Hadith Study of Neglecting Women as Imam of Congregational Prayer Perspective of Religious Organization Activists in Malang Raya

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Abstract

Women in religion and culture-historical study have a journey of oppression, adversity and, discrimination. Women have always been used as objects of pleasure and victims of lust for men. Many interpretations of religious texts discriminate against women. Many religious figures look down on women through their interpretation of the texts of Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. One of the interpretations is the opinion of the majority of community leaders about the prohibition of women as imams of congregational prayer. This research aims to determine the views of the community from Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and Malang Raya Mosque Management regarding the meaning of the hadith of women's delegation as imam (congregational prayer leader) from a social construction perspective. This research is included in the category of qualitative research using the sociological construction theory approach, and the science of hadith criticism. This researcher used a new model in the realm of hadith research, named living hadith. Data collection methods in this research were in-depth interviews and documentation. The selection of informants used a purposive sampling technique. The analytical technique used in this research was the Huberman and Miles interactive model, namely; data reduction, data display, and conclusion. The understanding of activists of religious organizations Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and Mosque Management regarding the hadith negation of women being imams of prayer can be classified into two models of understanding. There are textual and contextualist-hermeneutical. Public understanding of the hadith regarding the delegation of women to become imam comes from hadith, opinions of classical scholars, contemporary books, and also comes from the results of intuitive meanings that lead to conservative and progressive.

Keywords: Living Hadith, Imams of Women's Prayers, Social Construction.

INTRODUCTION

Malang city is well-known as an academic city. It has more than 86 public and private universities (Wikipedia; 2021). According to data on Wikipedia, there are 221 Islamic boarding schools, both characterized by khalafiyah (modern), salafiyah or a combination in Malang City (Wikipedia, 2021). However, there were 532 cases of violence against women both physically and psychologically in Malang Raya in 2012. These cases have increased compared to previous years.

Women are considered persecuted and oppressed society, always positioned as a second class after men. As stated by Allah in Q.,S.al-Nahl/16:58-59; The ideal woman image in the Koran is a woman who has political independence (Hidayat, 2002: xxxvi), as in Q., S. al-Mumtahanah/60:12. In Al-Qur'an, many verses explain the principles of an equal position of women and men. both of them are servants of Allah SWT (Umar, 2001) as mentioned in Q., S. al-Dzariyat/51:56 and Q.,S. al-Hujurat/49:13.

In a study on women, there are still many views and ideologies that demean women, as well as the obstruction of their rights as women (Mufidah, 2010). The texts of Al-Qur'an and Sunnah are understood textually and often gender-biased (Al-Bantani, tt: 5). These religious texts are understood without involving their historicity. In a study, it was stated that the model of a woman's fingers had a relationship with loyalty to her husband. Thus, the model of the fingers is considered not good, causing violence to the wife. Violence and oppression of husbands against their wives are considered normal because these assumptions are inherent in certain societies, and this oppression has not been touched by the law (Karyanto, 2017).

Although Islam has deconstructed the view of the ignorant society towards Islam, in fact, women are still considered inferior to men. This is because of the interpretations of religious texts that tend to be patriarchal. The interpretation of this discrimination can be seen in the interpretation of verse 228 in QS: 2. Ibn Araby mentions that women are lower than men. The verse only applies to divorce (Ismail, 2003: 3).

The awareness of Muslim scholars has begun to grow and develop, especially in the realm of higher education. Various studies of hadith texts on women's discrimination have begun to be studied with various and more accountable scientific approaches. (El-Fadhl,

2003: Ilyas, 2008). A normative-based study about women being imam for men resulted in the conclusion that the law of women being imam is *makruh tahrim* (As'ad, 2019). Careful research in the analysis of *sanad* and m*atan* about the hadith negation of women being the imam of prayer for men resulted in the conclusion that women may become imams of prayer for men. The opinion of classical scholars who do not allow women to become imam of congregational prayer for men shows that there is discrimination of views against women, even though the hadith allows them to have good status (Suryadilaga, 2011). A similar study on women becoming imams of prayer also concludes that the hadith that prohibits women from becoming imams of congregational prayer is weak and cannot be used as evidence/*hujjah*. (Maidin, 2016)

This research is categorized as a qualitative type. It used a sociological approach to social construction and hadith criticism (Maliki, 2003: 235-236). Berger (1976, 4-5) states that social construction theory has three fundamental dialectical moments of society. The first is externalization (self-adaptation). Externalization is a moment of adjustment of a person with socio-cultural. The process is open and influenced by the insight one has. An individual's knowledge capital is an accumulation of common sense knowledge. Knowledge or insight possessed by individuals with other individuals in routine and automatic activities in daily life (socio-cultural) is referred to as common sense knowledge as well. Therefore, an individual in socio-cultural plays an important role as a shaper, maintainer as well as a changer of society. This moment of externalization can be understood as a process of verbalizing ideas from the mental or inner dimensions to the outer or outer dimensions. Externalization is the process of removing ideas from the world of ideas into the real world (Syam, 2005: 82-83. Sumbulah, 2012: 195)

The second is objectification (self-interaction with the socio-cultural world). When objectivation is understood as the interaction of oneself with an institutionalized intersubjective world, then the NU, Muhammadiyah, HTI, and Mosque Management communities are the product of their activities. In other words, NU, Muhammadiyah, HTI, and Mosque Management communities are objectified human activities.

The third is internalization (self-identification in the socio-cultural world). Activists of religious organizations and mosque administrators identify themselves as agents of change in a community in a particular society. Their existence contributes in various

matters related to education, religion, and social assistance to the community. Every activist plays an active role in showing their identity in society. Their role can be seen through religious activities, such as discussion forums, recitations, questions and answers, writings, seminars, scientific publications, and so on. Most of them play an active role in conveying their ideas about understanding the hadiths of delegating women as imams of congregational prayer in the classroom, due to their role as educators, both as teachers and lecturers. In certain parts of their daily roles, activists come into contact with issues regarding women, especially the meaning of the hadith of women's delegation as imam, both through written and oral discourse.

This research used a new model in the study of hadith, named the model of living hadith. Living hadith is a hadith study that pays a lot of attention to the meaning of hadith practiced in certain communities in certain situations and for certain interests (Suryadilaga, 2007: 93). Muzakky argued that the Companion of the Prophet named Abu Said al-Khudri mentioned that the function of hadith was not only used as a source of Islamic teachings but also a socio-cultural resource (Muzakky, 2020).

The approach to criticism of the hadith *sanad* refers to the theory of Ibn Salah (1972: 10). The *sanad* is continuous, the narrator is fair, *dhabit*, there is no awkwardness and defects. As for the standard of criticism, it looks at the theory initiated by al-Damini (1984: 115-223). It is to be relevant to the Qur'an, to compare the history of *ahad* hadith with the history of other traditions, to compare one hadith to another, not to contradict historical facts, the meaning of Hadith can be accepted by reason, does not contradict with *al-usul al-shar'iyyah and qawaid al-muqarrarah*, and the meaning of hadith does not contain anything impossible.

This research is important to conduct because the main source of informants is people from different mass organizations from various aspects of ideology, gait, and reach of their da'wah. The object of this research was mass organizations from NU, Muhammadiyah, HTI, and mosque administrators in Malang Raya. NU was chosen because it is the largest mass organization in Indonesia and has a very strong and fanatical cultural influence from the grassroots. Muhammadiyah becomes important as an object of research because it has a very strong influence on the structural area. HTI was taken as a research sample because this organization has a mindset that tends to be extreme and

fundamentalist. The selection of mosque administrators is important because the mosque is a place of religious activity. The mosque is a place and center for activities to provide education and increase religious insight, especially facing the all-digital era (Lucky, 2019). In this context, women are imams of congregational prayer for men. Data collection in this research was carried out in 2013, except for the source of information from the Malang Raya Mosque management carried out in early 2021.

DISCUSSION

The Hadith Redaction of Negation of Women as Imams of Prayer

عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ خَلاَّدٍ عَنْ أُمِّ وَرَقَةَ بِنْتِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ بِهَذَا الْحَدِيثِ وَالأَوَّلُ أَتَمُّ قَالَ وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ —صلى الله عليه وسلم— يَزُورُهَا فِي بَيْتِهَا وَجَعَلَ لَهَا مُؤَذِّنًا يُؤَذِّنُ لَهَا وَأَمَرَهَا أَنْ تَؤُمَّ أَهْلَ دَارِهَا. قَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ فَأَنَا رَأَيْتُ مُؤَذِّنَهَا شَيْخًا كَبِيرًا.

It was narrated from Umm Waraqah, that once the Prophet (saw) visited Umm Waraqah's house, she appointed a muezzin for her and ordered her to become the family imam in her house. Abdur Rahman said that his muezzin was an old man.

1. *I'tibar* Sanad Hadis

Tracing is carried out in the al-tis'ah with the keyword used "*taumma ahla dariha*", the hadith was mentioned in the primary hadith books, namely, in the Musnad Ahmad (2002, 255) and Sunan Abu Dawud (tt, 161), with the various hadiths. The *lafadz* variants of all the *sanad* lines in the two hadith books have the same message and meaning, although the pronunciation is different.

All of the narrators in the hadith are trusted and have a good quality *sanad* that can be accounted for. Of all the hadith chain paths sourced from Sunan Abu Dawud, there is no problematic narrator. It's just that one narrator is found from one of the chain lines in Ahmad's Musnad whose credibility is disputed, namely Walid ibn Juuma'i al-Kufy (Hanbal, 2001: 255). Even though there is one problematic *sanad*, the status of the hadith is still considered authentic, because there are other *sanad* that are authentic.

2. The interpretation of Hadith Meaning

The hadith gives a message that women can be the imam of prayer for men. However, the majority of scholars do not allow it. All four madhhab imams do not allow

women to become imams of prayer for men (Al-Zuhayli, 1997: 1194). Women are also not allowed to become an imam for both men and women in the view of the al-Maliki school (al-Dasuqi, tt: 433). Madzhab al-Hanafi argues that women are to become an imam for women (al-Ansary, 1994:254).

Abu Thaur (W 854 AD), al-Muzani (W 264 H) and al-Tabari (W 310 H) have the opinion that women are allowed to become an imam for both men and women. The basis of their opinion is the hadith narrated by Umm Waraqah (Ali, 1992: 258-267).

Abu Hamid al-Isfirayini (W 471 H) quoted in his opinion by Imam al-Nawawi (W 676 H) stated that the majority of fiqh scholars of various schools of thought, except Abu Thaur, agreed that women are not allowed or are not valid to be the imam of prayer for men (al-Nawawi, tt: 125-126). This opinion was refuted by Qadhi Abi Tayyib and al-Abdari. In addition to Abu Thaur (W 854 AD) who allowed women to become an imam for men, Ibn Jarir al-Tabari and al-Muzani (W 264 H) also allowed women to become imam of congregational prayer for men (Muhammad, 2002: 29-30). . Al-San'ani ((W 1182 H) in subul al-salam argues that women are legitimate to be imam of congregational prayer for men, the basis of his argument is the hadith of Umm Waraqah above (al-Shan'any, tt: 382).

3. Reinterpreting the Meaning of Hadith

The negation of women as imams for men has become a long debate in the study of Islamic *fiqh*. Most groups of fiqh scholars do not allow and some groups allow women to become imams of prayer for men.

Scholars who do not allow women as imams to prayer leader for men have two basic arguments. First is that they base their argument on the following hadith narration;

عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ : سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ –صلى الله عليه وسلم– عَلَى مِنْبَرِهِ يَقُولُ فَذَكَرَ الْحَدِيثَ. وَفِيهِ :« أَلاَ وَلاَ تَؤُمَّنَّ امْرَأَةٌ رَجُلاً »

It was narrated from the companion of Jabir ibn 'Abdillah, the Prophet said on his pulpit. "See, that a woman should not be the imam for a man."

Al-Baihaqi (W 458 H) mentions that women are not allowed to become imams of prayer for men, as agreed by the fiqh scholars of the seven schools of thought, based on the meaning of the hadith above.

The basis of the second argument; Hadith narrated by 'Abdillah contained in Sunan Abu Dawud;

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَنِ النَّبِيّ –صلى الله عليه وسلم– قَالَ « صَلاَةُ الْمَرْأَةِ فِى بَيْتِهَا أَفْضَلُ مِنْ صَلاَتِهَا فِى حُجْرَتِهَا وَصَلاَتُهَا فِى مَخْدَعِهَا أَفْضَلُ مِنْ صَلاَتِهَا فِى بَيْتِهَا ».

It was narrated by Abdullah, the Prophet said: "A woman's prayer in her house is better than her prayer in the area near her house, and a woman's prayer in her room is better than in her house"

Impermissible for a woman to be the imam of prayer for men by relying on the two hadiths above is not true because the first hadith that forbids women to become imams for men is weak in quality. Al-Baihaqi explained that in the hadith, there is a narrator named Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-'Adawi. He was a narrator who falsifies his hadith, as stated by al-Bukhari who said that he was a narrator who should not be followed in his hadith (Al-Baihaqi , 235) Al-San'ani (W 1182 H) explains that 'Abdullah al-'Adawy is a narrator who is considered to have falsified hadith by Waki', while his teacher al-'Adawy is a weak person. The hadith has another chain of chains. In that chain, there is a narrator who is also weak, named 'Abdul Malik ibn Habib who is considered that he often mixed up the chain of hadith (al-San'ani, 372).

Most scholars rejected the dha'if hadith to be used as evidence in legal matters (al-Tahhan, 53). If two hadiths contradict each other in meaning and content, then an attempt is made to compromise. But if it is not possible to compromise, then one must choose the more authentic hadith.

In the case of the prohibition of women being the imam of prayer for men based on the hadith conveyed by 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad, it is not appropriate, according to the explanation of the arguments that have been explained.

The prohibition of women from being the imam of prayer for men with evidence of the hadith narrated by 'Abdullah is also deemed inappropriate. The hadith does not explain

at all about the permissibility or prohibition for women to become imams of prayer for men. The hadith clearly explains the places suggested by the Prophet for women in terms of carrying out the ritual of prayer. Hence, the hadith has absolutely nothing to do with the negation of women being the imam of prayer for men

The group of scholars/ulama who allowed women to become imam of prayer for men, rely on the hadith narrated by Umm Waraqah that was included at the beginning of the discussion on this issue. The hadith has a good quality *sanad*, and there is no history of authentic or better hadith that has a meaning contrary to the hadith narrated by Umm Waraqah. Likewise, there is nothing in the verse of the Qur'an that forbids women to become imams of congregational prayer of prayer for men.

After seeing and understanding the basics of evidence used by two groups of scholars who have different views about the permissibility of women to become imams of congregational prayer for men, it is concluded that the arguments or arguments put forward by the group of scholars that prohibit women from being imam of congregational prayer of prayer for men are not can be justified. Departing from the data exposure and arguments described above, the evidence for the group of scholars that allows women to become imam of congregational prayer for men is more accountable and deserves to be accepted.

The Construction of Understanding Hadith Negligence of Women as Imams Prayer

1. Construction of Understanding NU Activists

NU community group has a textual understanding in the context of this hadith. Their understanding is categorized into two; textualist-conservative and textualist-progressive. The objective of conservative-written texts is an understanding that relies on the text of the hadith and from the results of the ulama's explanation of the hadith accepted absolutely and ultimately leads to siding with the domination of men over women. While the textualist-progressive understanding model is thinking that relies on text editors accompanied by criticism of the interpretation of classical scholars who reject the role of male domination.

This first view is represented by I, he confidently explains that women are not allowed to become imams of prayer for men. However, it is permissible for men to become

imams of congregational prayer for women. In the hadith of Umm Waraqah, there is no explicit explanation about the negation of women being imam of congregational prayer of prayer for men. The presence of a man calling the call to prayer in Umm Waraqah's house does not mean he is participating in the congregational prayer led by Umm Waraqah.

> "For the women...is a person who does *adzan* becomes part of it? that is not explained... Maybe the man has prayed with the Prophet, every place used to pray the call to prayer is sunnah first, the call to prayer/*adzan* must be conducted by a man, in my opinion, there is no courage from the prayer companions themselves."

A similar opinion was conveyed by K, he explained that women are not allowed to lead congregational prayers for male congregations. The hadith only applies to a family, it is not generally permissible for women to become imams of prayer for male congregations. This is supported by the current reality. Imam Shafi'i also argues that women should not be imam in congregational prayers for men.

> "That's only for his family, not in general, when I became an imam, I still followed the Imam Shafi'i madhhab, also in fact it never happened since the time of the Prophet SAW until now the imam of congregational prayers for women."

In addition to I and K, D also has the opinion that women should not be the imam of prayer for male congregations. This opinion is the same as the opinion of the majority of scholars. Traditionally, since the time of the Prophet, until now, women are not imams of congregational prayer in public spaces. This tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation can beat authentic hadith texts.

> "Imam for pray, I see what the opinion of the majority of scholars is like, what is generally accepted like, until now are there any women who become imam? so it's not allowed. The text was defeated by the *mutawatir* tradition, maybe the text is weak, but because of the *mutawatires* it can beat the valid text."

In line with the above view, AK does not allow women to become an imam for men, because so far, he has not found a book that explains the permissibility of women being imams of congregational prayer.

> "As long as I have studied, there has never been a single book that I have studied which is the basis that a woman may become imam of congregational prayer for men. Our understanding in the *mu'tabar* book of fiqh is not allowed, let alone women, *kuntha* or transvestites cannot be the imam for men."

In RF's view, women are not allowed to become imams of prayer, but in an urgent situation, women are allowed to become imams of prayer for men, if no man can become an imam in prayer. Rather than not praying in the congregation because no man is capable of being an imam, it is better to pray in the congregation even though a woman is an imam in prayer.

> "I see the context of this hadith in a remote village, and Umm Waraqah is the only person worthy of being an imam, so under such conditions, there is no problem. This can be imagined if in a country a woman who deserves to be an imam, then do not leave the congregational prayer, so it is better to be in the congregation even though the imam is a woman, so it is permissible for a female imam with that note (no one deserves to be an imam), this is just an understanding. In Indonesia, it cannot be practiced yet, because it is difficult to find a village where no one is worthy of being imam".

R and N honestly admit that they have never heard of the hadith. But they both argue that it is not permissible for women to become imams of prayer for men.

> "I don't know. But I prefer the opinion that does not allow women to do so because that woman lacks knowledge and religion."
> "It seems that it is not permissible, the wife can educate her husband so that he can become an imam."

As for the construction of understanding the textualist-progressive model, represented by US. In its interpretation, US firmly asserts that women may be an imam in praying for men. The growing opinion of the inadequacy of a woman to lead men in congregational prayer , is due to the unpreparedness of men to accept women as leaders among them. The ability of women to become imams of congregational prayer for men will shift the position of men who have dominated for centuries.

> "I think this is a historical choice, a historical choice means a political choice. I consider all the results of knowledge in the 3rd century of *hijriyah* or the classical era all smell very patriarchal, including the names of science. As in the science of hadith, there is a discussion about rijal al-hadith, even though there are many female narrators of hadith, even many of the teachers of Imam Malik are women, the teachers of Imam Shafi'i are also women. In my opinion, the hadith that allows women to become imams of prayer may in their opinion shift the position of men. All this time it was the man who became the leader/imam of the prayer. If a woman can be the imam of prayer, it will shift the position of men. In fiqh books, men have always been dominant, until, in matters of worship all men, men must be in front, such as the urine of men and women, *aqiqah* of men and women. In the time of the Prophet, women got one, men got two, but the Prophet himself had *aqiqah* for

Sayyidina Hasan and Husayn one by one. I think the hadith above, the unpreparedness of men to accept women as leaders, will shift men, but it doesn't. In principle, there is no dominance. The important thing is that there is no inequality, subordination, there is an equal relationship"

2. Construction of Understanding of Muhammadiyah Activists

SH and UR explained that they prefer the opinion of the ulama who do not allow women to become imams of prayer for men. This is because there is no clue in the hadith that explains that the man is also *makmum*.

> "I'm still not sure whether the person who got the call to prayer/*adzan* joined the congregation in the prayer, is still a question. There must be a clear hadith. I choose the opinion that can't be."
>
> "In this hadith, the old man only becomes the person who calls to prayer, not the *makmum*."

MM stated that women should not be the imam of men's prayers because it can cause slander. In addition, there has been no incident either during the time of the Prophet or after that, women became imams of praying in mosques, there was an explanation from the Prophet who advised women to be in the back row when praying in congregation. It gave a message that it is not permissible for women to become imams of congregational prayer for men. Women can only be the imam for other women. The Hadith of Umm Waraqah, no explanation says the man is also a *makmum*.

> "Textually, it shows that women can become imams in prayer, but if we look at the general reality of Islamic law that men are ordered to go to congregational prayers to the mosque and those who become imams in the mosque are the Messenger of Allah and those who are in the mosque are men. This shows the unpopularity of this hadith to be practiced. Because in essence, it is the nature of women when in prayer or when in social interaction in general, women are ordered to stay away from mixing between men and women, because of that the rules in the line of prayer the Prophet gave guidance that imam was a man and put women in the back row. If women are allowed to become imams, then this is very contrary to the objectives of sharia and the fact that women must be in the back row (when praying). If women are in front, it will cause slander for men. This hadith can be practiced that women can be the imam for each other. Men who are mentioned in the hadith that the Prophet ordered the call to prayer, may only be limited to the call to prayer"

Meanwhile, the view model that tends to be progressive is presented by NH and KA. They explain that women can be the imam of congregational prayer for men. Because there is a hadith that mentions it, namely the hadith of Umm Waraqah. It's just that the role

of women's leadership in prayer is limited to the family, according to NH. As for the KA, it says that women are allowed to become imams of prayer for men.

> "My understanding is that, if it is allowed, only for families that will not cause any slander. In large public places, such as halls, mosques in public places, there is never an example. Because in worship, there must be an example, as long as there is no example, we can't do it."
> "I just found out, I have already known what Amina Wadud did. If men can be imams, why can't women? This hadith strengthens what was done by Amina Wadud. If the hadith is true, it must be used as a reference because our foundation is the Qur'an and authentic hadith."

3. Construction of Understanding of HTI Activists

The hadith about Umm Waraqah who was ordered by the Prophet to be the prayer imam in his family is understood by AR as a hadith that is less well known by many people and contradicts the opinion of the majority of scholars. Thus, he argued that women should not be the imam of prayer for men.

> "I prefer the opinion of the majority of scholars who say that women should not be the imam of prayer for men. Scholars who agree are only a small part, less popular."

SW said that women should not be the imam of prayer for men because there is another hadith explaining that the Prophet forbade women to be the imam of prayer for men. The hadith of Umm Waraqah is proof that women can only pray for each other.

> "My answer is that women are not allowed to lead prayers/to be imam because there is another hadith that prohibits women from leading prayers. In the rules of fiqh, it is stated that practicing two hadiths is prioritized over only practicing one of them. I see feminists only take one hadith. Another reason is that there are no other hadith narrations that say that the man who made the call to prayer joined the prayer. In the context of this hadith, Umm Waraqah is only imam among women or children in her family."

AW stated that it is not permissible for women to become imam of prayer for men because no history explicitly states that old men who call to prayer/*adzan* join Umm Waraqah. In addition, there is also a hadith narration that states that Umm Waraqah only led women who were fellow women.

> "Women are not allowed to be the imam for men in prayer. Because there is another hadith that says *an taumma nisa'a expert dariha*, there is also a hadith *la taummanna imra'atun rajulan*. So it is not permissible to practice one hadith and ignore another hadith."

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H, expressly admitted that he has never heard of a hadith about the Prophet's command to Umm Waraqah to become a prayer imam in his family. But he commented on what he knew about the figure of Amina Wadud who had been an imam and gave Friday sermons. According to him, what Amina Wadud has done has damaged the nature of women. Not only that, Amina Wadud did that because she had been driven by the West.

4. Construction of Understanding of Mosque Management

The mosque administrators of the five mosques in Malang Raya all stated briefly that women were not allowed to become imams of prayer for adult men. This can be seen from some of their brief statements shared online via the WhatsApp application.

Ustadz F from the al-Muawanah mosque clearly stated that women should not be the imam of prayer for men, as he added below;

"I don't think it's legal for women to become imams of congregational prayers for men"

Ustadz S, the administrator of the al-Ikhlas Mosque also has the same opinion as Ustadz F, it's just that women may become the imam of congregational prayer for men who are not yet mature, the following statement;

"For the mother of a boy who has not been yet mature, he can become an imam. But when the son is *baligh* then the mother can't".

Ustadz M as the administrator of the Nurul Huda Mosque also has the same opinion as other mosque administrators, as the following statement:

"as I know, they (women) can't be"

Ustadz T who is the caretaker/administrator of the Baiturrahman mosque also believes that it is not permissible, here is his statement;

"The congregation of prayer is invalid (if women become imam of congregational prayer for men)"

Social Construction of Hadiths Delegation of women as imam Perspective of Activists of Religious Organizations and Mosque Management: Externalization, Objectification, and Internalization

1) Externalization: The Moment of Self-Adaptation

The direct involvement of activists of religious organizations in socio-cultural that goes on continuously, starting from individuals in certain communities, in this context is Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and Mosque Management. It is an effort to understand the ideal meaning of the hadith of women's delegation as imam for men. This understanding is expressed in its socio-cultural environment. In the expression process stage of building their environment, the activists also continue to build themselves. In other words, they build their understanding of the traditions of women's delegation as imams of congregational prayer for men in their socio-cultural context.

The understanding of religious activists and mosque administrators about the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer is an understanding and reflection that comes from the fundamental Islamic values contained in Al-Qur'an and hadith, as well as classical-contemporary ulama' thoughts. Facts in Islamic society, the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer is understood with various meanings.

In the first stage, adaptation to the texts and reference books used in understanding the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer is the opinion of the activists referring to the holy texts of the Qur'an and hadith, the opinions of classical-contemporary scholars, and their reflections as the legitimacy of their understanding of Hadiths negation of women as imam of congregational prayer. These reference sources are also used as a basis for behavior in everyday life.

The second stage is an adaptation to norms and actions in their understanding of the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer for men. Their understanding model is centered on two variants; textualist, and contextualist-hermeneutical. The difference in perspective among activists of religious organizations is due to the basic capital of knowledge and experience as well as their reflection on the hadith of Umm Waraqah.

2) Objectivity: moments of individual interaction in the socio-cultural world

The process of objectivation conceptually can be explained in several stages as follows.

First, activists of religious organizations and mosque administrators with organizational institutions (Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and mosques) are two different entities. In the process of objectification, individuals are faced with organizational institutions (Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and mosques) that have different traditions from themselves. The inter-subjective dialectic between the activists and the world of reality outside themselves in this context is Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and mosque institutions. New understanding will likely occur in understanding the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer.

The activists in understanding the traditions of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer can't be separated from social interactions that are built through discussions, seminars, recitations, and question and answer forums. The adaptation process through the intensity of recitations, discussions, seminars, and question and answer forums can shape the thoughts of activists about the meaning of the hadith of Umm Waraqah. However, in the process of adapting to the objective-institutional reality, there is a dialectical process between him and the hadith meaning of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer that has become a social reality in a community of religious organizations (Muhammadiyah, NU, HTI, and mosques). In the process, activists try to win the dialectical process between themselves and their environment or the socio-cultural environment that surrounds them.

Second, there is a process of institutionalization. There is building awareness into behavior or action. This process is a form of unification between the values that underlie understanding with the action itself. Thus, it becomes an awareness in behaving or behaving. The meaning of the traditions of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer that tend to be contextual-hermeneutical is not only influenced by legal fatwas in each religious organization but also individual reflections that are built gradually. The understanding of activists is the basis for their attitudes and actions.

Third, the process of habituation that becomes the practice of behavior in everyday life forming the basis of their rational actions, is the deposition of traditions passed on to the next generation through the medium of language in an institutional setting.

Activists who have different environmental, educational, cultural, and character backgrounds influence the understanding and meaning of the Umm Waraqah hadith. The education that the activists have gone through for decades has an important influence in responding to and responding to ideas that seem progressive and come from the west. Likewise, the mindset of a textual religious organization has a significant influence in interpreting misogynistic traditions.

3) Internalization: identification of the individual in the socio-cultural world

Understanding the meaning of the hadiths on the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer by activists, both textually-conservatively and contextually-progressively, in the socio-cultural environment of each organization as an objective reality, gives rise to different subjective meanings. The diversity of meanings in the intersubjective is recognized among activists as a necessity.

The variety of subjectivity in the construction of thoughts and interpretations of activists regarding the hadith of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer is caused by; first, is educational background. This is very evident in the thoughts of I and K. Although they both agree with the offer of contemporary thought, they prefer the opinion of classical-conservative thinkers, as a form of caution. This mindset is strongly influenced by education in Islamic boarding schools, the majority of which have a textual mindset. Likewise, MM tended to lead to a textualist mindset, because from an early age, he did not come into contact with issues and methodologies of contemporary understanding in interpreting religious texts. Likewise, the arguments of all mosque administrators stated that women should not be imams for men in congregational prayers. The education of mosque administrators is on average from pesantren with a classical system and rarely applies a learning system such as in universities which open themselves to various kinds of knowledge discourse to be practiced. On average, mosque administrators have their last education at the undergraduate level, and even then, not all of them are from the religious department.

Second is known sources of information and references. This can be seen through the SH statement. He once attended a seminar on the position and status of women in Islam. After attending the seminar, he has a progressive-contextualist thought about women. However, when asked about the meaning of the hadith of women lacking sense, he understood it textually, because the speakers in the seminar he attended did not discuss the hadith at all.

Third, the characteristics and tendencies of an organization's mindset. NU and Muhammadiyah are included in the category of organizations that are considered moderate, their activists have a moderate understanding, although they still find a textualist-conservative reading model. HTI has the main character as an organization that tends to be fundamentalist-textualist, its activists also have a common understanding of the Umm Waraqah hadith, namely textualism.

The results of the activists' understanding and thoughts on the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer, in the practice of socio-cultural life, can be seen in the table below;

Dialectic of Externalization, Objectivation, and Internalization

Moment	Externalization	Objectivation	Internalization
Process	Self-adaptation with socio-cultural	Self-interaction with socio-cultural	Self-identification with socio-cultural
Phenomenon	The understanding and meaning of activists of religious organizations which include NU, Muhammadiyah, HTI, and Mosque Management regarding the traditions of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer, are sourced from	The emergence of new meanings for the traditions of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer with contextualist-hermeneutical nuances is a social	The activists of religious organizations have different subjective meanings about the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer for men. The

	hadith texts, opinions of classical-contemporary scholars, culture, and traditions of society and the results of intuitiveness. The meaning of the hadith of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer in a contextualist-hermeneutical manner can generally be accepted gradually through a process of self-adaptation.	reality accepted by activists of religious organizations in social interaction through discussions, seminars, and scientific writings. This fact becomes an inseparable part of their actions in the cultural context of the community.	diversity of meanings in their intersubjective is realized by religious organization activists as a necessity. Thus, in general, it generates a typology of understanding, as follow: (a). textual (b). contextualist-hermeneutical.

CONCLUSION

As observed from the dialectical perspective of social construction, the externalization process can be seen in the understanding of religious organization activists about the hadith of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer. Their understanding comes from hadith texts, classical-contemporary scholars' opinions, cultural traditions of the community, and the results of intuitive ones that produce androcentric and non-androcentric meanings. The understanding of the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer in a contextualist-hermeneutical manner can generally be accepted gradually through a process of self-adaptation. The objectivation process can be seen in the emergence of a new understanding of the hadith of women's delegation as imam of congregational prayer with contextualist-hermeneutical-non-androcentric nuances and vice versa. It is a social reality accepted by activists of religious organizations in social interaction through discussions, seminars, and scientific papers that become an integral part of their actions in the cultural context of society. Meanwhile, the moment of self-internalization can be seen from the various subjective meanings of

religious organization activists regarding the hadith of the delegation of women as imam of congregational prayer. The diversity of meanings in their intersubjective is recognized by activists of religious organizations as a necessity. Thus, it broadly generates two typologies of understanding; (a). textual. (b). contextualist-hermeneutical.

The results of this study give a message that many people have a textual understanding of hadith. The dogma of the past has a very strong influence in accepting new teachings that are considered foreign and unpopular. Socialization and organizing studies and seminars are activities that are quite effective in providing new insights in the research-based academic world. This research is still limited to one hadith sampling, there need to be further studies and other traditions that have been considered to have an understanding of discrimination against women that developed in the wider community. Thus, Islam through sacred texts can truly be implemented as a religion that is full of love for all people.

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