

## Resistance of Poligamous Women A Normative Sociological Analysis of Polygamy in Pesantren

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### Abstract

*How do women who are polygamied, especially the wives of a Pesantren leader, play a role of a Kiai wife with the status of the first, the second or the third, even the fourth wife? The researcher interacts with these women using the personal language and informal language of the informants to obtain rich data. As a result, women's resistance to polygamy is increasingly gaining space and place on social media, where each polygamous wife is free to express and articulate her views. On social media, women who are polygamied are free to claim their happiness with their husband without involving other wives of their husband. This proves that a polygamous wife also craves the husband as her own, not to be shared with other wives. This fact is a form of their resistance to the behavior of polygamy of their husbands.*

### Keywords

polygamous; woman; normative  
sociological; pesantren



### I. Introduction

This paper focuses on the social resistance experienced by polygamous women in a sociological normative context. The sociological normative context is the legal practice of the implementation of polygamy law in the life of Pesantren. This research aims at providing comprehensive understanding of a problem on how to organize and articulate the social resistance of the Kiai wives who were polygamied in Jember Regency.

This topic is interesting to study for two reasons. First, the proponents and opponents of polygamy in Indonesia also occur in the realm of Pesantren. Indeed, the patriarchal life in Pesantren tends to be considered as an ideal portrait of implementing Islamic religious values in daily life. Second, the life of the Kiai's polygamied wife household is restricted to the outside world. Even though the Kiai's wives also need space and media to actualize themselves including the privacy things. Then the results of this study will explain how the household life of Kiai polygamied wives and their social resistance are managed.

Related to the research topic, researchers used qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach. The phenomenological approach is used to deeply understand the life experience of the Nyai (a honor call for Kiai's wife) as the polygamous wife of the Kiai. The researcher will examine the central issue of the main structure of the object of study in depth, namely the social resistance of women who are polygamied by the Kiai.

This research emphasizes on the awareness and subjectivity of Kiai's wives towards the concept of polygamy. Since this research is phenomenology research, the researcher will focus on understanding and increasing sensitivity to the phenomenon being observed. This is a procedure used to understand how the Kiai's wives perform their existence on social media and how they display their polygamous life at home.

The researcher begins by pointing out the perceptions of polygamous women as research subjects and research informants, seeing how they experience to carry out their

status and roles as Kiai polygamied wives to get involved in social media as part of their daily activities. This requires the subjective aspects of daily perceptions and behavior of polygamous wives both in household life and on social media.

Because it involves the awareness of the informants as a research reality in the field of study, the researcher directly focuses on the experiences of polygamous wives through an intense, conscious and sensitive presence. The subjective life experience of the wives is very important source of data in this study. To open awareness space attached to every form of wives activities both in their daily lives at home and on social media, namely the directional awareness of something which includes the imagination, concepts and fantasies of wives, is highly required to provide a comprehensive understanding.

This research takes place in Jember Regency with two considerations. First, there are numbers of Pesantren led by a Kiai who practices polygamy. Second, the polygamous wives are active on social media such as WhatsApp, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram. The Kiai's wives who become the subject of this study are they who meet certain criteria, namely a wife with the status of the second, the third or the fourth wife. The next criterion is that the wife of the Kiai who owns a Pesantren. The last criterion is the Kiai's wife who has a social media account and is active in cyberspace.

To help provide a thorough explanation of various matters related to polygamy in this study, the researcher got involved with several informants who helped to provide an explanation on the basis of knowledge and involvement in the lives of polygamous wives of Kiai. The informants in this study were housemaids (abdi dalem), Kiai, santri, neighbors, reciters and polygamous wife friends.

## II. Review of Literature

### Polygamy Literature Study

Polygamy studies, both reflective and research findings, are relatively conducted quite a lot. As far as the research carried out by researchers related to the theme of this study, if mapped, there are at least four typologies of polygamy studies to date. The determination of the typology of this study is based on the following considerations; 1) want to see a variety of literature that discusses polygamy, 2) want to determine the focus of studies on polygamy that is more specific, and 3) efforts to avoid repetition of themes and perspectives on various studies on polygamy. Siregar (2020) stated that in general, it can be said that the problem of polygamy is normatively directly related to Q.S. An-Nisa ': 3. This verse specifically talks about the permissibility of marrying more than one, but on the other hand it can also be understood as a prohibition to marry more than one because in the end this verse mentions conditions that are difficult to meet someone who wants to marry more than one. It can be understood that the ambiguity of the verse implicitly shows the possibility of multiple meanings in understanding the verse.

**First**, the study of polygamy is from a religious and normative perspective. The study of polygamy from this perspective is quite diverse, including the perspective used such as the study of polygamy which is associated with the texts of the scriptures and the legal status of polygamy itself. This tendency can be seen from the work of Musdah Mulia,<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Khoirul Fata and Mustofa,<sup>2</sup> Mahmud Huda and Anisatus Shaliah, Baharuddin Ahmad and Yuliati, and Muhammad Ali Rohmad.

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<sup>1</sup> Musdah Mulia, *Islam Menggugat Poligami* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Khoirul Fata dan Mustofa. *Menyoal Kontekstualisasi Hukum Islam Tentang Poligami*. Jurnal Al Ulum. Volume 13 No: 2 Tahun 2013.

This study proposes the idea of revitalization with the idea based on looking at lawsuits that occur in Islamic law related to family, especially polygamy. This is stated because polygamy is believed to be no longer relevant to the changing times that now demand equality between men and women. To overcome this problem, several ideas are put forward to reform and reinterpret some Islamic laws which become two main epistemologies: first, the contextual interpretation of texts in which the base of the implementation of polygamy is not a core mission of Islam. Meanwhile, it is believed that the fundamental purpose of marriage in Islam is monogamy. Jamaluddin (2018) argues that marriage is the process by which two people make their relationship public, official, and permanent. It is the joining of two people in a bond that putatively lasts until death, but in practice is increasingly cut short by divorce. Over the course of a relationship that can last as many as seven or eight decades, a lot happens. The justification of polygamy by promoting the text does not eliminate but gradually supports the practice of polygamy itself.

Marriage is a contract or agreement to bind men and women to justify the relationship of husband and wife. The unrecorded phenomena of marriage which are commonly called as "siri marriage" still occurs for the purpose of polygamy practice in the Lenteng community, which has an impact on household harmony. In addition to the marriage contract, it can be done several times without limits, while the marriage contract is only limited to four times, because most men are only permitted by four wives. Because in the concept of shariah a man is only able to take maximum responsibility for four wives (Imran et al, 2019).

*Second*, it is the study of polygamy from the gender aspect. Various studies using this perspective can be seen from the relationships that occur in polygamous families such as the work of Blackburn, Wajiran, Fortunately Yuwono, Sul Khan Chakim, Ika Qurrota A'yunin, Inayah Rohmaniyah. With reference to feminist ideology, Blackburn came into the conclusion that the state participated in legitimizing and preserving the practice of polygamy in Indonesia through marriage law No. 74 of 1974. Blackburn opposed the state about polygamy permissibility regulations because the state ignores the issue of polygamy. Even the state seems to legalize the practice of polygamy. As Susan Blackburn points out that "Muslim women who defended Koranic views of women as 'separate but equal', often defended polygamy or at least opposed any state interference with Islam".<sup>3</sup>

Another study looks at ways of polygamy discussed in contemporary Indonesian literature. The literature to be analyzed is published after the reform era, where new freedoms have encouraged many Muslim writers to raise this controversial issue. This paper applies feminist theory especially from Muslim feminist Amina Wadud. Furthermore, to understand the contextual work, a materialist cultural approach is also applied. There are several Indonesian writers who clearly describe polygamy in their literature, such as Habiburrahman El Shirazy and Alfina Dewi. Although they are all Muslim, they have a different perspective in presenting the problem of polygamy in their works. These differences reflect the Indonesian Islamic community where the discourse of polygamy is still controversial.

Critical discourse analysis has become an influential interdisciplinary approach, which views discourse as a form of social practice. Anti-polygamy discourse, as a long-standing social practice in Indonesia, offers a discussion of challenges in the perspective of critical discourse analysis. Teun van Dijk, as one of the pioneers of critical discourse analysis, articulates ideology as the basis for social group representation. In addition, he advocates a sociocognitive interface between social structures and the structure of discourse. In this view, whenever social groups, including producers of anti-polygamy texts, voice their ideas and feelings, their ideology emerges clearly or, if not, lies behind the language.

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<sup>3</sup> Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 115.

In the Chakim study, it is said that polygamy occurs as a way to solve social and religious problems, in addition to the intersection of social classes and gender relations due to conditions in which men are subordinated by poverty and low social class. Meanwhile, in the Islamic faith, a man is seen as a leader because of the excess material he possesses. Instead, the story in the novel represents a condition where a wealthy woman is in a subordinate position because she has no choice but polygamy, and because of her religious beliefs.

*Third* is the study of polygamy from a social and cultural standpoint. Studies with the third perspective are relatively very diverse about polygamy such as conducted by Among Gwen J. Broude,<sup>4</sup> Vita Agustina,<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Ansor,<sup>6</sup> Roibin<sup>7</sup>ACh. Faisol,<sup>8</sup> Irwin Altman & Joseph Ginat, Siany Indria Liestyasari,<sup>9</sup> Nina Nurmila.<sup>10</sup>From this perspective, the legalization of polygamy is believed to be a legal affair, so that the acquisition of polygamy is a form of discrimination against women. Moreover, supported by the superiority of men in many ways, polygamy has serious implications in social life in society, there have been acts of violence, oppression, harassment and various acts that are detrimental to women. Unfortunately, the perpetrators of those actions actually come from those who claim to be intellectuals or the most influential in society that understand religion such as the Kiai. The Kiai will provide dogmatic excuses to legalize polygamy. It is unfortunate if the dogmatic propositions which are cited are in the form of mastery of interests by making use of religious arguments. This paper then tries to highlight the practice of polygamy Kiai.

From the first work, we want to explore the issue of polygamy in Indonesian film, Nia Dinata with the title *Love for Share*, and how it can be used as the main marker to analyze the subject construction of gender, identity and relationships in the phallogocentric discourse of family and nation. In Indonesia, the family structure is inherently patriarchal and hierarchical in nature, which forces the wife to stay at home while the husband is seen as a breadwinner and plays a role outside the home. Women are described as experiencing a process of marginalization twice, namely being subordinated in the domestic sphere and emphasized at the national level through the ideology of the nation state as a "united and inclusive" family. Moreover, using the doctrine of Ibuism, the government encourages women to stay at home and adjust to the role of the ideal wife and mother, by limiting their rights as citizens. Using Benedict Anderson's theory of the nation as an "imagined political community", the film *Love for Share* ideologically builds and places its character imaginatively in gender subjects in family and nation spaces through polygamy representation, and how this film imagines and expresses women's desires, choices and freedom. In this way, this film reflects and contributes to the ongoing discursive negotiations and transformations in gender identity and relations that occur within the contemporary Indonesian sociopolitical landscape.

Studies conducted by Sabili, Syir'ah, and NooR magazines from January 2006 to January

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<sup>4</sup>Irwin Altman & Joseph Ginat, *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gwen J. Broude, *Marriage, Family, and Relationships: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopaedia* (Denver: BAC-CLIO, 1994).

<sup>5</sup>Vita Agustina. Hegemoni Kiai Terhadap Praktek Poligami. *Jurnal Musawa* Vol. 13 No: 2 tahun 2014 Hal. 135

<sup>6</sup>Muhammad Ansor. *Panorama Poligami dan Resistensi Perempuan di Langsa Aceh*. *Ulumuna Jurnal Studi Keislaman*. Volume 16. No: 1 Tahun 2012.

<sup>7</sup>Roibin. *Praktik Poligami di Kalangan Kiai (Studi Konstruksi Sosial Poligami Para Kiai Pesantren di Jawa Timur)*. *Jurnal el Qudwah* 2012.

<sup>8</sup>Ach. Faisol, "Perubahan Sosial Dalam Praktek Poligami di Indonesia Perspektif Analisis Teori Faktor Independen Neil J. Smelser", *Jurnal Ilmiah Vicratina*, Volume 10, No. 2 (Nopember 2016).

<sup>9</sup>Siany Indria Liestyasari, "Realitas Poligini: Studi Kasus Pada Pesantren Barokah, Desa cabean, Kecamatan Kejayan, Kabupaten Pasuruan, Jawa Timur", *Tesis S2 Program Studi Antropologi Jurusan Ilmu-Ilmu Humaniora (Yogyakarta: Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2007)*.

<sup>10</sup> Nina Nurmila, *Women, Islam and Everyday Life: Renegotiation Poligamy in Indonesia* (London and New York: Rutledge, 2009), 82-90.

2007 as study materials concluded that the construction of polygamy discourse was built on the truth of each Islamic magazine through the selection of certain figures as sources, language use and references. Islamic magazines do not show advocacy against women but rather make women as subjects controlled by the media. As Syir'ah magazine tends to not provide space for negotiation between women and men against polygamy but rather exploits the suffering of women who are polygamied. Sabili Magazine opens space for dialogue between men and women in polygamy but Sabili draws the dialogue as an attraction to win pro-polygamy groups. NooR magazine only presents polygamous discourse as a sub-discourse and has no alignments to defend polygamy women. The identity of women displayed by Islamic magazines is not a single identity, but each magazine transforms women's identity from the reality displayed into the reality desired by the media. Thus, each Islamic magazine presents women in the discourse of polygamy as oppressed subjects, which are constructed by the presence of figures as media sources, media interventions and as a result of the dominance of masculinity and patriarchal culture which are unknowingly inherent in the ideology of journalists in Islamic magazines.

Through the various works above, this can be concluded that polygamy has not been studied from various aspects of the articulation experienced by women who are "trapped" in the world of various husbands. Even if there is, it is still in the perspective of other people's perspectives in understanding polygamy itself. While the space for polygamous wives has not yet got a proportional place, at least they can hear complaints about the experiences of polygamy wives and their various articulations in public, especially in social media space that allows bias to be accessed by anyone, anytime, anywhere. Therefore, from various researchers' exposure to polygamy, this can be noted as follows. Studies on polygamy are very diverse, while studies that focus on personal experiences for polygamous wives articulated through social media have not become a serious concern; even if it is available it is from the point of view of others who are not directly involved in the practice of polygamy. In addition, the various literature reviews above at least serve as an effort to map various polygamy events with various perspectives, so that this study does not lose context, as well as a comparative reference in reading the reality of polygamy, especially on social media.

### **III. Discussion**

#### **Polygamy Normative Discourse in Pesantren**

The practice of polygamy is not a new phenomenon in the history of human life; it has become a strong tradition in various circles of the world community at that time. Polygamy is widely practiced among the people of Greece, Persia, Babylon, ancient Egypt, including people in the Arabian Peninsula itself. The practice of polygamy, long before Islam emerges, take an infinite form, so that a husband may have as many wives as possible according to his wish . Other evidence can be traced through the traces of the family stories of the Prophets and Apostles who practice polygamy. For example, the Prophet Ibrahim has two wives named Siti Hajar and Siti Sarah, Prophet Dawud with eight wives, and Prophet Sulaiman with three hundred noble wives .

In Israel, polygamy had been running since before the time of the Prophet Moses in the later became a custom with no wife restrictions. In fact, among Middle Eastern Jewish followers, polygamy is common. Not to mention, the Church Council in the early Christian period did not oppose polygamy. St. Agustine precisely stated that he did not condemn polygamy at all. Likewise, Martin Luther had a tolerant attitude or even agreed to the status of Philip's polygamy from Hesse. Not only that, in 1531 the Anabaptists charged polygamy. The Mormon sect also believes in polygamy. Even today, some Bishops in Africa still strongly support the practice of polygamy. Churches in Europe also recognize that the

practice of polygamy took place in Europe until the end of the XVII century or the beginning of the XVIII century.

The same thing happens in Royal circles. During the Majapahit kingdom, for example, Raden Wijaya - as the founder and first King of the Majapahit Kingdom who ruled in 1293-1309 AD, married to five women. Four of them are Kertanagara's daughters, namely Sri Parameswari Dyah Dewi Tribhuwaneswari, Sri Mahadewi Dyah Dewi Narendraduhita, Sri Jayendradewi Dyah Dewi Prajnaparamita, and Sri Rajendradewi Dyah Dewi Gayatri, and another Indreswari from Jambi, Sumatra. Various figures say, as Sumanto explained, that polygamy has become a system, custom, or practice of marriage which has been going on for quite a long time and until now it has become a problem of humanity itself.

Polygamy is not derived from Islamic teachings. However, many parties consider that Islam carries the teachings of polygamy, not entirely true. Long before Islam came, human societies in various parts of the world had known and practiced polygamy. In fact, the practice of polygamy occurs in all parts of the world to date, such as in Central America, North Africa, East Asia, and in several communities in Europe and North America.

This, indirectly, wants to dismiss various assumptions - especially excessive accusations - that Islam is the one that brings the teachings of polygamy which has been lasting for a very long time. In fact, Islam exists to make fundamental changes regarding two things related to the practice of polygamy. First, limiting the number of wives to get married is into four wives only. Second, the stipulation of very strict terms and conditions for polygamy, previously unfamiliar with any conditions, must be able to provide fairness among polygamied wives.

Despite the massive distribution in all parts of the world, the development of polygamy in the history of human life experiences ups and downs, following the pattern of people's views of women. When society views the position and the degree of women are low, of course polygamy becomes lively and fertile. Conversely, the position and the degree of women are considered honorable, then, naturally polygamy will decrease. In Faisol's observations on the practice of polygamy in Indonesia since independence until now, at least there have been five phases of change.

First, the practice of polygamy changes from the privileges of a king to be practiced by society in general. Second, the practice of polygamy by the community raises the pros and cons, but it is silent. Third, the practice of polygamy by the community raises the pros and cons, but it is noisy and noisy. Fourth, the people who are against the practice of polygamy are getting stronger. Fifth, the community against the practice of polygamy which is getting stronger creates a pro monogamy community.

Polygamy can occur with a variety of reasons, both the reasons for wives whose husbands remarry and the reasons for women who are ready to be polygamied. Various reasons for wives whose husbands remarried and they persisted in polygamy marriages, or even prefer to live with their husbands rather than choose divorce. Musdah Mulia explained her opinion regarding the inability of women to reject polygamy. According to her there are five factors that cause women to choose to maintain their household and are willing to be polygamied. First, women believe that polygamy is the teachings of Islam and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad. Second, there are family members who experience what they are experiencing (polygamy). Third, women's financial dependence relies on their husbands. Fourth, health aspect becomes a concern. That is, rather than having an affair with a woman who is likely to have AIDS, then it's better to marry a good woman. Fifth, consideration of children is taken into account.

Besides, various reasons also arise from women who are ready to be polygamied. Qosim Amin's study is interesting enough to explain women who do not mind to have



polygamy and are willing to persist in polygamy marriages. There are three reasons that can explain such this situation.

First, women often have no choice and must get married as a form of devotion to parents, especially since her husband is the choice of their parents. Second, women are already in love especially if they are old, they will be seen as a disgrace in society. Third, women have to improve their social status which is in turn also lifts economic status. An important finding from this study is that almost all women disagree with polygamy marriage although they are trapped with marriage status in which they hate most.

The tendency to be willing to polygamy appears to be strong when this situation faces a patriarchal cultural environment such as living in Pesantren environment with the Kiai as the central figure. To a certain degree, women are increasingly powerless to reject polygamy when they are in a patriarchal cultural environment. Agustina's study shows that if the case of polygamy is carried out by the Kiai, it is increasingly difficult for women to refuse despite being the second, the third or the fourth wife. This is because, firstly, the authority factor of the Kiai. Second, the tradition of blessing, where the Kiai is believed to be a perfect figure, still applies in the society so that everything done for the Kiai will get great blessings and rewards. The Kiai who is considered to be a pious and as a meant to reach God becomes highly regarded.

The above description is reinforced by Liestyasari's study of the reality of polygamy in Pesantren with views and behaviors on polygamy. This study concludes that polygamy practiced by the Kiai was carried out for two reasons. First, the polygamy is applied to have offspring who are considered as saviors in afterlife later through their prayers to parents. The more children, the more people pray for. Second, Islamic guidance allows for polygamy.

As long as it has been outlined, then, there is no need to doubt anymore, if necessary it must be done for good. In addition, the socio-cultural construction built by the Kiai in Pesantren on the practice of polygamy is a long process that takes place through education in Pesantren, curriculum, Pesantren rules and regulations that instill gender differences among santri. Thus, internalization (planting) aims to form the students' views towards Kiai families that polygamy as something natural even though it is conceived differently.

To some extent, polygamy in Indonesia invites debatable concerns. Moreover, various politicians, religious figures, artists and others also do polygamy. These diverse views often arise because of different religious understanding of polygamy although the normative base used to support his argument is the same. The mainstream view sees polygamy as part of Islamic norms; some even consider polygamy to be one of the collective identities of Muslim societies. But many conclude that polygamy is not the ideal norm of marriage in Islam.

In fact, the practice of polygamy does not only promote debatable issues within the society. Even in certain contexts, many women resist the practice of polygamy although they sometimes apply an accommodative attitude. Nurmila's study of the responses of the wives involved in polygamy can at least describe the attitudes they show about the practice of polygamy. Based on the approach of women in understanding the sources of Islamic law, al-Qur'an and al-Hadith, there are three attitudes that results in the practice of polygamy.

First, women who understand the textual sources of Islamic law will take an accommodative attitude, so they tend to accept polygamy. Second, those whose understanding is semi-textualist show a semi-accommodative attitude that tends to be resistant to polygamy. Third, women who understand the source of Islamic law in contextualism show an antipative attitude so that they tend to reject polygamy explicitly.

Resistance and rejection of the practice of polygamy are explicitly articulated with a variety of attitudes by women. Ansor's study of Langsa women in Aceh, for example, shows a closed and open resistance attitude. Closed resistance is carried out with a variety of

expressions although almost of all resistance does not lead to divorce. For example, they delegitimize the good name of a second wife and pretend to be obedient to the husband but behind they do the opposite or refuse the husband's policy in household settings. Whereas open resistance is carried out by filing for divorce with or without going through a court; both before and after the polygamy marriage takes place. This last pattern usually occurs in polygamy without the acknowledgement of the old wife,

Different forms of resistance are illustrated by Rahmawati's study resulting in seeing the dynamics of women's resistance carried out among Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) internal women's groups (Muslimat, Fatayat, Rahima). She concluded that the reason of being resistance carried out by NU women's groups constituted resistance in obedience. Resistance in obedience is a form of resistance originating from heterodox feminist reasoning in orthodox logic that comes from the power of meaning in NU habitus, by means of compatibility of reason that results in modification of social praxis.

Reasoning contestation that occurs does not always end with winning and losing, but it can also end with modification of social praxis as an accommodation point. The modification of social praxis is, on one hand, framed by NU's habitus in the form of the Aswaja ideology which guides the understanding of Islamic tenets and produces a doxa on female circumcision discourse, early marriage and polygamy. The habitus emerges from the learning Islamic classical books (Islamic scholar works written in Arabic without any punctuation) which are internalized in the Pesantren tradition. On the other hand, modification of social praxis is the result of managing capital owned by NU women's groups, especially social capital, cultural capital, and knowledge capital. This modification of social praxis provides a room for the workings of feminist reasoning without leaving patriarchal religious reasoning in NU. Of these three issues are further examined.

Women's resistance to polygamy is increasingly gaining space and place on social media. Everyone - including polygamous wives - is free to express and articulate her views on anything without having to be censored first, including polygamy. Social media, thus, becomes a new space for the community to establish social interactions and relationships with anyone and at any time without the constraints of distance and time. In other words, social media will become a public space in cyberspace that makes everyone discover a new world, which is a world that Gibson calls a "infinite cage" where humans can wander without end and without limits, despite the fact that imprisoning humans to non-physical areas is difficult to break free.

The emergence of social media has a big impact on the involvement of everyone to participate including the participation carried out by polygamous wives. They use virtual space as a representation of virtual reality to represent physical space, even though they have to stay away from their own bodies. When a social relationship is mediated by the internet and is dealing indirectly with others, the identity can be disguised, the data can be manipulated and various expressions are so different from real space. Social media, therefore, functions as a venue for expressing oneself as well as an arena for expressing opinions. It is very likely that a wife who voices pro-polygamy discourse on social media might have disguised something that is disguised, data that actually they themselves have doubts about its truth or contain a rebellion against another wife from her husband.

Through social media, anyone can easily write and express their opinions through social networks so that social media incarnates as a medium of imaging. The power of media as an image maker has been a long concern of media study enthusiasts. The media is considered as an important image-forming agent in modern society. A long time ago, this was warned by Daniel Boorstin in his book *The Image* (1962) that the process of strengthening one's image would be easier to construct through the media. Even in the modernist view, the



media is the image itself. So public space on social media is like incarnation, a place to show themselves to the public.

In Dramaturgi Erving Goffman's theoretical approach, self-presentation can indeed happen to anyone in any parts of the world because everyone has a reason to present themselves differently. There is one side where someone wants to be seen as ideal even close to perfect, but on the other hand, someone can appear in the opposite direction of the ideal. Those sides are displayed through a preparation like a person who will perform on the stage. This effort is called impression management for wives polygamy on social media as an ideal place to construct themselves.

Polishing oneself in the Goffman concept is known as "theater performance". There are two keywords in this theory, namely the front stage and the back stage. Dramaturgi's theory ultimately boils down to the management of impressions, as was done by her mother in social media in the front area. Every setting of a mother's life will be met by a moment when she became an actor who performed a certain performance to give an impression to others.

For the sake of evaluation of this self-image, the polygamous wife is no longer able to distinguish between private space and public space. Though between the two there is a very clear line of differentiation. But in public space on social media, both are already unlimited. The line between the real and the virtual is not clear. There is no distance between the private and the public in the virtual world. Social media users can do things that are private to themselves, but they can instantly upload all private life on social networks. At this point that the private and public space becomes increasingly blurred. Personal activities that should be covered in the real world are inversely proportional to the virtual world. Personal information can be viewed by audiences broadly.

A little hope of the research results of the proponent and opponent of polygamy above confirms that the reality of polygamy is always interesting to study scientifically in particular polygamy in the life of Pesantren.

## IV. Conclusion

### Polygamy Practices in Pesantren

It's not confidential anymore that the holders of Pesantren, both referred to as a Gus (the son of Kiaia), Lora (the son of Kiaia), or Kiai practices the marriage of more than one wife, polygamy. Likewise, in Jember Regency. There are three polygamy families in Jember, with the initials GS with three wives, GF with three wives, and GG with three wives.

The three major Pesantren leaders in Jember are relatively young with their roles as Pesantren leaders, religious leaders for the surrounding residents, and political leaders because they serve as references for the blessing of candidates for village leaders up to district leaders. The three are between 35-40 years old in 2020 and their wives are between 24-35 years old.

There is no upheaval or rejection from outside communities towards the practice of polygamy that they do. Even according to the GF, GA and GG, there are still many people who come to offer their daughters to be married by the Gus even though the bidder has already known that the Gus has already got married. The wives of GG, NN, NM and NR also recognize this concern. Similar recognition also comes from the wife of GF, namely NA, NY and NN.

What about their internal conditions, the perpetrators of polygamy? The husbands, namely GF, GA and GG, claimed that there was no rejection from the old wife, but they claimed that they have tricks so that the old wife could accept their young wife. Among the tricks that husbands have is to respect and pay more attention to older wives than young one

so that older wives do not feel abandoned or deprived of their rights. By prioritizing the needs and feelings of the old wife, the polygamy carried out by the three Pesantren leaders went smoothly by the time this article was written, July 2020.

Are the wives willing to let their husbands share their attention, love and wealth? All the wives who were interviewed by the authors said there was no 100 percent sincerity regarding this matter. There was a little 'sincerity' in which they were willing to do because they could not prevent the polygamy behavior of their husbands.

Then, how is their portrait actually on social media? All polygamous wives always show pictures that refer to the peaceful situation even though the wives share their husbands. All informants are happy by giving big smiles on their respective social media. Is that their picture in the real world? It could be, but whatever its name is, it must be related to a conflict of interest. Both the interests of feelings, basic needs and continuity guarantee of their marriage. In the real world, the three of them know the word of jealous even some of the wives compete each other. How do they resolve this conflict? GF's wife, NA, tries to continuously think of a husband or other wives of her husband that she can feel calm. GG, NM's wife, seeks not to think that her husband also becomes a husband of other wives by keeping busy to manage her pilgrimage travelling business.

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