

CONTESTATION OF NORMATIVITY VIEWS OF THE HADITH ABOUT PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AMONG MUHAMMADIYAH MEMBERS

KASMAN

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI KIAI ACHMAD SIDDIQ JEMBER, INDONESIA.
EMAIL: KASMAN.ROHIM@UINKHAS.AC.ID

Abstract: A big debate that has engrossed the Muslims worldwide is the normativity in understanding the hadiths of male physical appearances, exemplified in images like lengthening the beard, isbal prohibition, and wearing a robe. These issues are more pertinent, especially among Islamic communities like Muhammadiyah which have strong progressive and conservative characters. This paper aimed to elucidate the existence of contestation among Muhammadiyah members in understanding and practicing traditions regarding physical appearance. This paper discussed three subjects: first, contestation in the hadith of maintaining a beard; second, the hadith of isbal prohibition; and third, contestation of understanding the hadith of a robe. By using a qualitative descriptive method, it was found that: first, four views of Muhammadiyah members regarding the hadith of keeping a beard: mandatory, Sunnah, *ittibâ'* to the Prophet, and permissible; second, four views of Muhammadiyah members regarding the hadith of isbal prohibition: haram, makruh, permissible and haram only when worshiping; third, two views of Muhammadiyah members about wearing a robe, having virtue and no virtue. This polarization was influenced by the environmental situation, recitation circles, and book readings. The contestation among Muhammadiyah occurred between progressive groups driven by Muhammadiyah activists and conservative groups driven by Salafists. The infiltration of conservative Salafist forces in Muhammadiyah needs more serious attention from its leaders to immediately address this issue to maintain a moderate Islamic character of Muhammadiyah.

Keywords: Contestation, Permissive, Muhammadiyah, Normativity.

1. INTRODUCTION

In religious terms, the most common criticism against the normative approach is that it is subjective. The normative approach is concerned about a value or a set of values. This approach has nothing to do with the empirical or the descriptive approaches in one or the other context. In addition, the

normative statements are evaluative, moralizing how the world should be. It refers to moral and ethical claims. Normativity is evident in interpreting physical appearances of the male followers in Islam, as mentioned in hadith, and which have inflicted debates among Muslim groups. Al-Utsaymin (1998) identified this normativity in the norm that Muslims are obliged to lengthen their beard and to prohibit *isbâl*. On the other hand, Yûsûf al-Qardhâwî (Al-Qardhâwî, 1980, 2002) believed that these traditions were contextually related to social conditions during the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). So, in the current context, *isbâl* and shaving the beard are not necessarily prohibited since times have changed. Hence, these two conflicting statements refer to the debate between normative and contextual views, which have become fiercer in Muhammadiyah communities with a puritanical and modernist character.

The term 'normative' is derived from 'the norm', which stands for something to be true and permanent for always and all times. Permanence is implied in normative as most of these 'norms' in religious contexts are morals and values. Contextual, on the other however, means for a particular time, place. It means true for that time and place. To believe the reformists and the moderates, what is implied in contextual is change. It has to be flexible and adapt itself from time to time and place to place. What was right a century back may not enjoy the same authenticity in the current time. What is acceptable in one country may not be in another. Times and place have changed the context.

Although contestations between normative and contextualist Muhammadiyah members' views of physical appearance have become evident; however, there no detailed study on these issues. This study aimed to fill this gap, especially to elucidate the existence of contestations among Muhammadiyah members regarding physical appearance. More specifically the contestation among Muslim groups from different hadith understandings regarding keeping a beard, *isbal* prohibition, and wearing *gamis* among Muhammadiyah members. In addition, the root cause of the contestations was investigated. This study also revealed a threatening growth of ideological identities within Muhammadiyah. The results of this study implied an understanding of the hadiths of physical appearance.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Contestation

Contestation is a battleground of ideas of democracy, culture, law, and religion (Bourchier, 2019), a political backfire (Deitelhoff, 2020), or a policy paradigm

competition (Alons, 2020). Contestation constituted competing discourses of disputed values, beliefs, and preferences (Arenas, Albareda, & Goodman, 2020) or a dispute of a primary behavior (Song, 2020). Sapriillah et al. (2020) stated that religious contestation could emerged as a popular religious movement to seize the dominance on social media. Pabbajah et al. (2021) stated that contestations are manifested in three forms: First, a light contestation where religion and tradition are accepted in society and complement each other. Second, open contestation of distinction between religious practices and traditions. The third is the contestation of influence, which may inflict a frontal conflict between religion and local traditions. In Indonesia, Islamic mass groups dominate the arena through political movements. They take advantage of political opportunities, including the transformation of the underground movement into a legal movement and become an open contestation through internal and external structural mobilization. These three concepts are the basis for the formation of contestation in religion.

2.2 Normative

A normative view of hadith's understanding of physical appearance among Muhammadiyah members and its contestation has attracted attention from many researchers. Several studies on Muhammadiyah and religious texts comprised at least three topics. First, studies concerning only on the physical appearance of Muslims during the time of Prophet Muhammad and their contextualization with the present time. Herman et al. (2022) stated that the hadiths about beards were authentic and could be used as the norm (*hujjah*). Similarly, Akbar (2018) described that the traditions of keeping a beard and prohibitions of *isbal* were contextual, so if the context has changed, the law should also be changed. Mahmudi (2019) also found similar results regarding the traditions of keeping a beard. Second, studies on the characteristics and ideology of Muhammadiyah. Palahuddin (2020), found that there were at least three typologies of religious thought in Muhammadiyah, i.e., conservative, liberal, and moderate. Furthermore, Burhani (2018) mentioned that Muhammadiyah's position in the context of pluralism, liberalism, and Islamism was mostly moderate, only few of them were theologically exclusive. Third, a study on the role of Muhammadiyah (Latief & Nashir, 2020) explained the role of Muhammadiyah in the global arena.

Normativity in hadith usually has moral basis to understand how the morality apply in daily life. Pescador Canales and Mojica (2022) stated that at least two

conditions for moral normativity are expressed as social behavior. First is that humans are naturally vulnerable, so they require interaction with each other and their environment. The second condition is sociolinguistic nature that allows us to exponentially expand and differentiate possible *actions* normatively (Pescador Canales & Mojica, 2022). Understanding hadith requires social normativity to interpret hadith with social conditions. Thus, normativity is part of law, politics, social, morals, and religion.

2.3 Hadith About Physical Appearance

Hadiths are commonly defined by scholars (al-muhddithun) as records of the Prophet's words, deeds, and tacit approval (Amiruddin, 2021). The Hadiths of Physical appearance contain guidance of how Muslims should dress under Islamic norm. According to Zaki, the hadith implementation of physical appearance can be reflected by the practices related to worship, manners, and appearance (Zaki, 2015). However, hadith scholars such as Nasir al-Din al-Albani, Abū Muhammad bin Azm, Abd Al-Aziz bin Abd Allāh bin Bāz interpreted the hadith textually and differed in understanding the specific hadith of keeping a beard (Hamdeh, 2019; Rahmawati & Zulkifli, 2023). They unanimously argued that keeping a beard was a commandment of the Prophet Muhammad, which must be obeyed. Second, contextual hadith scholars, such as al-Syarbasī, al-Qaradāwī, and Shuhudi Ismail argued that maintaining a beard is an advice, not an order (Akbar, 2018; Mahmudi, 2019; Rahman, 1982; Ulummudin, 2020). Thus, interpreting the hadith of physical appearance has influenced by textual or contextual concepts of the ulama and *their* followers.

3. METHODS

This research employed a descriptive-qualitative method that accurately described social or natural phenomena in a systematic and factual manner. The qualitative method employed in this research *involved* a procedure that resulted in qualitative data in written transcript or spoken words from the respondents, informants, or observed processes. The methods of this study followed those of Mulkhan (1998). This research was conducted in Jember Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia,

where Muhammadiyah was established in this city in 1923; therefore, Muhammadiyah members in Jember Regency varied enormously. This study employed a purposive sampling technique, where the informants were selected based on their competence and relevance to the research issues. In this study, the informants included: Muhammadiyah leaders, teachers, and members of the Muhammadiyah mosque congregation.

The data collection involved three methods. First, a desk review of written sources, including references and journal articles. A desk review was used to map discourses related to the normativity of the hadiths of physical appearance and ideology of Muhammadiyah, which were studied as the basis for interviews. Written materials were collected from online journals and libraries based on the periodization of materials. The materials used were only those published during the last ten years. The second was observing the physical appearance of male Muhammadiyah members in Jember area for two years. Observations were focused on mapping the underlying processes leading to the practice of keeping beards and dressing. Third, in-depth interviews with 12 informants as the representatives of the investigated groups. In order to obtain a philosophical basis for various views on Muslim physical appearance and their contestation, we performed in-depth face-to-face, by WhatsApp chat, or by phone interviews with Muhammadiyah members.

The data was analyzed in three stages, following Miles and Haberman (2016), starting with data reduction, data display, and data verification to transform the data into more meaningful information. Data reduction was carried out referring to research questions followed by thematic sorting. The data was tabulated supported by verbatim account of the interview informants. The final stage of the analysis was data verification. This stage was carried out using comparison techniques and data contextualization. The data was interpreted with the social context to obtain the valid meaning of the data and information.

4. RESULTS

- *The Contestation of The Normative View of Hadith About Keeping Beards Among Muhammadiyah Members*

Several hadith texts contain the command to keep a beard, as presented in Table 1:

Table 1: Hadiths About Keeping a Beard.

Hadits original text	Translation & Source	Status of authenticity	Description
عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: «أَحْفُوا لِسُنَّارِبِ وَأَعْفُوا لِلْحَى»	From Ibn 'Umar, from Prophet S.A.W., he said: "Cut your mustache and leave your beard (HR. Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasâ'i fi Sunan al-Sughrâ, Ahmad)	Authentic (Shahih)	Clear orders to lengthen the beard and shave the mustache.
عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: " خَالَفُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ: وَقَرُّوا لِلْحَى، أَحْفُوا السُّنَّارِبِ " وَكَانَ ابْنُ عُمَرَ: «إِذَا حَجَّ أَوْ اعْتَمَرَ قَبِضَ عَلَى لِحْيَتِهِ، فَمَا فَضَلَ أَخَذَهُ»	From Ibn 'Umar, from the Prophet SAW, he said: "Set apart the polytheists. Lengthen your beard and shave your mustache. And when Ibn Umar performed Hajj or Umrah, he held his beard and cut off the rest (Narrated by al-Bukhârî, al-Bayhaqî fi Syu'ab al-Îmân)	Authentic (Shahih)	The commandment to disobey the polytheists by lengthening the beard and shaving the mustache
عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «أَنْهَكُوا السُّنَّارِبِ، وَأَعْفُوا لِلْحَى»	From Ibn Umar RA., said: "The Messenger of Allah SAW said: Shave your mustache, leave your beard." (HR. al-Bukhâr)	Authentic (Shahih)	Clear orders to lengthen the beard and shave the mustache.
عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «خَالَفُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ أَحْفُوا السُّنَّارِبِ، وَأَوْفُوا لِلْحَى»	From Ibn 'Umar, from the Prophet SAW, he said: "Set apart the polytheists. Shave your mustaches and keep your beards." (HR. Muslim)	Authentic (Shahih)	The commandment to disobey the polytheists by lengthening the beard and shaving the mustache
عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «حُزُّوا السُّنَّارِبِ، وَأَزْحُوا لِلْحَى خَالَفُوا لِمَجُوسَ»	From Abu Hurairah ra. said: Rasulullah SAW said: "Shave your mustache and lengthen your beard, set aside the Magi" (HR. Muslim, Ahmad, al-Bayhaqî)	Authentic (Shahih)	Clear orders to lengthen the beard and shave the mustache.

Table 1 indicates that four words related to the command to grow a beard, **أَعْفُوا** - **أَحْفُوا** - **أَوْفُوا** - **أَزْحُوا** - **وَقَرُّوا**. Each means "leaving it as it is" (Ali, 2004). In *zhahir*, these hadiths instruct Muslims to let their beards grow long and not to cut them. The hadith with context stated that long beards were to differentiate Muslims from the Mushriks and the Magi. The mention of context in some hadith of keeping a beard caused four different views among Muhammadiyah members. First, mandatory. Informant 1 stated that "maintaining beards is obligatory for Muslims we must obey, and it is an expression of our love to the Messenger of Allah." Second, the status of the law of keeping beards is Sunnah or suggested. As stated by informant 2, "maintaining a beard is a sunnah, which is good to follow." The Sunnah of keeping a beard was also stated by informant 3. Third, maintaining a beard is an *ittibâ'* (following) or mimicking the Prophet Muhammad's appearance, regardless of the law.

Similarly, Informant 4, stated, "Actually I also keep my beard, but only to obey the teachings of the Prophet". Fourth, keeping a beard in the current context is permissible. As mentioned by informant 5:

"The hadiths that contain the command to keep the beard and cut the mustache must be understood in the context of the Islamic community of Medina. They lived together with Jews, Christians, Sabians, and polytheists. In such a pluralistic society, the Prophet built an identity of the Islamic community. The easiest way to recognize was physical appearance by ordering his followers to maintain beards and shave mustaches. In the current-situation, it is more relevant if the identity built by Muslims no physical appearance but focuses more on building par-excellent human characters as the Prophet has taught us.

In agreement with informant 1 regarding the first and second views: "there are very few Muhammadiyah members who practice this hadith." In comparison, the third view had considerable followers in Muhammadiyah. The fourth view had the majority followers, as informant 11 stated, "... while the majority of Muhammadiyah members do not keep their beards." This view was also corroborated by the author's observations on congregational prayers in Muhammadiyah mosques. In addition, in meetings involving many Muhammadiyah members, very few of them had beards.

The influence of mosque congregation and Quran recitation and reading environments on Muhammadiyah members was evident. The informants stated that the hadiths about physical appearance were not textually normative. When viewed from their work environment and the environment in which they lived, there were not many bearded people. They usually attended recitations whose resource persons were Muhammadiyah leaders. They also read religious books published by Muhammadiyah.

In contrast, the informants with the normative view of the hadith maintained their beards. Most of them also frequently interacted with Salafi groups of Muslims. Informant 1, for example, was the chairman of Muhammadiyah Branch, who interacted with Salafis and participated in religious studies held by the Salafis.

The existence of different normativity views of the hadiths about maintaining a beard has given rise to group identities, as informant 5 stated: "If you look at their affiliation, most of those who keep beards are Salafi groups with various variants, from the non-political to the very political, from the moderate (anti-violent) Salafi to the Salafi who legalize violence in defense of their beliefs." A further implication of the emergence of this group identity was the occurrence of contestation and struggle for influential supremacy within Muhammadiyah.

• *The Contestation of The Normative View of The Isbal Prohibition Among Muhammadiyah Members*

Isbāl is lengthening the trousers or sarongs to the level under the ankles. In some hadiths, *isbāl* was prohibited for some reasons, as presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Hadiths About the Prohibition of *Isbāl*

Hadith's original text	Translation & Source	Status of authenticity	Description
عن ابن عمر، قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: «من جر ثوبه من الخيلاء لم ينظر الله إليه يوم القيامة»	From Ibn Umar said: "The Messenger of Allah said: Whoever lengthens his clothes out of pride, Allah will not look at him on the Day of Resurrection." (Narrated by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī fi Sunan al-Sughrā, al-Nasā'ī fi al-Sunan al-Kubrā, Ibn Mājah, Ahmad)	Shahih	Isbal prohibition because of pride
عن أبي هريرة، أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: «لا ينظر الله يوم القيامة إلى من جر إزاره بطراً»	From Abu Hurairah, that the Messenger of Allah said: "On the Day of Resurrection Allah will not see people who lengthen their clothes because they are arrogant." (HR. al-Bukhārī, Ahmad, al-Bayhaqī fi Syu'ab al-Īmān).	Shahih	Isbal prohibition because of pride.
عن أبي جري جابر بن سليم قال رسول الله: «... وأرفع إزارك إلى نصف الساق، إن أبيت فإلى الكعبين، وإياك وإسبال الإزار، فإنها من المخيلة، وإن الله لا يحب المخيلة...»	From Abu Juray Jabir b. Sulaym, that the Messenger of Allah said: "... lift your sarong up to half your calf. But if you exist then up to both ankles. Do not stick out your scabbard, for that is arrogance. Verily, Allah does not like arrogant people..." (Narrated by Ab Dawud).	Shahih	Isbal prohibition because of pride.
عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: «من جر ثوبه خيلاء لم ينظر الله إليه يوم القيامة» قال أبو بكر: يا رسول الله، إن أحد شعثي إزار يمتد حتى، إلا أن أتعاذ ذلك منه؟ فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: «لمنت حجب المخيلة...»	From Ibn Umar RA., from the Prophet S.A.W., he said: "Whoever stretches his clothes (down to the ankles) arrogantly, Allah will not see him on the Day of Resurrection. Then Abu Bakr said: O Messenger of Allah, indeed one of my sheaths sometimes comes down by itself, unless I always guard it? The Messenger of Allah (S.A.W.) said: You are not one of those who do this out of pride." (Narrated by al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwud, Ahmad, al-Bayhaqī fi al-Sunan al-Kubrā, al-Bayhaqī fi Syu'ab al-Īmān, al-Bayhaqī fi al-Adab).	Shahih	Isbal prohibition because of pride.
عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه، عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: «ما أسفل من الكعبين من الإزار ففي النار»	From Abu Hurairah ra., from the Messenger of Allah, he said: "Whoever stretches his sheath to below his ankles, then his place in hell." (Narrated by al-Bukhārī, al-Nasā'ī fi al-Sughrā, al-Nasā'ī fi al-Kubrā, al-Bayhaqī fi al-Kubrā.)	Shahih	Forbid isbal absolutely
عن أبي ذر، عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: «ثلاثة لا يكلمهم الله يوم القيامة، ولا ينظر إليهم ولا يزكهم ولهم عذاب اليم» قال: فقراها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثلاث مراراً، قال أبو ذر: خابوا وخسروا، من هم يا رسول الله؟ قال: «المسئيل، والمئان، والمفتق سلعة الخلب الكاذب»	From Abu Dharr, from the Prophet SAW said: "There are three groups of people whom Allah will not talk to them on the Day of Resurrection, do not see them, do not purify their sins and they will have a painful torment. Abu Dharr said again: The Messenger of Allah recited it three times. Abu Dharr said: they failed and lost; who are they the Messenger of Allah? He replied: people who do isbal (lengthening of clothes), people who like to give by mentioning it (because of riya') and people who make their merchandise trade with perjury." (Narrated by Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī fi al-Sughrā, Ibn Mājah, Ahmad, al-Nasā'ī fi al-kubra, al-Bayhaqī fi al-Kubra, al-Bayhaqī fi Syu'ab al-Īmān).	Shahih	Forbid isbāl absolutely

Table 2 summarizes several hadith texts regarding the prohibition of *isbāl*, where some were conditional (because of pride), and the rest were unconditional. These hadith texts have resulted in different views among Muhammadiyah members regarding its normativity.

There were four opinions among Muhammadiyah members regarding the normativity of the traditions regarding *isbāl* prohibition. First, *isbāl* is haram. Lengthening the trousers, sarong, or robes below their ankles is forbidden for

Muslims, no matter when worshipping or outside worship. As mentioned by informant 1, "the hadith prohibiting *isbāl* must be followed. The hadith about *isbāl* is clear, and Allah threatens not to see the musbil (a person who performs *isbāl*).” Second, *isbāl* is makruh. *Isbāl*'s prohibition is not haram (prohibited), but only makruh (disliked). "Trousers above the ankles are recommended, and those under the ankles are makruh," said informant 6. This statement was also strengthened by informant 7, who said, "... lengthening trousers below the ankles are makruh." Third, *isbāl*, which is not accompanied by pride, is permissible. *Illat* (cause) of the prohibition of *isbāl* was pride. Informant 8 mentioned that it is *ittiba'* or mere following the Prophet as it is. *Isbāl* is prohibited, but not obligatory, because the context of the prohibition related to pride." Similarly, informants 9 and 12 also stated, "We do not have to obey the prohibition of *isbāl*, because the purpose of the prohibition was the prohibition of pride." Fourth, *isbāl* is prohibited when worshipping, especially when praying. This group sometimes attended Muhammadiyah mosques and folded their trousers when praying. In one of Muhammadiyah mosques, before performing takbiratul ihram, imam reminded the congregation not to let their trousers or sarongs reach below their ankles.

The different views of Muhammadiyah members regarding the normativity of the hadith prohibiting *isbāl* were influenced by their social environment and religious congregation, including recitation and Quran reading. Most Muhammadiyah members did not prohibit *isbāl*, because, in their social environment, including educational, living, and work environment, they did not officially prohibit *isbāl*. Teachers, employers, employees, and students at Muhammadiyah educational institutions, high schools, and universities, were free to wear any model trousers. In contrast, Muhammadiyah members who shortened their trousers above their ankles were usually attending recitations and influenced by intense interaction with Salafists.

Not many Muhammadiyah members who shortened their trousers; however, they were very active and militant in propagating what they believed to be the truth. Informant 10 mentioned that groups of people with beards and short trousers (non-*isbāl*) actively visited the houses of Muhammadiyah members to preach. It usually did not take long for those who were visited to change their physical appearance. Muhammadiyah activists viewed this as a threat to Muhammadiyah's future. Therefore, Muhammadiyah activists tried to stem it by intensifying Islamic studies based on the Muhammadiyah manhaj.

- *The contestation of the normative view of the gamis hadith among Muhammadiyah residents*

In several hadith texts, this study found the Prophet's preference in dressing as presented in Table 3:

Table 3: Hadiths about the Prophet's Clothing Model.

Hadith Original Text	Translation & Source	Status of Authenticity	Description
عن أم سلمة رضي الله عنها قالت: كَانَ أَحَبَّ لِنَبِيِّهِ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْقَمِيصُ	From Umm Salamah r.a, she said: "The clothes that the Prophet salallaahu 'alaihi wa Sallam liked the most was the robe." (Narrated by al-Tirmidhi, Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī fi al-Sunan al-kubrā)	Hasan	The robe was the model that the Prophet liked the most.
عن أسماء بنت يزيد الأنصاريّة رضي الله عنها قالت: كَانَ كُمٌ يَدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَى الرُّسْغِ	From Asma 'bint Yazid al-Ansari r.a., she said: "The ends of the hands of the Messenger of Allah (Sallallahu Alayhi wa Sallam) reached the wrists." (Narrated by al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasā'ī fi al-Sunan al-Kubra).	Hasan	Prophet's clothes fashion.

Table 3 shows that al-Qamîs (a robe) was the Prophet's favorite. There was no difference in views among Muhammadiyah members. The interviews with several Muhammadiyah members indicated that they believed wearing al-Qamîs was not obligatory. Informant 5 stated, "Wearing a robe is part of the Sunnah (habit) of the Prophet Muhammad. However, not all the habits of the Prophet are obligatory or Sunnah to follow". "Those who had been textual in their views did not see the necessity of following the Sunnah of the Prophet in wearing a robe."

However, some Muhammadiyah-mosque attendees were found to be accustomed to wearing robes. The groups believed keeping a beard was obligatory and *isbâl* was forbidden. Practically, they wear robes, bearded, and trousers above ankles have become the group's identity. This practice is usually accompanied by an attitude criticized by informant 5, who said, "... for our brothers and sisters who wear robes, it is better not to over-act as if you were more obedient than others." Thus, al-Qamîs, beards, and shorten trousers in practice complements the identity of the group.

5. DISCUSSION

As previously mentioned, this study revealed the existence of polarizations in Muhammadiyah circle. Polarizations were caused by the difference in understanding of the

hadiths of keeping a beard, wearing a robe, and prohibitions of *isbâl*. Regarding keeping a beard, the views of Muhammadiyah members were polarized into four groups: mandatory, Sunnah, *ittibâ'* (merely following) the Prophet Muhammad., and permissible. While related to the hadith of *isbâl* prohibition, the member's understandings were also polarized into four understandings: haram, makruh, permissible, and haram only when worshipping. Furthermore, regarding wearing robes, Muhammadiyah members were divided into two groups of thought: "better" and "no virtues."

The results also indicated that extra and intra-religious factors influenced the emergence of the polarization among Muhammadiyah members that had given rise to a contestation. This study also showed that conservative groups in Muhammadiyah were influenced by the ideology of the Salafi movement, which was usually obtained through religious studies conducted by Salafi and reading published books and articles by Salafi. The infiltration of Salafi ideology into Muhammadiyah could occur upon its fundamental background. Muhammadiyah was born with a *tajdid* vision, which according to Masdar Hilmy (Hilmy, 2014) like a double-edged sword that leads to two directions: progressivism and conservatism. This conservatism can be a fertile ground for seeding Salafi ideology in Muhammadiyah. As a result, some Muhammadiyah members sympathized with Salafi ideology and gave space for Salafis to be involved in the organization. That is why young people from Muhammadiyah families were more likely to be attracted to the Saudi-oriented Salafi movement than those from NU backgrounds because of theological similarities (Woodward, 2017).

The existence of a group within Muhammadiyah that viewed that the hadiths about physical appearance were normative and binding until now showed the strengthening of the identity of Salafism among Muhammadiyah members. Although Salafi did not influence many Muhammadiyah members, the militancy of this group in instilling its ideology and spreading its teachings had caused concern among Muhammadiyah activists. In the view of Muhammadiyah activists, the strengthening of Salafism in Muhammadiyah can threaten the existence of Muhammadiyah. Besides being able to displace the progressive character of Muhammadiyah in the vision of *tajdid* Muhammadiyah, the strengthening of textual thoughts and Salafi ideology degrades the obedience and commitment of Muhammadiyah members to Muhammadiyah ideology and policies. In order to save Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah activists deemed it necessary to stem the flow of the development of Salafism in Muhammadiyah.

The results of this study were different from those of scholars. Herman et al. (2022), Akbar (2018), and Mahmudi (2019) showed the dimensions of contextualization of the hadith regarding the beard and *isbal*. On the other hand, this study

revealed that the issue of clothing did not discuss merely contextual dimension; instead, it was more about an identity issue. The issue of identity has attracted the attention of many Muhammadiyah scholars such as Zuly Qodir, Ahmad Najib Burhani, and Masdar Hilmy. However, the upstream origin of the emergence of identity and division of thoughts in Muhammadiyah through hadiths was not the concern of Muhammadiyah academics. The novelty of this research was the root cause of the contestation of the difference in understanding the hadith.

Accordingly, three important recommendations we suggest for Muhammadiyah stakeholders to consider in responding to the issues of contestation of hadith understandings among its members. First, Muhammadiyah should increase the intensity and quality of its studies to meet the spiritual needs of its members. Second, Muhammadiyah leaders and Muhammadiyah business charities should not allow textualist Salafist groups to play a role in Muhammadiyah to prevent its members from losing their contextual dimension in Indonesia. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah leaders should give a more significant opportunity and energy to these contextual groups to thrive within their own home, Muhammadiyah. Third, Muhammadiyah must improve its cadres in number and quality in Islamic teachings under Muhammadiyah's manhaj. Finally, the production of militant cadres of Muhammadiyah, whose vision is progressive and contextual in understanding the problems in the community, will prevent radicalism from eroding and threatening the existence of Muhammadiyah in the future.

6. CONCLUSION

The contestation of Muhammadiyah members was not merely caused by differences in views on the traditions of physical appearance. This research showed that the contestation was also triggered by the desire to strengthen their influence on Muhammadiyah. Physical appearance was a marker of the group identity, and became an expression of their ideology within Muhammadiyah. The physical markers enhanced their internal cohesion robust, which likely to cause an increase in inter-group competition.

This research contributes to the development of social theory through hadith research. By examining the understanding of Muhammadiyah members of physical appearance traditions, it was evident that frictions in Muhammadiyah were competing for influence. Thus, this research revealed competing social groups within a social unit.

This study had several limitations in terms of a small number of samples to represent a large number of Muhammadiyah members, limited cases, only in one location, and only observed male Muhammadiyah members. The physical issues observed in

this study were only the beard, robes, and *isbal* prohibition. Since the samples were taken from male members, this research did not cover the issues of veils and hair dyeing. The selected location only covered the Jember area, even though Muhammadiyah had already existed in all provinces in Indonesia. Accordingly, further research should accommodate a larger sample size involving various cases.

REFERENCES

- Akbar, B. Z. (2018). Contextualization of the Hadith regarding the Recommendation for Keeping Beards and the Prohibition of Isbal in Contemporary Times. *Al-Dzikra: Journal of Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadith Studies*, 12(2), 137-164. <https://doi.org/10.24042/al-dzikra.v12i2.2069>
- Al-Qardhâwî, Y. (1980). *Al-Halâl Wa Al-Harâm Fî Al-Islâm*. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islâmî.
- Al-Qardhâwî, Y. (2002). *Kayfa Nata'âmal Ma'a Al-Sunnah Al-Nabawiyyah?* Kaero: Dar al-Syuruq.
- Al-Utsaymin, M. I. S. (1998). *Majmû' Fatâwâ Wa Rasâ'il. Juz 11*. Riyad: Dar al-Tsurayya.
- Ali, M. (2004). *Dalîl Al-Fâlihîn Li Thuruq Riyâdl Al-Shâlihîn, Vol. VI*. Beirut: Dâr al-Ma'rifah.
- Alons, G. (2020). The advantage of paradigmatic contestation in shaping and selling public policies. *Journal of Public Policy*, 40(4), 651-671. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X19000060>
- Amiruddin, A. M. A. (2021). Hadith on the Excellence of Al-fatihah: the Examination of Its Chain of Transmission. *Tahdis: Journal of Al-Hadith Science Studies*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.24252/tahdis.v12i1.19581>
- Arenas, D., Albareda, L., & Goodman, J. (2020). Contestation in multi-stakeholder initiatives: Enhancing the democratic quality of transnational governance. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 30(2), 169-199. <https://doi.org/10.1017/beq.2019.29>
- Bourchier, D. M. (2019). Two decades of ideological contestation in Indonesia: From democratic cosmopolitanism to religious nationalism. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49(5), 713-733. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2019.1590620>
- Burhani, A. N. (2018). Pluralism, liberalism, and islamism: religious outlook of muhammadiyah. *Studia Islamika*, 25(3), 433-470. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i3.7765>

- Deitelhoff, N. (2020). What's in a name? Contestation and backlash against international norms and institutions. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22(4), 715-727. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120945906>
- Hamdeh, E. (2019). Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. *Oxford Bibliographies in Islamic Studies*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780195390155-0263>
- Herman, F., Vera, S., Raharusun, A. S., & Qodim, H. (2022). Muslim Men's Beard Maintenance Controversy: Study of Takhrij and Hadith Syarah. In *The 2nd Conference on Ushuluddīn Studies* (Vol. 8, pp. 688-699). Gunung Djati Conference Series. <https://conferences.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/gdcs/article/view/628>
- Hilmy, M. (2014). The double-edged sword of Islamic reform: Muhammadiyah and the dilemma of 'tajdid' within Indonesian Islam. *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 48(1), 183-206. <http://repository.uinsa.ac.id/id/eprint/198>
- Latief, H., & Nashir, H. (2020). Local dynamics and global engagements of the Islamic modernist movement in contemporary Indonesia: The case of Muhammadiyah (2000-2020). *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 39(2), 290-309. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103420910514>
- Mahmudi, M. (2019). Understanding the Hadith on Maintaining a Beard in the Contemporary Context. *Riwayah: Journal of Hadith Studies*, 3(2), 271-286. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/riwayah.v3i2.3744>
- Mulkhan, M. (1998). *Changes in Islamic Purification Patterns in Rural Areas: Case Study of Muhammadiyah*. Wuluhan Jember District. Yogyakarta. <https://search-jogjalib.jogjaprov.go.id/Record/uinsukalib-067741>
- Pabbajah, M., Abdullah, I., Jubba, H., Pabbajah, M., & Said, Z. (2021). Pilgrimage to bawakaraeng mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A contestation between islamic identity and local tradition. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 9(1), 15. <https://doi.org/10.21427/s3p3-ya23>
- Palahuddin, P. (2020). The Typology of Religious Thought in Muhammadiyah. *International Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, 3(2), 74-81. <https://doi.org/10.26555/ijish.v3i2.2233>
- Pescador Canales, C., & Mojica, L. (2022). Making us autonomous: The enactive normativity of morality. *Topoi*, 41(2), 257-274. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11245-022-09795-0>
- Rahman, F. (1982). *Islam and modernity: Transformation of an intellectual tradition* (Vol. 15). University of Chicago Press. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/I/bo41314165.html>

- Rahmawati, E., & Zulkifli, M. (2023). Cadar, Isbal And Cultural Da'wah Problems In Normative-Historical Islam: An Overview Of Da'wah Communication. *Komunika*, 6(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.24042/komunika.v6i1.16125>
- Saprillah, S., Juhannis, H., Said, N., & Al-Rasyid, H. H. (2020). Religious Contestation in Urban Muslim Societies. *Al-Qalam*, 26(1), 39-56. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31969/alq.v26i1.844>
- Song, E. Y. (2020). Divided we stand: How contestation can facilitate institutionalization. *Journal of Management Studies*, 57(4), 837-866. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12532>
- Ulummudin, U. (2020). Cutting the Mustache and Lengthening the Beard for the Tablighi Jama'ah: Living Hadith Study at the al-Ittihad Mosque, Yogyakarta. *Tahdis: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Al-Hadis*, 11(1), 22-35. <https://doi.org/10.24252/tahdis.v11i1.13327>
- Woodward, M. (2017). Resisting Salafism and the Arabization of Indonesian Islam: a contemporary Indonesian didactic tale by Komaruddin Hidayat. *Contemporary Islam*, 11, 237-258. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-017-0388-4>
- Zaki, M. (2015). Methods for Understanding and Practicing the Hadith of the Tablighi Jamaat. *Ijtimaiyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam*, 8(2), 103-126. <https://dx.doi.org/10.24042/ijpmi.v8i2.913>