desa Gelgel Klangkung Bali)*". It focuses on the equality of caste in Balinese society. The wedding party is celebrated only if the couple come from the same level or caste. Balinese still protect the tradition, because basically, they avoid the influences of different caste marriage. Therefore, she formulates the problems of study on: what the differences and similarities between local law in Bali and Islamic law are, the procedures of marriage and what the background of the existence of this equality is.

The purpose of her research is to know not only the differences and the similarities more precisely between local law and Islamic law but also the factors of this tradition. She used sosiological (empirical) approach and qualitative-descriptive methods. The primary data is from the leader of Gelgel-Bali, I Putu Astawa, S.H. and the leader of KUA Klungkung, Drs. Ahmad Yani.

The result of this research showed that the equality in Balinese marriage is including: descendant, religion, money, family relationship, and education. But in Islam the equality is just from descendant, religion, freedom, and profession. Futhermore, the factors which influence this tradition are: religion, environment, and individual characteristic, even though Islam has given some rules of equality concept just from the religion and their belief to reach a balance.

2. **Anis Wahidatul Munawaroh** (2006) entitled “*Pandangan Tokoh Masyarakat Arab Tentang Konsep Kafaah (Studi Kasus Pada Komunitas Arab Kebonsari Pasuruan)*”, focused on the *kafaah* concept among Arabian marriage.

The readers will know that *kufu'* in lineage aspect becomes prerequisites which have to be fulfilled before the couple get married. Arabian woman (*Sayyidah*) is not allowed to get married with non-Arabian man (*Sayyid*). *Sayyid* has to get married with *Sayyidah*, because it is related to blood equality as Our Prophet's lineage (*suatu silsilah keturunan/ garis keturunan*).

Based on the result of her research, Arabians in Kebonsari Pasuruan give more attention about *kufu'* in descendant aspect. For them *sayyid/ syarif* has to get married with *sayyidah/ syarifah*. In their opinion, our Prophet Muhammad's lineages have different position and nobility. So in the reality, if *sayyidah/ syarifah* gets married with Ajamist man (non Arabian), she is assumed to cut

the family relationship from Rasulullah. There is even a case where one of them has to be thrown out from her family. But this regulation does not prevail for *sayyid/ syarif*, they are permitted to get married with every woman, without considering the consequences. It is caused by their opinion that line of lineage is connected by the father or grandfather, and goes back until Rasulullah Muhammad SAW. One important thing in this research is that man is a person who determines his children's lineage.

There is a clear difference in these two researches above. Siti Hurriyah focused on the married based on a similar caste while Anis Wahidatul Munawaroh analyzed the concept of equality among Arabian in Kebonsari Pasuruan. Eventually, based on the previous studies above, the researcher is interested in doing research by comparing between equality concept in Islam and in PKS activists that is called *kafaah*. We can find out the function of *murabbi/ah* in couple selection. Then, a phenomenon of similarity in party becomes the most important thing to be consider before a man and a woman decide to get married.

Anis Wahidatul Munawaroh explains that *kafaah* among Arabian in Kebonsari Pasuruan appears because of their culture that places Arabian people in higher position than common people. It is different from *kafaah* for PKS activist. It appears from their loyalty to the party and their education (*tarbiyah*) process.

Finally, from this research, we wil know that PKS as the phenomenal party in 2004 does not concentrate only on political party, but also concentrate on the member personality construction, marriage, and family.

## B. *Kafaah* in Islam

### 1. Definition

One of the aspects and dimensions of life is family. As a basic social unit, we find out that a marriage is fundamental Islamic institution. Marriage and family are serious responsibilities that have been ruled in specific regulations. One of the specific regulations is *kafaah*.<sup>27</sup> It is needed to build harmonious and good communication among their own families, and to avoid a deep difference between man and woman's family.

Etimologically, *kafaah* is a comparability, equality, and relevance between man and woman that is considered before they get married to achieve a harmonious family and avoid some serious problems.<sup>28</sup> Kamal Mukhtar defines *kafaah* as a harmonious situation between male and female, so that they would not have further consideration of getting married.<sup>29</sup>

Besides these definitions above, Muslim experts define *kafaah* as a harmonious situation between husband and wife that can be seen from their position in society, either the position from the attitude or their wealth. Sayyid Sabiq explains that *kafaah* is the similarity in the social stratification, attitude, and wealth.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, *kafaah* becomes an important consideration before man and woman decides to get married. It will also be a guarantee to build a dream family (*sakinah, mawaddah, warahmah*) and avoid failure in marriage.

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<sup>27</sup>Abdul Rahim Umron, *Islam dan Keluarga Berencana Cet VI* (Surabaya: PT.Bina Ilmu, 1995), 11.

<sup>28</sup>Abdul Aziz Dahlan, *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam* (Jakarta: PT.Ichtiar Van Houve, 1999), 845.

<sup>29</sup>Kamal Mukhtar, *Asas-Asas Hukum Islam Tentang Perkawinan Cet IV* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 1996), 64.

<sup>30</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh Sunnah* translated by Moh.Thalib (Bandung: PT.Ma'arif, 1981), 36.

Terminologically, our Muslim experts differ in defining *kafaah*. Imam Hanafi states that *kafaah* is an equality between man and woman in several things. They are descendant, religion, profession (job), freedom, faith, and wealth. It is in line with Imam Syafi'i's opinion that divides *kafaah* into four matters. They are descendant, Islam, freedom, and profession. But, Imam Malik categorize *kafaah* in two matters. *The first* is faith. It is shown by true moslem's daily activities (*muslim yang tidak fasik*). *The second* is no physical handicap (*selamat dari cacat*) that permits a woman to make a bargain with her husband. The last opinion is from Imam Hambali that divides *kafaah* into five matters. They are Islam, profession (job), freedom, lineage, and wealth.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, from the various definitions above, the researcher concludes that *kafaah* is harmonious and equal situations between man and woman based on their religion, descendant, profession (job), freedom, and wealth.

## 2. Law Sources

### a. Holy Qur'an

وَالْحَصْنَتُ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ وَالْحَصْنَتُ مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ إِذَا  
 آتَيْتُمُوهُنَّ أَجُورَهُنَّ مُحْصِنِينَ غَيْرَ مُسْفِحِينَ وَلَا مُتَّخِذِي أَخْدَانٍ ۗ وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ  
 بِالْإِيمَانِ فَقَدْ حَبِطَ عَمَلُهُ وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخَسِرِينَ ﴿٥٠﴾

“(All) good things have this day been made lawful to you. The food of those to whom the book was given is lawful to you, and yours to them. Lawful to you are the free believing women and the free women from among those who were given the book before you, provided that you give them their dowries

<sup>31</sup>Muhammad Jawad Mughniyah, *Fiqih Lima Madzhab* (Jakarta: Lentera, 2000), 350.

and live in honour with them, neither committing fornication nor taking them as mistresses. He that denies the faith shall gain nothing from his labours. In the world to come he is of the losers". (QS. Al-Maidah/ The Table: 5).<sup>32</sup>

الْحَبِيثَاتُ لِلْحَبِيثِينَ وَالْحَبِيثُونَ  
لِلْحَبِيثَاتِ وَأُولَئِكَ مُبَرَّءُونَ مِمَّا يَقُولُونَ لَهُمْ مَغْفِرَةٌ وَرِزْقٌ كَرِيمٌ ﴿٣٢﴾

"Unclean women are for unclean men, and unclean men for unclean women. But good women are for good men, and good men for good women. These shall be cleared of calumny, they shall be shewn forgiveness, and a generous provision shall be made for them". (QS.An-Nur/ Light: 26).<sup>33</sup>

وَلَا تَنْكِحُوا الْمُشْرِكَةَ حَتَّىٰ يُوْمِنَ ۚ وَلَا مُمۡنَةً خَيْرٌ مِّنۢ مُّشْرِكَةٍۢ أَعۡجَبَتۡكُمۡ وَلَوْ  
وَلَا تُنكِحُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَتَّىٰ يُوْمِنُوا ۚ وَلَعَبۡدٌ مُّؤْمِنٌ خَيْرٌ مِّنۢ مُّشْرِكٍۭ وَلَوْ أَعۡجَبَكُمۡ  
أُولَئِكَ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى النَّارِ وَاللَّهُ يَدْعُو إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ وَالْمَغْفِرَةِ بِإِذْنِهِ ۗ وَيُبَيِّنُ آيَاتِهِ  
لِلنَّاسِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿٣٣﴾

" You shall not wed idolatresses, unless they embrace the faith. A believing slave girl is better than an idolatress, although she may please you. Nor shall you wed idolatress, unless they embrace the faith. A believing slave is better than an idolater, although he may please you. These call to the fire, but Allah calls you, by His will to paradise and to forgiveness. He makes plain His revelations to mankind, so that they may be mindfull". (QS. Al-Baqarah/ The Cow: 221).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Mahmud Y.Zayid, *The Qur'an: An English Translation of The Meaning of The Qur'an Approved by The Supreme Sunni and Shi'i Councils of The Republic of Lebanon* (Beirut: Dar Al-Choura, 1980), 74.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid*, 256.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid*, 24.

### b. Hadits Nabi

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ تُنْكَحُ الْمَرْأَةُ لِأَرْبَعٍ لِمَالِهَا  
وَلِحَسَبِهَا وَجَمَالِهَا وَلِدِينِهَا فَاظْفَرُ بِذَاتِ الدِّينِ تَرَبَّتْ بِذَلِكَ (متفق عليه)

*“From Abu Hurairah R.A. from Rasulullah SAW, he said: "woman is married based on four matters which are her wealth, lineage, beauty, and religion. But it is better for you (man) for choosing religious woman, because you will get happiness." (Transmitted by Bukhari Muslim)<sup>35</sup>*

عَنْ أَبِي حَاتِمِ الْمُزْنِيِّ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِذَا جَاءَكُمْ مَنْ تَرْضَوْنَ دِينَهُ  
وَخُلُقَهُ فَأَنْكِحُوهُ إِنَّا تَفْعَلُوا تَكُنْ فِتْنَةٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَفَسَادٌ قَالُوا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَإِنْ كَانَ فِيهِ قَالَ إِذَا  
جَاءَكُمْ مَنْ تَرْضَوْنَ دِينَهُ وَخُلُقَهُ فَأَنْكِحُوهُ ثَلَاثَ مَرَّاتٍ قَالَ أَبُو عِيْسَى هَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ غَرِيبٌ  
وَأَبُو حَاتِمِ الْمُزْنِيُّ لَهُ صُحْبَةٌ وَلَمْ نَعْرِفْ لَهُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ غَيْرَ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ  
(رواه الترمذي)

*“From Abi Hatim al-Muzni, he said: Rasulullah SAW said "If a man comes to you with his religion and behavior that you like so marry her with the man. If you do not do that, it will be slander and become a big damage in the earth. "Then our prophet's friends ask: "Hi Rasulullah, what if he has had .....? He answers : "if there is a man comes to you with his religion and behavior that you like so marry her with him. (three times)." (Transmitted by Tirmidzi and he said that this Hadits is Hasan Gharib)<sup>36</sup>*

### 3. Opinion of Islamic Law Experts (Fuqoha) about the Criteria of *Kafaah*

Actually, the problem of *kafaah* is not regulated specially in Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. Thus, Muslim scholars make a great effort to explain *kafaah* in marriage. It is needed to avoid the different opinions among them in deciding whether the man is equal or harmony with the woman, or on the contrary of that. The

<sup>35</sup>Asyyid al-Imam Muhammad bin Ismail al-Kakhlai. *Subulussalam Jilid III* (Indonesia, Putra Semarang, t.th), 111.

<sup>36</sup>Moh.Zuhri, *Tarjamah Sunan Imam Tirmidzi Jilid II* (Semarang: CV.Asy-Syifa, 1992), 410.



differences among Muslim scholars is caused by the level of knowledge, the background, and the situation where they lived.

Then, the researcher will describe the differences about *kafaah* among Muslim Law Experts (*Fuqoha*) as stated below:

**a. Lineage (*nasab*)**

According to Imam Syafii's opinion, tribe in this world is divided into two kinds. The first is Arabian and the second is not Arabian (*'Ajam*). Arabian is still also divided into two tribes. The tribes are Quraysh and Quraysh.

There is an assumption that Arabian is equal and harmony with the other Arabians. It works that Quraysh is also equal with other Qurayshs so that it is impossible to get married between one tribe to the others. They justify the tradition with hadits from Rasulullah SAW that is quoted by Al-Hakim from Ibnu Umar that our prophet said:

العرب إكفاء بعضهم لبعض قبيلة لقبيل وحى لحي و رجل لرجل الاحايكا أو  
حجاما

*"One Arabian with another are equal. One community (kabilah) with another are equal. One group with another are equal, except the weaver (tukang tenun) and the bleeder (tukang bekam)" (Transmitted by.Hakim)*

And then Hadits that is quoted by Bazar from Mu'adz bin Jabal, Rasulullah SAW said:

العرب بعضهم لبعض إكفاء الموالي بعضهم إكفاء بعض

*"One Arabian is appropriate with the others. Sayyid (maula) is equal with the others. "*

There is no difference between Syafi'i and Hanafi in deciding lineage as *kafaah* in married. But they tend to differ in the case of equality among one Quraysh with the other Quraysh. Hanafi said that Quraysh is equal with Bani Hasyim while Syafi'i said that Quraysh is not equal with Bani Hasyim and Bani Muthalib.<sup>37</sup>

Syafi'i classifies the tribes in this world into two categories. They are Arab and non-Arab (*'Ajami*). Arab tribe is divided into two groups. They are Quraysh and non- Quraysh. A Quraysh man has to get his partner from Quraysh women too. In spite of his mother's lineage from Quraysh or not, non Arabian man can not get married with the woman, because they are not equal each other.<sup>38</sup>

Maliki's opinion which has been explained in the book "Al-Fiqh Islam Wa Adillatuhu" states that there is no differences between one community with the other community or Arabian with non-Arabian. The most urgent consideration before they get married is their faith and belief to the God.<sup>39</sup>

## **b. Religion**

All of the Islamic law experts, such as Hanafiyah, Malikiyah, Syafi'iyah, Hanbaliyah agree to include religion as criteria of *kafaah*. It is justified by hasan grade hadiths from Tirmidzi from Abu Hatim al-Muzani :

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<sup>37</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Op.Cit*, 43.

<sup>38</sup>Mohammad Asmawi, *Nikah dalam Perbincangan dan Perbedaan* (Yogyakarta: Darussalam, 2004), 149.

<sup>39</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Op.Cit*, 38.

عَنْ أَبِي حَاتِمِ الْمُزْنِيِّ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِذَا جَاءَكُمْ مَنْ تَرْضَوْنَ دِينَهُ وَخُلُقَهُ فَأَنْكِحُوهُ إِلَّا تَفْعَلُوا تَكُنْ فِتْنَةٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَفَسَادٌ قَالُوا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَإِنْ كَانَ فِيهِ قَالَ إِذَا جَاءَكُمْ مَنْ تَرْضَوْنَ دِينَهُ وَخُلُقَهُ فَأَنْكِحُوهُ ثَلَاثَ مَرَّاتٍ قَالَ أَبُو عِيْسَى هَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ غَرِيبٌ وَأَبُو حَاتِمِ الْمُزْنِيُّ لَهُ صُحْبَةٌ وَلَا نَعْرِفُ لَهُ عَنْ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ غَيْرَ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ (رواه الترمذي)

*“From Abi Hatim al-Muzni, he said: Rasulullah SAW said "If a man comes to you with his religion and behavior that you like so marry her with the man. If you do not do that, it will be slander and become a big damage in the earth. "Then our prophet's friends ask: "Hi Rasulullah, what if he has had .....? He answers : "if there is a man comes to you with his religion and behavior that you like so marry her with him. (three times).” (Transmitted by Tirmidzi and he said that this Hadits is Hasan Gharib)<sup>40</sup>*

The hadits shows a duty for a father to marry his daughter to a man who has a good religion and behaviour. If they do not prioritize a good man and prefer to look for a man with the wealth, it will result in a slender and damage for both the woman and her father. The holy Qur'an has told this rule as the verse below:

أَفَمَنْ كَانَ مُؤْمِنًا كَمَنْ كَانَ فَاسِقًا لَا يَسْتَوُونَ ﴿١٨﴾

*Can he, than who is the true believer, be compared to him who is an evil-doer? Surely, they are not alike. (QS. As-Sajadah/Adoration: 18).<sup>41</sup>*

The verse tells us that a good Muslim is appropriate for a good Muslimah. It means a good Muslimah is not equal with a worse Muslim. Malikiyah admit *kafaah* in marriage, but they limit it just for the

<sup>40</sup>Asyyid al-Imam Muhammad bin Ismail al-Kakhlai. *Op.Cit.* 111.

<sup>41</sup>Mahmud Y.Zayid, *Op.Cit.*, 305.

consistence and behaviour of the man. If a woman knows that a man has a bad attitude, it is not forbidden for the woman to ask *fasakh* when her father forces her to get married.

The argument of their opinion is that all people in this world are the same, either they are a rich or a poor man, from high class or low class. Their real position is dependent on their faith and belief. Allah SWT in Surah Al-Hujurat said:

يَتَأْتِيَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَقْوَمُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ ﴿١٣﴾

*Men, we have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes so that you might get to know one another. The noblest of you in Allah's sight is the most righteous of you. Allah is wise and All-Knowing. (QS.Al-Hujurat/ The Chambers: 13).*<sup>42</sup>

### c. Freedom

Almost all Islamic experts include freedom as part of *kafaah* criteria except Malikiyah. They stand from Holy Qur'an An-Nahl / The Bee: 75.

ضَرَبَ اللَّهُ مَثَلًا عَبْدًا مَمْلُوكًا لَا يَقْدِرُ عَلَىٰ شَيْءٍ وَمَنْ رَزَقْنَاهُ مِنَّا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا فَهُوَ يُنْفِقُ مِنْهُ سِرًّا وَجَهْرًا ۖ هَلْ يَسْتَوُونَ ۗ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ ۗ بَلْ أَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٧٥﴾

*Allah sets forth this parable. On one hand, there is a helpless slave, the property of his master. On the other hand, a man on whom we have bestowed our bounty, so that he gives of it both in private and in public.*

<sup>42</sup>Ibid, 384.

*Are the two alike? Allah forbids! Most men have no knowledge. (QS. An-Nahl / The Bee: 75)*<sup>43</sup>

The wings of Hanafiyah, Syafi'iyah, and Hanabilah say that a man slave man is not same with the free woman. In the other hand, the Malikiyyah (Maliki followers) are still in their basic argument that the independence is not a requirement in *kafaah*.

The other problem is about how to get freedom for a slave who have got free (*'atiq*). Based on Hanafiyah's and Syafiiyah's, a slave man who have got his freedom by his owner, is not same with a truly free woman while, the statement of Hanabilah is a slave who have got his freedom is the same with a free woman.<sup>44</sup>

#### **d. Profession (job)**

Based on the encyclopedia of Islamic law, worker is a man who has work that is able to guarantee the family living.<sup>45</sup> Most Muslim experts (*Jumhur Ulama*) except Malikiyah agree to put the job as al-Qur'an criterion in *kafaah*. Their opinion is based on the hadits of Muhammad SAW:

ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال العرب اكفاء بعضها بعض قبيل لقبيل  
ورجل برجل والمولى اكفاء بعضها بعض الاحائكا او حجاما

*Rasulullah said that One Arabian with anothers is equal. One community (kabilah) with anothers are equal. One group with another are equal, One Sayyid (Maula) is most appropriate for the other Sayyids, except the weaver and the bleeder."*

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid*, 195.

<sup>44</sup>Abdur Rahman Al-Jaziry, *Fiqh Al-Islam 'Ala Madzahib Al-Arba'ah* (Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr, 1990), 58.

<sup>45</sup>Abdul Aziz Dahlan, *Op.Cit*, 321.

The hadiths above explain that honoured job is not the same with unhonoured job such as a blue collar worker is not equal with merchant (*trader heredity*), businessmen, and leader because there are different opinions and social stratification that differentiate them.

Responding the problems above, the Malik group have their own opinion that there is no differences between wealth and job. Those things can be changed but it depends on the fate of God. On the other hand, the Malikiyyah say that job is a common thing that is not necessary to be discussed in *kafaah* problem.<sup>46</sup>

#### e. Wealth

Syafi'iyyah (Syafi'i followers) have different argument in this case. Some of them say that it can be the standard of *kufu'*. Based on their view, poor men are not balance with rich woman. It is the same as Samarah's background that our prophet Muhammad SAW said:

ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال الحسب المال والكرم التقوى

*Rasulullah SAW said the nobility comes from wealth, and the glory comes from the faith.*<sup>47</sup>

Hanafiyah include wealth as one of *kafaah* criteria. The standard of richness in this context means that the function of the wealth is for paying *mahar (mas kawin)*<sup>48</sup> and basic needs of life (*nafkah*).

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<sup>46</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Op.Cit*, 46.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid*, 47.

<sup>48</sup>Pius A Partanto, M.Dahlan, *Kamus Ilmiah Populer* (Surabaya: Arkola, 1994), 426.

When a man does not have wealth to pay *mahar* and *nafkah* or one of them, he is claimed to be unequal with the woman. The definition of wealth to pay *mahar* is the amount of money which can be paid for asked the *mahar* in cash. Indeed, our society also think that wealth is an honorable grade just like generation, and in fact sometimes, even it has bigger value.<sup>49</sup>

#### **f. Undefected Physical Condition**

In this case, there are some controversy among Malikiyah's and Syafi'iyah's opinion with Hanabilah and Hanafiah. Syafi'iyah and Malikiyah put undefected physical condition into *kafaah*. While, Hanabilah and Hanafiah do not put it. The reason is because that only man or woman has the right to choose a partner. It is not related to their father's right, like for *kafaah* problem.<sup>50</sup>

#### **4. The Standing Time Of *Kafaah***

The time set to determine whether a man is equal or not with the woman is placed right before marriage contract (*akad nikah*) will be started. When the marriage contract has been done and it has been proven that they are equal and already they agree, the marriage is legal and formal. There is no one who can annoy that they are not equal and balance as the reason.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>*Ibid*, 48.

<sup>50</sup>Abdur Rahman Al-Jaziri, *Op.Cit*, 60-61.

<sup>51</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Op.Cit*, 51.

According to the description above, we can surm up that the absolute standard of *kafaah* is religion and behaviour. The others aspect as like job, position and lineage are only as supplement to reach harmonious family.

## **B. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera**

### **1. The History of Emergence**

#### **a) The Campus Movement**

The phenomenon of the emergence of campus movement –which is called *Tarbiyah Movement* later-<sup>52</sup> has been a unique and interesting moment in the history of Islamic student movement in Indonesia since the mid 1980's. *Tarbiyah Movements* do not only present a new value for Islamic movements in Indonesia, but also transform their existence as one of the supporting powers of political, social, and cultural reformation in Indonesia with their special way of thinking and point of view of this party.

The character of this *tarbiyah* movement is they make a small group of intensive Islamic studies (*halaqah*) once a week. It is started from Islamic studies in Salman mosque Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), then a central figure that has great influence on Salman mosque establishment appeared in 70's until 80's. He was Ir.Imaduddin, a Northern Sumateran who

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<sup>52</sup>Tarbiyah is a term named for kader treatment system (*sistem pembinaan kaderisasi*) of Campus Proselytization Movement in Indonesia. Almost the term and way of thinking adopted from Ikhwanul Muslimin movement in Egypt. Mr. Rahmat Abdullah and the first fathers founding of Justice Party (Partai Keadilan) are as the result from these treatment. Ikhwanul Muslimin movement carried a new form for cadres treatment in Indonesia. It is named "sel" treatment.



was usually called “Bang Imad” by common campus activists. He is the pioneer of Islamic study in ITB.<sup>53</sup>

For the next years, this concept becomes a model and develops in almost all university mosques in Indonesia. Even, this concept becomes the background of PKS cadre regeneration (*kaderisasi*) model, a special characteristic of PKS that the other parties do not possess. It has run continually and there is a teacher which is called *murabbi/ah*. Usually in one group there are no more than twelve people. But in the reality, although in one group there is one or two people only, the *murabbi/ah* will guide them until they have comprehensive and universal (*syamil*) Islamic knowledge.

Most of them (*tarbiyah* movements) admire Islamic law reformers (*mujaddid*) and experts from Middle East, like Hasan Al-Banna, Sayd Hawwa, Sayyid Qutb, Yusuf Qardhawi, Abul A'la Maududi and their students. They adopt the opinions and views from their books. It makes many people assume that *tarbiyah* movement is a part of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* movement in Egypt. Actually, it is a wrong assumption, because there is no clear history that shows and supports the argument.

When most students need religious situation in their university, *tarbiyah*, with its sympathetic and friendly movement, is accepted as solution and they approve that they can repair themselves when they join the movement. *Tarbiyah* movement which firstly is *pheri-pheri* (not massive), now it becomes the mainstream movements in university.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ali Said Damanik, *Op.Cit*, 69.

<sup>54</sup>Djony Edward, *Efek Bola Salju Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Snowballing Effect PKS)*. (Bandung: Syaamil Cipta Media, 2006), xiv.

The movement does not only educate the students, lecturers, and employees in university, but also held a seminar, talk show, discussion, book fair, etc. Moreover, their great action works hand in hand with *Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia* (KAMMI) as the cover of this struggle. Some of them are called sympathetic demonstrations. Later, KAMMI has been listed as the important contributor in the fall of Soeharto rezim in 1999. They also give severe criticisms to Megawati government and Akbar Tanjung case.

The appearance of this campus movement is triggered by the crisis in Indonesia. It is started from the crisis of currency value of Thailand, Baht, in 1997. Then, it is followed by Peso of Philippines, Ringgit of Malaysia, and the last is the currency crisis in Indonesia. This crisis continued for a long time and began to influence the other sectors. So, this country needs new honest, brave, and smart generation soon to solve the complex problems in Indonesia.<sup>55</sup>

Ali Said Damanik divides the birth process of campus movement into two categories. *First*, the appearance of young man who had the enthusiasm for studying and applying Islam was as a response to the New Order Rezim (*Orde Baru*) for their political pressure to Muslims. This process focused mainly on the available resources at that time, they were groups of young people who experienced “radical religious understanding” and thus desired a pure understanding in theoretical and empirical level. It can be identified by the growth of religious studies from, by and for themselves. The *second* was public sphere reformation. It was centered in the university mosque, a place

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<sup>55</sup>*Ibid*, xv.

to develop and increase student's idealism rapidly. Campus mosque was also a place where the scenario to overthrow Soeharto's rezim was planned.<sup>56</sup>

Normatively in Islamic doctrines, those factors are important to enforce Islamic proselytization struggle. Hasan Al Banna was the founder of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (IM). His thinking was adopted by *Tarbiyah Movement*. He states in his book that a nation is a revival foundation and in revitalization they are the keys, and every opinion movement they are leader.<sup>57</sup> Al-Banna explains about his confidence with their immense as spirited young men.

In the other hand, Eep Saifullah Fatah states that in the history, young men become an enormous power to mobilize the history. In Indonesian history context, these spirited young men are the main actors for changes in Indonesia.<sup>58</sup>

Eep also states that there are some factors behind their appearances. *First*, the untransparency of political education in New Order Rezim that caused disappointing responses, and the disappointment caused them to look for and study out of their classes at university. *Second*, their appearance is the result of social society and economy transformation. When the chance for education is opened widely, it will economically open vertical mobilization, and those things will give some impacts to the growth and the addition of critical community which is fulfilled by the young men. *Third*, the appearance is the disappointment of political development that caused bad social gap in this

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<sup>56</sup>Ali Said Damanik, *Op.Cit*, 63.

<sup>57</sup>Hasan Al-Banna, *Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin Jilid I*, (Solo: Intermedia, 2001 cet VI), 206.

<sup>58</sup>Eep Saifullah Fatah, *Catatan Atas Gagalnya Politik Orde Baru* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), 273-275.

country. And not a few among those who feel the effects come from the middle down class feel these imbalancing. So, they hope to get better changes.

#### **b) Under Ground Opposition**

Under ground opposite is one of the strategic *Tarbiyah* Movements in maintaining their exitance until now. This movement becomes a political party. They think that we should not face the reession of the rezim frontally, but it will be better to face them by doing self treatment. As the result, *Tarbiyah* movement with their passive opposition do not get bad appression from the rezim. They avoid all oppositional expression for falling down the government. They change the strategy to prepare their members to be good moslems by doing moral and mental trainings. Since its appearance in Indonesia in the middle of 1980's until now, not a single from *Tarbiyah* Movement activist who has important position in PKS has been sent to jail because of subversive case.

Actually, this under ground opposition from *Tarbiyah* Movement has two purposes. That are to oppose the ideological hegemony of the rezim and to oppose the radicalization of movement. By *tarbiyah* style training, their disagreement with the hegemony of the rezim can be manifested by intensification of the Islamic principal studies. Even though for other issues, they always avoid these confrontative methods.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, *Tarbiyah*

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<sup>59</sup>Yon Machmudi, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Islam Politik Indonsia* (Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005), 44.

Movements have good legal immunity to keep their cadres from contra productive activities.<sup>60</sup>

When the political transparency was started in 1990, and our government preferred to accommodate what Muslim needed, it gave some fresh air for the spread of proselytization in universities. The opposite groups from government, either caused by political disappointment or anti Single Ideology were accommodated, and ICMI is the government's facilitator. At the university, government's policies make easier to organize Islamic activities and training programs which used to be blocked and controlled strictly by the government. The government did not block more activities from HMI MPO,<sup>61</sup> although they were not allowed to put the symbols of organization in every activities.<sup>62</sup>

*Tarbiyah* Movement participates again in Indonesian political and social dynamics. The activists spread and develop their power by authorizing the top leadership in university as the leaders (*Ketua Senat*). Gradually, the top leaders in every faculty were dominated by this *Tarbiyah* community. They also dominated many big universities in Indonesia such as, Indonesian University (UI), Gajah Mada University (UGM), Bandung Institution of Technology (ITB) -as the place where the University of Proselytization Organization (*Lembaga Dakwah Kampus*) was born first-, in all Indonesia,

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<sup>60</sup>*Ibid*, 46.

<sup>61</sup>HMI MPO is part of HMI that divided into two blocs. HMI Diponegoro (DIPO) is a group who is received Pancasila Single Ideology as basic ideology of organization. While, HMI Majelis Penyelamat Organisasi (MPO) is a group who is defended Islam as the basic ideology of organization.

<sup>62</sup>M.Rusli Karim, *HMI MPO dalam Kemelut Modernisasi Politik di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1997), 129.

and North Sumatera University (*USU/ Universitas Sumatera Utara*) which became the basecampus to develop the movement. Beside that, many private universities became the base of *tarbiyah* proselytization movements, for example Indonesian Islamic University (UII), Tri Sakti, Jayabaya, School of Economy Specialization (STIE), Indonesian Accountance Institute (*Yayasan Akuntansi Indonesia*), Institute of Al-Qur'an (IIQ) and Islamic Studies for Education and Economic (ISTEC).<sup>63</sup>

### c) **The Process to Become Political Party**

When the chance to participate in political section was opened widely, in 9<sup>th</sup> August 1998 on the yard of Al-Azhar mosque, Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*) has been declared as the first political party that inserts/ uses Islam as the foundation of the party. Then, when general election was held in 1999, PK joined the election as one of the contestants with icon “24” as the back number. As a new comer, the back number 24 is often symbolized by Surah Light (An-Nur/cahaya) or surah 24. Therefore there is a term for PK, new comer lighting or the term “the rising star.”<sup>64</sup>

*Partai Keadilan* is a phenomenal party, because the existence and the performance are different from the other parties. It causes this party to be very interesting and so many people are sympathetic with the movement when the activator has declared it to be a political party. Moreover, the moving spirit of PK is dynamic and intellect young activators.

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<sup>63</sup>Djony Edward, *Op.Cit*, xiv.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid*, xxii.

In 2004, PK has assimilated and changed to become Prosperity and Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*) in 20<sup>th</sup> April 2002. This party joined the next general election again with “16” as the back number. Then, there is a new idiom that PKS as a Bee party, because Surah 16 is Surah of Bee. It means that all cadres and functionaries of this party have to behave like a bee. The honey is useful, when the bee alights branch of trees, it is not broken. And if the bea is offended, it will not give up. So, PKS gets a famous name as the Future Party.<sup>65</sup>

The acknowledgment that PKS is future party not only comes from internal figures of the party, but it also comes from politicians, office holders, and professionals out side PKS. Even Christians state the similar appreciation. Yet, as a new political party, like a baby in cringe process, PK at general election in 1999 could not pass electroral treshold determined of 2 %. PK at that time achieved only 1,4 % voters. But PK still can delegate their delegation in Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPR) and Provincial Legislative Assembly (DPRD). It is a result from the combination of oppositional two parties (PK and PAN) in Reformation section.

PK is a unique party in its first rising period. It is caused by the numbers of all 181 parties that appear since Soeharto’s rezim fell down in 21 th Mey 1998, PK is only the one party which the main supports are from young men. They have intellectuality, spirit, and Islamic environment. No one from these political parties that have spirit, leadership, and Islamic identity like Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*). Because of this combinations – young, educated, and

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<sup>65</sup>*Ibid*, xxiii.

Islamic – as character of the cadres make this party is seems more “luxurious” than the other parties.

Besides that, it is justified when Nur Mahmudi Ismail is chosen as the president of this party. He graduated his study to get his first bachelor degree in IPB the postgraduate to get second and third bachelor’s degree in Texas A&M University, the United State of America. The term young, professional and intellectual party can be justified more when almost all of 52 of the founding fathers are “educated man” (*anak-anak sekolahan*). Hidayat Nur Wahid as the first father founding is a student from Darussalam Gontor boarding school. Then he continues his study until third bachelor’s degree level in Islamic University of Madinah, Saudi Arabia. After Nur Mahmudi Ismail was selected and chosen as the Minister of Jungle Affairs (Menteri Kehutanan), Hidayat Nur Wahid left his position as a leader of PKS. This regeneration gives an impression that the leadership transformation has to be managed by young and educated figures.<sup>66</sup>

## 2. The Marriage of PKS Cadres

### a) The Process of PKS Cadres Marriage According to the Level.

PKS has given some rules differing the process of marriage for Core Cadre, Supporting Cadre, and Sympathizer. If they are **Core Cadres**, there are some procedures that they have to pass.

1. They have to prepare their maturity from spiritual (*ruhiyah*), material (*maliyah*), and physical (*jasadiyah*) aspects.

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<sup>66</sup>Ali Said Damanik, *Op.Cit*, xxii.



2. Before it, they have to consult with *Naqib/ Naqibah*,<sup>67</sup> and then they have to give their curriculum vitae and photograph completely. Then, they will receive marriage guidance from their teacher.
3. They might have to decide their criteria before *Naqib/Naqibah* offers an *ikhwan* or *akhwat* for them.
4. They have to prioritize similarities (*kufu'*) from spouse candidate who has the same level or higher level than themselves. But there is also a case where a cadre got a spouse lower from his level.
5. For the next step, *Naqib/Naqibah* gives the curriculum vitae and photograph to *Unit of Sakinah Family* (UKS), and tells the appropriate criteria to the cadre condition.
6. If the cadre does not feel appropriate with the personal data given by UKS for two times, he has to share his problem and his reason why he refuses the offering data before the cadre gets other curriculum vitae.

If they are **Supporting Cadres**, there are some procedures that they have to pass :

1. They have to prepare their their maturity from spiritual (*ruhiyah*), material (*maliyah*), and physical (*jasadiyah*) aspects.
2. Before it, they have to consult with *Naqib/ Naqibah*, and then they have to give their curriculum vitae and photograph completely. Then, they will receive marriage guidance from their teacher.

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<sup>67</sup>*Naqib/Naqibah* is member of senior *ikhwan* or *akhwat* taught Core Cadres of PKS in one *halaqah*.

3. They might have to decide their criteria before *Naqib/Naqibah* offers an *ikhwan* or *akhwat* for them.
4. They have to prioritize similarities (*kufu'*) from spouse candidate from the same community, PKS.
5. For the next step, *Naqib/Naqibah* gives the curriculum vitae and photograph to *Unit of Sakinah Family* (UKS), and tells the appropriate criteria to the cadre condition.
6. If the cadre does not feel appropriate with the personal data given by UKS for two times, he has to share his problem and his reason why he refuses the offering data before the cadre gets other curriculum vitae.

If they are **Simpathizer**, there are some procedures that they have to pass:

1. Simpathizer has fulfilled the criteria of *Hanif*<sup>68</sup> as described in section 2 in the marriage guidance of DPD PKS.
2. Simpathizer that will get married have to communicate and consult minimally with one of the young members (*Anggota Muda*) of PKS.
3. If the simpathizer's consultant is a Supporting Cadre, he has to consult with their *Murabbi/Murabbiyah* or *Naqib/ Naqibah* previously.

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<sup>68</sup>**Hanif** : someone who he is not a cadre, but he is sympathizer PKS that has to fulfill some criteria:

- a. Not doing big sins (such as: *syirik*, *bid'ah*, *khurafat* or others).
- b. Not doing denial and wickedness actions.
- c. Not obscuring the proselytization activities in PKS.
- d. Doing a responsibility worship that has to do (*bersifat fardhu*).
- e. Having good behavior like cadre, and he is already to be educated (*ditarbiyah*) by *kaderisasi* division in PKS.

4. *Murabbi/Murabbiah* tells about the sympathizer's marriage mission and vision to the showing member from UKS.
5. The last is that the marriage process can be continued after getting an agreement from UKS.

If they are **Cadres from Out Side of Malang**, there are some procedures that they have to pass it:

1. Core Cadre/ Supporting Cadre coming from outside of Malang has to get recommendation from Regeneration Division in their own place.
2. Other rules are applied equally for Core Cadre, Supporting Cadre, and Sympathizer.

**b) Introducing Step (Tahap *Ta'arruf*)**

1. The couple candidate, both man and woman (*ikhwan/akhwat*), exchange their curriculum vitae and photograph each other via *Murabbi/Murabbiah* or *Naqib/Naqibah*.
2. They are suggested for *Istikharah* praying.<sup>69</sup>
3. If the spouse have agreed to accept based on the data, it will be continued by Introducing Step to get the true and more complete data about either personal data, family, or their vision and mission in the building family. It is also joined by their own *Murabbi/Murabbiah* or

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<sup>69</sup>A praying done to choose the best from some alternatives or when someone is in the difficult situation/choise.

*Naqib/Naqibah* who have got married and had more attention to Islamic attitude (norms).

4. If *ikhwan* wants to see *akhwat* directly, it can be done with or without her agreement/permission and it is also ruled for *akhwat*.
5. They have to save their own secrets when this process is still in progress and both of them can not be offered to other *ikhwan* or *akhwat*.

**c) Engagement (*Khitbah*)**

1. After *ikhwan* and *akhwat* have agreed for continuing to marriage process, *ikhwan* can visit *akhwat*'s family with his *Murabbi/Murabbiah*, *Naqib/Naqibah*, or his friends. He is also allowed to come alone. But he has to obey Islamic rules (norms) in this engagement process.
2. Then, *ikhwan* and his family come to *akhwat*'s house for asking her to her parent or her guardian..
3. *Akhwat* must place *ikhwan* (engager) as a strange man (*not-mahrom*).
4. *Ikhwan* is suggested to give some presents or gifts for *akhwat*.
5. It is suggested to shorten this process (engagement process).

**d) Marriage Contract and Wedding Party**

1. The spouse are suggested to fasten the marriage contract after the engagement no more than 3 months, except there is rational reason to delay it.

2. It is suggested to make it easier for the male (*ikhwan*) to give the *mahar*
3. It is forbidden to do secret marriage or get married without the parents' or the guardian's permission.
4. It is important to hold a wedding party by giving attention in some matters:
  - a). Do not force yourself out of your capability.
  - b). Do not be too glamorous and avoid wasting party.
  - c). Separate the place into man and woman guests.
  - d). Invite the indigent and fatherless children.
  - e). Do not use non Islamic tradition.
5. *Ikhwan* is suggested to put his hand on his wife's forehead and pray:
 

***“Allohumma innii as-aluka min khoiriha wa khoiri ma jabaltaha ‘alaihi wa a’udzubika min syarriha wa syarri ma jabaltaha”*** (Oh My God, I beg You for all of the goodness from her and all of Your goodness for her. And I hope Your protection from all of badness from her and all of Your badness for her. *(Transmitted by Bukhori and Abu Dawud)*).
6. Then, the spouse are suggested to pray 2 raka'at and pray "Oh My God, Bless me and my family and their existence for me. Oh My God, please join us in goodness and separate us if it is good for us" *(Transmitted by Ibnu Abu Syaibah)*.
7. After holding the wedding party, the couple are suggested to visit their family and neighbours by obeying the Islamic behavior.

**e) Other Regulations**

1. Cadres (Core or Supporting Cadres) who make their own choice have to consult with *Murabbi/Murabbiah* or *Naqib/Naqibah* and describe some reasons for their choice. Then, it will be decided by UKS.
2. Cadres (Core or Supporting Cadres) who have been matched by their parents have to consult with *Murabbi/Murabbiah* or *Naqib/Naqibah*. Then, it will be decided by UKS.
3. Cadres (Core or Supporting Cadres) who make the decision to get married with the member of other parties (*memilih menikah dengan anggota partai lain*) have to consult with *Murabbi/Murabbiah* or *Naqib/Naqibah* then it will be decided by Cadre Training Division (Bidang Pembinaan Kader) meeting and Region Sharia Committee DPD PKS (Dewan *Syari'ah* Daerah DPD PKS).

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

#### **A. Background of Research Object**

DPC is the abbreviation from Branch Leader Assembly (*Dewan Pimpinan Cabang*), particular institution for PKS in every sub district. DPC Lowok waru is one

of DPC in Malang that achieved the most voter in general election 2004 in the region of Malang. There are not many differences between DPC and DPD (Region Leader Assembly/ *Dewan Pimpinan Daerah*), because when the existence of DPD is as the conceptor for all the policies in Malang, so DPC is as the executor for its policies. It is similar to DEPERA (District Leader Assembly /*Dewan Pimpinan Ranting*) as the executor in every districts. Now the number of members DPC PKS is about 315. It consists of 126 male (*ikhwan*) and 189 female (*akhwat*).

The functionary structures of DPC PKS consists of leader, secretary, treasurer, and five divisions that will increase the DPC development.

#### 1. Management of DPC

Here are the components in the board of DPC PKS:

Leader : Haidar Danial Zaki SE

Secretary : Yan Tirta Wijaya M.SP

Treasurer : Syamsul Bahri SE

The structure of the departments,

Regeneration Departement : Wahyu Agus Ariyadi ST (Co)

Social Welfare Departement : Andi Tri Cahyono SE (Co)

Female Departement : Leni Oktaviana Dewi S.Pd (Co)

Youth Departement : Agung Pamujianto (Co)

Scout Departement : Zainal Abidin ST (Co)

#### 2. The Office.

DPC Lowokwaru is located on Jl. Candi Panggung Barat no.46 C. It is near from Indonesian Republic Radio (*Radio Republik Indonesia*). It is near too with School of Technique (STT) of Malang. It is a simple place without the



nameboard of DPC in front of the house. Thus, sometimes people will get difficulties to find it if they do not ask the people surrounding the house. But if they are cadres, it is easy to find it.

### 3. The district under DPC

There are twelve district under DPC. They are:

- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| a) Dinoyo        | g) Mojolangu      |
| b) Ketawang Gede | h) Tulusrejo      |
| c) Tlogo Mas     | i) Lowokwaru      |
| d) Sumber Sari   | j) Tanjung Sekar  |
| e) Merjosari     | k) Tasik Madu     |
| f) Jati Mulyo    | l) Tunggul wulung |

### 4. The programs of every devisions in DPC. The researcher put in the appendixes.

## B. Research Paradigm

In doing this research, the researcher uses the different views like Kuhn's opinion. Thomas S. Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* defines that paradigm is world view or weltanschauung of the researchers in a certain scientific dicipline.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, Deddy Mulyana states that paradigm is a view to understand the complexity of the real world. It is in line with Anderson's theory, paradigm is an ideology and a practice from scientist community which follows the same view about reality. They have the same criteria to appraise the research activity, and they use the same method as well.<sup>71</sup> Logically, this paradigm is defined as world

<sup>70</sup>Imam Suprayogo and Tobroni, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial Agama* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2001), 91.

<sup>71</sup>Deddy Mulyana, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2002), 9.

view of a researcher which by the view, he has the frame, assumption, theory, or proportion and concept about the problems of study.<sup>72</sup>

This research uses phenomenology paradigm. The researcher in this case tries to understand and interpret the essence of reality and what is related to the others in fixed time. Phenomenology does not assume that the researchers knows the meaning of something from their subjects (informant). Phenomenology inquiry is firstly started from silence, because by silence they will know the meaning of everything. Phenomenology emphasizes the subjective aspect from the attitudes.<sup>73</sup>

As a qualitative research approach, phenomenology is applied in many studies, including religious phenomenology. Here, phenomenology doesn't only concern the studies on the essence of religion in philosophy and teology, but also serves a basic religious fact as an empirical phenomenon from common structure. In the implementation, religious phenomenology applies science methodology for researching subjective religious fact, for example, about opinions, ideas, expression, emotion, purposes, experience, etc from the action of the person (speech and action).<sup>74</sup>

In law research, phenomenology paradigm observes the object of research in individual perception, and experience in a social system. Phenomenology is needed in considering decision and the rule for certaining and explaining law norms.<sup>75</sup>

Based on the paradigm above, the researcher tries to understand by looking at a tradition from religious phenomenology view and to prove that the habits or

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<sup>72</sup>Imam Suprayogo and Tobroni, *Op.Cit.*, 92.

<sup>73</sup>Lexy J.Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2002), 56

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>75</sup>Amiruddin and Zainal Asikin, *Pengantar Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004), 218.

selection priority will become unwritten law for the members of PKS. *Ikhwan* and *akhwat* predicate is the first requirement to be their partner.

Therefore, it needs a serious research to describe the existing tradition as clearly as possible to answer the reason. Why it still exists up to now as an unwritten law for them.

### C. Approach of Research

The approach of this research is qualitative. It means that it produces the innovations that can not be reached by using statistic procedure or quantification.<sup>76</sup> Qualitative research is presented in words and pictures,<sup>77</sup> and also can show to the research about life in society, history, behaviour, functionalization, organization, social movements, and genetic relationship.<sup>78</sup>

In this research, the researcher observes the natural and empirical phenomenon of *kafaah* in PKS cadres. The phenomenon here is based on the priority in choosing the couples. Usually, they will choose a wife or a husband based on the similarities in the way of thinking, the action style, and the perspective and mission when they get married.

By using the descriptive approach as Soerjono Soekanto states, this research not only provides clear data about human, condition and the indications, but also describes the object systematically.<sup>79</sup> Based on this design, the researcher doesn't discuss them to the term of cause and effect as the focus of qualitative approach to

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<sup>76</sup>Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, translated by Djunaidi Ghoni, *Dasar-Dasar Penelitian Kualitatif: Prosedur, Teknik, dan Teori Grounded* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1997), 11.

<sup>77</sup>Lexy J.Moleong, *Op.Cit*, 56.

<sup>78</sup>Marzuki, *Metodologi Riset* (Yogyakarta: BP Fakultas Ekonomi UII, 1983), 55.

<sup>79</sup>Soerjono Soekanto, *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1986), 10.

obtain information concerned with the current status of the phenomenon, but the researcher considers herself as the key instrument to collect, categorize, interpret, and generalize the data.

#### **D. Data Sources**

Data Sources are the sources or the places where we find the data. In this research, the writer uses two data sources:

- a) Primary data source is the data that is obtained from the first source directly. There are some people as the first source. They are the boards of PKS Malang the leader of DPD PKS (Amri), the director of DPC Lowokwaru (Chaidar), and the coordinator of Unit Keluarga Sejahtera (UKS) PKS (Suryanto), and some of cadres who has practiced this *kafaah* by getting married in the same community like Maya Novita and Khairil Amanah.
- b) Secondary data source is the data that is obtained from the second source. There are books, journals, magazines, and private notes.<sup>80</sup> The function of this data is as the complement to clarify and correlate with the first source. The secondary data in this research is taken from the number of cadres who has not got married. The researcher classifies them to several different levels. Some of them are from core caders, for instance Fajar Nazri and Nisa. The others are from supporting caders including Yatin, Asih, Dian Nora, Wiwin and Sayu. The last are from sympathizers, such as Lu'ai, Halimi Zuhdi, Nurwijayanti, Trio and Ahmad Al-Kayyis. There is also

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<sup>80</sup>Amiruddin and Zainal Asikin, *Op.Cit*, 12.

another secondary data supported data finding. It is marriage guidance from PKS Malang.

### **E. Technique of Collecting Data.**

There are some methods to collect the data in this research, they are:

#### 1) Observation

Observation is a purposive and systematic study about social phenomena and natural indications that need detail monitoring (observation) and noting.<sup>81</sup> Kurt Lewin describes his opinion about observation. He states that "observation of social behavior is usually of little value, if it does not include an adequate description of the character of the social atmosphere or larger activity unit within which the specific social act occurs".<sup>82</sup> To answer the problems of study, the researcher observes the object of research. Rianto Adi states that this research needs our senses to know the indications. Then, we note and analyze all indications.<sup>83</sup>

We can use two ways to observe the object of research.<sup>84</sup>

- a) Non-sistematic observation. It means that an observation that does not use an observation instrument.
- b) Sistematic observation. It uses a guidance as an observation instrument.

Here, the researcher uses the first kind which it is non-sistematic observation, because the application of this phenomenon becomes a close

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<sup>81</sup>Kartini Kartono, *Pengantar Metodologi Riset Sosial* (Bandung: Mandar Maju, 1996), 157.

<sup>82</sup>Anoted by Winardi, *Pengantar Metodologi Research* (Bandung: Alumni, 1986), 96.

<sup>83</sup>Rianto Adi, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial dan Hukum* (Jakarta: Granit: 2004), 70.

<sup>84</sup>Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian: Suatu Pendekatan Praktek* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2002), 133.

process for them (the cadres). For example, biography collection of the *murabbi/ah*, and the meeting (*ta'arruf*) which is arranged by their own teachers between the couple to know each other deeply.

## 2) Interview

Interview is one of the most widely used methods for obtaining qualitative data. Interviews are used to gather data on subjects' opinion, beliefs, and feelings about the situation in their own words. Interviews provide information that cannot be obtained through observation, or they can be used to verify the observation.<sup>85</sup> It also seems to give greater depth than other research techniques. It is the main method used to collect data. The researcher uses interview technique because the researcher makes a kind of relationship between the informant and the researcher to get data. In conducting this research, both of them (the interviewer and the interviewee) have to talk and face each other to give the needed data for the researcher.<sup>86</sup> Moleong says that qualitative research should be conducted by using these kinds of approach.

Interview technique is used by the researcher to get data by conversation between interviewer and interviewee to get information about their couple selection procedures as *tarbiyah* cadre of PKS, and their idea about couple's criteria. Interviewer asks some questions to the interviewee,

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<sup>85</sup>Donald Ary, et.al, *Introduction to Research in Education (6<sup>th</sup> ed.)* (Belmont: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 2002) 86.

<sup>86</sup>Mardalis, *Metodologi Penelitian* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1999), 64.

like people construction, case, activity, organization, emotion, motivation, and demand.<sup>87</sup>

There are three kinds of interviews used to collect the data.<sup>88</sup>

- a) Unguided (non-directive) interview. It means that the researcher uses unguided question. Then, it can makes a free talk. This kind is suitable for a preliminary research.
- b) Guided (directive, structured) interview. The researcher uses an interview guide to make and to manage the questions easier. The researcher just follows the question lists.
- c) Controlled interview. It is a combination methods between unguided interview and guided interview. The researcher has free (various) techniques to ask the questions. Thus, the interviewer and the interviewee get a comfortable conversation and the researcher will get more deep data.

In this research, the researcher uses the third technique to get a more deep and hide data about the application of kafaah in couple selection for PKS cadres.

### 3) Documentation

Documentation is one of the techniques for collecting data by looking for the data related with the research like notes, transcripts, books, newspaper, magazines, ancient inscription, and agenda.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Lexy J. Moleong, *Op.Cit*, 135.

<sup>88</sup>Marzuki, *Op.Cit*, 63.

<sup>89</sup>Suharsimi Arikinto, *Op.Cit*, 206.

Guba and Lincoln in Moleong's book differentiate it between document and record. They define that document is written material or film which are prepared because of the request from the researcher. But record is a question list that is arranged for verifying and giving numbers. Document and record are applied for research requirements, because of several responsible reasons :<sup>90</sup>

- a) Document and record are applied because they are permanent data.
- b) It is useful as a proof for examination.
- c) Both of them are useful and suitable with qualitative research because they have natural characters and in accordance with the context.

Yet, the document character needed in this research is document of legal internal. That is a document which is owned and released by the institute as research object who has got authentic and legitimation from the institute.

Documentation technique in this research is done to find out data of cadres' marriage in 2005 with the classification or rank of cadres' marriage with the cadre too, out of cadre , or sympathizer. Then, the data related to selection process for the cadres who give their curriculum vitae to *murabbi and murabbiah*.

To understand the data easily, the researcher arranges it into kind of data tables, the informant, and the collected data instrument.

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<sup>90</sup>Lexy J.Moleong, *Op.Cit*, 216.



No	Data	IPD	Informant/Subject
1.	<i>Kafaah</i> in PKS cadres criteria.	Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Core Cadres:</b> Choirul Amri Iiril, Fajar Nazri,.</li> <li>• <b>Supporting Cadres :</b> Asih Wahyu, Dian Nora, Subriyatin, Wiwin Nahfiah, Sayu Imang.</li> <li>• <b>Simpatizer:</b> Lu'ai Ahmad,Ahmad Al- Kayyis, Halimi Zuhdi, Nurwijayanti.</li> </ul>
2.	The cadres opinion about <i>murabbi/murabbiah</i> authority/ role in couple choosing for the cadres ( <i>mad'u</i> )	Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Core Cadres:</b> Choirul Amri Iiril, Fajar Nazri, Asih, Maya N.</li> <li>• <b>Supporting Cadres:</b> Asih Wahyu, Dian Nora, Subriyatin, Wiwin Nahfiah, Sayu Imang</li> <li>• <b>Simpatizer:</b> Ahmad Al-Kayyis, Halimi Zuhdi, Nurwijayanti, Trio S.</li> </ul>
3.	The supporting factors of <i>kafaah</i> implementation in PKS <b>Data 1 - 3 will answer the first problem of study</b>	Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Choirul Amri</li> <li>• Suryanto</li> <li>• Haidar</li> <li>• Maya Novita</li> <li>• Halimi Zuhdi</li> </ul>
4.	The procedures of couple selection in PKS	Documentati on and Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guidance of PKS Marriage Cadres of Malang.</li> <li>• Suryanto</li> </ul>
5.	The view/opinion of PKS cadres about the phenomena about the same proselytization method ( <i>manhaj dakwah</i> ) cadres marriage. <b>Data 4-5 will answer the second problem of study</b>	Observation and Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Core Cadres:</b> Choirul Amri Iiril, Fajar Nazri,.</li> <li>• <b>Supporting Cadres :</b> Asih Wahyu, Dian Nora, Subriyatin, Wiwin Nahfiah, Sayu Imang.</li> <li>• <b>Simpatizer:</b> Ahmad Al-Kayyis, Halimi Zuhdi, Nurwijayanti, Trio S.</li> </ul>

## F. Data Process.

There are some steps to process the data in this research.

### 1. *Editing*

Editing is the first step to review the data from the completeness, the clearness, and the relevance of the meaning with the other data. The purpose is to know whether the data is enough and representative to solve the problems of the study, and to reduce the troubles and mistakes in this research. It also aims to add the quality of the data. Therefore, the raw data needs to be rechecked. Perhaps, the researcher finds out the inadequate or irrelevant data for this research.<sup>91</sup>

Principally, this step is done if the researcher finds out inadequate writing about informants identity since the researcher holds an interview firstly in this research. Actually this step is not too difficult because the people who assumed to be able to represent this group are available.

### 2. *Classifying*

The researcher will find out many data in this research. Therefore, the classification in data is absolute. It will be easier in reading process, because it has been grouped in a few categories. The researcher will reach a clear idea and economic perspective easier. To classify means to manage the data in a component and element time, location or place, relation, numbering, behaviour style, or characteristic, functions, attitude, i.e. The purpose of the data classification in a certain group is to get a similarity and difference of data, and various social phenomenon that are studied. This process is very important in

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<sup>91</sup>Marzuki, *Op.Cit*, 81.

social study, because the instrument to obtain and measure the social phenomenon around the people is not representative enough.<sup>92</sup>

In the field, the researcher finds out various data from the informants. For example, their opinion about the phenomenon of cadres marriage in the same view and party. Perhaps, most of them agree with the practice, but the others do not. Thus, the researcher is indispensable to organize the data and choose the data needed for this research.

### 3. *Verifying*

This step is one of the most urgent points, because the data and information collections need to be cross-checked again to get more valid data, and to answer the research questions, or to examine the truth of hypothesis.<sup>93</sup> This process is done by the meeting with the interviewee or informants in the first interview. We give our interview result to them, and then they will check the data, whether it is appropriate or not.

### 4. *Analyzing*

Analyzing is an effort to find out the answer from the problems of study in this research. There is a difference between analyzing and interpreting. Analyzing is a mechanical and repeated process of the data. While interpreting, the researcher needs a creation, consideration, and smartness to process the data.<sup>94</sup>

Kartini Kartono states, the researcher has to pay more attention in some matters:<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Kartini Kartono, *Op.Cit*, 386.

<sup>93</sup>Nana Sudjana and Awal Kusumah, *Proposal Penelitian di Perguruan Tinggi* (Bandung: Sinar Baru Algesindo, 2000), 84.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid*, 87.

<sup>95</sup>Kartini Kartono, *Op.Cit*, 87.

- a) Knowing about causality relation (reason and result).
- b) Knowing some differentials and special data. Maybe the data are unique or strange.
- c) Knowing the “trend” (tendency aims).

Moleong states that data analysis is a process of categorizing and systemizing data into pattern, category, and basic essay unit to find out the theme and to formulate the hypothesis which is suggested by the data analysis.<sup>96</sup> After gathering the data from sources including direct observation, data collection and information study which is taken from the steps of data collection above and from some books related to the discussion of this study, the researcher will analyze them.

Therefore, from analyzing, the researcher will find out the essence of this research in an analysis. The result of this analysis will be a real recommendation for DPD Partai Keadilan Sejahtera in categorizing equality of ideology party or equality of community (*jama'ah*) as a part of kafaah. Also the researcher will find out a clear description about the process of couple selection for PKS cadres.

##### 5. *Concluding*

The last step is concluding. It is the end of data process with a main statement which will be taken as a conclusion. The researcher does not repeat sentences or statements written in the result and analysis of research. But, in this process the researcher tries to conclude and take important points to describe shortly and clearly. There are some criteria for a good conclusion. They are:

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<sup>96</sup>Lexy J.Moleong, *Op.Cit*, 103.

- a) Valid. It means appropriate with the fact and real data.
- b) A conclusion is verifiable (it can be verified).
- c) It is described in simple statement.<sup>97</sup>

Finally, from this process, the researcher will find out the answer and solution from problems described on the background.

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<sup>97</sup>Kartini Kartono, *Op.Cit*, 89.

## CHAPTER IV

### KAFA'AH : THE CONCEPT AND OPINION OF PKS CADRES

#### A. The Factors Which Influence *Kafaah* Practice in Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Cadres.

##### 1) *Kafaah in PKS cadres criteria*

Based on the marriage guidance of PKS Malang, there are three (3) classifications of cadres. It devices into Core Cadres, Supporting Cadres, and Sympathizers. Most of them have their own opinion about *kafa'ah*. They have different opinions for including cadre existance as one of *kafaah* in marriage. There are cadres who argue for its existance in this couple selection. The first opinion is come from core cadre which has followed *tarbiyah* for long time, at least for two (2) years and they have became a part of the party, and some of them have strategic

position in the party. Most of them for example, Choirul Amri,<sup>98</sup> a leader of DPD PKS Malang that has got married when he was 29 old, says that he prioritizes a wife based on her faith. Besides, his wife candidate is from same community in PKS. This priority is leaned on *ulama*' opinions. They suppose to look for a partner who does not have far differences in madzhab and its Islamic doctrines. Because the similarity between husband and wife will ease to manage the family. He said

*“Saya memilih istri yang pasti berdasarkan taqwanya. Selain itu dia satu jama’ah dengan saya. Karena menurut saya semakin banyak kesamaan semakin gampang mengarahkan tujuan rumah tangga. Sebaiknya juga menikah dengan satu madzhab, sebagaimana para ulama menyarankan untuk mencari pasangan yang tidak terlalu banyak perbedaan dari segi ajaran atau madzhabnya”.*

It is similar to by Fajar Nazri's opinion<sup>99</sup>, a core cadre in PKS. Even though he has not get married, he also give a criterion “one community” for his expected wife. He states that ideally to achieve a marriage for reaching of missionize goals and the target of Islamic Training, it needs that our partner is *akhwat*. She is an activist or cadre in one community too. It is natural thing. Moreover it is seen extrime that there is a cadre who enters one community existance as serious consideration in couple selection. As Khairil Amanah<sup>100</sup> statement that *ikhwan* or PKS cadre is her main consideration before she dicides to get married with a man.

*“Kriteria ana dalam memilih calon suami yang pasti din-nya (penj: agama) baik, satu jama’ah itu harus, punya pekerjaan tetap, dan minimal pendidikannya S1”.*

So, there was a case that a good (*shalih*) man who has to turn away and lose his chance to get married with *akhwat* because of he does not want to join *akhwat*'s community. She said,

<sup>98</sup>Choirul Amri, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

<sup>99</sup>Fajar Nazri S.Ked, *Interview* (Malang, April 18<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>100</sup>Khairil Amanah, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

The same opinion come from the supporting cadres. Most of them are the young cadres and the beginners in PKS. Although they are young cadres, they have loyalty and good *tarbiyah* quality. So, we know that PKS has regulated special standardization to raise the cadres level as the young cadres.

Wiwin Nafiyah Az-Zamzami, an activist of Extra Campus Organization (*OMEK*) of UIN Malang.<sup>101</sup> She prioritizes a partner who he is an activist too in her community. It is based on the basic understanding that the marriage purpose is for getting God's blessing by building and managing *tarbiyah* and *harakah* family and to continue the struggle of proselytization in a frame of "party". Then to create *tarbiyah* and *harokah* family reducing proselytization responsibility is difficult if their partner is not an activist and do not understand about proselytization. Even though that is not absolute, but it is better and it is natural ideally. Getting marriage with someone from one community will ease the communication. Our partner would not obscure their activity in the next time.<sup>102</sup>

There is one more interesting thing in this case that *kafaah* criteria for most of cadres is not only one party, but also from their level. Ideally *akhwat* will get married with *ikhwan* that his level is higher than *akhwat* or at least they are the same. It is proved by Subriyatin Nikmah<sup>103</sup> statement. She graduated from at *Al-Ittihad Islamic Boarding School* in Camplong Madura. She prioritizes an *ikhwan* who has better religion quality than she. And also his *tarbiyah* level is higher than hers because, however, for family building, it needs many similarities, including the same view (*fikroh*).

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<sup>101</sup>Wiwin Nahfiyah, *Interview* (Malang, April 03<sup>rd</sup> 2007).

<sup>102</sup>Asih Wahyuning Tyas, Dian Nora Habibah, *Interview* (Malang, April 03<sup>rd</sup> 2007).

<sup>103</sup>Subriyatin Nikmah, *Interview* (Malang, February 11<sup>th</sup> 2007).



*“predikat ikhwan sangat ana prioritaskan dalam pemilihan jodoh, karena bagaimanapun dalam membangun sebuah keluarga diperlukan banyak kesamaan, termasuk dalam hal kesamaan fikroh (terj dari peneliti: pemikiran). Ana menginginkan kelak pendamping hidup ana adalah seorang yang lebih dari ana, baik dari kafaah diniyah, tarbiyah, dan keilmuannya.”*

The last opinion comes from sympathizers. The researcher found the data from five informants. Their opinion are different from the second when they stated that the ideal marriage happens between cadre and cadre too, or cadre with sympathizer. But, the third group (sympathizers) said that *kafaah* concept could be understood comprehensively narrow. They express that the ideal marriage is not only between cadre, but also with others, as our prophet taught us in looking for a partner. weather the partner (means: wife or husband) is cadre or nor, it is not a big deal before getting married. The important one is that the partner is a good moeslim/ah and they can complete each other.<sup>104</sup>

*“Pada prinsipnya saya mengikuti sunnah Nabi dalam memilih istri. Yang pertama diennya, kemudian cantik. Dan Alhamdulillah saya mendapatkan istri yang cantik. Masalah ia kader atau tidak, tidak terlalu menjadi pertimbangan, yang penting sholihah.”*

Furthermore, some of them give another criterion that the partner has spirit of Islamic education and they can move together for continuing this struggle.<sup>105</sup> They are the sympathizers who are involved in PKS party deeply with the party system.

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<sup>104</sup>Lu'ai Ahmad, Halimi Zuhdi, and Trio Supriyatno, *Interview* (Malang, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>105</sup>Ahmad Al-Kayyis, *Interview* (Malang, April 04<sup>th</sup> 2007) and Nurwijayanti, *Interview* (Malang, April 29<sup>th</sup> 2007).

2) *The cadres opinion about murabbi/murabbiah authority/ role in couple selecting for the cadres (mad'u)*

Not all cadres underlined that the choosing process through *murabbi/murabbiah* is not absolute procedure. Only the core cadres who submit great authority to the *murabbi/murabbiah* to choose the cadre's partner. And the supporting cadres, even though they are not rigid in using this love facilitator, but most of them appreciate the *murabbi/ murabbiah* intervention in this choice. Maya Novita,<sup>106</sup> a core cadre in DPD is an example. She finished her study in Al-Azhar university in Egypt. Now she is a wife of Jalaluddin, a lecturer in UIN Malang, she said

*“Keharusan itu tidak. Tetapi seorang MR biasanya sangat menginginkan mutarabbinya bisa menikah dengan orang yang punya satu fikroh. Dan ciri-ciri murabbi yang baik, dia bercita-cita mengantarkan mutarabbinya bertemu dengan laki-laki yang menurut dia sudah baik keiltizamannya dengan agama. Ini sesuatu yang penting dalam proses terbiyah.”*

She gave an opinion that commonly as a good and ideal *murabbi/murabbiah*, they want that their member (*mutarabbi*) will get married with a man who has a commitment (*iltizam*) in this religion. This is important in this *tarbiyah* process. Although it is not a compulsory, *murabbi/ murabbiah* expect that the member's partner is a man who has the same paradigm (*fikroh*) in this party.

Some core cadres affirm the urgency of *murabbi/murabbiah* authority in couple selection process because *murabbi/murabbiah* know more the cadre than cadre's own parents.<sup>107</sup> So, for the cadres who deeply get in touch with PKS have to obey PKS regulation about marriage. It will be strange if the cadres get married with

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<sup>106</sup>Maya Novita, *Interview* (Malang, April 17<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>107</sup>Choirul Amri, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

people outside cadres. This phenomenon is not strict for the beginner cadre and sympathizers. The party does not press them, but just give suggestion and make the cadre understand that this process is only a procedure in poselytization training.<sup>108</sup> In addition, giving the couple selection process to *murabbi/murabbiah* shows their trust and loyalty to the party. How active the cadres in party's responsibility and activity, it will influence the cadre's realibility to party to manage their marriage. Thus, it is still appropriate in poselytization style before the cadres get married.<sup>109</sup>

This belief has been a part of supporting and new cadres's life. Most of them have same understanding about *murabbi/murabbiah* authority in selecting the cadres' partner. Sayu Imang Baroroh,<sup>110</sup> tells the clear explanation about this.

*“murabiyah itu kan pembimbing kita saat kita merantau. Beliau pada saat yang sama adalah guru, syaikh, sahabat, bahkan “orang tua” kedua kita saat kita butuh. Jadi wajar saja seandainya beliau membimbing proses kita agar berjalan bersih. Tujuannya baik. Bahkan murabbiyah perannya penting sekali bagi kader yang sudah faham dan punya posisi penting dalam lingkara jama'ah ini. Meski tidak harus dicarikan oleh beliau, yang penting pada akhirnya beliau yang akan mengawal pernikahan kita. Namun bagi saya yang menjadi catatan disini adalah jangan sampai karena kita menunggu tawaran dari MR, maka kita tidak menerima tawaran dari ortu, teman, dan sahabat kita. Karena bisa jadi yang ditawarkan itu adalah orang yang sholih juga.”*

She has an opinion that *murabbiah* is an advisor when the cadres are far from their home. *Murabbiah* is also considered as teacher, best friend, or the second parent when they need advice. So, it is a normal thing if *murabbiah* has the authority to guide the cadres' marriage. The purpose is to get a clean process untill they get married. Although, it is not always accompanied by *murabbi/murabbiah* but for the end, *murabbi/murabbiah* have to know and give little contribution for the marriage.

<sup>108</sup>Ibu Asih, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

<sup>109</sup>Fajar Nazri, *Interview* (Malang, April 18<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>110</sup>Sayu Imang Baroroh, *Interview* (Malang, Mei 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

If the cadres want their process gone as clean as other cadres, it will be better for using *murabbi/murabbiah* as the facilitator. Usually they will get a partner who has same way of thinking. Even though it will be a little bit intervention from other people but this way is more secure and *syar'i* (appropriate with Islamic guidance) because there is more control and advice from their *murabbi/murabbiah*.<sup>111</sup>

There are some sympathizers which disagree with *murabbi/murabbiah* authority in their cadres' marriage. In their opinion, *murabbi/murabbiah* is one whom they ask just for the consideration. *Murabbi/murabbiah* does not have a competence to decide a man that will be their partner next time. They also do not considerate *murabbi*'s opinion in partner choosing because everyone have their own way to manage the life and decide a decision. *Murabbi* is not always meaningful in this case. But in party system *murabbi/murabbiah* has authority for this problem. The intervention of *murabbi/murabbiah* in this selection is as one effort to keep the marriage process to be better.<sup>112</sup>

*“Tentunya tidak harus selalu. Bagi saya masing-masing punya pilihan jalan sendiri-sendiri. Tapi memang keterlibatan murabbi itu baik, agar proses menuju pernikahan itu terjaga. Kader dalam hal ini bukan didoktrin, tetapi ditawarkan apa mau dicarikan murabbi atau tidak. Dalam bahasa jama'ah proses ini dinamakan upaya takwinul ummah melalui proses ta'arruf, tafahum, talaful, sampai dengan atsar.”*

Halimi Zuhdi tries to give his explanation related with this *murabbi* authority. He says that *murabbi/ah* may influence the cadre decision in partner selection up to 70 %. Here, the cadre means people who understand the party system. They will consult with their *murabbi/murabbiah* before they get married. But sometimes according to him, the cadre places *murabbi/murabbiah* more than their parents.

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<sup>111</sup>Asih Wahyuning Tyas, Dian Nora Habibah, *Interview* (Malang, April 03<sup>rd</sup> 2007).

<sup>112</sup>Trio Supriyatno, *Interview* (Malang, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

Moreover there is a cadre who pays attention more to *murabbi/murabbiah* consideration than their own parents. It makes him disagree with this phenomenon. Besides, still in Halimi's opinion cadre's marriage without *murabbi/ murabbiah* will not gain God blessing. When there is a different intention between cadre and the parents, *murabbi* role is as negotiator. So, what is the cadre and party (*jama'ah*) wants in the marriage can be implemented.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, in spite of *murabbi/murabbiah* authority that becomes an absolute procedure in couple selection of the cadre, it is a good effort to avoid mistakes in human relationship before they get married which usually most of them call it as dating (*pacaran*). And the last decision is returned by the cadres whether they intend to use *murabbi/murabbiah* facilitator or not.<sup>114</sup>

### **3) *The Supporting Factors of Kafaah Implementation in PKS***

Choirul Amri,<sup>115</sup> says that the urgent factor of *kafaah* implementation in PKS is cadre understanding to the party (*jama'ah*). An understanding that marriage is not to fulfill the own cadre importances, but also it becomes party importances. It is similar to Suryanto's opinion,<sup>116</sup> that there are some factors that influence this practice. *First*, cadres have known the marriage process in the party. It will fasten their own process to get partner. *Second*, the factor from their parents which also has known the procedure. So, it does not need a long time to understand their own parents about the process and procedure. *Third*, cadres preparing either from their material and also mental.

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<sup>113</sup>Halimi Zuhdi, *Interview* (Malang, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>114</sup>Nurwijayanti, *Interview* (Malang, April 29<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>115</sup>Choirul Amri, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

<sup>116</sup>Suryanto, *Interview* (Malang, April 20<sup>th</sup> 2007).

In addition, Haidar Danial says,<sup>117</sup> that there are some factors that supported marriage process though *murabbi/ah*. *First*, cadres understanding about Islam. It means in Islam there is not dating (*pacaran*) as introducing phase before getting marriage. This process is changed by Islamic introducing (*ta'arruf*). *Second*, cadres understanding about proselytization methods (*fiqh ad-dakwah*). It is one important because every community have different proselytization methods and its application. *Third*, cadres understanding that marriage as structuring process in proselytization to reach the bigger mission next time. The one thing important to give an underline, such as Maya Novita's opinion,<sup>118</sup> that the main factor is the commitment power of cadres with the party (*jama'ah*).

Halimi Zuhdi,<sup>119</sup> gives a different opinion from the core and supporting cadres. He explains that the factors that influence *kafaah* practice can be observed from four aspects. *First*, is from ideology. Most PKS cadres are known with their commitment to Islamic doctrines. It is seen from their performance, the way of thinking, and their daily activities. Thus, marriage as a step in this life has to be covered with Islamic teaching. *Second*, cadres understanding about religion texts. They interpret Islamic law (*syari'at*) in one interpretation frame. *Third*, cadres understanding that a marriage with one community will increase proselytization mobilization. *The last*, easying to improve proselytization quality in family because both of them just have a little differences. But, according Halimi's opinion a harmonious family not only can be reached by the similarities, but also some

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<sup>117</sup>Haidar Danial Zaki, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

<sup>118</sup>Maya Novita, *Interview* (Malang, April 17<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>119</sup>Halimi Zuhdi, *Interview* (Malang, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

differences can make a beautiful harmonious in family if they can understand each other.”

## **B. The Opinion of PKS Cadres about the Partner’s Political View in Couple Selection as a Practice of *Kafa’ah***

### ***1. The procedure of couple selection in PKS***

There is a unique side in the couple selection for PKS cadres. That is a process known as *ta’arruf* (introduction).

Suryanto<sup>120</sup> explains about the mechanism of PKS cadre couple selection until the *ta’arruf* process is going on for the cadre who is considered ready to get married. Those who are ready to get married will receive some data forms called marriage proposal. The proposal contains self identity data, picture and the criteria for the desired candidate. The proposal will be handed over to *murabbi* for the next process. *Murabbi* will give the data to the PKS *Unit of Sakinah Family* (UKS) section. This unit will select a suitable *akhwat*. When the unit thinks that the *akhwat* is suitable enough with *ikhwan*’s criteria, the data of chosen *akhwat* is sent to the *ikhwan* to be observed and prayed *istikharah*.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup>Suryanto, *Interview* (Malang, April 20<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>121</sup>It has happened to Khairil Amanah’s process before getting marriage in 2006 of July . Firstly, she is given about Kadir’s data (an *ikhwan as her husband candidate* ) by her teacher in proposal form. Her teacher asked her to consider the curriculum vitae of the *ikhwan* to become husband. Then, she told her parents to decide a decision. Usually the teacher will suppose the couple (Kadir and Iiril) to praying *istikharah* before. If she agree with the man, she has to send back her data to the teacher to be given to *ikhwan* (Kadir). When *ikhwan* has received her data, it shows that he has received by her. After that, the teacher invite them to their house to meet and talk each other deeply. There, Iiril and Kadir can ask more the informations about them beside the data in their proposal. It eases to know their vision and mision in family and how the step to manage their family in Islamic guidance. How to match their activity and habits everyday. Then, they agreed to continue the next process , the *ikhwan* (Kadir) came to Iiril’s house to ask her from their parent. Finally, they get married in 2006 of August. They passed their introduction untill marriage just for a month.

Here, *akhwat* is a passive selector and waits *ikhwan*'s response if *ikhwan* sends his date, it means that for the data given to her. In this position, *akhwat* is positively accepted by *ikhwan*, but the *ikhwan* has not been accepted yet. It is assumed that generally *ikhwan* has stronger mental if he is rejected by the *akhwat*.<sup>122</sup> Later, when the *akhwat* agrees, the next process is *ta'arruf*. *Ta'arruf* becomes the moment to reveal both cadres' curriculum vitae and real characteristics. There are 2 kinds of *ta'arruf*. The first is *ta'arruf* with *hijab* (curtain)<sup>123</sup> and the second is *ta'arruf* without *hijab* but with certain distance. Both *ta'arruf* models require the role of *murabbi*' as a companion.

After *ta'arruf* and both couples feel suitable each other, the next process is engagement (*khitbah*). There are 2 steps to pass before *khitbah* and deciding the marital date.

- 1) *Ikhwan* comes to *akhwat*'s parents' house along with his *murabbi* for "silaturahmi" and for observing *akhwat*'s family. Then, *ikhwan* officially comes alone with his parent to engage "khitbah" *akhwat* and decide the marital date.
- 2) *Ikhwan* directly comes to *akhwat*'s house alone with his parents to engage "khitbah" and decide the marital date if it is possible. The distance between *ta'arruf*, *khitbah* and marriage is expected to be less than 3 months.

In contrast, if *ikhwan* refuses *akhwat*'s data, the data will be returned to UKS and they will be offered another data to be considered. In this situation, *akhwat* does

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<sup>122</sup>Ibu Asih, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

<sup>123</sup>Something separated between *ikhwan* and *akhwat* when they are doing *ta'arruf*. Commonly *hijab* is going to use when there is meeting among cadres.



not know whether she is accepted or rejected. By the time, *ikhwan*'s data has come to *akhwat*. It means her data has been approved by *ikhwan*. However, if *ikhwan/akhwat* refuses the data twice or more, he/she will be directed specially by UKS instead of to the *murabbi*. As punishment or fine (*ta'dzir*) for a cadre, the process will be delayed.

Beside this technical procedure, there is a more formal and systematic procedure arranged in the manual of PKS Malang cadres marriage which has been explained in chapter two.

## **2. The view/opinion of PKS cadres about the phenomena about the same proselytization methods (*manhaj dakwah*) cadres marriage.**

Again, the researcher divides the data explanation about cadre's opinion concerning this phenomenon into 3 classifications. *The first*, the opinion of core cadres. *The second* is the opinion of supporting cadres, and *the third* is the opinion of sympathizers. However, the researcher does not divide the opinion of core cadres and supporting cadres because the researcher thinks that both opinions has the same roots no significant difference.

Choirul Amri,<sup>124</sup> the chairman of DPD PKS Malang said,

*“Saya kira suatu hal yang perlu dan bagus. Karena kita melihat itu bukan suatu yang mengada-ada dan sebuah hal yang berujung kemaslahatan. Ya...sekali saya berdasar perkataan para ulama yang menganjurkan sebaiknya menikah dengan 1 madzhab. Selain itu menurut saya ini menunjukkan sebuah proses tarbiyah yang menginternalisasi. Sebahagian mereka mengambil pilihan ini karena memang belajar dari kasus-kasus pernikahan yang pasangannya bukan dari orang tarbiyah. Sebagian mereka ada yang tidak diperbolehkan ngaji (halaqoh). Bahkan ada yang lebih parah lagi si akhwat tidak diizinkan memakai jilbab. Kebanyakan para akhwat tersebut tidak mampu berbuat apa-apa, karena biasanya sifat akhwat lebih menurut kepada suaminya”*

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<sup>124</sup>Choirul Amri, *Interview* (Malang, April 02<sup>nd</sup> 2007).

The marriage between cadres is a natural, necessary and good thing because he believes that this kind of marriage can bring goodness in life. Especially if we quote what the Muslim expert said that it is better for marriage couple who come from the same *madzhab* (religious sect). Besides that, this kind of phenomena shows the internalization of *tarbiyah* process. Some of them take this choice because they take a lesson from the marital cases that the couple is not *tarbiyah* process. Most of them are not allowed to do *halaqah* and the worse thing is when the *akhwat* is not permitted to wear veil. Most of the *akhwat* can not do anything because it is the obligation for *akhwat* to obey her husband.

Amri's opinion is similar to that of Sayu and Trio. Although Trio is a sympathizer, he is one of the persons who lay the base of PKS. When PK turned into PKS, he was actively involved in the discussion with the PKS president at that time, Hidayat Nur Wahid, and played his role in formulating the basic idea of PKS. However, he had another plan for his future because he chose to be a civil servant and unwillingly left his activities in the party and chose to be an active sympathizer up to now.

In the interview, Sayu says that marriage between cadres is a good thing because Sayu has already set the criteria for her husband to be in one proselytization movement condition (*penyamaan suhu*), whether he is a sympathizer, a beginner or a core cadre. It will be much better if the cadre level is equal or above the *akhwat*. In order to get the equality, marriage should be with a person with the same proselytization method. It seems to be imposible how can the similar condition be to build a harmonious family if the couple come from different proselytization method. One of them is pro to the party and the other one is against the party. However, he

gives a note that PKS mainstream is moderate (*washatiyah*) in many aspects, including in looking for the spouse. It means that when *akhwat's* age is over 25 years old and needs to get married soon, the community will give a chance to seek a spouse outside of the community with requirements from the UKS section. The requirements are:<sup>125</sup>

- a. *Hanif* (the explanation is in chapter II)
- b. Ready to join in *halaqoh*
- c. Ready to support PKS and not going to prevent the husband/wife for doing activities in the community.

Those 3 requirements can be presented orally or by legal statements, or there is a recommendation from another *ikhwan* to guarantee the readiness of the *hanif ikhwan* to support PKS after marrying PKS *akhwat*.

Asih Wahyuning Tyas<sup>126</sup> has a little different opinion with what has been stated by Choirul Amri as the representative of core cadres. She said,

*“Ana kira ada segi positif dan negatifnya. Positifnya, pernikahan sesama kader ini sebagai proses akselerasi dakwah. Kalau gak sefikroh tentunya kedua pasangan harus adaptasi terlebih dahulu dengan kebiasaan masing-masing. Membangun visi keluarga bersama terlebih dahulu. Plus memahamkan keluarga kedua belah pihak. Negatifnya, semakin menutup peluang rekrutmen kader dalam tarbiyah melalui institusi dakwah. Karena ketika ada orang yang tertarik dengan salah satu kader tarbiyah baik ikhwan atau akhwat, tapi lebih sering akhwat, maka dia akan segera mengundurkan diri, karena mengetahui biasanya para kader tersebut akan mencari calon yang statusnya sama-sama sebagai kader juga.”*

She observed this phenomena as something with positive and negative sides. The positive thing is that this marriage is the acceleration of proselytization process

<sup>125</sup>Suryanto, *Interview* (Malang, April 20<sup>th</sup> 2007).

<sup>126</sup>Asih Wahyuning Tyas, *Interview* (Malang, April 03<sup>rd</sup> 2007).

because when the couple have different paradigm (*fikroh*), they surely have to make some adaptations for each person's habits. They build their family vision together first and of course the responsibility to make both family understand. It means that there will be so many things to do after they get married which absolutely take a long time too.

On the other hand the negative thing is that this kind of marriage will close the opportunity to recruit the *tarbiyah* cadres through family proselytization institution. Because when there is someone interested in one of the *tarbiyah* cadres, *ikhwan* or *akhwat* moreover the person will retreat himself for knowing that those cadres are looking for a candidate with the same status as a cadre. It is frequently experienced by some *akhwat* who refuse some *ikhwan*'s proposal to have a serious relationship. Because of different paradigm (*fikroh*), they have to retreat themselves or make a decision to seek a woman who does not belong to a certain community.

Halimi Zuhdi,<sup>127</sup> a sympathizer who had a very disappointing experience when he wanted to marry an *akhwat* from PKS core cadre, has an identical opinion. He had to move back and forgot his dreams to marry a PKS *akhwat* because she rejected his proposal for getting married when he refused to do "*halaqoh*" and joined PKS.

Halimi Zuhdi says that he disagrees if coming from one community is an obligatory requirement. Muslim experts are also *ikhtilaf* (have different opinion) in formulating the criteria of *kafaah*, it is only a matter of different movement. In his opinion movement is like clothes which can be exchanged everytime we want, we do not have to wear the same clothes all the time. So, the candidate who wants to get married does not have to wear the same clothes as well. Actually, *kafaah* is

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<sup>127</sup>Halimi Zuhdi, *Interview* (Malang, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

considered from *ad-din ash-sholih, laisa al-hizb* (the good religion, it is not a matter of party) so, he thinks that this phenomena may block *lita'araafu* (know each other) process, and may cause the constriction of *sakinah* interpretation in the frame of PKS cadre marriage. *Sakinah* is interpreted as flowing and quiet life without any challenges. For him, *sakinah* once again means the equality and the harmonious process of the unification of differences in household.

On the other side, Halimi Zuhdi gives the positive value of marital mechanism for PKS cadres. According to his opinion, the process held by PKS can truly avoid dating process. The *tarbiyah* leveling of vision and mission is done during the *ta'arruf* process and there is no *ikhtilat* (being alone between *ikhwan* and *akhwat*). Such process applies Islamic teaching about the interaction between man and woman.

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

#### **A. The Factors that Influence *Kafaah* Practice in Prosperity and Justice Party (PKS) Cadres.**

##### ***1. Kafaah in PKS cadres criteria***

The marriage is a basic need for the human being as *syari'ah* manages it in detail. Nevertheless, there are a lot of marriage matters by Muslim thinkers due to two causes. *The first* cause is that marriage regulation in Islam is still global so it still need some interpretation that will vary. *Second*, marriage problem has close relation with social humanity problem, it means that marriage has been influenced by sociology, law, custom, etc. Therefore, it is possible to happen that there is contradiction between *syari'at* norms and social norms.

*Syari'ah* concept which is established and clarified in holy qur'an become hard debate for the followers, and the controversy always come a long the human being life in the world. Nevertheless, our prophet Muhammad says in his hadits that all of the differences will bring blessing to his follower

One of controversion problems is about marriage concept and the principle requirement which accompanies it. That matter is interesting for the researcher to analyze the difference of *kafaah* concept in Muslim expert of study concept and its implementation in society especially for the member of PKS. How their existence process as a cadre has been influenced by their method of understanding into a privacy thing, including marriage affair, will be deeply observed.

Prosperity and Justice Party (PKS) in the cadre marriage guidelines PKS Malang give four technical term to classify the member, namely; core cadre, prospector, sympathizer, and hanif, but in this object the researcher just classifies the data into three level cadres, namely; core cadre, prospector and sympathizer, while *hanif* does not become important informant, because their idea does not give significant contribution in this research, usually it is the same as sympathizer.

First view coming from core cadre group has given point of view clearly that the identity of the cadre become a priority for religious–proselytizing PKS cadre when they want to marry, they can not choose what they want, moreover, when the choice is not based on the religious values. In choosing husband or wife candidates. Khoiril Amanah says, " My criteria in choosing my husband, indeed; he should have good religious understanding and have appropriate job, and his education should be S1 or graduate." This statement is interesting to be analyzed further, that she is extreme and strict enough to require the status of that member as a criteria.

Here, there is an understanding which has well internalized that is as an education cadre of PKS marriage essence and meaning is as core from religious proselytizing in household guidance which is prosperity, affection, and mercy, the family which is strongly covered by *aqidah*, *manhaj*, *fikroh* unity. When the marriage is religious proselytizing and education itself, so marriage is used for measurement of proselytization success. Minimally, after marriage the cadres have a high spirit and more professional in proselytization.

In their opinion, marrying to cadre mate is a good example for the Islamic society. Marriage is a tool to proselytization. It means that by getting married to cadre mate will make closer the Islam and society. It starts the way to choose a partner, wedding party, and their daily activity in their environment. Practicing the Islamic value in the marriage process is a way to implement proselytization immediately in the society.

According to Cahyadi's writing, marriage also gives support in proselytization programs and solves the proselytization problems. For example, problem in choosing partner, determining the criteria for *ikhwan* or *akhwat*. The important thing is they have partner who supports the proselytization and active in that activity.<sup>128</sup>

Furthermore, according to Subriyatin Nikmah, it is better to choose an *ikhwan* who has high *kafaah* from religion side, education and *tarbiyah* level. Commonly, a husband will be a leader in household. Thus, an *ikhwan* has to have high knowledge than an *akhwat*. A high level is not determined the term in learning but it deepens on the productivity and cadre's contribution in his community. It means that an *akhwat*'s

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<sup>128</sup> Cahyadi Takariawan, *Di Jalan Dakwah Aku Menikah*, xviii.



productivity only 50 % before marriage and will increase up to 100% if an *akhwat* has already got married to an *ikhwan* who has high education.

This is a preventive effort to cover the cadres who have low spirit in proselytization.<sup>129</sup> As Mahfudz Sidiq and Musyaffa said that there are many factors which cause low spirit in the cadre's family, they are:<sup>130</sup>

- a. Lack of communication between a husband and a wife.
- b. A husband does not give support his wife activity.
- c. Lack of worship and harmony.
- d. Less of *ta'awun tarbawi* and *da'awi*.<sup>131</sup>
- e. A wife is influenced by a husband condition.
- f. A wife is not educated yet.
- g. A wife and a husband are different paradigm (*fikroh*)

Here, the researcher just wants to explain the cause of proselytization decrease. Choiril Amri gives an example that there is an *akhwat* who has already married a man who is not educated and less knowledge about Islam. The husband does not give permission to the wife to join *halaqoh*.<sup>132</sup>

This criterion is appeared by the sympathizers who have known PKS deeply. They have already been educated cadres. But, they do not have responsibility in

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<sup>129</sup>Future in proselytizer movement context meant as a syndrome of laziness, weakness, boring, and slow from proselytizer activity. Whereas they have a lot of responsibility, and the time is limited.

<sup>130</sup>Maffuz Sidik, Musyaffa A. Rohman, Agar Futur tidak Mewabah (Solo; Era Intermedia, 2005), 103.

<sup>131</sup>A situation where both of husband and wife help each other to improve their Islamic knowledge and proselytization spirit.

<sup>132</sup>Another example happens on the researcher's friend (Fitri). She has already married to a man who does not have the same spirit in proselytization. In the first month her husband gives her a chance to join *halaqoh*. But, later, her husband does not allow his wife to join it. Moreover, he forces his wife to put off her veil forever. He wants to have modern style wife. Finally, his wife wants to divorce. They do not have same ideology in passing their life. From the problem above, Fitri and friends will not marry a man who is not educated yet. The safe way is get married to cadre mate in that community, they can fight to proselytizer together.

party's structure. This data assume that giving criteria, such as, having same motivation between *akhwat* and *ikhwan* happens in the cadre sympathizer who has closed each other emotionally. Loving each other will influence the cadre's mind.

According to Fauzil Adhim, the *ikhwan* and *akhwat* have high criteria in choosing their partner. Commonly, it happens in *akhwat* community. They usually give complex criteria for a man who wants to marry her. After joining *halaqah diniyah* or *harakah*, several of the *akhwats* will determine the minimal criteria for their partner.<sup>133</sup> It commonly happens in PKS party. Most of them will choose the man who has one *fikroh* or same spirit in proselytization. Moreover they get a man who has high *tarbiyah* than an *akhwat*.

## ***2. The cadre's opinion about murabbi/ah's authority in choosing the cadre's married partner.***

Marriage is not an easy thing. It is not *ijab qobul* but also how a couple (wife and husband) create a good family. By having a *sakinah* family, they will reach piety in their live. Marriage is one of the ways to go to paradise. The problem is how choose a partner. There are many ways that the cadre can do from syar'i ways or true introduction between *ikhwan* and *akhwat*.

Basically, the factor which influence *kafaah* in PKS's cadre is the intervening *murabbi/ah* in the cadre's personality problem. Satria Hadi's book shows, there are three ways to determine a partner. The *first*, asking help from *murabbi/ah*. *Second*, asking help from the others *ikhwan*. The last (*third*) is looking for a d partner by

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<sup>133</sup> Mohammad Fauzil Adhim, *Saatnya Untuk Menikah* ( Yogyakarta; Pro-U Media, 2006), 137.

themselves.<sup>134</sup> But, seeking a partner using *murabbi/ah*'s help is commonly used for that community. They think that teacher's role is not only sharing their knowledge or to be supervisor, but they have responsibility to offer a partner for their students. This phenomenon is interesting culture in this community. *Murabbi/ah* authority is related to socio-cultural construction and values which influence their activity.<sup>135</sup>

Asking *murabbi/ah*'s favor in choosing partner is considered wise. It can help the cadre to find a good man or woman who will make their proselytization stronger. But, the problem is that *murabbi/ah* has full authority in choosing a partner. Subriyatin Nikmah states that *murabbi/ah* authority is far from *syari'ah* and perhaps, it will create a new bid'ah. In this cases, a cadre who wants to marry has to get permission from his/her *murabbi/ah*. If they do not get it, they will get a punishment from their *murabbi/ah*. From that problem, Sayu Imang Baroroh says that using this way is not a big problem for them, but they still have a chance to choose a partner which is offered by their parents, close friend or other families.

An organization will give its priority for the members needs. For example in PKS, when *ikhwan* or *akhwat* holds a wedding party and their parents do not want to separate the places of male and female guest in their home, an *ikhwan* or *akhwat* disagree with the parent's opinion. They want to give *hijab* (curtain) between man and women guest. So, an *ikhwan* or *akhwat* has to explain to their parents clearly. They are not allowed to force their argument by ignoring their parent's suggestion. Halimi Zuhdi states that *murabbi/ah* is negotiator, as they have to try to convince the parent to use their rule.

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<sup>134</sup> Satria Hadi Lubis, *Op. Cit*, 123.

<sup>135</sup> Imam Subkhan, *cintaku di masjid Campus: Mazhab cinta Aktivis Harokah* (Yogyakarta: Cahaya Hikmah, 2004), 52.

As Sunu Wibrama's experience, a PKS's sympathizer from Jakarta, *murabbi/ah*'s authority really happen in choosing a marry partner. It is obligatory to get permission from *murabbi/ah*. They will marry anyone as long as their *murabbi/ah* does not give the permission for them to marry. It really happens in Sunu Wibrama's friend who will get married. He is very confused because his bride does not get permission from her *murabbi/yah*. Actually, her parents have agreed for them to marry. He has already waited for long time to know *murabbiyah*'s decision. It is very funny when *murabbiyah* try to ask not important things while, *murabbiyah* her self has not been married yet.<sup>136</sup>

From the case above, Satria Hadi has already written the rule for *akhwat* or *ikhwan* who wants to marry to other people who are not one community with the *ikhwan* or *akhwat*.<sup>137</sup>

- a. They are not allowed to meet face to face, chatting, or sending SMS each other. Moreover, they have affair with others. They are only allowed to know her/his identity partner and information from other people.
- b. Looking for her/his partner by their own choice is not easy. They are not allowed to use their own way to introduce her/his partner. But, they have to ask permission from her/his *murabbi/ah*.
- c. If *murabbi/ah* disagree with their choice, he/she has to think more about it. There are not allowed to ignore *murabbi/ah* is opinion. Marriage is not only for the *ikhwan* or *akhwat* is need but also for proselytization means to build Islamic society.

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<sup>136</sup> Sunu Wibirama, " *Nikah Lagi*", <http://www.tarbiahislamia.go.id> (Accessed on 27<sup>th</sup> Mei 2007).

<sup>137</sup>Satria Hadi Lubis, *Op. Cit*, 123-124.

- d. Although *murabbi/ah* agrees with *akhwat/ikhwan* choice, they have to follow the PKS's rule. They have to consult everything with *murabbi/ah*. As *murabbi/ah*, they have to give a suggestion to the cadre who will get married and help them as well as possible.

The rule tells to us that *murabbi/ah* has a high authority in the cadre's marriage. In this complex community the cadre does not only manage the party's activity but also intervening in member's personality problem. According to them, increasing the cadre quantity is one of the great missions in building Islam. Marriage is one way to establish stronger muslim society.

Even though, *ikhwan/ akhwat* has their own choice in determining partner, they have to get permission from *murabbi/ah*. That is one of the obligations for all of the members. According to Sayu Imang Baroroh that *murabbi/ah's* rule is very important to them especially for the cadre who has important position in that community.

### **3. *The supporting factors in establishing kafaah concept in PKS's cadre.***

From the explanation above, the researcher knows that the priority of same mission and stay in one community as criteria for the cadre. There are many internal reasons for *kafaah* practice:

- a) *Cadres' understanding about Islam concepts and marriage process in their own community.*

As informed by Suryanto, the head of UKS PKS and Haidar, the head of DPC PKS Lowokwaru the factors which can influence *kafaah* practice is PKS' understanding about Islamic value which never legitimate making affair with the

opposite sex. Deep comprehension about Islam will influence the loyalty and professionalism of the cadre in proselytization.

On the other hand, deep understanding about their own community is very important. Marriage is not only for their own life but also it is related to community needs also, marriage is expected to support reach the biggest mission in PKS party. Helping *murabbi/ah* in marriage is one of the ways to make stronger cadres and to get many supporters. But, the main orientation in PKS is not to be a winner in general election, but it wants to create an Islamic family, Islamic society and Islamic country. So, the senior and *murabbi/ah* always remain their junior to have a true purpose in marriage. The main aim is to build strong proselytization stronger and all the members get happiness in their life.

*b) Parents' understanding about the marriage rule in that community.*

This factor is very important in marriage process. Many of them cancel their marriage because they are not in line with their parents. There is different opinion about this way, they have to explain more to their parents. They need to communicate each other in marriage process. Marriage is something sacral. They do not need to have serious debate about that.

حدثنا قتيبة حدثنا عبد الله بن وهب عن سعيد بن عبد الله الجهني عن محمد بن عمر بن علي بن أبي طالب عن أبيه عن علي بن أبي طالب أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال له ثم يا علي ثلاث لا تؤخرها الصلاة إذا أتت والجنابة إذا عملا والأيم إذا وجدت لها كفؤا قال أبو عيسى هذا حديث غريب وما أرى إسناده بمتص (أبو عيسى الترمذي السلمي، جزء ٣: سنن الترمذي)

*“Hi Ali, there are three things that can not be delayed. Fisrt, praying if the time has come. Second, the treatment of the dead person, and the third, the marriage of widow if there is the partner”*

Parents who have already understood about how Islam manages the cooperation between man and woman in one place, will really support the marriage process which offered by their son without any comen.

*c) The cadres have to be ready in mentality and material*

This factor is also very important to determine marriage itself. *Murabbi/ah* has ask to the cadre who wants to get married seriously, whether they really want to get married or they are only influenced from their environment. Marriage needs so many consequences, it is not only gathering two different sexes but also they have so many responsiblity as the consequence. They should know how they solve the household problem. They have to be mentally ready to face the problem which will appear in to their life. A husband has to give a basic necessity for his wife is life; also a wife has a duty to serve her husband. Mental and material are the important things to build household.

Rasulullah SAW states that:

حدثنا عمر بن حفص بن غياث حدثنا أبي حدثنا الأعمش قال حدثني عمارة عن عبد الرحمن بن يزيد قال دخلت مع علقمة والأسود على عبد الله فقال عبد الله ثم كنا مع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم شبابا لا نجد شيئا فقال لنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يا معشر الشباب من استطاع الباءة فليتزوج فإنه أغض للبصر وأحصن للفرج ومن لم يستطع فعليه بالصوم فإنه له وجاء.

*“From Abdullah R.A, he said: every one among which have ready to keep a responsibility in household, get married please, because the marriage can keep eyes and sex from sin (something forbidden). If you has not ready to keep that, you should to do pasting. Because pasting can keep desire (nafsu birahi).”<sup>138</sup>*

This hadist gives an instruction to all of the Muslim to complete their religion by getting married if they have been materially and mentally ready.

*d) Cadre's comprehension about fiqih ad-dakwah*

There are many different communities in Indonesia which have different ideology. Although, there is no written rule which forbids to marry people from other community, this culture becomes their features. Sometimes, there is a harmonious and inharmonious link in each community. Inharmonious link happens in the different ways of or a couple does not understand each other. For example, in proselytizing *manhaj*, a man is forbidden to join political party, but the other communities allow a woman to come long with politic. The question is how they can understand or tolerate each other.

Basically, there is no significant rule in managing marriage to each community. But, they have to remember that the different ideology will not make their household complicated. It does not matter, when they can tolerate and understand each community, because there are many risks in marriage to other community.<sup>139</sup> When a sympathizer said that a harmonious family is not only can be built by the similarities of both of them, but also by the differences that can make the

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<sup>138</sup>Ma'mur Daud, *Terjemah Hadits Shahih Muslim Jilid III* (Jakarta: Widjaya, 1986), the number of hadits is 1319, p. 45.

<sup>139</sup>Cahyadi Takariawan, *Op.Cit*, (Izinkan Aku Meminangmu), 111.



beautiful harmony in family.<sup>140</sup> So, most of PKS cadre choose the partner from their community. They avoid facing the basic difference among them. A harmonious family will be established easily when they have few differences. It is easy to create an *usratu dakwah wa harakah* if they have a partner who has the same view. They want to build Islamic civilization based on proselytization and *tarbiyah* in one belief (*aqidah*), method (*manhaj*) and community (*jamaah*).

Those four factors have close connection with *kafaah* understanding in the frame of PKS cadre movements. They do not understand as simply as Muslim experts formulated in their books (*Fiqih books*). Thus, there is new special criterion that can support to build an ideal family. It means that the marriage should happen between cadres, sympathizers, or *hanif* (common people who wants to join *halaqah* and supports the party activities). Most cadres especially *akhwats*, expect this ideal marriage.

In the researcher's opinion, besides four factors above, there is an external factor that causes most of PKS cadres to formulate their *kafaah* criteria. The external factor is the *murabbi/murabbiah* authority in choosing cadres' partner. Therefore, the researcher explain the *murabbi/murabbiah* authority in the finding and analysis. Finally, there are two factors that influence *kafaah* practice in PKS cadres. They are external factor and internal factors. The *murabbi/ah* authority is the external factor, while the cadres' understanding about marriage in *jama'ah* procedures are the internal factors.

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<sup>140</sup>Halimi Zuhdi, *Interview* (Malang, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2007).

## **B. The Opinions of PKS Cadres about the Partner's Political View in Couple Selection as a Practice of *Kafaah*.**

The implementation of marriage method tend to vary in every region. Some have to make a special structure to handle it (*Tandzim Munakahat*), just like the content of the hand book of PKS cadre marriage in Malang region. Yet, some other areas which have lack of cadres do not need that regulation. Based on the analysis, there are some conditional considerations which may cause to compose of *Tandzim Munakahat* above. They are:

- 1) The number of trained cadres.
- 2) The number of cadre's marital problems
- 3) The cadre's level of understanding about the marriage.

Generally, the more cadres, the fewer cadre's marital problems happen and the more the cadres understand the process and the urgency of marriage. It is clearly stated here that the community will have less role in arranging the marital process. Principally, the community still supervise this process. At least in the involvement of *murabbi* during the cadre's marital process. Why must the community be involved? Again, it is to make sure that the marital process is held correctly based on the *syar'i* and whether it is included in strategic marital process or not. Since the strategic consideration can not be subjectively decided by the going to get married cadres. Sometimes the community have their own projection in their cadre's proselytizing career. Thus, when the cadre is going to get married, they must be an assurance that the marriage will give some advantages (*mashlahat*) in the cadre's proselytizing career.

The application of this rule does not have to be definitely strict. There are some possibilities for negotiation and discussion about the hope and the will of the cadre with the *murabbi*. If the cadre apparently takes the *murabbi*'s role in the process for granted, the marriage is still considered legal based on the *syar'i*, but he, as a cadre, has ignored his duty to the community. Especially, when there are some deviations in his behaviors which are inappropriate to do as a cadre, whether he likes it or not, the community will sentence him with social punishment such as being kept out of the community, isolated, ignored, and even disregarded as a brother/ member in the community.<sup>141</sup>

Actually, all the information described by the researcher above can only be understood by the cadres who have already realized the consequences of living as part of the community. It means that when they have already committed to fight together in a community, some of their rights and privacy will surely be eliminated. The level of forming of cadre in *tarbiyah* always consider the cadre's readiness to leave the commitment with the community. The higher the cadre's level, the bigger the demand from the community for that cadre. So, a cadre's high level/position does not mean he has high honour. When there is a cadre whose privacy does not want to be disturbed by the community, he had better reconsider the reasons why he joins the community.

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<sup>141</sup>Imam Subkhan, *Op.Cit*, 91.

Once there was a case where a cadre was punished by the community in Medan. She is Evi (an alias). There are some mistakes she did as the cadre of DPC PKS in Deli Serdang. *First*, she had a non-marriage relationship/dating with the same *tarbiyah* cadre from PKS Denai. *Second*, she went with *ikhwan* by motorcycle alone. *Third*, *ikhwan* often dated her at home with no parental supervision, during the meeting. Those 3 things are very unusual to happen among cadres. When the party offered them to get married, they did not do it and they still kept the non-marriage relationship. Thus, the party does not care about these cadres anymore. When they got married in 2004, the party made a decision not to attend the wedding and forbade the cadres of DPC PKS Deli Serdang to be the wedding committee.

Choirul Amri said that the phenomenon of marriage between cadres from the same “*manhaj dakwah*” shows a *tarbiyah* process which internalizes the identity of cadres. How far one’s interaction with the community where he belongs, (including in community) will demand the loyalty and the proof of his commitment as the cadre of the community. It is just like when we attend a college as a student, we commit ourselves to study in that college. We voluntarily leave our comfortable sandals at home and wear our shoes, instead, which may feel a little tight in the beginning but we feel more comfortable with them in the end. Apparently, “marriage” is taken as one of the parameters to measure a cadre’s commitment. Based on the frame of *tarbiyah* cadre, marriage is designed as a tool to create “*mujahid*” and “*mujahidah*” to reduce the burden of family, society, and community in doing/ performing ‘*haroki*’ family ( active in proselytization and *tarbiyah*).

This marital phenomenon is also described in religious guide book of *Syari’ah Council* of PKS. Basically, everybody has the right to choose the person who is proper enough to get marry based on the Islamic law. There is no regulation that one must marry an unknown person or marry a person from the same party/community. Our prophet “Rasulullah” had suggested us to seek for a *shalih/sholihah* person for us to marry. However, for a *da’i* or campus activists who concentrate on the Islamic fight, the principle to prioritize the benefit for Islam in taking every decision and step deserves more attention. When marrying the same proselytization activist has more actual benefits, it is considered good and proposed

by regarding *istisyyarah* process (asking for the view and consideration) from a competent person.<sup>142</sup>

Besides, from a few opinions described in the data explanation chapter, the phenomenon of marriage between the same *manhaj dakwah* has the positive and the negative impact. According to core and supporting cadres' opinion, the positive impact from this marriage that it shows their loyalty to *jama'ah* and ease to increase the number of cadres. The sympathizers also see the positive impact from this practice, such as Halimi Zuhdi says that the process done by PKS can absolutely avoid the dating custom (*pacaran*). When dating becomes a normal trend between male and female, PKS cadres show up with totally different relationship pattern, which is free of doing something as two people together or doing something against the *syar'i*, such as holding hands or going out as a couple. For the proselytization activists, loving and dating like the other teenagers will disgrace their proselytization fight. Actually, it is not to be that far, remembering one's name, imagining one's face before sleeping or writing down their meeting in a diary is considered as *zina*.<sup>143</sup> Here, *zina* does not mean in the real meaning (coitus= *persetubuhan*). But *zina* is meant in a larger interpretation. It is heart *zina* (*zina hati*).<sup>144</sup>

That is why, they develop a custom which is designed to know the couple by minimizing the actions which can lead the couple to do *zina* by setting introduction (*ta'arruf*) so that the process of choosing the couple is not like buying a cat in the

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<sup>142</sup>Dewan Syari'ah Pusat (DSP) PK Sejahtera, *Fatwa-Fatwa Dewan Syari'ah Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (Bandung: harakatuna publishing, 2006), 83.

<sup>143</sup>Any sexual act out side of marriage.

<sup>144</sup>Imam Subkhan, *Op.Cit*, 21. Based on our Prophet saying from Abu Hurairah, he said: "Written as the destiny of Adam children from adultery he is indeed its experience. Both of his adultery eyes see, both of adultery ears hears his adultery tongue speaks, his adultery hands hold, his adultery feet walk, and the heart which is desire and hope, all of them are corrected by the sadness or it was failed."

sack. However, both couples must know and be familiar with each characteristic. Imam Subkhan explains the substantive difference between introduction (*ta'arruf*) and dating as the tool to know each couple well.<sup>145</sup> They are:

- 1) Physical contact and meeting. *Ta'arruf* avoids the couple's meeting together without being accompanied by the third person. To keep the *ta'arruf* process run under control, *akhwat* often ask her representative to meet the *ikhwan*. If it a meeting is necessary, they usually do it behind *hijab* or behind wall of a mosque. It is totally different with the current dating trend.
- 2) Intention and purpose. *Ta'arruf* is trully intended to know the couple before getting married. There is a strong need to feel the suitability during the process. It will be continued with the next stage. The introduction time is not so long that the dating time can take several years. It can last only in a day, a week or a few weeks. It will never last more than 3 months.
- 3) The base of honesty and openness. During the *ta'arruf* process, each couple must have the principle to be honest and open minded. They explain all their hope and wish about marriage. They also have to mention their personal habits so that they can understand each other later. It is different with dating where each person usually hides the bad characters.

Later, it is interesting to analyze the negative sides of the marriage from the same community. It limits the *ta'arruf* process. It also narrows the room to recruit new cadres through community institution. Although this kind of marriage will accelerate the proselytization process, there is still a possibility that the growth of the

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<sup>145</sup>*Ibid*, 24- 27.

cadre's number can not be increased through marital institution. However, we remember the history of Wali Songo when they spread Islamic doctrine in Java, most of them used family institution to accelerate the proselytization process. They married kings' daughters so that the surrounding people or the king's families were interested in Islam and they decide to join Islam because of the daughters.

Marriage between the cadres will also cause the constriction of *sakinah* interpretation. *Sakinah* marriage can not only be built from the similarities of the husband and wife but also from the differences accepted by a couple to grow their love and affection.

In her book, Izzatul Jannah said that marriage is a strong commitment with differences as the basic, for example, difference in characteristics, family background and priorities. Marriage is wonderful thing because Allah blesses a marriage with His *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah* by collecting so many differences. When everything is already the same (similar), there is no need to create something different. By differences, husband and wife can fill, give and accept each other. They can also make some changes and grow together as a couple. Thus, the couple felt that their partner has filled their soul.<sup>146</sup>

Lastly, in spite of the opinion differences, *sakinah* does not come directly due to several requirements. The heart have to be fulfilled by the patience and faithfulness because God give the *sakinah* in people heart. *Sakinah* will be reached if the couple has passed some phases. The phases will be changed by the time in a family. However, the couple find many similarities between them, they are different people and come from the different family. Thus, when they find some differences,

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<sup>146</sup>Bonsi97, "Berbeda, Namun Serasi", <http://www.archive.com> (Accessed on 24<sup>th</sup> Juni 2007).

they have remain and take care of *sakinah* by trying to comprehend each other and keep their hearts from negative attitudes.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>Quraish Shihab, *Pengantin Al-Qur'an: Kalung Pertama Buat Anak-Anakku* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2007), 82.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

#### A. Conclusion

Based on the research finding about the practice of *kafaah* in the view of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) cadres (*case study in DPC PKS Lowokwaru*), the researcher draws the conclusions. They are:

1. The PKS cadres formulate *kafaah* criteria by including the same view of political party as important consideration before getting married. It is not as simply as Muslim experts formulated in Islamic guidance books (*Kitab-Kitab Fiqih*) that *kafaah* criteria are determined from religion, lineage, job, freedom, and wealth. But not all of cadres do this *kafaah* practice when they got married or will get married. Some of them follow the *jama'ah* regulation well but some of them disagree with this practice. Most of the contra group

with this practice are from the sympathizers. They refuse that the same view of political party becomes one of *kafaah* criteria. The second group (core cadres) are the group who pay attention more about *kafaah* in the same view of political party (community) existence. It means it is necessary to considerate before the cadres get married with other people outside the party. There are two factors that influence *kafaah* practice in PKS cadres. They are external and internal factors. The external factors is the *murabbi/murabbiah* authority in choosing cadres' partner. The internal factors are, (a) cadres' understanding about married rule in Islam and in that community. (b) parents' understanding is about the married rule in that communities. (c) the cadres have to be ready mentality and material. (d) cadres' understanding about *fiqih ad-dakwah*, because every community has their own guide. It is one important because every community have different proselytization methods and its application.

2. The PKS cadres see *kafaah* practice in two opinions, positive and negative. The positive opinion is come from core and some of supporting cadres. They see that the *kafaah* practice shows cadres' loyalty to *jama'ah* and ease to increase the number of cadres. Then, the sympathizers see that the *kafaah* practice has positive and negative impacts too, but they pay attention more the negative influence. The *positive impact* is the type of couple selection which is regulated by PKS as the preventive effort to avoid the dating (*pacaran*) custom. Beside that, for the party (*jama'ah*) this marriage will accelerate the proselytization process by family institution. On the contrary, the *negative impact* of couple selecting process based on one community

consideration will impress *jama'ah* inclusivity to other people. It also has limited *sakinah* interpretation as the marriage purpose.

## **B. Suggestion**

1. *Kafaah* in one party (*jama'ah*) should not be a main criterion in partner selection. Because basically our Islamic law experts have different opinions in formulating the *kafaah* criteria. So, it is wise for cadre not to reject directly someone who wants to marry them because they are not from the same community. Moreover it is caused by difference of *tarbiyah* level.
2. A commitment to the following party should not make the cadres limit themselves to interact with others. They should not be strict people and try to look at the world more wisely and objectively.
3. It is better if *jama'ah* clarifies again the regulation about procedures of cadre marriage from choosing couple until the time of wedding party (*walimah*). It will avoid the policy differences in some areas. The differences will result in unfavourable influence to PKS existence in the future.

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## INTERVIEW GUIDE

### Kader Inti dan Pendukung

1. Identitas: nama, umur, status, pekerjaan, amanah di PKS
2. Bagaimana pendapat bapak tentang *kafaah* dalam proses pemilihan pasangan?
3. Bagaimana kriteria bapak dalam memilih dan menentukan calon suami/ istri?
4. Bagaimana proses pemilihan itu dilakukan?  
Dicarikan, cari sendiri, atau menyerahkan kepada *murabbi/ah*?
5. Apa yang menjadi alasan bapak/ibu memilih proses demikian?
6. Apakah proses yang melibatkan peran *murabbi/ah* merupakan suatu keharusan sebagai seorang kader? (**jika jawabannya dicarikan *murabbi/ah***)
7. Apakah ada perlakuan tertentu dari para fungsionaris partai ketika ada kader yang menikah dengan berproses sendiri?
8. Bagaimana batasan-batasan partai sendiri dalam mengatur pernikahan kader?
9. Bagaimana pendapat bapak sendiri mengenai fenomena pernikahan-pernikahan kader yang cenderung mencari pasangan sesama kader/ satu jama'ah dalam PKS?

### **Posisi sebagai seorang *murabbi/ah***

10. Apakah mad'u yang bapak/ibu bina harus melalui proses yang biasanya berlaku atau sekedar konsultasi dengan bapak/ibu sebagai *murabbi/ah*? Apakah ada sebuah kebijakan atau konsekuensi tertentu dari bapak/ibu sendiri sebagai *murabbi/ah* ketika mad'u menikah tidak dengan jalur seperti itu? (**otoritas sebagai *murabbi/ah* sang mad'u**)
11. Bagaimana kriteria yang bapak/ibu carikan dalam menentukan calon untuk mad'u yang memberikan proposal kepada bapak/ibu?
12. Apakah proses ini berjalan dengan mulus? Apa yang menjadi faktor pendukung dan penghambatnya.
13. Bagaimana jika sang mad'u merasa tidak sesuai/ cocok dengan calon yang bapak/ibu tawarkan? Bagaimana alternatif jalan lain yang ditempuh?

### Simpatian

1. Identitas: nama, umur, status, pekerjaan, amanah di PKS
2. Sebab tertarik dengan PKS
3. Apa yang bapak/ibu ketahui tentang kriteria kader PKS dalam memilih calon pasangan.
4. Bagaimana tanggapan bapak/ibu tentang fenomena pernikahan sesama kader tersebut.
5. Apa saja faktor yang melatarbelakangi praktek demikian.
6. Bagaimana criteria bapak/ibu sendiri dalam memilih calon pendamping hidup?

## 1. Data Emik tentang faktor yang mempengaruhi praktek *kafa'ah* di kalangan kader Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS).

❖ *Kafa'ah* dalam berbagai kriteria kader PKS. (termaktub dalam *guide of interview no 4*)

### KADER INTL.

#### **Choirul Amri:**

*“Saya memilih istri yang pasti berdasarkan taqwanya. Selain itu dia satu jama'ah dengan saya. Karena menurut saya semakin banyak kesamaan semakin gampang mengarahkan tujuan rumah tangga. Sebaiknya juga menikah dengan satu madzhab, sebagaimana para ulama menyarankan untuk mencari pasangan yang tidak terlalu banyak perbedaan dari segi ajaran atau madzhabnya”.*

#### **Khairil Amanah:**

*“Kriteria ana dalam memilih calon suami yang pasti din-nya (penj: agama) baik, satu jama'ah itu harus, punya pekerjaan tetap, dan minimal pendidikannya SI”.*

#### **Fajar Nazri:**

*“Idealnya, saya akan mencari akhwat yang jelas separtai. Karena biasanya mereka sudah tertarbiyah. Kemudian dia bisa mendukung cita-cita pribadi saya sebagai seorang dokter, dan nantinya pernikahan kita akan sesuai dengan targetan dakwah dan tujuan pembinaan Islam.”*

### KADER PENDUKUNG

#### **Asih Wahyuningtyas:**

*“Idealnya sih sefikroh. Tapi misalkan fikrohnya belum sejalan, tapi dia bisa menerima fikroh saya, hal itu gak masalah buat saya. Bagi saya gak harus selalu ikhwan, tapi itu memang jadi prioritas”*

#### **Dian Nora Habibah:**

*“Ana sih yang penting dia gak menghalangi ana berdakwah di PKS. Meski dia bukan kader aktif, yang penting mau menerima PKS”.*

#### **Subriyatn Nikmah :**

*“predikat ikhwan sangat ana prioritaskan dalam pemilihan jodoh, karena bagaimanapun dalam membangun sebuah keluarga diperlukan banyak kesamaan, termasuk dalam hal kesamaan fikroh (terj dari peneliti: pemikiran). Ana menginginkan kelak pendamping hidup ana adalah seorang yang lebih dari ana, baik dari kafaah diniyah, tarbiyah, dan keilmuannya.”*



**Wiwin Nahfiyah :**

*“Yang jelas ana mencari yang sama-sama aktif dalam jama’ah. Karena tujuan ane menikah adalah mendapat keridhoan Allah dengan membangun membina keluarga tarbiyyah dan harokah, melanjutkan risalah dakwah perjuangan dalam bingkai Jamaah. Tidak mudah untuk menciptakan usrahtu dakwah wa harokah (keluarga dakwah yang harokah) yang mumpuni dan meringankan beban dakwah jika pasangan kita bukan orang yang faham dan aktif dalam dakwah”.*

**Sayu Imang Baroroh :**

*“pertama, pemahaman agamanya serta akhlaknya bagus. Kedua, sudah punya pekerjaan (yang penting halal). Ketiga, orangnya cerdas. Keempat, dia bisa satu suhu dalam hal pergerakan dakwah dengan saya.”*

**SIMPATISAN****Lu'ai Ahmad:**

*“Pada prinsipnya saya mengikuti sunnah Nabi dalam memilih istri. Yang pertama diennya, kemudian cantik. Dan Alhamdulillah saya mendapatkan istri yang cantik. Masalah ia kader atau tidak, tidak terlalu menjadi pertimbangan, yang penting sholihah.”*

**Halimi Zuhdi S.Hum :**

*“Kriteria pertama saya dalam memilih pasangan, ia adalah orang yang berpendidikan. Baik secara agama maupun keilmuan. Saya memegang prinsip al-ummu madrasatul ula bagi anak-anaknya. Jadi kalau menginginkan anak yang cerdas, carilah istri yang cerdas juga. Kriteria kedua sulukiyahnya bagus, baik dari mu’amalah, ibadah, maupun performancenya yang santun”*

**Ahmad Al-Kayyis :**

*“Yang paling penting adalah keshalihan agamanya dan dapat diajak berjuang bersama.”*

**Nurwijayanti:**

*“Kriteria saya dalam memilih calon pasangan gak harus sefikroh. Tapi dia bisa diajak untuk sefikroh. Artinya sama-sama punya semangat untuk berdakwah. Kemudian kafa’ah diniyahnya, latar belakanh pendidikan, dan keluarganya”.*

**Trio Supriyatno M.Ag :**

*“Tentunya sesuai dengan tuntunan Nabi. Jadi saya memilih karena agamanya, kemudian dapat mendidik anak-anak, dan bisa saling melengkapi ”*

- ❖ **Pandangan kader tentang otoritas murabbi/murabbiah dalam memilihkan pasangan kader binaannya (termaktub dalam guide of interview no 7)**

### **KADER INTI**

#### **Choirul Amri dan Ibu Asih :**

*“Murabbi memiliki peran penting dalam hal ini. Karena beliau sebagai pembina. Sifatnya wakil orang tua ketika belajar Islam. Ada yang perlu diluruskan disini bahwa murabbi bukanlah satu-satunya orang yang menentukan calon pasangan bagi si kader. Beliau hanya menyampaikan ke UKS. Nah..UKS itulah yang akan memilihkan pasangan untuk si kader melalui jalur syuro. Dan keputusan ini menjadi keputusan jama’ah, bukan per person. Artinya keputusan murabbi saja, atau UKS saja...Insya Allah tidak demikian. Selanjutnya kenapa melalui murabbi? Saya kira, Murabbilah yang paling tahu tentang kita setelah orang tua kita sendiri. Sehingga, bagi kader yang sudah faham dan terlibat aktif, bahkan memiliki kedudukan yang sudah strategis dalam dakwah, maka ia harus mau kalau pernikahannya pun ditatar. Mengikuti peraturan yang sudah ada seperti melalui murabbi. Dan terasa aneh kalau kader yang sudah faham tersebut ternyata menikah dengan orang di luar kader. Sedangkan bagi kader pemula atau simpatisan tidak ada aturan demikian. Jama’ah tidak menekan, tapi hanya sekedar memberi saran dan memahami kader kalau perjodohan ini merupakan bagian dari penataan dakwah, bukan tendensi-tendensi yang lain.”*

#### **Khairil Amanah :**

*“Menikah melauai murabbi adalah sebuah keharusan bagi kader yang sudah faham. Tapi ketika memang ada kader yang menikah di luar jalur, ya gak masalah, karena jalan perjodohan masing-masing orang berbeda-beda. Apalagi bila ia masih termasuk kader pemula atau simpatisan.”*

#### **Fajar Nazri :**

*“Peran murabbbi dalam menentukan pasangan hidup kader bukanlah menjadi sebuah keharusan. Namun, hal itu menunjukkan ketsiqohan dan loyalitas kader terhadap jama’ah. Tapi ada juga pada beberapa level / marhalah kader yang harus mengikuti aturan yang berlaku di partai.”*

#### **Maya Novita:**

*“Keharusan itu tidak. Tetapi seorang MR biasanya sangat menginginkan mutarabbinya bisa menikah dengan orang yang punya satu fikroh. Dan ciri-ciri murabbi yang baik, dia bercita-cita mengantarkan mutarabbinya bertemu dengan laki-laki yang menurut dia sudah baik keiltizamannya dengan agama. Ini sesuatu yang penting dalam proses terbiyah.”*

## **KADER PENDUKUNG**

### **Asih Wahyuningtyas:**

*“Bagi saya peran murabbi tidak menjadi keharusan. Posisi MR hanya sebagai perantara kita saja, dan bagian awal dari proses ikhtiar dalam mencari jodoh. Tapi memang kalau melalui MR itu proses menuju pernikahan akan lebih terjaga, dan biasanya mesti dapat yang sefikroh. Makanya saya sendiri pengennya dicarikan murabbiah. Tapi, kalo misalkan alternatif itu gak bisa, saya cari sendiri.”*

### **Dian Nora Habibah:**

*“Bagi saya peran murabbi tidak menjadi keharusan. Karena belum tentu kita mendapatkan kecocokan dengan ikhwan yang dari MR. Sehingga menurut saya cari sendiri dengan tetap sesuai syari’at gak masalah.”*

### **Wiwin Nahfiyah :**

*“Murabbi bukanlah penentu mutlak. Namun, menyerahkan urusan pemilihan pasangan kepada murabbi menunjukkan ketsiqohan kita kepada beliau, dan kepada aturan yang berlaku dalam jama’ah ini. Lagi pula menurut saya murabbi adalah orang yang paling tahu tentang kepribadian pasangan kita, karena setiap kader ditarbiyah oleh para murabbi tersebut.”*

### **Sayu Imang Baroroh :**

*“murabbiah itu kan pembimbing kita saat kita merantau. Beliau pada saat yang sama adalah guru, syaikh, sahabat, bahkan “orang tua” kedua kita saat kita butuh. Jadi wajar saja seandainya beliau membimbing proses kita agar berjalan bersih. Tujuannya baik. Bahkan murabbiah perannya penting sekali bagi kader yang sudah faham dan punya posisi penting dalam lingkara jama’ah ini. Meski tidak harus dicarikan oleh beliau, yang penting pada akhirnya beliau yang akan mengawal pernikahan kita. Namun bagi saya yang menjadi catatan disini adalah jangan sampai karena kita menunggu tawaran dari MR, maka kita tidak menerima tawaran dari ortu, teman, dan sahabat kita. Karena bisa jadi yang ditawarkan itu adalah orang yang sholih juga.”*

## **SIMPATISAN**

### **Ahmad Al-Kayyis:**

*“Bagi saya tidak harus selalu melalui murabbi. Asalkan dia baik dan hanif agamanya, kenapa tidak?”*

### **Halimi Zuhdi:**

*“dalam pandangan saya murabbi memiliki pengaruh 70 % dalam penentuan pasangan kader binaannya yang sudah faham jama’ah. Karena biasanya kader tersebut akan berkonsultasi dengan murabbi/*

*murabbiyahnya ketika ia akan menikah. Terkadang posisi murabbiyah melebihi orang tua. Sehingga ada beberapa kader yang saya lihat lebih mempertimbangkan pendapat murabbinya dari pada orang tuanya sendiri. Selain itu, kalau saya boleh berpendapat, kader yang menikah tanpa restu murabbi/murabbiyahnya sepertinya dianggap tidak barokah. Dan terakhir murabbi memiliki otoritas sebagai negosiator juga antara kader dan orang tuanya. Sehingga bagaimana keinginan kader dan jama'ah dalam proses pernikahan itu dapat terlaksana”.*

**Nurwijayanti:**

*“Bagi saya tidak harus selalu dicarikan murabbi. Murabbi bukanlah segala-galanya. Namun, dalam tatanan jama'ah, beliau memang memiliki hak untuk itu. Dan itu kembali kepada kader sendiri mau atau tidak. Makanya saya sendiri kalau dicarikan murabbi, saya akan pilih-pilih lagi. Artinya tidak langsung menyetujuinya.”*

**Trio Supriyatno M.Ag :**

*“Tentunya tidak harus selalu. Bagi saya masing-masing punya pilihan jalan sendiri-sendiri. Tapi memang keterlibatan murabbi itu baik, agar proses menuju pernikahan itu terjaga. Kader dalam hal ini bukan didoktrin, tetapi ditawarkan apa mau dicarikan murabbi atau tidak. Dalam bahasa jama'ah proses ini dinamakan upaya takwinul ummah melalui proses ta'arruf, tafahum, talaful, sampai dengan atsar.”*

**❖ Faktor-faktor pendukung pelaksanaan konsep kafa'ah. (termaktub dalam guide of interview no 14)**

**Choirul Amri:**

*“Faktor terpenting sebenarnya pemahaman kader terhadap jama'ah itu sendiri. Pemahaman bahwa nikah bukan hanya pemenuhan kepentingan individu kader, tapi juga merupakan kepentingan jama'ah.”*

**Suryanto:**

*“Selama ini dari proses yang kita tangani, ada beberapa hal yang menjadi faktor pendukung:”*

- 1. Kader memahami betul proses pernikahan dalam jama'ah. Ini akan mempercepat proses dia sendiri.*
- 2. Faktor orang tua yang juga sudah faham. Sehingga tidak diperlukan waktu lama untuk melakukan proses pemahaman ke orang tua masing-masing.*
- 3. Kesiapan kader secara materi dan mental.*

**Haidar Danial:**

*“Ada beberapa faktor yang mendukung proses pernikahan jalur murabbi:”*

- 1. Pemahaman kader terhadap Islam itu sendiri. Artinya tidak ada pacaran dalam Islam. Yang ada proses ta'rruf untuk mengenal calon pasangan kita.*

2. Pemahaman kader terhadap *fiqh ad-dakwah*. Hal ini penting karena jama'ah yang satu berbeda *fiqh ad-dakwah/ manhaj dakwahnya* dengan yang lain.
3. Pemahaman kader bahwa nikah sebagai penataan dakwah untuk mencapai misi yang lebih besar.

**Maya Novita:**

*“saya kira pendukungnya itu faktor ketsiqohan yang bulat kader terhadap jama'ah.”*

**Halimi Zuhdi (simpatisan) :**

*“faktor-faktornya antara lain:”*

1. *Faktor ideologi*
2. *Pemahaman mereka terhadap teks keagamaan, menafsirkan maksud syar'i dalam satu frame penafsiran.*
3. *Pemahaman bahwa menikah sesama kader akan meningkatkan mobilisasi dakwah.*
4. *Lebih leluasa untuk bergerak, karena sedikitnya perbedaan antara keduanya. Namun, bagi saya pribadi harmonisasi keluarga tidak hanya dapat terbentuk karena banyaknya persamaan. Justru ketidaksetaraan akan menciptakan harmonisasi yang indah.*

**2. Data Emik tentang Pandangan kader Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) terkait kesamaan pemikiran partai politik dalam pemilihan pasangan sebagai salah satu bentuk praktek kafa'ah.**

➤ **Mekanisme pemilihan pasangan dalam konsep/ aturan PKS**

**Suryanto:**

*“ketika seorang kader sudah siap menikah maka ada 3 cara yang bisa ditempuh untuk sampai pada tujuannya. Pertama, kader mengutarakan secara langsung kesiapannya untuk menikah kepada murabbinya. Kedua, kader tersebut meminta bantuan teman sesama kader untuk menyampaikan niatnya kepada sang akhwat. Ketiga, kader menyampaikan langsung maksud hatinya kepada akhwat dan meminta langsung kepada kedua orangtuanya. Tapi sebaiknya kader memilih jalan yang pertama, berkonsultasi dulu dengan murabbi. Jika disepakati bahwa kader tersebut layak menikah, murabbi akan menanyakan kesediaannya untuk menyerahkan urusan pernikahan ini kepada jama'ah. Bila dia setuju, kader akan diberi form biodata dan beberapa informasi penting lainnya. Ini yang biasa disebut dengan proposal nikah. Setelah didiisi, maka proposal ini akan disyura'kan di dewan Unit Keluarga Sakinah (UKS) untuk dicarikan akhwat yang paling mendekati dengan kriteria ikhwan. Setelah dapat, data akhwat akan diberikan kepada ikhwan untuk dipelajari dan diistikharahi. Apabila ia setuju dan berniat lanjut, maka UKS akan memberikan data ikhwan tadi kepada akhwat*

yang telah disetujuinya melalui perantara murabbiah akhwat tersebut. Kemudian si akhwat pun diminta mempelajari dan mengistikharahnya juga. Bila akhwat juga setuju, maka proses berlanjut kepada tahap ta'arruf yang pastinya didampingi murabbi masing-masing. Ada dua model ta'arruf, yang pertama pake hijab, dan tidak memakai hijab tetapi tetap ada jarak. Setelah ta'arruf dan dua-duanya oke, tinggal khitbah. Ada dua cara juga yang ditempuh sebelum khitbah dan menentukan tanggal. Cara pertama, ikhwan bersama murabbi datang ke rumah orang tua akhwat. Ini dilakukan sebagai silaturrahim awal untuk mengenal keluarganya lebih jauh. Jika masih menginginkan lanjut, ikhwan bersama orang tuanya ke rumah akhwat untuk khitbah. Selanjutnya urusan diserahkan kepada kedua keluarga masing-masing. Jama'ah tidak ikut campur, hanya memantau saja perkembangan persiapan pernikahan keduanya agar tetap berjalan sesuai syari'at. Diharapkan antara ta'arruf - khitbah - dan nikah tidak lebih dari tiga (3) bulan, agar tidak muncul fitnah."

- **Pandangan kader PKS tentang fenomena pernikahan sesama kader/ dalam satu manhaj dakwah.**

**Choirul Amri :**

"Saya kira suatu hal yang perlu dan bagus. Karena kita melihat itu bukan suatu yang mengada-ada dan sebuah hal yang berujung kemashlahatan. Ya...sekali saya berdasar perkataan para ulama yang menganjurkan sebaiknya menikah dengan 1 madzhab. Selain itu menurut saya ini menunjukkan sebuah proses tarbiyah yang menginternalisasi. Sebahagian mereka mengambil pilihan ini karena memang belajar dari kasus-kasus pernikahan yang pasangannya bukan dari orang tarbiyah. Sebagian mereka ada yang tidak diperbolehkan ngaji (halaqoh). Bahkan ada yang lebih parah lagi si akhwat tidak diizinkan memakai jilbab. Kebanyakan para akhwat tersebut tidak mampu berbuat apa-apa, karena biasanya sifat akhwat lebih menurut kepada suaminya"

**Sayu Imang Baroroh :**

"hal itu baik. Karena seperti kriteria saya diatas saya ingin suami saya itu satu suhu dalam pergerakan dakwah. Boleh kader simpatisan, pemula, atau kader inti. Lebih bagus lagi seandainya level kadernya sebanding atau diatas kita. Sehingga untuk mendapatkan kesesuaian itu, perlu menikah dengan orang yang satu manhaj cara berdakwahnya. Bagaimana bisa satu suhu jika manhaj dakwahnya saja sudah berbeda? Yang satu pro partai, dan yang satu lagi anti terhadap partai... Namun, sekali lagi yang menjadi catatan, mainstrem PKS itu moderat (wasathiyah) dalam berbagai aspek. Termasuk dalam hal mencari jodoh ini. Jangan sampai terjadi akhwat tolak sana-sini karena menunggu rekomendasi MR, apalagi sampai berumur diatas 25. Lihatlah dulu siapa dia?? Bisakah dia menikah di jalan dakwah dengan kita???? "

**Asih Wahyuning Tyas :**

*“Ana kira ada segi positif dan negatifnya.*

*Positifnya, pernikahan sesama kader ini sebagai proses akselerasi dakwah. Kalau gak sefikroh tentunya kedua pasangan harus adaptasi terlebih dahulu dengan kebiasaan masing-masing. Membangun visi keluarga bersama terlebih dahulu. Plus memahamkan keluarga kedua belah pihak. Negatifnya, semakin menutup peluang rekrutmen kader dalam tarbiyah melalui institusi dakwah. Karena ketika ada orang yang tertarik dengan salah satu kader tarbiyah baik ikhwan atau akhwat, tapi lebih sering akhwat, maka dia akan segera mengundurkan diri, karena mengetahui biasanya para kader tersebut akan mencari calon yang statusnya sama-sama sebagai kader juga.”*

**Halimi Zuhdi:**

*“Sesuatu itu ada positif dan negatifnya. Positifnya proses yang dilakukan PKS benar-benar menghindarkan pacaran. Penyamaan visi misi dilakukan saat ta'arruf. Dan tidak ada ikhtilat atau berdua-duaan antara ikhwan dan akhwat. Saya tidak begitu faham apakah kafa'ah (menikah dengan sesama kader sendiri) merupakan keharusan atau priorotas. Namun jika itu keharusan, saya tidak sependapat. Selain ulama juga ikhtilaf dalam merumuskan kriteria kafa'ah itu sendiri, terlebih ini hanya persoalan beda pergerakan. Pergerakan saya kira cuma baju yang kapan saja boleh gonta-ganti. Tidak harus selalu pakai baju itu. Jadi calon kita tidak harus dengan baju yang sama. Kafa'ah sesungguhnya adalah addin ash-sholih, laisa al-hizb. Fenomena ini menurut saya menghambat proses lita'araafu, dan menimbulkan penyempitan interpretasi sakinah dalam frame kader PKS. Sakinah difahami hanya mengalir, adem ayem, tanpa ada riak gelombang. Sekali lagi bagi saya sakinah itu berarti adanya penyamaan-penyamaan dan proses harmonisasi dari bersatunya perbedaan-perbedaan dalam rumah tangga.”*

**Trio Supriyatno M.Ag :**

*“menurut saya sah-sah saja. Pertama, agama memang menganjurkan menikah dengan orang yang sepadan, baik agamanya maupun dalam pemikiran dakwahnya. Kedua, pernikahan mereka sepanjang yang saya tahu masih sesuai dengan syar'i, dengan mempertimbangkan seseorang dari kepribadiannya atau agamanya. Dan dalam PKS, itulah yang dianjurkan. Husnudzon saya, kader PKS insya Allah sudah tatarbiyah, jadi insya Allah mereka sholih dan sholihah. Ketiga, biasanya pernikahan mereka ini banyak melibatkan peran murabbi/murabbiyahnya. Dan itu wajar, karena murabbiyah yang paling tahu kepribadian mutarabbinya, baik agamanya, khuluknya, sampai sifat-sifatnya. Karena memang intensitas pertemuan yang cukup sering satu minggu sekali. Dan itu sudah sangat cukup untuk memahami karakter masing-masing mutarabbinya, selagi komunikasi juga berjalan baik.”*

### Profile of the Informants

No	Nama	Umur	Status Kader	Profile
1.	Choirul Amri	40 tahun	Kader Inti DPD	Ketua DPD PKS Kota Malang
2.	Haidar Danial Zaki	35 tahun	Kader Inti DPC	Ketua DPC PKS Lowokwaru
3.	Suryanto	36 tahun	Kader Inti DPD	Co.UKS Dept. Kaderisasi DPD Kota Malang
4.	Maya Novita	34 tahun	Kader Inti DPD	Anggota DSD PKS Kota Malang, Dosen UMM.
5.	Khairil Amanah	25 tahun	Kader Inti DPC	Dev. Pengembangan Wilayah Kaderisasi DPC.
6.	Ibu Asih	33 tahun	Kader Inti DPC	Dept. Kaderisasi DPC Lowokwaru
7.	Fajar Nazri	24 tahun	Kader DPC	Aktivis Dakwah Brawijaya
8.	Asih Wahyuning T	24 tahun	Kader Muda	Fak. Psikologi (IX) UIN Malang
9.	Dian Nur'aini Habibah	24 tahun	Kader Muda	Fak. Biologi (VII) UIN Malang
10.	Subriyatin Nikmah	22 tahun	Kader Muda	F. Tarbiyah (VIII) UIN
11.	Wiwin Nahfiah A	23 tahun	Kader Muda	F. Biologi (IX) UIN
12.	Sayu Imang Baroroh	21 tahun	Kader Muda	F. Syari'ah (VIII) UIN
13.	Luai Ahmad	43 tahun	Simpatisan	Wiraswasta
14.	Ahmad Al-Kayyis	26 tahun	Simpatisan	Dosen PKPBA UIN Malang
15.	Halimi Zuhdi	26 tahun	Simpatisan	Dosen PKPBA UIN Malang
16.	Trio Supriyatno	37 tahun	Simpatisan	Dosen Fak. Tarbiyah UIN Malang.
17.	Nurwijayanti	23 tahun	Simpatisan	Fak. Bahasa Arab (lulus), Murabbiah MSAA UIN.



## **PROFILE OF PROSPERITY and JUSTICE PARTY (PKS)**

### **a) VISI**

#### ➤ Visi Umum:

"Sebagai partai da'wah penegak keadilan dan kesejahteraan dalam bingkai persatuan ummat dan bangsa."

#### ➤ Visi Khusus:

Partai berpengaruh baik secara kekuatan politik, partisipasi, maupun opini dalam mewujudkan masyarakat Indonesia yang madani.

Visi ini akan mengarahkan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera sebagai :

- Partai da'wah yang memperjuangkan Islam sebagai solusi dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara.
- Kekuatan transformatif dari nilai dan ajaran Islam di dalam proses pembangunan kembali umat dan bangsa di berbagai bidang.
- Kekuatan yang mempelopori dan menggalang kerjasama dengan berbagai kekuatan yang secita-cita dalam menegakkan nilai dan sistem Islam yang rahmatan lil 'alamin.
- Akselerator bagi perwujudan masyarakat madani di Indonesia.

### **b) MISI**

- Menyebarkan da'wah Islam dan mencetak kader-kadernya sebagai 'anashir taghyir.
- Mengembangkan institusi-institusi kemasyarakatan yang Islami di berbagai bidang sebagai markaz taghyir dan pusat solusi.
- Membangun opini umum yang Islami dan iklim yang mendukung bagi penerapan ajaran Islam yang solutif dan membawa rahmat.
- Membangun kesadaran politik masyarakat, melakukan pembelaan, pelayanan dan pemberdayaan hak-hak kewarganegaraannya.
- Menegakkan amar ma'ruf nahi munkar terhadap kekuasaan secara konsisten dan kontinyu dalam bingkai hukum dan etika Islam.
- Secara aktif melakukan komunikasi, silaturahmi, kerjasama dan ishlah dengan berbagai unsur atau kalangan umat Islam untuk terwujudnya ukhuwah Islamiyah dan wihdatul-ummah, dan dengan berbagai komponen bangsa lainnya untuk memperkokoh kebersamaan dalam merealisasikan agenda reformasi.
- Ikut memberikan kontribusi positif dalam menegakkan keadilan dan menolak kedhaliman khususnya terhadap negeri-negeri muslim yang tertindas.

### **c) Prinsip Kebijakan**

Secara umum prinsip kebijakan dasar yang diambil oleh Partai Keadilan Sejahtera terefleksi utuh dalam jati dirinya sebagai Partai Da'wah. Sedangkan da'wah yang diyakini Partai Keadilan Sejahtera adalah da'wah rabbaniyah yang rahmatan lil'alamin, yaitu da'wah yang membimbing manusia mengenal Tuhannya dan da'wah

yang ditujukan kepada seluruh umat manusia yang membawa solusi bagi permasalahan yang dihadapinya. Ia adalah da'wah yang menuju persaudaraan yang adil di kalangan umat manusia, jauh dari bentuk-bentuk rasialisme atau fanatisme kesukuan, ras, atau etnisitas.

Atas dasar itu maka da'wah menjadi poros utama seluruh gerak partai. Ia juga sekaligus menjadi karakteristik perilaku para aktivisnya dalam berpolitik. Maka prinsip-prinsip yang mencerminkan watak da'wah berikut telah menjadi dasar dan prinsip setiap kebijakan politik dan langkah operasionalnya.

#### 1. *Al-Syumuliyah (Lengkap dan Integral)*

Sesuai dengan karakteristik da'wah Islam yang syamil, maka setiap kebijakan Partai akan selalu dirumuskan dengan mempertimbangkan berbagai aspek, meman dangnya dari berbagai perspektif, dan mensinkronkan antara satu aspek dengan aspek lainnya.

#### 2. *Al-Ishlah (Reformatif)*

Setiap kebijakan, program, dan langkah yang ditempuh Partai selalu berorientasi pada perbaikan (ishlah), baik yang berkaitan dengan perbaikan individu, masyarakat, ataupun yang berkaitan dengan perbaikan pemerintahan dan negara. dalam rangka meninggikan kalimat Allah, memenangkan syari'at-Nya, dan menegakkan daulah-Nya.

#### 3. *Al-Syar'iyah (Konstitusional)*

Syari'ah yang berisi hukum-hukum Allah SWT telah menetapkan hubungan pokok antara manusia terhadap Allah (hablun min Allah) dan hubungan terhadap diri sendiri dan orang lain (hablun min al-nas). Menjunjung tinggi syari'ah, ketundukan, dan komitmen kepadanya dalam seluruh aspek kehidupan merupakan kewajiban setiap muslim sebagai konsekuensi keimanannya. Komitmen itu wujud dalam bentuk keteguhan (al-istimsak) kepada al-haq, bulat hati dan percaya penuh kepada Islam sebagai ajaran yang lurus dan konprehensif yang harus ditegakkan dalam seluruh aspek kehidupan dengan tetap menjaga fleksibilitas sebagai ciri dari syari'at Islam serta mempertimbangkan aspek legalitas formal yang tidak bertentangan dengan syari'ah. Demi terwujudnya makna kemerdekaan sejati semua peraturan yang ada dalam Al-Quran dan As-Sunnah menjadi dasar konstitusi bagi seluruh kebijakan, program dan perilaku politik. Sebab kemandirian refrensi syari'at pada kekuasaan negara dan penegak hukum memberikan jaminan penting dalam merealisasikan amanah dan melawan kedhaliman.

#### 4. *Al-Wasathiyah (Moderat)*

Masyarakat muslim disebut sebagai masyarakat "tengah" (ummatan wasatha). Simbol moralitas masyarakat Islam tersebut melahirkan perilaku, sikap, dan watak moderat (wasathiyah) dalam sikap dan interaksi muslim dengan berbagai persoalan. Al-wasathiyah yang telah menjadi ciri Islam baik dalam aspek-aspek nazhariyah (teoritis) dan 'amaliyah (operasional) atau aspek tarbiyah (pendidikan) dan tasyri'iyah (perundang-undangan) harus

merefleksi pada aspek ideologi ataupun tashawwur (persepsi), ibadah yang bersifat ritual, akhlak, adab (tatakrama), tasyri' dan dalam semua kebijakan, program, dan perilaku politik Partai Keadilan Sejahtera. Dalam tataran praktis sikap kemoderatan ini dinyatakan pula dalam penolakannya terhadap segala bentuk ekstremitas dan eksageritas kezhaliman dan kebathilan.

##### 5. *Al-Istiqamah (Komit dan Konsisten)*

Oleh sebab berpegang teguh kepada ajaran dan aturan Islam (43: 43) merupakan ciri seorang muslim maka komitmen dan konsistensi kepada gerakan Islam harus menjadi inspirasi setiap gerakannya. Konsekuensinya seluruh kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah operasional Partai harus istiqamah (taat asas) pada "hukum transenden" yang ditemukan dalam keseluruhan tata alamiah dan dalam keseluruhan proses sejarah (ayat-ayat kawaniyat-Nya), dalam Kitab-kitab-Nya (ayat-ayat qawliyat-Nya) dan dalam sunnah Rasulullah SAW, dalam konsensus ummat, serta dalam elaborasi tertulis oleh para mujtahid yang berkompeten mengeluarkan hukum-hukum terhadap masalah yang benar-benar tidak ditemukan secara tekstual dalam Risalah orisinal (al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah). Konsistensi menuntut kontinuitas (al-istimrar) dalam gerakan dalam arti adanya kesinambungan antara kebijakan dan program sebelumnya.

##### 6. *Al-Numuw wa al-Tathawwur (Tumbuh dan Berkembang)*

Konsistensi yang menjadi watak Partai Keadilan Sejahtera tidak boleh melahirkan stagnan bagi gerakan dan kehilangan kreatifitasnya yang orisinal. Maka prinsip al-numuw wa al-tathawwur (pertumbuhan yang bersifat vertikal dan perkembangan yang bersifat horizontal) harus menjadi prinsip gerakannya dengan tetap mengacu kepada kaidah yang bersumber dari nilai-nilai Islam. Oleh karena itu Partai dalam kebijakan, program dan langkah-langkah operasionalnya harus tetap konsern kepada pengembangan potensi SDM hingga mampu melakukan eksalarasi mobilitas vertikal dan perluasan mobilitas horizontal.

##### 7. *Al-Tadarruj wa Al-Tawazun (Bertahap, Seimbang dan Proporsional)*

Pertumbuhan dan perkembangan gerakan da'wah Partai mesti dilalui secara bertahap dan proporsional, sesuai dengan sunnatullah yang berlaku di jagat raya ini. Seluruh sistem Islam berdiri di atas landasan kebertahapan dan keseimbangan. Kebertahapan dan keseimbangan merupakan tata alamiah yang tidak akan mengalami perubahan. Manusia secara fithrah tercipta dalam kebertahapan dan keseimbangan yang nyata. Maka semua tindakan manusia, lebih-lebih tindakan politik, yang berupaya memisahkan diri dari kebertahapan, keserasian dan keseimbangan akan berakibat pada kehancuran yang karenanya dapat dikategorikan sebagai kejahatan bagi kemanusiaan dan lingkungan sejagat. Oleh sebab itu kebertahapan dan keseimbangan (tadarruj dan tawazun) harus melekat dalam seluruh kiprah Partai, baik dalam kiprah individu fungsionaris dan pendukung nya ataupun kiprah kolektifnya.

8. *Al-Awlawiyat wa Al-Mashlahah (Skala Prioritas dan Prioritas Kemanfaatan)*

Efektivitas sebuah gerakan salah satunya ditentukan oleh kemampuan gerakan tersebut dalam menentukan prioritas langkah dan kebijakannya. Sebab segala sesuatu mempunyai saat dan gilirannya. Amal perbuatan memiliki keutamaan yang bertingkat-tingkat pula (9: 19-20), dari yang bersifat strategis, politis, sampai ke yang bersifat taktis. Prinsip al-awlawiyat dalam gerakan pada hakikatnya refleksi dari budaya berpikir strategis. Oleh sebab itu kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah operasionalnya didasarkan kepada visi dan misi partai. Prinsip al-awlawiyat dapat melahirkan efisiensi dan efektifitas gerakan. Di samping itu, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera yakin bahwa sebaik-baik muslim adalah yang paling bermanfaat bagi kepentingan manusia. Maka pada hakikatnya mashlahah ummah menjadi dasar dan prinsip dalam kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah operasionalnya. Untuk itu ia akan tetap konsern terhadap semua persoalan yang dihadapi ummat. Kepentingan ummat selalu menjadi pertimbangan dan prioritas. Maka baik dalam kebijakan ataupun dalam sikap dan operasional harus selalu memiliki keberpihakan yang jelas terhadap kepentingan ummat. Kepentingan ummat harus diletakkan di atas kepentingan kelompok dan individu.

9. *Al Hulul (Solusi)*

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera sesuai dengan namanya, ia memperjuangkan aspek-aspek yang yang tidak hanya berhenti pada janji, teori maupun kegiatan yang tidak dirasakan manfaatnya oleh ummat. Keadilan dan kesejahteraan haruslah diperjuangkan dengan ihsan dan itqon (profesional), itulah yang mengharuskan partai dan aktivisnya mengarahkan aktivitas dan program partai untuk menjadi solusi dan merealisirnya di setiap aktivitas yang mereka tempuh.

10. *Al-Mustaqbaliyah (Orientasi masa depan)*

Pada kenyataannya tiga dimensi waktu (masa lalu, masa kini, dan masa mendatang) merupakan realitas yang saling berhubungan. Disadari, sasaran da'wah yang akan diwujudkan merupakan sasaran besar, yaitu tegaknya agama Allah di bumi yang menyebarluaskan keadilan dan kesejahteraan bagi seluruh ummat manusia, yang bisa jadi yang akan menikmati keberhasilannya adalah generasi mendatang. Maka seyogyanya setiap kebijakan yang diambil dan program-program yang dicanangkan mengaitkan ketiga dimensi waktu tersebut. Masa lalu sebagai pelajaran, masa kini sebagai realitas, dan masa depan sebagai harapan. Keadaan yang kita geluti sekarang merupakan refleksi masa lalu kita dan sekaligus akan menentukan masa depan kita. Maka sangat bijak kalau kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah yang ditempuh tidak menge nyamping kan ketiga dimensi waktu tersebut dan selalu berorientasi pada masa depan, tidak hanya memikirkan nasib kita sekarang ini (59: 18).

11. *Al-'Alamiyah (Bagian dari da'wah sedunia)*

Pada hakikatnya gerakan da'wah Islamiyah, baik tujuan ataupun sasaran yang akan dicapai, bersifat 'alamiyah (mendunia) sejalan dengan universalitas Islam. Hal itu telah menjadi sunnatudda'wah. Ia merupakan aktivitas yang tidak kenal batas etnisitas, negara, atau daerah tertentu. Kenyataan itu menegaskan bahwa eksistensi da'wah kita merupakan bagian dari da'wah 'alamiyah. Oleh sebab itu prinsip kebijakan da'wah kita tidak lepas dari kebijakan dan gerakan da'wah sedunia. Adalah suatu kemestian setiap kebijakan yang diambil, program yang dicanangkan, dan langkah-langkah yang ditempuh selaras dengan kebijakan da'wah yang bersifat alami dan tunduk pada sunnatudda'wah tersebut dengan tidak melikuidasi persoalan khas yang dihadapi di masing-masing wilayah.

#### d) **Kebijakan Dasar**

Kebijakan Dasar Partai dapat dilihat dalam dua rumusan yaitu Kebijakan Umum dan Strategi Umum. Kebijakan Umum dijabarkan dalam berbagai aspek yang merupakan lingkup kehidupan sehari-hari partai yaitu Ideologi, Politik, Birokrasi, Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan, Sosial Budaya, IPTEK dan Hukum. Sementara itu, Strategi Umum ditempuh melalui dua hal yaitu Kebijakan Internal dan Eksternal .

#### **A. Kebijakan Umum :**

##### **1. Ideologi**

Diprediksi kesadaran politik masyarakat akan terus menguat seiring penguatan ideologisasi dalam tubuh partai-partai politik. Oleh sebab itu perlu ditetapkan sebuah kebijakan dasar dalam mengantisipasi kemungkinan menguatnya konflik-konflik ideologis di kalangan aktivis partai.

Memproyeksikan Islam sebagai sebuah ideologi ummat yang menjadi landasan perjuangan politik menuju masyarakat sejahtera lahir dan batin. Menjadikan ideologi Islam sebagai ruh perjuangan pembebasan manusia dari penghambaan antar sesama manusia menuju penghambaan hanya kepada Allah SWT ; pembebasan manusia dari kefajiran ideologi rekaan manusia menuju keadilan Islam ; dan mengantarkan manusia kepada kebahagiaan dan ketenangan hidup.

Operasionalisasi ideologi Islam dan cita-cita politiknya di atas tiga prinsip. *Pertama* : Kemenyeluruhan dan finalitas sistem Islam. *Kedua* : Otoritas syari'ah yang bersumber dari al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah, dan ijtihad. *Ketiga* : Kesesuaian aplikasi sistem dan solusi Islam dengan setiap zaman dan tempat.

##### **2. Politik**

- Pembangunan sistem  
Memperjuangkan konsepsi-konsepsi Islam dalam sistem kemasyarakatan dan kenegaraan.
- Pembangunan komunikasi politik  
Komunikasi politik dipandang sebagai proses yang dilakukan satu sistem untuk mempengaruhi sistem yang lain melalui pengaturan signal-signal

yang disampaikan. Dikarenakan komunikasi politik dilakukan dengan tujuan agar orang lain mau berpartisipasi dalam politik maka diperlukan beberapa kerangka dasar yang dapat dijadikan guidance para aktivis dalam komunikasi politik. *Pertama*, penyadaran umum pentingnya sistem politik Islami sebagai solusi terhadap persoalan bangsa dan negara. *Kedua*, mengokohkan kredibilitas dan efektifitas komunikasi antara Partai dan masyarakat

- Pembangunan budaya politik
  - a) Mengokohkan Islam sebagai sumber nilai budaya dalam kehidupan politik
  - b) Mengembangkan budaya egaliter dan demokratis yang tercermin dalam perilaku politik
  - c) Membangun budaya rasionalitas dalam kehidupan politik
  - d) Mengembangkan budaya hisbah.
- Pembangunan partisipasi politik
  - a) Penumbuhan kondisi yang menyebabkan lahirnya kesediaan masyarakat untuk berpartisipasi politik melalui Partai Keadilan Sejahtera secara sukarela.
  - b) Mempersiapkan suasana yang kondusif yang dapat menarik orang untuk berpartisipasi secara bebas.
- Hubungan eksternal
  - a) Bersikap cinta, ta'awun, dan loyal dengan partai, organisasi, dan lembaga-lembaga Islam, baik di dalam ataupun di luar negeri.
  - b) Aktif dalam menciptakan suasana yang kondusif untuk terciptanya kerjasama, ukhuwwah, dan persatuan antara lembaga-lembaga Islam.
  - c) Membudayakan sikap husnuzhan (baik sangka) terhadap sesama organisasi Islam
  - d) Bersikap tegas terhadap semua institusi yang mengusung dan mengibarkan bendera kekufuran.

### 3. *Birokrasi*

Setidak-tidaknya ada tiga fenomena yang muncul dalam kehidupan birokrasi sekarang ini : *Pertama* : kebobrokan di semua sector. *Kedua* : menjadi sarang KKN. *Ketiga* : tidak profesional dalam menjalankan roda pemerintahan. Oleh karena itu perlu dilakukan reformasi untuk memunculkan clean government. Sebagai konsekuensinya perlu Partai memiliki kebijakan memasuki wilayah birokrasi dengan tujuan islah al-hukumah dengan kebijakan:

- a) Lebih memperhatikan birokrasi dengan memasukkan anasir-anasir taghyir internal untuk menuduki jabatan strategis dengan tetap berpegang pada asas kepatutan dan akhlak karimah.
- b) Membentuk wadah independen bagi pegawai yang bekerja di pemerintahan.
- c) Menjadi pelopor dalam pemberantasan KKN dan dalam menegakkan kejujuran, keadilan, kesederhanaan, dan profesionalisme serta dalam melayani masyarakat.
- d) Melakukan kontrol secara aktif.

#### **4. Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan**

Kemandirian dalam memenuhi kedua cost dapat membantu terciptanya kesejahteraan yang merata juga merupakan salah satu faktor utama kekuatan sebuah struktur partai. Oleh karena itu perlu langkah-langkah strategis dan konkret dalam upaya menumbuhkan kemandirian tersebut.

- a) Menumbuhkan kesadaran nilai-nilai Islam dalam perilaku dan kebijakan ekonomi.
- b) Membangun kekuatan ekonomi ummat dan bangsa melalui pendirian proyek ekonomi yang mandiri betapa pun kecilnya dan memberantas KKN, sistem kartel dan monopoli yang menghancurkan ekonomi rakyat.
- c) Memelihara kekayaan ummat secara umum dengan mendorong berkembangnya industri dan proyek-proyek ekonomi Islam.
- d) Tidak membiarkan begitu saja satu keping mata uang jatuh ke tangan musuh-musuh ummat.
- e) Menjaga kekayaan alam dari eksploitasi yang merugikan rakyat banyak
- f) Memperbanyak usaha-usaha solutif dan pilot project untuk memajukan ekonomi rakyat bekerjasama dengan berbagai pihak yang komitmen baik di dalam maupun luar negeri.

#### **5. Sosial Budaya**

Kecenderungan membiarkannya deviasi sistemik pada bidang sosial budaya, pengabaian nilai-nilai luhur yang diringi dengan menguatnya kultur materialisme, dan dahsyatnya serbuan budaya pop yang dibarengi dengan kecenderungan distorsi pemahaman keagamaan bagi sebagian besar masyarakat muslim telah menjadi fenomena umum. Hal itu melahirkan kondisi lingkungan sosial yang jauh dari nilai-nilai Islam. Kondisi seperti itu, jika lemah dalam pemberan tasannya, dapat menyerang lingkungan yang semula baik. Oleh sebab itu Partai perlu mengantisipasi sedini mungkin setidaknya untuk membentengi diri dari tertularnya berbagai penyimpangan tersebut dengan menetapkan kebijakan umum berikut:

- a) Membangun imunitas individu, keluarga, dan masyarakat dari berbagai virus sosial budaya yang dapat merusak jati diri kaum muslimin.
- b) Mengembangkan produk-produk budaya Islam baik dalam bentuk keteladanan ataupun dalam bentuk kesenian.
- c) Aktif dalam mewujudkan perundang-undangan yang meninggikan budaya bangsa dan mengkoreksi budaya yang merusak.

#### **6. IPTEK dan Industri**

IPTEK dan industri merupakan syarat bagi kemajuan materi suatu bangsa dalam mewujudkan cita-cita kesejahteraan. Sedangkan kebahagiaan hakiki hanya mungkin tercapai apabila manusia mampu memahami kehendak Allah yang dimanifestasikan di dalam hukum-hukum-Nya dan aplikasi yang tepat menge nai hukum-hukum itu melalui aktivitas etis, aktifitas sosial dan

teknologi yang dikendalikan secara etis. Untuk itu perlu sebuah kebijakan yang dapat mengarahkan IPTEK dan Industri untuk kebahagiaan manusia.

- a) Penguasaan bidang IPTEK dan Industri sebagai syarat kemajuan materi suatu bangsa dalam mewujudkan kesejahteraan hidup manusia.
- b) Menghidupkan upaya-upaya pemberian bingkai moral dalam pengembangan dan aplikasi IPTEK, sehingga menjadi rahmat bagi manusia.
- c) Mengembangkan IPTEK terapan untuk membantu akselerasi penguasaan teknologi dalam rangka peningkatan kualitas SDM umat.
- d) Menumbuhkembangkan sentra-sentra industri yang strategis untuk kemajuan ekonomi umat dan bangsa.

### **7. Peran dan Tugas wanita**

Kenyataan bahwa tugas memakmurkan bumi (istikhlaf) merupakan tugas kolektif manusia (laki-laki dan wanita) yang menunjukkan kenyataan adanya prinsip kemitraan' dalam peran sosial politiknya. Hal itu setidaknya-tidaknya tercermin dalam persamaan nilai kemanusiaan, persamaan hak sosial, dan persamaan dalam tanggungjawab beserta balasannya. Kenyataan lain menunjukkan partisipasi wanita dalam siasah, terutama dalam perolehan suara pada Pemilu, sangat signifikan. Oleh sebab itu Partai perlu memiliki kebijakan dasar menge nai keterlibatan wanita dalam politik.

- a) Mengoptimalkan peran wanita dalam segala bidang kehidupan dengan tetap memelihara harkat dan martabat kewanitaannya.
- b) Membangun kondisi yang kondusif bagi optima lisasi peran politik wanita dalam mengusung cita-cita politik dengan tetap berpegang pada nilai-nilai Islam dan fitrah.
- c) Keseimbangan hak pemberdayaan politik.
- d) Keseimbangan proporsioanal dalam penempatan wanita di lembaga-lembaga strategis baik secara kwalitatif maupun kwantitatif.
- e) Perhatian yang cukup terhadap isu-isu kontem porer wanita yang berkembang di masyarakat.
- f) Menjadikan institusi keluarga sebagai lembaga pendidikan politik.

### **8. Hukum**

Sejatinya hukum menetapkan hubungan pokok antara manusia terhadap Tuhan, terhadap makhluk lain, terhadap orang lain, dan terhadap dirinya sendiri. Dalam kehidupan manusia hukum dapat diperlukan memiliki supremasi demi menjamin keteraturan dan menghindari kekacauan. Dalam rangka turut menegakkan supremasi hukum di Indonesia maka Partai Keadilan Sejahtera perlu menentukan kebijakan dasar sebagai berikut :

- a) Mendukung terwujudnya supremasi hukum didalam kehidupan masyarakat
- b) Membangun kesiapan masyarakat untuk secara bertahap menerima syariat Islam melalui cara-cara yang syar'i dan konstitusional
- c) Memperjuangkan secara struktural pemberlakuan hukum-hukum Islam yang masyarakat telah siap menerimanya



- d) Mempraktekkan ajaran Islam dan syariatnya secara istiqomah, sebagai solusi, keteladanan dan rahmat bagi kehidupan.

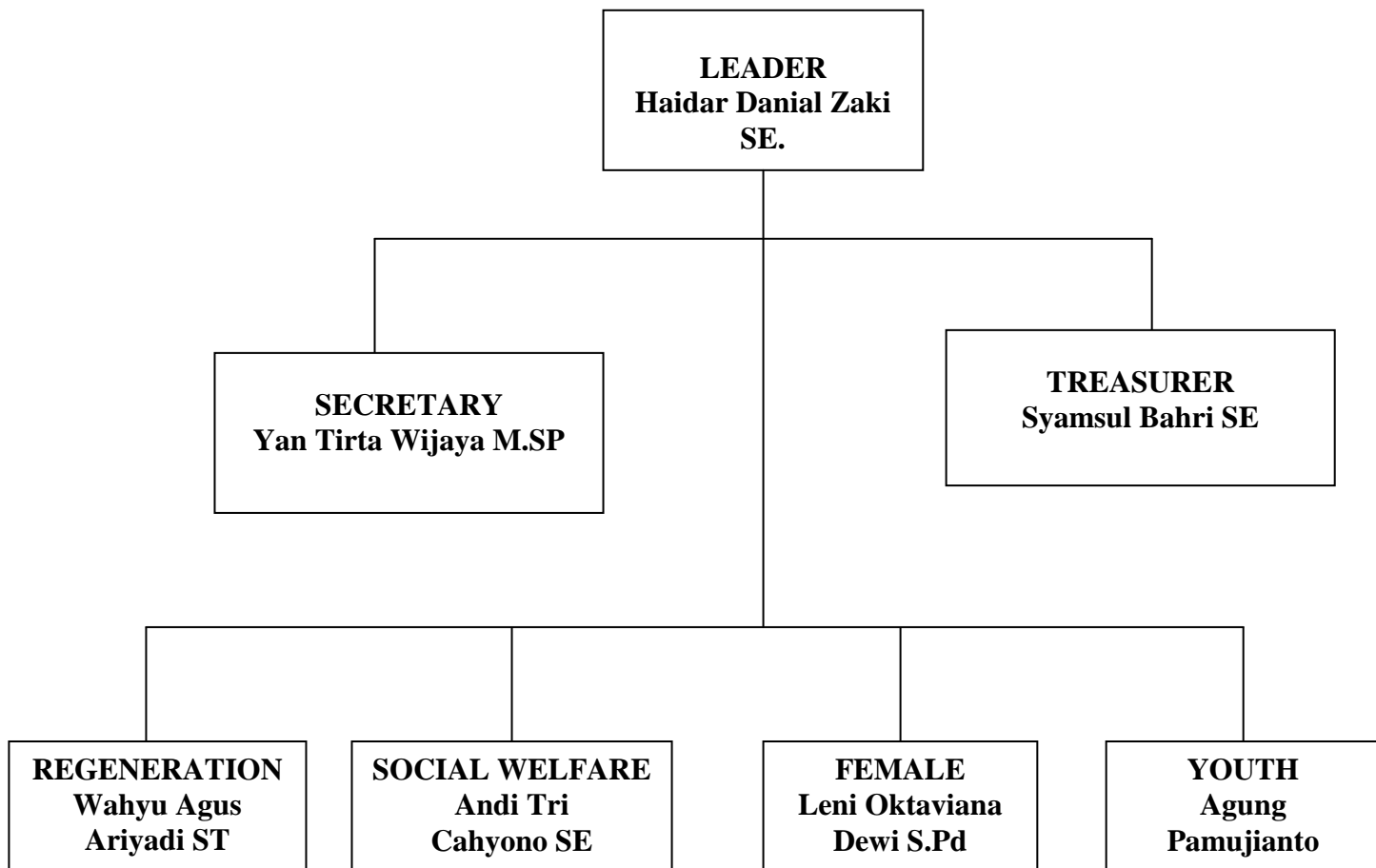
**9. Pendidikan:**

Pendidikan merupakan kebutuhan dasar manusia yang seyogyanya ditangani secara serius dan bertanggungjawab. Dalam konteks kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara pendidikan adalah dasar pembentukan karakter bangsa. Oleh karena itu penyelenggaraan pendidikan harus sejalan dengan nilai-nilai dan keyakinan otentik bangsa. Maka setiap upaya pendidikan yang bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai dasar suatu bangsa akan melahirkan generasi yang rapuh dan lepas dari akar kekuatannya.

- a) Mengupayakan secara sungguh-sungguh terselenggaranya sistem pendidikan integral yang menjamin lahirnya generasi yang beriman, bertaqwa, cerdas, dan trampil.
- b) Melindungi anak bangsa dari sasaran rekayasa pendangkalan aqidah dan pemurtadan yang berkedok aktivitas pendidikan.
- c) Memperjuangkan model pendidikan yang terjangkau seluruh elemen masyarakat dan berkualitas.

### Management of DPC

Here are the components in the board of DPC PKS.



**DATA of MARRIAGE CADRES IN 2006- APRIL 2007**  
**UKS-PKS MALANG**

No	Nama Ikhwan	Status	Nama Akhwat	Status	Wilayah	Tahun
1.	Zainal Abidin	Kader	Chusnul Dwi	Kader	Lw	2006
2.	Rudi	Kader	Like Cesnowati	Kader	Lw	2006
3.	Karkono	Kader	Rahmi	Kader	Blm	2006
4.	Kardiantono	Kader	Luluk	Kader	Lw	2006
5.	Dedy Rahmawan	Kader	Ana Indianika	Kader	Lw	2006
6.	Alwi Hidayat	Kader	Linda	Kader	Kd	2006
7.	Prima	Kader	Sunarsih	Kader	Kd	2007
8.	Zaenal Arifin	Kader	Rimuningsih	Kader	Blm	2007
9.	Purbo	Kader	Rubiyati	Kader	Blm	2007
10.	Rully Novianto	Kader	Betty	Kader	Lw	2007
11.	Yom Tirta	Kader	Noviana	Kader	Lw	2007
12.	Ari Irawan	Kader	Sholihat	Kader	Klj	2007
13.	Anton Prasetyo	Kader	Dina Istina	Kader	OK	2006
14.	Achmad Efendi	Kader	Elly Romdhana	Kader	Klj	2006
15.	Jabir	Kader	Wiji Lestari	Kader	Lw	2006
16.	Rangga	Kader	Novi Istina	Kader	Klj	2007

Keterangan:

*Lw* : Lowokwaru

*Blm* : Belimbing

*Kd* : Kedungkandang

*Klj* : Klojen

*OK* : Otoritas Kampus

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Name : Sri Hidayati  
 NIM : 03210013  
 Departement : Family Law  
 Advisor : Sudirman M.A  
 Title : **THE PRACTICE OF KAFAAH IN THE VIEW OF PARTAI KEADILAN SEJAHTERA (PKS) CADRES**  
*(Case Study in DPC PKS Lowokwaru)*

No	DATE	CONSULTATION SUBJECT	ADVISOR SIGNATURE
01	Februari 02 <sup>nd</sup> 2007	Thesis proposal consultation	
02	Februari, 27 <sup>th</sup> 2007	The seminar of thesis proposal	
03	April, 17 <sup>th</sup> 2007	Consultation for chapter I, II & III in English	
04	Juni, 20 <sup>th</sup> 2007	Revision for chapter I, II & III	
05	Juni, 25 <sup>th</sup> 2007	Consultation for chapter IV & V in Indonesia	
06	Juli, 04 <sup>th</sup> 2007	Revision for chapter IV & V in Indonesia	
07	July, 09 <sup>th</sup> 2007	Consultation for chapter IV, V, VI & Abstrak in English	
08	July, 16 <sup>th</sup> 2007	ACC all of the contents	

Malang, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2007

The Dean of Islamic Law

**Drs. H. Dahlan Tamrin, M.Ag**  
**NIP: 150 216 425**











## PROFILE OF PROSPERITY and JUSTICE PARTY (PKS)

### e) VISI

#### ➤ Visi Umum:

"Sebagai partai da'wah penegak keadilan dan kesejahteraan dalam bingkai persatuan ummat dan bangsa."

#### ➤ Visi Khusus:

Partai berpengaruh baik secara kekuatan politik, partisipasi, maupun opini dalam mewujudkan masyarakat Indonesia yang madani.

Visi ini akan mengarahkan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera sebagai :

- Partai da'wah yang memperjuangkan Islam sebagai solusi dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara.
- Kekuatan transformatif dari nilai dan ajaran Islam di dalam proses pembangunan kembali umat dan bangsa di berbagai bidang.
- Kekuatan yang mempelopori dan menggalang kerjasama dengan berbagai kekuatan yang secita-cita dalam menegakkan nilai dan sistem Islam yang rahmatan lil 'alamin.
- Akselerator bagi perwujudan masyarakat madani di Indonesia.

### f) MISI

- Menyebarkan da'wah Islam dan mencetak kader-kadernya sebagai 'anashir taghyir.
- Mengembangkan institusi-institusi kemasyarakatan yang Islami di berbagai bidang sebagai markaz taghyir dan pusat solusi.
- Membangun opini umum yang Islami dan iklim yang mendukung bagi penerapan ajaran Islam yang solutif dan membawa rahmat.
- Membangun kesadaran politik masyarakat, melakukan pembelaan, pelayanan dan pemberdayaan hak-hak kewarganegaraannya.
- Menegakkan amar ma'ruf nahi munkar terhadap kekuasaan secara konsisten dan kontinyu dalam bingkai hukum dan etika Islam.
- Secara aktif melakukan komunikasi, silaturahmi, kerjasama dan ishlah dengan berbagai unsur atau kalangan umat Islam untuk terwujudnya ukhuwah Islamiyah dan wihdatul-ummah, dan dengan berbagai komponen bangsa lainnya untuk memperkokoh kebersamaan dalam merealisasikan agenda reformasi.
- Ikut memberikan kontribusi positif dalam menegakkan keadilan dan menolak kedhaliman khususnya terhadap negeri-negeri muslim yang tertindas.

### g) Prinsip Kebijakan

Secara umum prinsip kebijakan dasar yang diambil oleh Partai Keadilan Sejahtera terefleksi utuh dalam jati dirinya sebagai Partai Da'wah. Sedangkan da'wah yang diyakini Partai Keadilan Sejahtera adalah da'wah rabbaniyah yang rahmatan lil'alamin, yaitu da'wah yang membimbing manusia mengenal Tuhannya dan da'wah

yang ditujukan kepada seluruh umat manusia yang membawa solusi bagi permasalahan yang dihadapinya. Ia adalah da'wah yang menuju persaudaraan yang adil di kalangan umat manusia, jauh dari bentuk-bentuk rasialisme atau fanatisme kesukuan, ras, atau etnisitas.

Atas dasar itu maka da'wah menjadi poros utama seluruh gerak partai. Ia juga sekaligus menjadi karakteristik perilaku para aktivisnya dalam berpolitik. Maka prinsip-prinsip yang mencerminkan watak da'wah berikut telah menjadi dasar dan prinsip setiap kebijakan politik dan langkah operasionalnya.

#### 1. *Al-Syumuliyah (Lengkap dan Integral)*

Sesuai dengan karakteristik da'wah Islam yang syamil, maka setiap kebijakan Partai akan selalu dirumuskan dengan mempertimbangkan berbagai aspek, meman dangnya dari berbagai perspektif, dan mensinkronkan antara satu aspek dengan aspek lainnya.

#### 2. *Al-Ishlah (Reformatif)*

Setiap kebijakan, program, dan langkah yang ditempuh Partai selalu berorientasi pada perbaikan (ishlah), baik yang berkaitan dengan perbaikan individu, masyarakat, ataupun yang berkaitan dengan perbaikan pemerintahan dan negara. dalam rangka meninggikan kalimat Allah, memenangkan syari'at-Nya, dan menegakkan daulah-Nya.

#### 3. *Al-Syar'iyah (Konstitusional)*

Syari'ah yang berisi hukum-hukum Allah SWT telah menetapkan hubungan pokok antara manusia terhadap Allah (hablun min Allah) dan hubungan terhadap diri sendiri dan orang lain (hablun min al-nas). Menjunjung tinggi syari'ah, ketundukan, dan komitmen kepadanya dalam seluruh aspek kehidupan merupakan kewajiban setiap muslim sebagai konsekuensi keimanannya. Komitmen itu wujud dalam bentuk keteguhan (al-istimsak) kepada al-haq, bulat hati dan percaya penuh kepada Islam sebagai ajaran yang lurus dan konprehensif yang harus ditegakkan dalam seluruh aspek kehidupan dengan tetap menjaga fleksibilitas sebagai ciri dari syari'at Islam serta mempertimbangkan aspek legalitas formal yang tidak bertentangan dengan syari'ah. Demi terwujudnya makna kemerdekaan sejati semua peraturan yang ada dalam Al-Quran dan As-Sunnah menjadi dasar konstitusi bagi seluruh kebijakan, program dan perilaku politik. Sebab kemandirian refrensi syari'at pada kekuasaan negara dan penegak hukum memberikan jaminan penting dalam merealisasikan amanah dan melawan kedhaliman.

#### 4. *Al-Wasathiyah (Moderat)*

Masyarakat muslim disebut sebagai masyarakat "tengah" (ummatan wasatha). Simbol moralitas masyarakat Islam tersebut melahirkan perilaku, sikap, dan watak moderat (wasathiyah) dalam sikap dan interaksi muslim dengan berbagai persoalan. Al-wasathiyah yang telah menjadi ciri Islam baik dalam aspek-aspek nazhariyah (teoritis) dan 'amaliyah (operasional) atau aspek tarbiyah (pendidikan) dan tasyri'iyah (perundang-undangan) harus

merefleksi pada aspek ideologi ataupun tashawwur (persepsi), ibadah yang bersifat ritual, akhlak, adab (tatakrama), tasyri' dan dalam semua kebijakan, program, dan perilaku politik Partai Keadilan Sejahtera. Dalam tataran praktis sikap kemoderatan ini dinyatakan pula dalam penolakannya terhadap segala bentuk ekstremitas dan eksageritas kezhaliman dan kebathilan.

5. *Al-Istiqamah (Komit dan Konsisten)*

Oleh sebab berpegang teguh kepada ajaran dan aturan Islam (43: 43) merupakan ciri seorang muslim maka komitmen dan konsistensi kepada gerakan Islam harus menjadi inspirasi setiap gerakannya. Konsekuensinya seluruh kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah operasional Partai harus istiqamah (taat asas) pada "hukum transenden" yang ditemukan dalam keseluruhan tata alamiah dan dalam keseluruhan proses sejarah (ayat-ayat kawaniyat-Nya), dalam Kitab-kitab-Nya (ayat-ayat qawliyat-Nya) dan dalam sunnah Rasulullah SAW, dalam konsensus ummat, serta dalam elaborasi tertulis oleh para mujtahid yang berkompeten mengeluarkan hukum-hukum terhadap masalah yang benar-benar tidak ditemukan secara tekstual dalam Risalah orisinal (al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah). Konsistensi menuntut kontinuitas (al-istimrar) dalam gerakan dalam arti adanya kesinambungan antara kebijakan dan program sebelumnya.

6. *Al-Numuw wa al-Tathawwur (Tumbuh dan Berkembang)*

Konsistensi yang menjadi watak Partai Keadilan Sejahtera tidak boleh melahirkan stagnan bagi gerakan dan kehilangan kreatifitasnya yang orisinal. Maka prinsip al-numuw wa al-tathawwur (pertumbuhan yang bersifat vertikal dan perkembangan yang bersifat horizontal) harus menjadi prinsip gerakannya dengan tetap mengacu kepada kaidah yang bersumber dari nilai-nilai Islam. Oleh karena itu Partai dalam kebijakan, program dan langkah-langkah operasionalnya harus tetap konsern kepada pengembangan potensi SDM hingga mampu melakukan eksalarasi mobilitas vertikal dan perluasan mobilitas horizontal.

7. *Al-Tadarruj wa Al-Tawazun (Bertahap, Seimbang dan Proporsional)*

Pertumbuhan dan perkembangan gerakan da'wah Partai mesti dilalui secara bertahap dan proporsional, sesuai dengan sunnatullah yang berlaku di jagat raya ini. Seluruh sistem Islam berdiri di atas landasan kebertahapan dan keseimbangan. Kebertahapan dan keseimbangan merupakan tata alamiah yang tidak akan mengalami perubahan. Manusia secara fithrah tercipta dalam kebertahapan dan keseimbangan yang nyata. Maka semua tindakan manusia, lebih-lebih tindakan politik, yang berupaya memisahkan diri dari kebertahapan, keserasian dan keseimbangan akan berakibat pada kehancuran yang karenanya dapat dikategorikan sebagai kejahatan bagi kemanusiaan dan lingkungan sejagat. Oleh sebab itu kebertahapan dan keseimbangan (tadarruj dan tawazun) harus melekat dalam seluruh kiprah Partai, baik dalam kiprah individu fungsionaris dan pendukung nya ataupun kiprah kolektifnya.

8. *Al-Awlawiyat wa Al-Mashlahah (Skala Prioritas dan Prioritas Kemanfaatan)*

Efektivitas sebuah gerakan salah satunya ditentukan oleh kemampuan gerakan tersebut dalam menentukan prioritas langkah dan kebijakannya. Sebab segala sesuatu mempunyai saat dan gilirannya. Amal perbuatan memiliki keutamaan yang bertingkat-tingkat pula (9: 19-20), dari yang bersifat strategis, politis, sampai ke yang bersifat taktis. Prinsip al-awlawiyat dalam gerakan pada hakikatnya refleksi dari budaya berpikir strategis. Oleh sebab itu kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah operasionalnya didasarkan kepada visi dan misi partai. Prinsip al-awlawiyat dapat melahirkan efisiensi dan efektifitas gerakan. Di samping itu, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera yakin bahwa sebaik-baik muslim adalah yang paling bermanfaat bagi kepentingan manusia. Maka pada hakikatnya mashlahah ummah menjadi dasar dan prinsip dalam kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah operasionalnya. Untuk itu ia akan tetap konsern terhadap semua persoalan yang dihadapi ummat. Kepentingan ummat selalu menjadi pertimbangan dan prioritas. Maka baik dalam kebijakan ataupun dalam sikap dan operasional harus selalu memiliki keberpihakan yang jelas terhadap kepentingan ummat. Kepentingan ummat harus diletakkan di atas kepentingan kelompok dan individu.

9. *Al Hulul (Solusi)*

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera sesuai dengan namanya, ia memperjuangkan aspek-aspek yang yang tidak hanya berhenti pada janji, teori maupun kegiatan yang tidak dirasakan manfaatnya oleh ummat. Keadilan dan kesejahteraan haruslah diperjuangkan dengan ihsan dan itqon (profesional), itulah yang mengharuskan partai dan aktivisnya mengarahkan aktivitas dan program partai untuk menjadi solusi dan merealisirnya di setiap aktivitas yang mereka tempuh.

10. *Al-Mustaqbaliyah (Orientasi masa depan)*

Pada kenyataannya tiga dimensi waktu (masa lalu, masa kini, dan masa mendatang) merupakan realitas yang saling berhubungan. Disadari, sasaran da'wah yang akan diwujudkan merupakan sasaran besar, yaitu tegaknya agama Allah di bumi yang menyebarluaskan keadilan dan kesejahteraan bagi seluruh ummat manusia, yang bisa jadi yang akan menikmati keberhasilannya adalah generasi mendatang. Maka seyogyanya setiap kebijakan yang diambil dan program-program yang dicanangkan mengaitkan ketiga dimensi waktu tersebut. Masa lalu sebagai pelajaran, masa kini sebagai realitas, dan masa depan sebagai harapan. Keadaan yang kita geluti sekarang merupakan refleksi masa lalu kita dan sekaligus akan menentukan masa depan kita. Maka sangat bijak kalau kebijakan, program, dan langkah-langkah yang ditempuh tidak menge nyamping kan ketiga dimensi waktu tersebut dan selalu berorientasi pada masa depan, tidak hanya memikirkan nasib kita sekarang ini (59: 18).

### 11. Al-'Alamiyah (Bagian dari da'wah sedunia)

Pada hakikatnya gerakan da'wah Islamiyah, baik tujuan ataupun sasaran yang akan dicapai, bersifat 'alamiyah (mendunia) sejalan dengan universalitas Islam. Hal itu telah menjadi sunnatudda'wah. Ia merupakan aktivitas yang tidak kenal batas etnisitas, negara, atau daerah tertentu. Kenyataan itu menegaskan bahwa eksistensi da'wah kita merupakan bagian dari da'wah 'alamiyah. Oleh sebab itu prinsip kebijakan da'wah kita tidak lepas dari kebijakan dan gerakan da'wah sedunia. Adalah suatu kemestian setiap kebijakan yang diambil, program yang dicanangkan, dan langkah-langkah yang ditempuh selaras dengan kebijakan da'wah yang bersifat alami dan tunduk pada sunnatudda'wah tersebut dengan tidak melikuidasi persoalan khas yang dihadapi di masing-masing wilayah.

## h) Kebijakan Dasar

Kebijakan Dasar Partai dapat dilihat dalam dua rumusan yaitu Kebijakan Umum dan Strategi Umum. Kebijakan Umum dijabarkan dalam berbagai aspek yang merupakan lingkup kehidupan sehari-hari partai yaitu Ideologi, Politik, Birokrasi, Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan, Sosial Budaya, IPTEK dan Hukum. Sementara itu, Strategi Umum ditempuh melalui dua hal yaitu Kebijakan Internal dan Eksternal .

### A. Kebijakan Umum :

#### 1. Ideologi

Diprediksi kesadaran politik masyarakat akan terus menguat seiring penguatan ideologisasi dalam tubuh partai-partai politik. Oleh sebab itu perlu ditetapkan sebuah kebijakan dasar dalam mengantisipasi kemungkinan menguatnya konflik-konflik ideologis di kalangan aktivis partai.

Memproyeksikan Islam sebagai sebuah ideologi ummat yang menjadi landasan perjuangan politik menuju masyarakat sejahtera lahir dan batin. Menjadikan ideologi Islam sebagai ruh perjuangan pembebasan manusia dari penghambaan antar sesama manusia menuju penghambaan hanya kepada Allah SWT ; pembebasan manusia dari kefajiran ideologi rekaan manusia menuju keadilan Islam ; dan mengantarkan manusia kepada kebahagiaan dan ketenangan hidup.

Operasionalisasi ideologi Islam dan cita-cita politiknya di atas tiga prinsip. *Pertama* : Kemenyeluruhan dan finalitas sistem Islam. *Kedua* : Otoritas syari'ah yang bersumber dari al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah, dan ijtihad. *Ketiga* : Kesesuaian aplikasi sistem dan solusi Islam dengan setiap zaman dan tempat.

#### 2. Politik

- Pembangunan sistem  
Memperjuangkan konsepsi-konsepsi Islam dalam sistem kemasyarakatan dan kenegaraan.
- Pembangunan komunikasi politik

Komunikasi politik dipandang sebagai proses yang dilakukan satu sistem untuk mempengaruhi sistem yang lain melalui pengaturan signal-signal yang disampaikan. Dikarenakan komunikasi politik dilakukan dengan tujuan agar orang lain mau berpartisipasi dalam politik maka diperlukan beberapa kerangka dasar yang dapat dijadikan guidance para aktivis dalam komunikasi politik. *Pertama*, penyadaran umum pentingnya sistem politik Islami sebagai solusi terhadap persoalan bangsa dan negara. *Kedua*, mengokohkan kredibilitas dan efektifitas komunikasi antara Partai dan masyarakat

- Pembangunan budaya politik
  - e) Mengokohkan Islam sebagai sumber nilai budaya dalam kehidupan politik
  - f) Mengembangkan budaya egaliter dan demokratis yang tercermin dalam perilaku politik
  - g) Membangun budaya rasionalitas dalam kehidupan politik
  - h) Mengembangkan budaya hisbah.
- Pembangunan partisipasi politik
  - c) Penumbuhan kondisi yang menyebabkan lahirnya kesediaan masyarakat untuk berpartisipasi politik melalui Partai Keadilan Sejahtera secara sukarela.
  - d) Mempersiapkan suasana yang kondusif yang dapat menarik orang untuk berpartisipasi secara bebas.
- Hubungan eksternal
  - a) Bersikap cinta, ta'awun, dan loyal dengan partai, organisasi, dan lembaga-lembaga Islam, baik di dalam ataupun di luar negeri.
  - b) Aktif dalam menciptakan suasana yang kondusif untuk terciptanya kerjasama, ukhuwwah, dan persatuan antara lembaga-lembaga Islam.
  - c) Membudayakan sikap husnuzhan (baik sangka) terhadap sesama organisasi Islam
  - d) Bersikap tegas terhadap semua institusi yang mengusung dan mengibarkan bendera kekufuran.

### 3. Birokrasi

Setidak-tidaknya ada tiga fenomena yang muncul dalam kehidupan birokrasi sekarang ini : *Pertama* : kebobrokan di semua sector. *Kedua* : menjadi sarang KKN. *Ketiga* : tidak profesional dalam menjalankan roda pemerintahan. Oleh karena itu perlu dilakukan reformasi untuk memunculkan clean government. Sebagai konsekuensinya perlu Partai memiliki kebijakan memasuki wilayah birokrasi dengan tujuan islah al-hukumah dengan kebijakan:

- e) Lebih memperhatikan birokrasi dengan memasukkan anasir-anasir taghyir internal untuk menuduki jabatan strategis dengan tetap berpegang pada asas kepatutan dan akhlak karimah.
- f) Membentuk wadah independen bagi pegawai yang bekerja di pemerintahan.

- g) Menjadi pelopor dalam pemberantasan KKN dan dalam menegakkan kejujuran, keadilan, kesederhanaan, dan profesionalisme serta dalam melayani masyarakat.
- h) Melakukan kontrol secara aktif.

#### **4. Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan**

Kemadiriian dalam memenuhi kedua cost dapat membantu terciptanya kesejahteraan yang merata juga merupakan salah satu faktor utama kekuatan sebuah struktur partai. Oleh karena itu perlu langkah-langkah strategis dan konkret dalam upaya menumbuhkan kemandirian tersebut.

- g) Menumbuhkan kesadaran nilai-nilai Islam dalam perilaku dan kebijakan ekonomi.
- h) Membangun kekuatan ekonomi ummat dan bangsa melalui pendirian proyek ekonomi yang mandiri betapa pun kecilnya dan memberantas KKN, sistem kartel dan monopoli yang menghancurkan ekonomi rakyat.
- i) Memelihara kekayaan ummat secara umum dengan mendorong berkembangnya industri dan proyek-proyek ekonomi Islam.
- j) Tidak membiarkan begitu saja satu keping mata uang jatuh ke tangan musuh-musuh ummat.
- k) Menjaga kekayaan alam dari eksploitasi yang merugikan rakyat banyak
- l) Memperbanyak usaha-usaha solutif dan pilot project untuk memajukan ekonomi rakyat bekerjasama dengan berbagai pihak yang komitmen baik di dalam maupun luar negeri.

#### **5. Sosial Budaya**

Kecenderungan membiarkannya deviasi sistemik pada bidang sosial budaya, pengabaian nilai-nilai luhur yang diringi dengan menguatnya kultur materialisme, dan dahsyatnya serbuan budaya pop yang dibarengi dengan kecenderungan distorsi pemahaman keagamaan bagi sebagian besar masyarakat muslim telah menjadi fenomena umum. Hal itu melahirkan kondisi lingkungan sosial yang jauh dari nilai-nilai Islam. Kondisi seperti itu, jika lemah dalam pemberantasannya, dapat menyerang lingkungan yang semula baik. Oleh sebab itu Partai perlu mengantisipasi sedini mungkin setidak-tidaknya untuk membentengi diri dari tertularnya berbagai penyimpangan tersebut dengan menetapkan kebijakan umum berikut:

- d) Membangun imunitas individu, keluarga, dan masyarakat dari berbagai virus sosial budaya yang dapat merusak jati diri kaum muslimin.
- e) Mengembangkan produk-produk budaya Islam baik dalam bentuk keteladanan ataupun dalam bentuk kesenian.
- f) Aktif dalam mewujudkan perundang-undangan yang meninggikan budaya bangsa dan mengoreksi budaya yang merusak.

## **6. IPTEK dan Industri**

IPTEK dan industri merupakan syarat bagi kemajuan materi suatu bangsa dalam mewujudkan cita-cita kesejahteraan. Sedangkan kebahagiaan hakiki hanya mungkin tercapai apabila manusia mampu memahami kehendak Allah yang dimanifestasikan di dalam hukum-hukum-Nya dan aplikasi yang tepat mengenai hukum-hukum itu melalui aktivitas etis, aktifitas sosial dan teknologi yang dikendalikan secara etis. Untuk itu perlu sebuah kebijakan yang dapat mengarahkan IPTEK dan Industri untuk kebahagiaan manusia.

- e) Penguasaan bidang IPTEK dan Industri sebagai syarat kemajuan materi suatu bangsa dalam mewujudkan kesejahteraan hidup manusia.
- f) Menghidupkan upaya-upaya pemberian bingkai moral dalam pengembangan dan aplikasi IPTEK, sehingga menjadi rahmat bagi manusia.
- g) Mengembangkan IPTEK terapan untuk membantu akselerasi penguasaan teknologi dalam rangka peningkatan kualitas SDM umat.
- h) Menumbuhkembangkan sentra-sentra industri yang strategis untuk kemajuan ekonomi umat dan bangsa.

## **7. Peran dan Tugas wanita**

Kenyataan bahwa tugas memakmurkan bumi (istikhlaf) merupakan tugas kolektif manusia (laki-laki dan wanita) yang menunjukkan kenyataan adanya prinsip kemitraan' dalam peran sosial politiknya. Hal itu setidaknya-tidaknya tercermin dalam persamaan nilai kemanusiaan, persamaan hak sosial, dan persamaan dalam tanggungjawab beserta balasannya. Kenyataan lain menunjukkan partisipasi wanita dalam siasah, terutama dalam perolehan suara pada Pemilu, sangat signifikan. Oleh sebab itu Partai perlu memiliki kebijakan dasar mengenai keterlibatan wanita dalam politik.

- g) Mengoptimalkan peran wanita dalam segala bidang kehidupan dengan tetap memelihara harkat dan martabat kewanitaannya.
- h) Membangun kondisi yang kondusif bagi optimalisasi peran politik wanita dalam mengusung cita-cita politik dengan tetap berpegang pada nilai-nilai Islam dan fitrah.
- i) Keseimbangan hak pemberdayaan politik.
- j) Keseimbangan proporsional dalam penempatan wanita di lembaga-lembaga strategis baik secara kualitatif maupun kuantitatif.
- k) Perhatian yang cukup terhadap isu-isu kontemporer wanita yang berkembang di masyarakat.
- l) Menjadikan institusi keluarga sebagai lembaga pendidikan politik.

## **8. Hukum**

Sejatinya hukum menetapkan hubungan pokok antara manusia terhadap Tuhan, terhadap makhluk lain, terhadap orang lain, dan terhadap dirinya sendiri. Dalam kehidupan manusia hukum dapat diperlukan memiliki supremasi demi menjamin keteraturan dan menghindari kekacauan. Dalam rangka turut menegakkan supremasi hukum di Indonesia maka Partai Keadilan Sejahtera perlu menentukan kebijakan dasar sebagai berikut :



- e) Mendukung terwujudnya supremasi hukum didalam kehidupan masyarakat
- f) Membangun kesiapan masyarakat untuk secara bertahap menerima syariat Islam melalui cara-cara yang syar'i dan konstitusional
- g) Memperjuangkan secara struktural pemberlakuan hukum-hukum Islam yang masyarakat telah siap menerimanya
- h) Mempraktekkan ajaran Islam dan syariatnya secara istiqomah, sebagai solusi, keteladanan dan rahmat bagi kehidupan.

### **9. Pendidikan:**

Pendidikan merupakan kebutuhan dasar manusia yang seyogyanya ditangani secara serius dan bertanggungjawab. Dalam konteks kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara pendidikan adalah dasar pembentukan karakter bangsa. Oleh karena itu penyelenggaraan pendidikan harus sejalan dengan nilai-nilai dan keyakinan otentik bangsa. Maka setiap upaya pendidikan yang bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai dasar suatu bangsa akan melahirkan generasi yang rapuh dan lepas dari akar kekuatannya.

- d) Mengupayakan secara sungguh-sungguh terselenggaranya sistem pendidikan integral yang menjamin lahirnya generasi yang beriman, bertaqwa, cerdas, dan trampil.
- e) Melindungi anak bangsa dari sasaran rekayasa pendangkalan aqidah dan pemurtadan yang berkedok aktivitas pendidikan.
- f) Memperjuangkan model pendidikan yang terjangkau seluruh elemen masyarakat dan berkualitas.

**DATA of MARRIAGE CADRES IN 2006- APRIL 2007**  
**UKS-PKS MALANG**

No	Nama Ikhwan	Status	Nama Akhwat	Status	Wilayah	Tahun
1.	Zainal Abidin	Kader	Chusnul Dwi	Kader	Lw	2006
2.	Rudi	Kader	Like Cesnowati	Kader	Lw	2006
3.	Karkono	Kader	Rahmi	Kader	Blm	2006
4.	Kardiantono	Kader	Luluk	Kader	Lw	2006
5.	Dedy Rahmawan	Kader	Ana Indianika	Kader	Lw	2006
6.	Alwi Hidayat	Kader	Linda	Kader	Kd	2006
7.	Prima	Kader	Sunarsih	Kader	Kd	2007
8.	Zaenal Arifin	Kader	Rimuningsih	Kader	Blm	2007
9.	Purbo	Kader	Rubiyati	Kader	Blm	2007
10.	Rully Novianto	Kader	Betty	Kader	Lw	2007
11.	Yom Tirta	Kader	Noviana	Kader	Lw	2007
12.	Ari Irawan	Kader	Sholihat	Kader	Klj	2007
13.	Anton Prasetyo	Kader	Dina Istina	Kader	OK	2006
14.	Achmad Efendi	Kader	Elly Romdhana	Kader	Klj	2006
15.	Jabir	Kader	Wiji Lestari	Kader	Lw	2006
16.	Rangga	Kader	Novi Istina	Kader	Klj	2007

Keterangan:

*Lw* : Lowokwaru

*Blm* : Belimbing

*Kd* : Kedungkandang

*Klj* : Klojen

*OK* : Otoritas Kampus











































