

Endogamous Marriages among the Kiai in Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School, Situbondo: A Phenomenological Approach in the Perspective of Multicultural Fiqh

Mirwan¹, R. Fakhurrrazi², Faishal Agil Al Munawar³
Ibrahimi University Situbondo, Indonesia^{1,2}
Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang, Indonesia³
Correspondence Email: mirwanmaarif@gmail.com

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Abstract

This research discusses the meaning of endogamous marriages among Kiai in the environment of Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School, Situbondo, from a multicultural fiqh perspective. The Kiai adapt their religious understanding to the social realities they face, and their endogamous marriages have both religious and social motives. Lineage, religiousness, knowledge, and the social culture of potential partners serve as indicators of ideology, orientation, and character in choosing a spouse. The concept of *kafa'ah* sets clear boundaries according to the situation and conditions within the context of endogamous marriages. The research method used is an interpretative phenomenological approach, utilizing data sources from observations and in-depth interview techniques. The perspective of multicultural fiqh reveals that the endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School environment embody the values of Sufistic social fiqh.

Keywords: Phenomenology; Multicultural Fiqh; Endogamy Marriage; Kiai of Islamic Boarding School

ملخصه

يتناول هذا الكتاب معنى زواج الأقارب لعلماء الدين الكيائي في مدرسة سوكونريجو سيتوبونديو من منظور الفقه المتعدد الثقافات. يقوم علماء الدين الكيائي بتكييف فهمهم للدين مع الواقع الاجتماعي الذي يواجهه، ولديهم دوافع دينية واجتماعية للزواج الأسري. تستخدم معايير المنح والعلم الاجتماعي للشريك تضع مفهوم حدوداً واضحة وواقعية للحالة والظروف في سياق معنى زواج الأقارب. تظهر منظور منظور متعدد الثقافات في الزواج الأسري لعلماء الدين الكيائي في مدرسة سوكونريجو سيتوبونديو يحتوي على قيم اجتماعية صوفية. طرق البحث الظاهري التفسيري مع مصادر البيانات من الملاحظات وتقنيات المقابلات العميقة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الظواهر ، الفقه متعدد الثقافات ، زواج الأقارب ، كيائي بالمدرسة الداخلية الإسلامية



Abstrak

Penelitian ini membahas makna pernikahan endogami Kiai di lingkungan pondok pesantren Sukorejo Situbondo dari perspektif fiqh multikultural. Para Kiai melakukan adaptasi pemahaman agamanya dengan realitas sosial yang dihadapinya, dan pernikahan endogami mereka memiliki motif agama dan sosial. Standar nasab, keberagaman, keilmuan, dan kultur sosial calon pasangan dijadikan sebagai petanda ideologi, arah orientasi, dan karakter dalam memilih pasangan. Konsep kafa`ah menjadi tegas batasannya sesuai dengan situasi dan kondisi dalam konteks pernikahan endogami. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah pendekatan fenomenologi interpretatif dengan sumber data dari observasi dan teknik wawancara mendalam. Perspektif fiqh multikultural menunjukkan bahwa pernikahan endogami Kiai di lingkungan pondok pesantren Sukorejo Situbondo mengandung nilai-nilai fiqh sosial sufistik.

Kata Kunci: Fenomenologi; Fiqh Multikultural; Pernikahan Endogami; Kiai Pesantren

A. Introduction

One form of cultural expression in Islam is the marriage pattern among the Kiai community within the environment of Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School, Situbondo, which follows the principle of endogamy. The term endogamy itself has a relative meaning depending on the structure of a particular society.¹ The patented conditions depend on the culture held by every society.² For the Kiai community in Islamic boarding schools, for example, the boundary of endogamy is established based on lineage or social genealogy and knowledge. This is done in order to strengthen and preserve the existence of their respective boarding schools.³

In Sukorejo, Situbondo, the use of the term Kiai or the leaders of Islamic boarding school refer to those who have extensive religious knowledge and to those who run the boarding school.⁴ The variation of the use of that term is synonymous with the use of Kiai in the structure of the Madura society.⁵ They are related to the formal structure of islamic boarding school and lies in the depth of religious knowledge which he mastered.

As religious and social elites, the Kiai of Islamic boarding schools will undoubtedly engage in a series of adaptations in their religious understanding to the social realities they face. In this context, it becomes interesting to explore to what extent

¹ Generally, endogamous marriages are attempted to maintain kinship affiliation, solidarity, and the ability to ensure that resources remain within the control of the group. Aneni & Monica Omoye, "Kin Endogamy and the Blood Taint in Ancient Egypt and Nigeria Aneni," *International Journal of Arts and Humanities (IJAH) Ethiopia* 8, no. 1 (2019): 39–40, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijah.v8i1.4>.

² Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2002), 91.

³ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2019), 101.

⁴ S Arifin and W Wisri, "Politik Kebangsaan Kiai Pesantren (Studi Kepribadian Dan Perilaku Politik KHR Ach. Fawaid As? Ad Situbondo)," in *Proceedings of Annual Conference ...*, 2019, 344–345, <http://proceedings.kopertais4.or.id/index.php/ancoms/article/view/247>.

⁵ Endang Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kiai Dan Kekuasaan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003), 29.

the aspects of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and tasawwuf (Sufism) intertwine within the tradition of endogamous marriages that they practice.

The phenomenon of endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school environment has been discussed by Mirwan in his doctoral dissertation (2023) titled “*Tradisi Pernikahan Endogami Keluarga Kiai Pesantren Sukorejo Situbondo Dalam Perspektif Maqāṣid Al-Sharī’ah Fi Al-Ushrah*”. The research mentions that endogamous marriages, besides considering factors such as religiousness, knowledge, lineage, and similarity in social culture of prospective partners, also have social motives to preserve the existence of the Islamic boarding school.⁶ According to Mirwan, further research is needed to explore the Islamic legal framework within the endogamous marriages of the Kiai, which intertwines with the social culture of the boarding school that has strong connections with Sufi principles. Therefore, this research aims to uncover the nuances of Sufistic social fiqh within the tradition of endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school environment.

Several studies indicate a relationship between Islamic law and endogamous marriages. For example, Ahmad Muzakki examines the law of endogamous marriages from the perspective of 'urf (customary practices). As a result, Muzakki concludes that it is obligatory to consider lineage aspects in the tradition of endogamous marriages among the Arab community in Kraksaan, Probolinggo.⁷ Andi Darus conducts research on endogamous marriages from the perspectives of Islam and science. Darus states that Islam prohibits marriages between relatives, but there are also some that are permissible. Additionally, from a health standpoint, endogamous marriages have negative effects, particularly in terms of genetic issues.⁸

While the research of endogamy marriages are in social relation, that are Hamka Siregar's dissertation entitled “*Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Alawiyyun di Kota Pontianak*” mentions that endogamy marriages are still preserved in order to maintain the purity of the generation and connect with nuances of economic and political factors.⁹ Another study conducted by Syarifah Ema Rahmaniah concludes that the form of marriage changing from endogamy to exogamy in the Syarif Pontianak community is affected by modernization, education, and patterns of social interaction where the doers live.¹⁰ Both of them overlook the religious aspect of marriage. However, marriage is not solely a social matter but is also deeply intertwined with religious values.

⁶ Mirwan, “Tradisi Pernikahan Endogami Keluarga Kiai Pesantren Sukorejo Situbondo Dalam Perspektif Maqāṣid Al-Sharī’ah Fi Al-Ushrah” (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2023), 284.

⁷ Ahmad Muzakki, “Kafaah Dalam Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Di Kraksaan Probolinggo,” *Istidlal: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Hukum Islam* 1, no. 1 (2017): 27, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334583211>.

⁸ Andi Darussalam, “Pernikahan Endogami Perspektif Islam Dan Sains,” *Jurnal Pernikahan sedarah dalam islam* 8, no. 1 (2017): 18, <https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/tahdis/article/view/3997>.

⁹ Hamka Siregar, “Pernikahan Endogami Pada Komunitas Arab Alawiyyun Kota Pontianak” (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2009), 20.

¹⁰ Syarifah Ema Rahmaniah, “Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam,” *Walisono: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 22, no. 2 (2014): 453, <https://journal.walisono.ac.id/index.php/walisono/article/view/273>.

In the aforementioned studies, both on endogamous marriages in relation to Islamic law (fiqh) and their connection to social realities, there has been no examination from a multicultural fiqh perspective. However, the tradition of endogamous marriages can be a source of Islamic law, particularly Islamic law derived from the wisdom of local traditions observed by the Kiai in Islamic boarding schools.

The theoretical framework in this research adopts a multicultural faith approach. Specifically, Wahab Khalaf defines fiqh as the practical knowledge of Islamic law obtained from detailed evidence.¹¹ On the other hand, according to Al-Ghazali, fiqh is the knowledge of Islamic law established for every human action, including obligations, prohibitions, permissions, recommended acts, and disliked acts, and it is related to the validity, invalidity, or nullification of a contract, as well as the proper performance of worship within or outside its designated time.¹²

As for multiculturalism, it is the recognition of different local cultural expressions coexisting within the same social environment, or the recognition and appreciation of cultural pluralism.¹³ Based on its function, multiculturalism can be divided into two orientations: static and dynamic. Static multiculturalism entails fragmented diversity, where each cultural group maintains its particular identity. On the other hand, dynamic multiculturalism acknowledges cultural diversity as a form of mutual accommodation between specific local conditions and others.¹⁴

As a concept of liberation, the understanding of fiqh should be perceived as a product of independent legal reasoning (*ijtihad*). This is because fiqh occupies a position between human-made rules and religious provisions.¹⁵ In other words, the fiqh rules found in classical Islamic books (yellow books) are inseparable from human perspectives, whether as individuals or social groups.¹⁶ In other words, fiqh, in addition to its theological values, also encompasses sociological aspects.

Based on the explanation above, fiqh means it can shape and also allow for specific localities as its source. This reciprocal relationship further solidifies the accommodative nature of fiqh and highlights the importance of a cultural system within fiqh itself. The consideration of local customs in formulating legal rulings in the Hanafi school is evidence of fiqh being rooted in cultural values.¹⁷ Similarly, the counterproductivity in Imam Shafi'i's compilation of Islamic law regarding the distinction

¹¹ Abd. Wahhāb Khalāf, *ʿIlm Al-Uṣūl Al-Fiqh* (Indonesia: Al-Haramain, 2014), 11.

¹² Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Muṣṭaṣfa Min ʿIlmi Al-Uṣūl* (Lebanon: Dār al-Kutūb al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2020), 11.

¹³ Masnun Tahir, "Menjadi Muslim Di Negara Multikultural: Dinamika, Tantangan Dan Strategi Dalam Perspektif Fikih Multikultural," *Al-'Adalah* 14, no. 2 (2018): 282, <http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/adalah/article/view/2138>.

¹⁴ Moh Dahlan, "Paradigma Usul Fikih Multikultural Di Indonesia," *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 12, no. 1 (2012): 4, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v12i1.1-19>.

¹⁵ Afifuddin Muhajir, *Fiqh Tata Negara*, ed. Abd. Wahid, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Diva PRESS, 2018), 169.

¹⁶ Tahir, "Menjadi Muslim Di Negara Multikultural: Dinamika, Tantangan Dan Strategi Dalam Perspektif Fikih Multikultural," 283.

¹⁷ M. Noor Harisuddin, *Fikh Nusantara: Pancasila Dan Sistem Hukum Nasional Di Indonesia* (Tangerang: Pustaka Compass, 2019), 43.

between qaul jadid (new statement) and qaul qadim (old statement) is attributed to the differences in localities between Egypt and Iraq.¹⁸ Therefore, multicultural fiqh legitimizes the research of knowledge based on the cultural systems of specific societies whose way of life is guided by the values of Islam as reflected in classical Islamic fiqh texts.

The focus of this research narrows down to two main issues. First, how the Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment describe endogamous marriages, so that readers understand the meaning of endogamous marriages with a touch of social-sufistic fiqh. Second, the meaning of endogamous marriages according to the Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment from the perspective of multicultural fiqh.

B. Research Method

This research employs an interpretative phenomenological approach. Phenomenology is used to explore the essential meaning of a phenomenon experienced by multiple individuals.¹⁹ As phenomenology involves the search for meaning among a group of individuals who share similar experiences, interpretative reduction is conducted as part of the interpretation process.²⁰

As a research instrument, the researchers focused on several key informants to collect data. They are the Kiai (Islamic scholars) in the environment of the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school who have experienced endogamous marriages, including Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir, Kiai Moh. Abdul Jalil, and Kiai M. Aso Syamsuddin.

Data sources were obtained through observation and in-depth interview techniques during the research process. All collected transcripts were read multiple times to gain a general impression of the meaning of the experiences. The process involved identifying key phrases or sentences related to the experience of endogamous marriages and formulating them into meaningful statements. The meaningful statements were then grouped into themes. Ultimately, several themes were combined to provide a comprehensive and in-depth description of the phenomenon.

¹⁸ Ibid., 44.

¹⁹ Shaili Singh, Abhishek Sharma, and Shirsendu Nandi, "Using Transcendental Phenomenology to Explore the Social Jugaads of Transacting Money Post Demonetisation in India," *International Journal of Indian Culture and Business Management* 18, no. 4 (2019): 447, <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJCBM.2019.100306>. John W. Creswell, *Penelitian Kualitatif & Desain Riset, Memilih Di Antara Lima Pendekatan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015), 105.

²⁰ Ach. Fatchan & Imam Arifillah, "Understanding Action of Adaptation of Peoples for Floods on Watershed Solo at East Java in Perspective Phenomenology," *Journal of Educational and Social Research* 6, no. 2 (2016): 150, <https://www.mcses.org/journal/index.php/jesr/article/view/9159>. Engkus Kuswarno, *Metodologi Penelitian Komunikasi, Fenomenologi: Konsepsi, Pedoman Dan Contoh Penelitiannya* (Bandung: Widya Padjadjaran, 2009), 35.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Endogamous Marriage among the Kiai in Islamic Boarding Schools

Based on its origin, the term "Kiai" is used for three types of titles. Firstly, as an honorary title for heirlooms or valuable objects. Secondly, as an honorary title for community elders. Thirdly, as an honorary title for those who master and teach Islamic knowledge through the source of "yellow books" or those who become leaders of Islamic boarding schools.²¹ In this research, the term "Kiai" refers to the latter definition, which is an honorary title for those who have expertise in the discipline of Islamic knowledge and/or those who become leaders of Islamic boarding schools.

Nevertheless, there are still some distinctions between the terms "Kiai" and "ulama". Based on their functions, Horikoshi distinguishes between the terms "Kiai" and "ulama". If the practical actions performed are related to administrative regulations, they are referred to as "ulama". On the other hand, those who fulfill socio-cultural functions within the community are known as "Kiai".²² In other words, Kiai are ulama who serve as moral support for religious matters within the community.²³

In Sukorejo Situbondo, the usage of the term "Kiai" varies and refers to those who possess extensive religious knowledge and/or those who run pesantren (Islamic boarding schools). The variations in the usage of this term are similar to how "Kiai" is used within the social structure of Madura.²⁴ It is related to the formal structure of the pesantren and/or the depth of religious knowledge they possess.

As religious and social elites, the Kiai in Islamic boarding schools have special social relationships for maintaining their kinship ties, namely through endogamous marriages. The term endogamy itself has a relative meaning according to the structure of specific communities.²⁵ The established criteria depend on the cultural norms upheld by

²¹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai Dan Visinya Mengenal Masa Depan Indonesia*, 93.

²² Shokhibul Mighfar, "Ambiguitas Politik Ulama-Kiai," *LISAN AL-HAL: Jurnal Pengembangan Pemikiran dan Kebudayaan* 13, no. 1 (2019): 41, <https://journal.ibrahimy.ac.id/index.php/lisanalhal/article/view/448>.

²³ Abdul Chalik, "Wali, Sultan, Kiai, Dan Santri Dalam Tradisi Agama Dan Politik Islam Jawa," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 6, no. 1 (2016): 152, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26849997%0Ahttp://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/jne.12374>.

²⁴ Endang Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kiai Dan Kekuasaan*, 29.

²⁵ According to the Encyclopedic Dictionary of Archaeology, endogamy is a marriage practice that takes into account the similarity of ethnicity, clan, or local group. Barbara Ann Kipfer, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Archaeology, L'Anthropologie*, vol. 105, 2001, 440. Socially, endogamy is a custom of marrying only within the limits of a community, clan, or a specific group similarity. Sergio Lopez Montolio, David Dominguez-Sal, and Josep Lluís Larriba-Pey, "Research Endogamy as an Indicator of Conference Quality," *SIGMOD Record* 42, no. 2 (2013): 11, <https://doi.org/10.1145/2503792.2503795>. Generally, endogamous marriages are attempted to maintain kinship affiliation, solidarity, and the ability to ensure that resources remain within the control of the group. Aneni & Monica Omoye, "Kin Endogamy and the Blood Taint in Ancient Egypt and Nigeria Aneni," *International Journal of Arts and Humanities (IJAH) Ethiopia* 8, no. 1 (2019): 39–40, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijah.v8i1.4>. In addition, there are three driving factors of endogamous marriage; individual preference, third-party role, and group size. Firstly, individuals have preferences for a set of specific characteristics that they consider in a partner. Secondly, there is parental control. Thirdly, there is a tendency to choose partners based on social background similarities. Ariane J. Utomo and Peter F. McDonald, "Internal Migration, Group Size, and Ethnic Endogamy in Indonesia," *Geographical Research* 59, no. 1 (2021): 2, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-5871.12433>.

each community.²⁶ For example, for the Kiai in the environment of the Islamic boarding schools, endogamy is defined based on standards of lineage or social genealogy, religiosity, and scholarly knowledge. This is done in order to strengthen and preserve the existence of their affiliated pesantren.²⁷

Based on the data collected by the researchers, it can be confirmed that the Kiai in the Sukorejo pesantren community adhere to the principle of endogamous marriage. For example, Kiai As`ad married his eldest daughter, Nyai Zainiyyah Asad, to KHR. Dhofier Munawwar. In terms of social genealogy (nasab lineage), there is still a familial connection between Kiai As`ad Syamsul Arifin and Kiai Dhofier; their lineages trace back to Kiai Ruham. Sheikh Dhofier is the youngest son of Kiai Munawwar bin Ruham, while Nyai Zainiyyah is the daughter of Kiai As`ad bin Syamsul Arifin bin Ruham.²⁸

The endogamy marriage alliance continues to this day. For example, the marriage of Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy with Nyai Nur Sari, with his main position at this time as the leader of Islamic boarding school in Sukorejo. Kiai Azaim was married to Nyai Nur Sari As'adiyah. Kindly family lineage: Kiai Azaim and Nyai Sari still have a closed relative, a cousin. Likewise with the marriage of Kiai Moh. Jufri with Nyai Ukhtul Istifada who has the position of deputy of Islamic boarding school, Salafiyah Syafi`iyyah Nurul Makkiyah. Also the marriage of Kiai Afif, who is currently has the position in the centre of Islamic boarding schools Syafi`iyyah Sukorejo. Likewise with Kiai Kholil Abdul Jalil's marriage to Neng Afwan Maqbulah in his position as the representative of the branch of the Madrasatul Qur'an Salafiyah branch Syafi`iyyah Sukorejo. The marriage of Kiai M. Syamsuddin with Neng Ukhtul Iffah and her position as assistant manager of Nurul Qani` Salafiyah Syafi`iyyah Sukorejo.²⁹

The system of endogamous marriage, as observed among the Kiai community in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school environment, is a deliberate action based on consciousness. At the paradigmatic level, there are several concepts of transcendental phenomenology that are always the subject of discussion, including consciousness and action. The essence of consciousness, according to Husserl's perspective, is something intentional, active, creative, critical, and constructed, not limited to perception or knowledge.³⁰ In this context, consciousness differs from external perception, which correlates with physical phenomena, and internal perception, which is caused by mental phenomena.³¹ In terms of function, the phenomenon of external perception is not

²⁶ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, 80.

²⁷ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*, 101.

²⁸ Buletin Santri Ma`had Aly, "Menggugat Kearifan Nusantara," *Tanwirul Afkar, Komprehensif, Moderat dan Bertanggungjawab* (Situbondo, 2012), 59.

²⁹ Buletin Santri Ma`had Aly, "Bina Damai Sunni-Syi`ah," *Tanwirul Afkar, Komprehensif, Moderat dan Bertanggungjawab* (Situbondo, 1433), 20–21.

³⁰ Yuliana Rakhmawati, "Membaca Pengalaman Dan Kesadaran: Konstruksi Dalam Perspektif Fenomenologi," *Jurnal Pamator* 5, no. 2 (2012): 91. <https://doi.org/10.21107/pamator.v5i2.2500>

³¹ Jason L. Powell, "'You'll Never Walk Alone': 'You'll Never Walk Alone': Phenomenology and Ageing in Contemporary Culture," *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences* 27 (2014): 21–22, <https://www.scipress.com/ILSHS.27.19>.

something that is acceptable; what exists is the internal phenomenon that drives actual existence as the occurrence of intentional existence.³²

Based on the conception of phenomenology, every action performed by an actor can be influenced or caused by factors within or outside of oneself, such as social motives, culture, religion, and other motives.³³ This has a correlational relationship with Weber's perspective, which includes motives and goals as important elements of social action.³⁴ In other words, marriages based on lineage (genealogy) between families of Kiai within the Sukorejo pesantren environment have specific motives and goals.

As explained earlier, Kiai, being religious scholars who uphold the moral values of religion in society, naturally have an emotional attachment to the religious doctrines they believe in. Therefore, in the context of marriage, Kiai always adhere to the religious principles rooted in their beliefs. Additionally, the central position of Kiai in the community makes every action they take carry social motives.

2. Religious Motives: The Essence of Marriage for Kiai in Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School

To understand religion, phenomenology experts agree that it has a basic structure. This structure involves existential, intellectual, ethical, and institutional aspects. The existential aspect of religion is the fundamental principle of religiosity. It involves beliefs, sacred texts, revelations, and religious faith. The intellectual aspect entails the formulation of rational propositions about God and His attributes. At this point, religious individuals will present logical and rational arguments to defend their faith. The institutional aspect refers to the organization or institutionalization of religion, aimed at preserving and nurturing faith and the conception of the divine. In this regard, the constitution serves as a place to develop, protect, and preserve what has been established. Meanwhile, the ethical aspect is concerned with the embodiment of religion in life and manifested realities.³⁵

In the context of marriage, the Kiai in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school community consider it a noble act to seek a blessed household in the eyes of Allah. For this reason, the Kiai always base their actions on religious guidance. The caretaker of the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school, Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, stated:

“Ketika kita mendalami makna *“an-nikāhu sunnati fa man raghiba `an sunnatī fa laisa minnī”*. Maka disana lembaga pernikahan ini menjadi suatu institusi syariat yang legal, sebagai tidak hanya aturan kehidupan, tetapi ada kesejahteraan

³² Nur Syam, *Tarekat Petani, Fenomena Tarekat Syattariyah Lokal* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013), 31. Nicola Spano, “The Genesis of Action in Husserl’s *Studien Zur Struktur Des Bewusstseins*,” *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 53, no. 2 (2022): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071773.2021.1909426>.

³³ Emanuele Caminada, “Evaluation in Action. A Phenomenological Reassessment of Ricœur’s Early Ethics,” *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 53, no. 2 (2022): 7, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071773.2021.1941159>.

³⁴ Pip Jones (trj.) Saifuddin, *Pengantar Teori-Teori Sosial: Dari Teori Fungsionalisme Hingga Post Modernisme* (Jakarta: Pustaka Obor, 2003), 115. Ahmad Putra and Sartika Suryadinata, “Menelaah Fenomena Klitih Di Yogyakarta Dalam Perspektif Tindakan Sosial Dan Perubahan Sosial Max Weber,” *Asketik* 4, no. 1 (2020): 7.

³⁵ Pius Pandor, “Fenomenologi Agama Menuju Penghayatan Agama Yang Dewasa,” *Jurnal Filsafat* 1, no. 1 (2012): 19, <https://doi.org/10.33508/arete.v1i1.167>.

jaminan keberlangsungan hidup manusia. Karena ketika mendalami makna sunnah, ajaran, beliau menisbahkan kepada diri beliau “*sunnatī*”, ajaranku. Dalam hadits yang lain, beliau menyampaikan “*man ahyā sunnatī faqad ahabbanī*”, siapa yang menghidupkan, artinya melakukan, menjalankan ajaranku, maka sungguh mencintaiku. Jadi standar mencintai Nabi ada bukti, ada semacam konsekuensi mencintai. Jadi ketika seseorang menghidupkan ajaran Nabi maka dia sungguh telah mencintai Nabi. “*waman ahabbanī kāna ma`ī fi al-jannah*”, maka dia akan bersamaku di surga”.³⁶

Theologically, the meaning of marriage according to the aforementioned Kiai is related to the messages found in the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet. The Qur'an states, "And marry those among you who are single".³⁷ In the hadith of the Prophet, it is said, "Did I not establish prayers, sleep, fast, and marry women? So whoever turns away from my Sunnah is not of me".³⁸

Furthermore, the Kiai elaborated on the purpose and intention behind marriage.

“Saya berniat masuk kedalam lembaga pernikahan ingin *ittiba`*, ingin mengikuti sunnah Nabi, untuk mendapatkan cinta Nabi, mendapat rida Allah. Saya ingin terus iman ini *yazīd wala yankush*, maka pencapaian kenaikan-kenaikan keimanan itu salah satunya ditempuh dengan pernikahan”.³⁹

Basically, the theological concept of faith implies the presence of a fluctuating dimension in its followers. One of the prominent figures who proposed the Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah doctrine, Imam Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari, stated in his book *Al-Ibānah* that faith is indeed expressed and manifested in actions, and it can increase or decrease.⁴⁰ In this regard, the Kiai serve as a means for marriage as an institution to strengthen their faith.

Thus, it can be understood that religion plays a significant role and serves as a motive in the marriages of the Kiai. Religion becomes the primary guidance for every action the Kiai take in pursuing marriage. The Kiai are aware that religious teachings are closely related to their beliefs. Therefore, to safeguard those beliefs, the Kiai consider marriage as a means to enhance their religious devotion. In other words, the marriages conducted by the Kiai are an expression derived from the religious values they hold dear.

3. *Kafa`ah*: Transformation of Religious Norms (Fiqh) in Endogamy Marriage

The endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school community are not spontaneous acts but rather the result of a lengthy and complex process. This is stated because their actions occur after undergoing a process of interpretation and understanding of religious norms and the social context they face. Therefore, in order to comprehend the phenomenon of endogamous marriages, the author

³⁶ Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, Interview, Situbondo, 20 Agust 2022.

³⁷ Quran, 24 (An-Nuur): 32.

³⁸ Abu Husain Muslim Ibn Hajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Muslim* (Beirut: Dār Al-Fikr, 2011), 1401.

³⁹ Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, Interview, Situbondo, 20 Agust 2022.

⁴⁰ Abu al-Hasan Al-Ash'ari, *Al-Ibānah `An Uṣūl Al-Diyānah* (Beirut Lebanon: Dār Ibn Zaidun, n.d.), 27.

needs to present the perspective of Islamic legal norms (fiqh) and the perspective of social action theory.

Normatively, the endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school community, based on lineage or social genealogy, religiousness, and knowledge, cannot deny the role of *kafa'ah* within them. Terminologically, the term *kafa'ah* means equality or compatibility in a marital union to avoid criticism.⁴¹ Sayyid Sabiq mentions that *kafa'ah* is the compatibility and equality of the couple in terms of position, social status, personality, and wealth.⁴² Syarifuddin states that compatibility is a special characteristic possessed by a woman as a standard by which a man who wants to marry her is measured.⁴³ By choosing a compatible and equal partner, it is hoped that the household will run harmoniously, and that a woman or her guardian will receive honor according to local traditions.⁴⁴

In relation to the context of endogamous marriages, in addition to utilizing the normative approach (fiqh) mentioned above, it is also integrated through Max Weber's theory of social action. Weber formulates social action as the action of individuals as long as the action has subjective meaning for themselves and is directed towards others.⁴⁵ Based on this formulation, Weber divides actions into four categories: goal-oriented rational action, traditional action, instrumental action, and mystical action.⁴⁶

The fact about the necessity of compatibility between couples is expressed by Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, who states that in maintaining a marital bond, it is important to avoid conflicts that should have been resolved prior to the marriage. Based on this goal-oriented motive, the importance of compatibility between partners is emphasized. This is reaffirmed by Kiai Azaim:

“Pada umumnya ketika orang itu merasakan kesesuaian yang itu kemudian melahirkan makna *kafa'ah*, baik strata ekonomi, lebih-lebih, strata agama, akan menimbulkan kemudahan proses untuk saling mengenal, *ta'aruf*. Dan ketika sudah saling mengenal akan muncul bibit-bibit menyukai. Di situlah kemudian lahirnya *mawaddah*, *warahmah*. Berbeda dengan yang harus melakukan penyesuaian, adaptasi, bahkan mungkin dinamikanya adalah kesalahpahaman-kesalahpahaman. Butuh proses lama, tidak jarang ujungnya adalah perceraian”.⁴⁷

It is inherent in human nature to seek happiness in life. If we consider it in the context of family, the goal is to ensure that the family we build does not easily break

⁴¹ Abdurrahman Al-Jazūri, *Kitāb Al-Fiqh 'Alā Al-Madhāhib Al-arba'ah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutūb al-'Ilmiyyah, 2011), Vol 2. 53.

⁴² Sayyid Sābiq, *Fiqh Al-Sunnah* (Mesir: Dār Al-Ḥadīth, 2004), Vol 2. 526.

⁴³ Amir Syarifuddin, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam Di Indonesia, Antara Fiqh Munakahat Dan Undang-Undang Perkawinan* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), 141.

⁴⁴ Wahbah Az-Zuhaily, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuhu* (Damaskus: Dar Al-Fikr, 1985), Vol 7. 230.

⁴⁵ George Ritzer, *Sosiologi Ilmu Berparadigma Ganda* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011), 88.

⁴⁶ Nurkholis & Alis Muhlis, “Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Dalam Tradisi Pembacaan Kitab Mukhtashar Al-Bukhari, Studi Living Hadis,” *Hurnal Living Hadis* 1, no. 2 Oktober (2019): 249, <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2016.1121>.

⁴⁷ Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, Interview, Situbondo, 20 Agust 2022.

apart, leading to separation. Seeking compatibility in a partner is part of the effort to prevent misunderstandings that could lead to separation.

From a normative perspective, religion offers several considerations in choosing a partner. The hadith of the Prophet states, "Marry a woman for four reasons: her wealth, her lineage, her beauty, and her religion. Choose the one who is religious, and you will prosper,"⁴⁸ serves as a guide for the Kiai in choosing a partner. This is reiterated by Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir:

"Hal-hal yang diatur di dalam syariat terkait dengan pernikahan, tujuannya untuk menciptakan keluarga yang baik, termasuk persoalan *kafa`ah*. Yang dicari adalah keserasian, kesamaan, tidak jumplang. Tapi sering terjadi kesenjangan antara *al-wāqi`* dan *al-mutawaqqi`*, antara apa yang terjadi dan apa yang seharusnya. Katanya syariah begini-begini, tapi nyatanya yang terjadi tidak begini".⁴⁹

The Kiai understand the ideal perspective according to religious norms and what actions should be taken when those norms are confronted with social contexts. It requires a dialogical effort between religious guidance and the realities they face. Therefore, in practice, the Kiai make interpretations of religious norms when confronted with less-than-ideal social conditions.

Based on their role, in addition to being religious elites, Kiai are also associated as social elites. Kiai are classified as religious elites because they have the ability to interpret religious texts found in the yellow books.⁵⁰ Therefore, it can be assumed that the yellow books influence the mindset or paradigm of the Kiai in responding to the social realities of diverse communities. Through this religious understanding, Kiai carry out the "domestication of Islam" within the social structure of society.⁵¹ Such a central role positions the Kiai as elites within the community.⁵²

In the context of endogamous marriage, the Kiai select their marriage partners based on religious requirements aligned with social conditions. In this regard, the Kiai consider lineage an important factor. The statement regarding the significance of lineage arises from a middle-aged Kiai who serves as a representative at the branch pesantren of Sukorejo, namely Kiai Moh. Aso Syamsuddin. Kiai Syamsuddin stated:

"Dalam tradisi keluarga kami, itu unsur nasab sangat diperhatikan. Disamping keilmuan membutuhkan sanad, masalah keturunan juga membutuhkan sanad. Sanad ilmiah dalam masalah keturunan itu lebih pada menjaga akidah. Jarang ada kalau satu (jalur) keturunan itu akidahnya berbeda".⁵³

⁴⁸ Abu Bakar Ahmad Ibn Husen Al-Baiḥakī, *Al-Sunān Al-Sagħīr* (Dār al-Fikr, 1993), 202.

⁴⁹ Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir, interview, Situbondo, 20 Juli 2022

⁵⁰ M. Ali Haidar, "Diversifikasi Peran Kiai Sebagai Pendidik Di Pesantren," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan* 4, no. 3 (2017): 63, <https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v4i3.409>.

⁵¹ Yanto Bashri, "Kiai in Indonesian Social-Political Changes," *Journal of Nahdlatul Ulama Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): 70. <https://doi.org/10.35672/jnus.v2i1.67-88>

⁵² Novi Wulandari, "Peran Kiai Sebagai Inisiator Dan Elitist Charismatic Dalam Membentuk Akuntabilitas Nahdlatul Ulama," *Jurnal Akuntansi Aktual* 6, no. 2 (2019): 294, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17977/um004v6i22019p290>.

⁵³ Kiai Moh. Aso Syamsudin, Interview, Situbondo, 10 July 2022

The Kiai believe that having the same lineage makes the process of marriage easier, as they are already familiar with each other. Lineage is seen as an indication of one's level of religious commitment and religious character. Based on the criteria of marrying a partner with the same lineage background, the Kiai do not need to worry about the character and ideology of their partner. Therefore, they choose the safe path in marriage by marrying women who have an equal lineage.

Getting to know the background of a partner is crucial in maintaining a harmonious married life. The Kiai consider this aspect important as it facilitates interaction between the families of the bride and groom. For the Kiai, marriage is not just between a man and a woman, but also between families. A significant statement representing the motive and purpose of lineage standards is recounted by Kiai Moh. Kholil Abdul Jalil. Kiai Kholil states:

“Ketika mendapatkan pasangan yang memiliki kultur tradisi yang sama dalam keluarga, maka lebih mudah dijalani dan lebih mudah memahami (satu sama lain). Dari sisi ini saja, dari sisi tatakrama, adab bagaimana dalam keluarga, itu kan berbeda. Ketika satu tradisi, itu akan lebih mudah. Potensi konflik lebih sedikit. Pernikahan itu tidak hanya laki-laki dan perempuan, tetapi antara satu keluarga dengan keluarga yang lain, antara satu budaya dengan budaya yang lain.⁵⁴

The Kiai have a different cultural tradition compared to the general society. In their social interactions, etiquette and customary norms play a more dominant role in their attitudes and behaviors. The etiquette and customary norms of the Kiai are generally formed through the internalization of values from religious knowledge and the social realities they experience. The traditional culture of the pesantren serves as the foundation in the lives of the Kiai. If a marriage involves different cultural traditions, the least implication would be a sense of awkwardness between one family and another. Even if a certain habit becomes a norm, the consequences can be greater, triggering mockery or ridicule among family members.⁵⁵

It can be understood that the motive behind it is more subjective and relatively beneficial to the individual. From a social perspective, such actions fall under the category of instrumental rational action. The specific goal orientation of the action is evident, which is to understand the social background based on their family's cultural traditions.⁵⁶ Based on the standard of lineage, the Kiai do not need to worry about conflicts arising between families because they share relatively similar cultural traditions.

In addition to the motive of avoiding unnecessary conflicts, the Kiai believe that marrying based on lineage consideration is more about ensuring the direction and orientation of the partner in family life. In this regard, Kiai Kholil stated:

“Sebenarnya, pernikahan keluarga itu hanya ingin kepastian saja. Ingin kepastian tentang, ke atasnya itu siapa?! Semacam silsilah atau sanad. Sanad keilmuannya dan kemudian bagaimana performa ibadahnya. Kalau di atasnya ahli ibadah,

⁵⁴ Kiai Moh. Kholil Abdul Jalil, Interview, Situbondo, 10 July 2022

⁵⁵ Rahmaniah, “Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam,” 350.

⁵⁶ George Ritzer & Goodman Douglas J, *Teori Sosiologi* (Bantul: Kreasi Wacana, 2011), 137.

maka potensi besar ke bawahnya juga ahli ibadah. Karena apa, karena kalau atasnya itu ahli ilmu dan ahli ibadah, sudah pasti mendoakan dan mengajarkan ilmu kepada anak-anaknya dan terus begitu secara turun temurun".⁵⁷

The Kiai, who embrace marriages based on lineage similarity, believe that the orientation of their partner will not differ significantly from their own. The Kiai are convinced that if their partner comes from a similar socio-cultural background, their character is likely to be closely aligned with their immediate family.

In the aforementioned context, it is understood that an individual's personality can be influenced by both genetic factors and their social environment.⁵⁸ This means that the motive of seeking certainty in the partner's orientation based on lineage and the social environment of the prospective spouse is not an irrational act, but rather a mature and rational decision. The standard of lineage for ensuring the direction of the partner's orientation is a rational action deeply rooted in the Kiai's educational practices for their sons and daughters in the pesantren. In other words, the factors of lineage and the pesantren environment serving as standards in the endogamous marriages of the Kiai hold rational significance, namely the assurance of scholarly lineage and the level of religious devotion.

The awareness of the importance of considering lineage in endogamous marriages stems from the knowledge of the Kiai regarding the condition of Prophet Muhammad, who had a clear social genealogy (lineage or nasab) in terms of creed. A statement that highlights this condition is expressed by Kiai Kholil, stating:

"Bagaimanapun kalau kita lihat dari kanjeng Nabi, itu jelas silsilahnya. Disebutkan, bahwa silsilah kanjeng Nabi itu ke atasnya tidak ada penyembah berhala".⁵⁹

From the statement above, it can be understood that the motive to follow the Prophet emerges from the standard of lineage. This demonstrates that the actions of the Kiai are strongly linked to the factor of religious belief that they adhere to. They believe in the benefits of goodness if an action is aligned with righteous figures.

The best example is Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the Kiai always strive to attribute their every move to him. As mentioned by Said Ramadhan Al-Bhuti in one of his works, the lineage of the Prophet extends upwards to noble individuals, including the previous Prophets and Messengers.⁶⁰ Such beliefs are common knowledge among the Kiai and even the Santri community. Hence, it can be said with confidence that the standard of lineage has a strong connection with the theological beliefs of the Kiai.

Based on the level of intentional religious knowledge of the Kiai and the reality they face, it can be concluded that choosing a good lineage is a rational action attributed

⁵⁷ Kiai Moh. Kholil Abdul Jalil, Interview, Situbondo, 10 July 2022

⁵⁸ Mufidah, *Psikologi Keluarga Islam Berwawasan Gender* (Malang: UIN Maliki Press, 2013), 89.

⁵⁹ Kiai Moh. Kholil Abdul Jalil, Interview, Situbondo, 10 July 2022

⁶⁰ Muhammad Sa'id Ramadhan Al-Būṭi, *Fiqh Al-Šīrah Al-Nabawiyah Ma'ā Mujāz Lī Al-Tarīkh Al-Khilāfah Al-Rashīdah* (Damaskus: Dār al-Fīkr, n.d.), 73.

to their belief in values, regardless of whether the intended goals succeed or not. This is what Weber refers to as value-oriented rational action.⁶¹

D. Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the phenomenon of endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment contains both religious and social motives. The Kiai believe that a sacred marriage can serve as a means to maintain faith, demonstrate love for Prophet Muhammad, and seek the pleasure of Allah. To achieve these goals, the Kiai base their choice of marriage partner on the principle of *kafa`ah*. The standards used include lineage, religious commitment, knowledge, and social culture. Lineage is considered an indicator of ideology, orientation, and the character of potential marriage partners.

From a multicultural fiqh perspective, the phenomenon of endogamous marriages among the Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment embodies social and Sufi fiqh values. Due to this reason, the concept of *kafa`ah* with its relatively diverse standards, becomes clearly defined according to the situation and conditions. In the context of endogamous marriages among the Kiai, the standards used are lineage, religious commitment, knowledge, and social culture of the potential partners. These standards serve as references after the Kiai understand the concept of *kafa`ah* and then interpret and implement it in the form of endogamous marriages.

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⁶¹ George Ritzer & Goodman Douglas J, *Teori Sosiologi*, 137.

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