



## **Intra-Cadre Marriage, Religious Homogamy, and Social Sustainability: Family-Based Institutional Reproduction among Wahdah Islamiyah Cadres in Manado**

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### **Abstract**

This article examines intra-cadre marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado as a socio-legal practice linking Islamic marital norms, religious homogamy, and social sustainability. It addresses the limited understanding of how such marriages shape autonomy, social boundaries, gender negotiation, and institutional reproduction beyond being viewed as expressions of shared faith. Using a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, the study draws on semi-structured interviews with nine key informants, complemented by observation and document analysis. The findings reveal three interrelated motives: practising Islamic law in family life, strengthening da'wah through a shared marital vision, and nurturing a rabbani generation. These motives operate through the accumulation of religious capital, social closure, and the transmission of organizational values within the family. Social sustainability is reflected in family and organizational cohesion, intergenerational transmission of Islamic values, and resilience in maintaining religious identity within a plural social environment. The study contributes to socio-legal scholarship by showing that intra-cadre marriage functions not only as a sacred covenant and legal institution but also as a mechanism for reproducing religious authority, organizational discipline, and continuity across generations.

**Keywords:** Wahdah Islamiyah; Intra-Cadre Marriages; Religious Homogamy; Social Sustainability; Marriage Law.

### **Introduction**

Marriage in Islamic legal thought is not merely a private arrangement between two individuals. It is a contract with religious, moral, social, and legal consequences (Yamani, 2021). In Islamic jurisprudence, marriage regulates lawful intimacy, mutual rights, family responsibility, and the ethical formation of society (Tahumil, 2022). In Indonesian law,

marriage is also recognized as a legal institution that connects religious validity with state administration (Yetta et al., 2024). This double character makes marriage a useful site for examining how Islamic norms, national law, and social practices intersect in contemporary Muslim communities.

For Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado, marriage is situated within this double framework (Sofyani & Aspin, 2014). It is legally registered under national law, but it is also interpreted as part of religious obedience, *da'wah* (Islamic outreach) commitment, and organizational discipline. The practice becomes particularly important when cadres prefer to marry within the same organization (Samsuddin et al., 2025). Such intra-cadre marriage may strengthen shared values and family stability. Still, it also raises critical questions about individual autonomy, social exclusivity, gender expectations, and ideological consolidation within a relatively bounded religious community (Abbas et al., 2025; Chaplin, 2018; Rohman et al., 2026; Zulfan et al., 2025). The issue is therefore not simply whether intra-cadre marriage exists, but how it shapes intimate choice, domestic authority, and institutional continuity.

The urgency of this study lies in the need to understand social sustainability within religious communities beyond general claims of harmony and cohesion. In this article, social sustainability is operationalized through three dimensions: cohesion, intergenerational transmission, and resilience. Cohesion refers to the capacity of cadre families to maintain shared religious orientation and communal participation. Intergenerational transmission refers to the movement of Islamic values, *da'wah* commitment, and organizational identity from parents to children. Resilience refers to the ability of cadre families and the organization to maintain religious identity while negotiating social change, plural religious environments, and internal tensions. This framework follows wider discussions of social sustainability that emphasize continuity, participation, equity, stability, and the capacity of communities to reproduce social life without suppressing diversity or agency (Dempsey et al., 2011; Littig & Griessler, 2005; Missimer et al., 2017).

Previous studies on Islamic marriage in Indonesia have examined legal reform, family resilience, gender relations, and the relationship between Islamic norms and state regulation (Busriyanti et al., 2025; Mursyid et al., 2024; Pelu & Dakhoir, 2021; Putra & Acela, 2023; Setiawan et al., 2024; Sholeh et al., 2021). Other studies on religious homogamy show that marriage within the same religious group may strengthen marital compatibility, religious participation, and social continuity (Hwang et al., 2021; Lee & Lee, 2023; Reid, 2022). Research on Wahdah Islamiyah has discussed its religious authority, *fatwas* (legal rulings), political thought, and organizational dynamics (Arifianto, 2020; Jubba et al., 2021; Jurdi et al., 2024; Mth et al., 2015). However, these studies have not sufficiently

explained how intra-cadre marriage operates as a socio-legal mechanism that links spouse selection, religious capital, social closure, gender negotiation, and institutional reproduction.

This article addresses that gap by analysing marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado through a socio-legal and hermeneutic phenomenological lens. The study does not assume that intra-cadre marriage automatically produces harmony or religious continuity. Instead, it asks how cadres interpret intra-cadre marriage, how the organization shapes marital preferences, and how family life becomes a site for reproducing religious values. The novelty of this study lies in its integration of religious homogamy, religious capital, social closure, and institutional reproduction to explain the relationship between marriage, *da'wah* (Islamic outreach), and social sustainability. The purpose of the study is to examine the motives behind intra-cadre marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado and to analyse how these practices contribute to, and at times complicate, family cohesion, intergenerational transmission, and organizational resilience.

### **Research Method**

This study employs a hermeneutic phenomenological approach to examine how Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado interpret intra-cadre marriage as a religious, social, and organizational practice. This approach is appropriate because the study is not limited to describing marital practices but seeks to understand how cadres give meaning to marriage, spouse selection, *da'wah* commitment, and family life within their lived religious experience (van Manen, 2016). The research was conducted in Manado, North Sulawesi, a pluralistic religious setting in which Muslim identity is continually shaped through interaction with broader social diversity. In this context, intra-cadre marriage cannot be understood merely as an internal religious preference, but as part of a broader negotiation of religious identity, family formation, and organizational continuity.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling based on three criteria: active involvement in Wahdah Islamiyah, direct experience or knowledge of intra-cadre marriage, and the ability to explain the relationship between marriage, *da'wah* (Islamic outreach), and organizational life. This sampling strategy is suitable for qualitative inquiry because it enables the researcher to engage information-rich participants who are directly related to the phenomenon under study (Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 2015). The study involved nine key informants, consisting of married male cadres, female cadres, and organizational figures. The number of participants was not intended to represent the population statistically, but to provide interpretive depth consistent with phenomenological and saturation-oriented qualitative research (Guest,

2001; Pearlson et al., 2024). Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis. The interviews explored motives for intra-cadre marriage, *ta'aruf* (initial introduction), and religious selection, the relationship between marriage and *da'wah*, and the transmission of Islamic values within family life, while observation and document analysis were used to contextualize individual narratives within organizational practices and Islamic family norms (Bowen, 2009; Kallio et al., 2016).

The credibility of the data was ensured through source triangulation, method triangulation, and interpretive checking. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing the narratives of male and female cadres, and organizational figures, while method triangulation compared interview findings with observations and documentary materials (Carter et al., 2014). Interpretive checking was applied by repeatedly comparing initial codes with interview contexts to avoid selective reading and to capture variation, tension, and possible dissonance in the field (Nowell et al., 2017; Tracy, 2010). The data were analysed thematically through repeated reading, initial coding, theme development, and theoretical interpretation. The analytical themes included religious capital, religious homogamy, social closure, institutional reproduction, gender negotiation, and social sustainability (Dempsey et al., 2011; Littig & Griessler, 2005). These themes were interpreted through the operational framework of cohesion, intergenerational transmission, and resilience, in line with social sustainability literature that emphasizes continuity, participation, stability, and the capacity of communities to reproduce social life without suppressing diversity and agency.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Legal Orientation and the Socio-Legal Position of Marriage**

Marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres is understood through two interconnected sources of legitimacy: Islamic law and Indonesian state law. In Islamic legal thought, marriage is not merely a private relationship, but a lawful contract that legitimizes spousal relations, regulates rights and responsibilities, and protects moral conduct. Although the Sunni legal schools differ in their technical formulations of marriage, they generally share the view that marriage creates a legitimate framework for intimacy, cooperation, and family responsibility. This understanding is also consistent with the Qur'anic description of marriage as a source of tranquillity, love, and affection, positioning it as both a religious duty and a social institution (El-Alami & Hinchcliffe, 2023; Yamani, 2021). For Wahdah Islamiyah cadres, this normative foundation shapes marriage as

part of religious discipline, moral protection, and the formation of a family life oriented toward Islamic values. (Azani, 2021; Cherlin, 2020; El-Alami & Hinchcliffe, 2023).

In the Indonesian legal context, marriage is also a formally regulated institution. Law Number 1 of 1974 defines marriage as a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman aimed at building a happy and lasting family based on belief in the Almighty God, while Article 2 requires marriage to be conducted according to religion and recorded according to applicable regulations (Herlena & Hasri, 2020). The Compilation of Islamic Law further describes marriage as *mitsaqan ghaliza* (a strong covenant) undertaken to obey God's command and to build a household characterized by *sakinah* (tranquillity), *mawaddah* (love), and *rahmah* (affection) (Bakour, 2023; Rosenblum, 2021; Siregar, 2024). Within this framework, the cadres interviewed did not view marriage registration as a mere administrative formality. Rather, they understood it as necessary for legal recognition, family protection, and public legitimacy. This reflects the socio-legal character of Muslim marriage in Indonesia, where religious validity and state recognition operate together in shaping the legal and social status of family life (Bedner & van Huis, 2010; Huis, 2015; Rosenblum, 2021; Siregar, 2024).

However, the legal orientation of Wahdah Islamiyah marriage should not be reduced to a simple harmony between Islamic doctrine and state regulation. The more important socio-legal issue is how legal and religious norms are translated into actual spouse selection, family discipline, gender expectations, and organizational continuity. Legal compliance provides formal legitimacy, but the social meaning of marriage is produced within the cadre environment through commitment of *halaqah* (religious study circles), *tarbiyah* (spiritual development), and *da'wah* (Islamic outreach), thus the expectation that family life should support religious and organizational reproduction (Chaplin, 2018; Samsuddin et al., 2020). Intra-cadre marriage, therefore, becomes more than a legally valid marital choice. It functions as a practice through which Islamic law, Indonesian legal requirements, organizational values, and personal aspirations are brought together and negotiated in domestic life. This framing strengthens the article's socio-legal contribution by showing that marriage law operates not only through formal statutes and doctrines but also through lived religious communities and their internal mechanisms of moral formation.

### **Motives behind Intra-Cadre Marriages among Wahdah Islamiyah**

Wahdah Islamiyah, an Islamic mass organization, bases its principles on the teachings of al-Salaf al-Saleh and relies heavily on the Qur'an and Hadith, in line with the methodology of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* (the

people of the Sunnah and the community). This organization operates in various aspects of life, contributing to societal change and development. Wahdah Islamiyah's roots can be traced back to Muhammadiyah, which transformed due to ideological differences, leading to the organization's establishment in its current form. As an influential social and religious movement, Wahdah Islamiyah's strong organizational structure plays a key role in molding committed cadres through continuous educational programs, even in remote regions such as Manado. Though Wahdah Islamiyah is relatively young compared to other Islamic organizations in Indonesia, its rapid growth has made it a key player in religious and social discourse (Jurdi, 2012; Saleh M, 2018; Tahumil, 2022).

One of the more intriguing aspects of Wahdah Islamiyah's practices in Manado is the relatively low incidence of intra-cadre marriages, despite the organization's emphasis on promoting its ideologies and increasing its membership base. This is partly because Wahdah Islamiyah is still a growing entity in Manado, with many of its cadres being young students attending various universities in the area (Jurdi et al., 2024; Subeitan, 2019). However, for those who choose to marry within the cadre, there are significant motivations behind their decision to enter into intra-cadre unions. These motivations can be analyzed in terms of religious, social, and organizational factors, each contributing to the rationale for intra-cadre marriages.

The motives behind intra-cadre marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado should not be understood merely as personal marital preferences. They reflect a broader pattern of religious homogamy, in which cadres tend to value spouses who share similar religious knowledge, *manhaj* (doctrine), worship discipline, *tarbiyah* (spiritual development) experience, and commitment to *da'wah*. This preference is not formally imposed as an organizational rule. Still, it is shaped by the moral environment of Wahdah Islamiyah, where certain marital choices are considered more desirable because they promise greater value alignment and lower marital risk. In this sense, spouse selection is neither purely individual nor wholly institutional; it is shaped within a field of religious expectations in which shared religious capital serves as an important basis for marital compatibility (Bourdieu, 1986; McPherson et al., 2001).

This pattern also indicates a form of social closure. Marriage within the cadre community creates symbolic boundaries between spouses who are considered religiously compatible and those who may require greater adjustment. The boundary is not absolute, since cadres may still marry outside Wahdah Islamiyah. However, the internal preference remains significant because it defines the ideal spouse as someone who has accumulated similar religious capital through *halaqah* (religious study circles), *tarbiyah* (spiritual development), worship discipline, modest

conduct, and loyalty to *da'wah* (Islamic outreach). Through this process, intra-cadre marriage functions as a social filtering mechanism: it selects partners who already share the organization's moral orientation and then reinforces that orientation through family life (Chaplin, 2018; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Samsuddin et al., 2020).

Therefore, the three motives discussed below – realizing Islamic law through marriage, strengthening *da'wah* through shared marital vision, and creating a *rabbani* (heavenly) generation – should be read as interconnected dimensions of organizational reproduction. The first motive shows how marriage becomes a domestic arena for practising Islamic law and moral discipline. The second shows how marriage supports *da'wah* by aligning spouses within the same ideological and organizational vision. The third shows how family life serves as a mechanism for intergenerational religious transmission, in which children are expected to inherit Islamic knowledge, worship discipline, and a commitment to *da'wah*. At the same time, these motives should be interpreted critically: intra-cadre marriage may strengthen cohesion and continuity, but it may also create implicit pressure to conform to an ideal model of Islamic family life. Thus, the significance of intra-cadre marriage lies not only in personal compatibility but also in its role in sustaining Wahdah Islamiyah's religious identity, cadre formation, and organizational future (Bengtson et al., 2013; Pearce & Denton, 2011). The following will explore three key motives behind why members of Wahdah Islamiyah in Manado often choose to marry other cadres within the organization.

### **Realizing Islamic Law through Marriage**

In an interview with a Wahdah Islamiyah cadre in Manado, he explained, "Joining Wahdah Islamiyah gave me a clear direction in life, especially in marriage. Here, we are taught that marriage is not just a social contract but also a part of implementing Islamic law. In our family, we remind each other to uphold our worship, lower our gaze, and treat each other respectfully" (Saiful, 2025). In their marriage, they emphasize maintaining Islamic values in acts of worship, personal conduct, and family relations.

Realizing Islamic law in marriage also means that Wahdah Islamiyah cadres are expected to protect their honour, their family, and their environment. For instance, in the practice of marriage, many cadres of Wahdah Islamiyah take great care to preserve the sanctity of their marriages by adhering to Islamic principles, such as lowering the gaze, guarding chastity, and fulfilling the rights and obligations of both spouses (Daud, 2025). Additionally, Wahdah Islamiyah encourages its members to strengthen family ties and broaden social connections through permissible means, which they see as crucial to building a harmonious and blessed

family life. According to another interview with a cadre, "Marrying a fellow Wahdah Islamiyah member brings comfort because we understand each other in upholding Islamic law, including maintaining good relations and performing family worship" (Kisman, 2025). This demonstrates how marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah members is about personal happiness and mutual support in fulfilling religious duties.

The application of Islamic law in the marriages of Wahdah Islamiyah cadres is further reflected in how they live their family lives, with a focus on piety and closeness to Allah. The family unit is crucial in teaching children to recognize and implement Islamic teachings from an early age. As another Wahdah Islamiyah cadre shared, "My wife and I always strive to run our household with full awareness of Islamic law, including teaching our children to become righteous and practicing Muslims" (Akbar, 2025). This statement highlights that marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres is not only about personal fulfilment but also about fulfilling a social responsibility to nurture the next generation in accordance with Islamic values. In this way, their marriages strengthen their families and the broader community.

### **Strengthening the Mission of *Da'wah* through Marriage**

For many Wahdah Islamiyah cadres, marrying within the organization is seen as a way to strengthen their *da'wah* (Islamic outreach) mission, which is one of their core objectives in life. Marrying within the cadre is essential to uniting the principles of *da'wah* they have been practicing. One of the primary reasons behind this decision is the shared vision and mission in promoting Islamic teachings. Within a marriage between two cadres, the couple already shares the same understanding and goals, which minimizes the challenges of reconciling different perspectives on the mission of *da'wah* (Tahumil, 2022). As expressed by Muhammad Akbar, a cadre of Wahdah Islamiyah: "The reason I married within the Wahdah cadre is so that, moving forward, as we build a family and go through the phases after marriage, we have the same vision and mission. This means that our views and thoughts are already aligned, making it easier to create a harmonious family life without requiring significant effort." (Akbar, 2025) This statement underscores the importance of ideological unity in fostering a peaceful, supportive marriage that advances their shared religious mission.

Among the nine informants, this *da'wah*-oriented motive was explicitly articulated by Muhammad Akbar. At the same time, related ideas of shared religious vision and family-based religious commitment appeared indirectly in other interviews. Therefore, this finding should not be presented as a general view of all Wahdah Islamiyah cadres, but as an interpretive theme grounded in Akbar's statement and supported by

broader patterns in the data. Akbar explained that marrying within the Wahdah cadre made family life easier because both spouses already shared the same vision and mission, thereby reducing the need to reconcile different views and strengthening their commitment to *da'wah* (Akbar, 2025). This suggests that intra-cadre marriage may serve not only as a means of personal compatibility but also as a way to align household life with collective religious and organizational goals.

### **Creating a *Rabbani* Generation**

The notion of a *rabbani* (heavenly) generation should be repositioned not merely as an internal normative term within Wahdah Islamiyah, but as an analytical category for understanding how intra-cadre marriage is linked to social reproduction, religious socialization, and intergenerational transmission. In this study, a *rabbani* generation refers to children who are expected to inherit religious knowledge, Qur'anic commitment, worship discipline, moral conduct, and involvement in *da'wah*. This aspiration reflects the role of the family as a site for transmitting religious capital, moral dispositions, and organizational identity from parents to children (Bourdieu, 1986; Iannaccone, 1990).

Iswan's statement that he married a Wahdah cadre because he hoped his children would become memorizers of the Qur'an, *ulama* (scholars), and *da'i* (preacher). This thought illustrates how cadres imagine marriage as a pedagogical and religious space for cultivating future religious commitment (Iswan, 2025). However, this should not be interpreted as evidence that intra-cadre marriage automatically produces a *rabbani* generation. Rather, it shows an intergenerational aspiration shaped by parental religiosity, family routines, religious instruction, and organizational environment. At the same time, the actual outcome remains open to children's agency, schooling, peer influence, digital exposure, and broader social change (Pearce & Denton, 2011).

The aspiration to create a *rabbani* generation operates not simply as an educational goal, but as a social mechanism through which Wahdah Islamiyah's cadre system enters and organizes domestic life. The flow begins with the cadre, who receives religious formation through *tarbiyah*, *ta'lim* (imparting knowledge), *da'wah* activities, and organizational discipline; these values are then carried into the household through marital expectations, daily worship routines, parenting practices, moral supervision, and decisions about children's religious education. Ever's explanation of six steps—sincere intention, *mujahada* (spiritual struggle), family-based *da'wah*, continuous *tarbiyah* and *ta'lim*, commitment to the Wahdah Islamiyah community, and prayer for the organization's continuity—shows that the family is imagined as an extension of the cadre system rather than a purely private space (Ever, 2025).

In this process, internalization occurs when children repeatedly encounter Islamic values through parental instruction, embodied religious practice, Qur'anic learning, worship discipline, and participation in communal religious activities. Social control operates not mainly through formal coercion, but through routine correction, moral exemplars, expectations of pious conduct, and the family's awareness that it represents the organization's *da'wah* identity. Thus, religious institutions penetrate the domestic sphere by transforming the cadre household into a site of religious socialization, moral regulation, and intergenerational transmission, where organizational values are reproduced through everyday family life while remaining subject to variation, negotiation, and children's agency (Mahoney et al., 2001).

### **Marriage and Social Sustainability: Cohesion, Transmission, and Resilience**

The concept of social sustainability helps explain why marriage matters for Wahdah Islamiyah beyond personal fulfilment. In this study, social sustainability is not measured through economic indicators or demographic growth. It is examined in terms of cohesion, intergenerational transmission, and resilience. These three indicators translate the concept into an analytical tool that explains how intra-cadre marriage helps sustain both family and organizational life. Family stability is considered a private matter and a cornerstone of organizational strength and continuity (Bukido et al., 2025; Matsumura, 2025). Marriage among cadres is perceived as a means of sustaining the movement's moral and structural fabric, reinforcing its collective identity and mission. Islamic social organizations in Indonesia often view family formation as an extension of their institutional framework, where individual relationships serve broader ideological purposes (Arifianto, 2020; Jubba et al., 2021). This integration of family- and faith-based activism ensures that the values upheld within the organization are continuously reproduced through domestic life. According to interviews conducted, several Wahdah members emphasized that the harmony of their family life directly affects their effectiveness in *da'wah* activities. One respondent explained, "When our home is peaceful and based on shared values, our commitment to the organization and Allah's work strengthens." (Abdullah, 2025).

Furthermore, intra-cadre marriages enhance collective solidarity by fostering shared social networks and mutual support systems among members. Families within Wahdah Islamiyah often participate in community-based programs such as *halaqah* (religious study circles), *tarbiyah* (spiritual development), and *khidmah* (voluntary service), which strengthen both their faith and their bond to the organization (Tahumil, 2022). This shared participation transforms family relationships into nodes

of social cohesion, linking individual households into a tightly knit communal structure. Islamic organizations that cultivate strong familial participation tend to exhibit greater resilience and adaptability when facing societal challenges (Gumiandari et al., 2024; Ridlwan & Fitriana, 2024; Sholeh et al., 2021). In interviews, cadre families in Manado expressed that joint involvement in religious and community activities provides moral reinforcement and reduces social isolation. One interviewee stated, "Our marriage is not just between two individuals, but between two missions. We build a family that serves Allah and strengthens the *ummah* (society)" (Saiful, 2025).

In Wahdah Islamiyah, intra-cadre marriage should not be understood as a mechanism that automatically guarantees the regeneration of cadres or the production of a *rabbani* generation. Rather, it is perceived by cadres as a supportive condition for transmitting religious values, a commitment to *da'wah*, and organizational identity across generations. Marriage within the organization is valued because both spouses are assumed to share similar religious orientations, *tarbiyah* experience, worship discipline, and commitment to the *manhaj ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* (doctrine of the people of the Sunnah and the community). As Jamal stated, intra-cadre marriage is viewed as a way to "continue the chain of faith and activism" (Jamal, 2025), while Saiful explained that he married a Wahdah cadre because he hoped his children would become *hafizh* (guardian or memorizer) of Al-Qur'an and future *da'i* (Saiful, 2025). These statements show that cadres envision marriage as a means of religious continuity, but they should be interpreted as aspirations rather than as evidence of guaranteed intergenerational success. This interpretation is consistent with theories of social reproduction and religious transmission, which emphasize that family life may transmit religious capital and moral dispositions. Still, such processes remain contingent and open to variation.

The relationship between cadre, family, and child operates through identifiable social mechanisms. First, habitus formation occurs when cadres who have been shaped through *tarbiyah*, *halaqah*, *da'wah* activities, and organizational discipline carry these dispositions into marriage and parenting. Second, environmental selection occurs when cadres prefer spouses with similar religious capital, thereby creating a household environment perceived as more conducive to shared worship, Qur'anic learning, moral discipline, and participation in *da'wah*. Third, social control operates through routine correction, parental modelling, supervision of worship, expectations of modest conduct, and the moral pressure to represent the organization's religious identity. Through these mechanisms, the family becomes a site where organizational values are translated into everyday domestic practices, rather than merely a biological channel for the production of future members.

For this reason, the common metaphor of the family as the “first *madrasah* (school)” needs to be reformulated in more analytical terms. In this article, the cadre household is better understood as an embedded pedagogical structure or an institutionalized socialization mechanism. This means that religious institutions penetrate the domestic sphere not only through formal teaching, but also through repeated practices such as praying together, Qur’anic memorization, participation in *halaqah*, moral instruction, gendered role expectations, and involvement in community *da'wah*. Zinnirah’s statement that her home is “a small center of *da'wah*,” where children are taught to memorize the Qur’an, pray on time, and love the Muslim community (Zinnirah, 2025), illustrates how domestic life is connected to institutional religious formation. In this sense, the family is not separate from the organization; it becomes one of the everyday spaces through which organizational discipline and religious identity are reproduced.

Nevertheless, this process should not be presented as a closed or self-reinforcing system without tension. Social reproduction may be interrupted, negotiated, or resisted. Children may not fully internalize parental expectations; spouses may differ in their level of religious commitment; mothers and fathers may experience unequal burdens in maintaining the ideal Islamic household; and exposure to schools, peers, digital media, and plural social environments may produce alternative orientations. Therefore, claims that intra-cadre marriage minimizes ideological fragmentation should be stated cautiously unless supported by comparative data with non-cadre marriages. A more defensible formulation is that informants perceive intra-cadre marriage as reducing the risk of ideological mismatch and facilitating *da'wah*-oriented family life. Still, this perception does not preclude the possibility of conflict, resistance, or failure in the transmission process.

Thus, the regeneration of cadres through intra-cadre marriage should be understood as an intentional but uncertain process of institutionalized religious socialization. Ever’s statement about building a generation that “not only memorizes the Qur’an but lives it” (Ever, 2025) reflects Wahdah Islamiyah’s ideal of shaping a *rabbani* (heavenly) generation, but it does not prove that such an outcome is automatically achieved. The analytical significance of intra-cadre marriage lies in the fact that it creates a structured environment in which religious values, family discipline, *da'wah* commitment, and organizational identity are cultivated, monitored, negotiated, and sometimes contested across generations. This framing strengthens the argument by showing that intra-cadre marriage contributes to social sustainability not as a deterministic pathway to cadre regeneration, but as a social mechanism through which Wahdah Islamiyah

attempts to sustain cohesion, transmit values, and reproduce its religious movement within changing social conditions.

### **Conclusion**

Intra-cadre marriage among Wahdah Islamiyah cadres in Manado should not be understood merely as a private marital preference, a sacred union, or a normative expression of shared faith, but as a socio-legal and sociological mechanism through which Islamic marital norms, religious capital, organizational values, and family life intersect. This study shows that intra-cadre marriage operates through religious homogamy, symbolic boundary-making, environmental selection, habitus formation, and domestic socialization, in which spouse selection, worship routines, parenting practices, *da'wah* commitment, and communal participation are connected to the reproduction of religious identity and organizational continuity. The study contributes to the sociology of religion and socio-legal scholarship by reframing the family as an embedded site of institutional reproduction, rather than merely a private household or moral ideal. However, this process is not automatic or deterministic: the aspiration to form a *rabbani* generation should be understood as an intergenerational religious project shaped by parental religiosity, organizational discipline, and family routines, while remaining open to negotiation, variation, resistance, and possible failure due to children's agency, gendered domestic burdens, schooling, peer networks, digital exposure, and plural social environments. Thus, the main theoretical refinement offered by this article is that social sustainability in religious communities is not produced merely through cohesion or shared belief, but through contested and everyday mechanisms of transmission, regulation, adaptation, and resilience within family life. Practically, the findings suggest that religious organizations need to support family formation without turning shared religious commitment into social pressure, exclusionary closure, or unequal domestic responsibility; future research should compare intra-cadre and non-cadre marriages, examine children's experiences in cadre families, and further explore how women negotiate religious authority, domestic obligations, and organizational expectations.

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