

CONSERVATIVE MUSLIM AND TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE HADITHS IN POLYGAMY PROPAGANDA IN INDONESIA

Nikmatullah Nikmatullah^{1*} and Emawati²

¹ Faculty of Ushuluddin and Religious Studies, Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Indonesia

² Faculty of Education and Teacher Training, Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

***Corresponding author:**
Nikmatullah Nikmatullah
nikmah@uinmataram.ac.id

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The pro-polygamy movement in Indonesia demonstrates not only Islamic doctrine and identity but also the rise of conservative Islam which is legitimized by an understanding of particular hadiths. This article aims to describe polygamy propaganda carried out by conservative Muslim groups on social media which is based on a literal textual understanding of religious texts. This qualitative research used gender analysis to investigate male dominance in polygamous propaganda employing hadith to recruit polygamous class participants. Data for the study were gathered from social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube) as well as online news about polygamy mentoring programs. The polygamous traditions employed by two mentorship communities in Indonesia such as Daurah Poligami Indonesia (DPI) and Forum Poligami Indonesia (FPI), were used in this study. Polygamy traditions have been selected and interpreted to support polygamy, viewed as mandatory for men, with conservative narratives that support the propaganda of how to marry four wives. It is regarded as a symbol of individual piety and an Islamic lifestyle, inextricably linked to the materialization of religion, which provides polygamy with social and spiritual bliss. Therefore, polygamy propaganda initiated debate among Muslim feminist movements to advocate for gender equality and women's empowerment in modern Indonesia.

Keywords: Polygamy; conservative; textual interpretation; hadith

1. INTRODUCTION

The pro-polygamy campaign in Indonesia demonstrates the reversion to Islamic law and the increasing movement of Islamization in Indonesian society. The open pro-polygamy campaign in Indonesia reflects the rise of conservative Islamic groups in the public realm (Hoesterey & Clark, 2012). Thus, the objective of this study is to debunk misconceptions about reading Islamic literature that discuss polygamy, particularly in relation to the polygamy mentoring program that conservative Islamic groups in Indonesia have established. In the Indonesian context, conservative groups were strengthened in the fallout of the new order era (Bruinessen, 2011), as evidenced by the strengthening of narratives and conservative values that impacted people's lives, including women (Blackwood, 2007; Sakai & Fauzia, 2016). Moreover, conservative views are distinguished by the approval of child marriage, the practice of polygamy, the domestication of women, excessive workloads for women, and inequality in sexuality issues (Kholis et al., 2020). The limited

traditionalist-conservative way of thinking does not automatically produce radical, extreme, and terrorist movements (Nahe'i, 2020).

Since 2017, Dauroh Poligami Indonesia (DPI) and Forum Poligami Indonesia (FPI) have been propagating Sharia polygamy through mentorship. They promoted "Quick Way to Get Four Wives" with the hashtag #2019tambahistri under the tagline Poligami Indah Full Barokah (DPI, 2018; FPI, 2018). This campaign was successful in attracting many participants scattered over Indonesia. DPI has 1,700 Facebook followers and 1,616 Instagram followers, whilst FPI has 4,300 followers. Although some people do not consider polygamy a religious issue, it is a symbol of the conflict between masculinity and femininity (van Wichelen, 2009). Other studies have found polygamy cruel and discriminatory towards women and children (Al-Sharfi et al., 2016; Amone, 2020; Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001).

Furthermore, three areas comprise the analysis of the pro-polygamy campaign in the Muslim world. First, the pro-polygamy movement has a religious bent (Sani et al., 2021; Rohman, 2013; Sa'dan, 2015; Smith, 2014a). Second, the pro-polygamy campaign is a subject of controversy between conservative Islamists and Muslim feminists (van Wichelen, 2009; Wajiran, 2018). Third, polygamy is connected to race, ethnicity, and economic status in the Muslim community (Smith, 2014b); culture (Alotaibi, 2016), religious identity (Sur, 2015), subjectivity (Al-Tkhayneh & Nser, 2019; Hertina et al., 2021). Nonetheless, researchers have conducted very few studies on the pro-polygamy campaign by conservative Islam in Indonesia in the context of polygamy courses.

Polygamy is now a contentious social issue. In addition, rather than being accepted as a tradition and cultural practice (Amone, 2020), which is reinforced by religious understanding (Al-Tkhayneh & Nser, 2019), it is condemned because it oppresses women and children (Hertina et al., 2021). Women in the United Arab Emirates who refuse to be polygamous divorce their husbands because they are unhappy in their marriage (Al-Tkhayneh & Nser, 2019). There is a beneficial association between cash transfer programs and polygamy in Africa, where the bulk of polygamists are uneducated and poor, in the form of less violence against spouses in polygamous families (Heath et al., 2020). In the context of Indonesia, polygamy is not only explored in terms of postcolonialism, modernism, religion, nationality, and globalization (van Wichelen, 2017), but also in terms of sexual desire, piety, and law (Smith, 2014a).

Based upon these issues, this article claims that the Prophet's hadith (the words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad) is misunderstood in Indonesia to sustain the ideology and identity of fundamentalist Islam, which encourages Sharia polygamy. Contrary to the context-based interpretation of the hadith, which supports monogamous marriage, the literal textual interpretation of the hadith endorses polygamy. According to DPI, polygamy is seen as a Prophetic Sunnah that signifies male worship and obligation and benefits participants on a material, social, and spiritual level. Hence, this study focuses on how religious organizations use religious traditions and slogans to justify polygamy to assist traditional Indonesian Muslim communities who are willing to readily accept it.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Even though it is permitted by religion, polygamy is a controversial issue among many Muslims and there is a lot of debate between conservative Muslims and progressive Muslims, especially Muslim feminists. Polygamy study in Islam can be divided into three categories. The first category is a normative examination of the Qur'an and hadith texts. According to these, polygamy is permitted for men who can treat their wives fairly and are only permitted to have a maximum of four wives at once (Husain et al., 2019; Safitri, 2018). The second category is polygamy comprehension where Islamic fundamentalists and modernists have different perspectives on polygamy (Rohman, 2013). Fundamentalists support polygamy, whilst modernists oppose it because it is unfair to women. The third issue is polygamy among Muslims. Women express their opposition to polygamy, both implicitly and explicitly, in an attempt to counter the dominance of polygamy in Islam, despite the fact that it is permitted in Islam (Ansor, 2017). Polygamy only satisfies the sexual desires of men (Sa'dan, 2015) resulting in an unstable family (Keswet et al., 2019).

Polygamy has become controversial in society and is not only accepted as a part of tradition and culture (Amone, 2020), which is reinforced by religious understanding (Al-Tkhayneh & Nser, 2019) but it is also condemned because it oppresses women and children (Hertina et al., 2021). Women in the United Arab Emirates who refuse to be polygamous divorce their husbands because they are unhappy in their marriage (Al-Tkhayneh & Nser, 2019). In Africa, where most polygamists are uneducated and financially deprived, there is a positive relationship between cash transfer programs and polygamy in the form of reduced violence against partners in polygamous families (Heath et al., 2020). Polygamy is discussed in the Indonesian context not only in terms of postcolonial, modernity, religion, nationality, and globalization (van Wichelen, 2009), but also in terms of sexual desire, piety, and law (Smith, 2014a).

Conservative and feminist Muslims in the context of Indonesia have sparked debate about polygamy. To highlight the pervasive patriarchal culture among Muslims, conservatives use technology and information to launch strong pro-polygamy campaigns across the family and public spheres (Muttaqin, 2020). It is a challenge for Muslim feminists who advocate for Islamic law reform, women's empowerment, gender equality, and modernity (Rahman, 2017).

The pro-polygamy campaign is a symbol of Islamic identity and ideology, the Islamic family, and personal piety (Smith, 2014a; Woodward & Rohmaniyah, 2013; Zainal, 2019) concerning the Indonesian Muslim community's history, culture, and ethnicity (van Wichelen, 2017). In contrast to van Wichelen's study, which found that Puspa Wardaya's pro-polygamy campaign had no implication on the doctrine of Puritanism, this study concluded the opposite. Polygamy mentoring is simply the commercialization of religion as well as portraying a polygamous family as an Islamic and pious lifestyle based on patriarchal religious values. Thus, polygamy is easily accepted in Indonesian conservative society because it is promoted by religious leaders who serve as role models (Smith, 2014b).

3. METHOD

This qualitative study focused on hadith misinterpretation in Islamic polygamy mentoring propaganda by two polygamous communities that are controversial in Indonesia, DPI and FPI from 2017 to 2020. Their views are validated by religious texts in the caption "Quick Way to Get Four Wives." The quoted hadith texts were chosen and interpreted according to their preferences, and they have been circulated either online or on social media and used as slogans and captions. This effort has succeeded in attracting conservative Muslim men and women to take mentoring classes even though the fees are expensive.

The hadiths were analysed to determine the polygamy mentor propaganda tendency, which was classified into two categories: polygamous motivation and husband and wife relationships. Polygamous mentors' teachings that support the legitimacy of polygamy and inspire readers to follow them can be identified by explaining the main themes of hadith. Polygamous communities have unique characteristics when it comes to spreading hadith messages. Many hadith memes are used in DPI by quoting texts, messages, slogans, and captions. In contrast, the Indonesian Polygamy Forum relies on hadith texts and quotes scholars to reinforce their claims.

Data for the study was gathered from social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube) as well as online news about polygamy mentoring programs. Secondary data and interviews with Da'wah activists in online media such as vice.id, narrationnewsroom.com, and other media covering polygamy mentoring activities were used to obtain their perspectives on polygamy. The data collection process began with a desk review of secondary data from online media and the results of YouTube interviews. Then, the data was gathered using typology and thematic categorization and then interpreted using gender analysis.

4. RESULTS

This study aims to explore the polygamy propaganda among conservative Muslims in Indonesia caused by a partial understanding of hadith texts. The data obtained shows the following results: 1) Mentoring polygamy class influences women's subordination and religion's commodification, 2) Islamic polygamy propaganda through memes on social media, and 3) Polygamy hadith misreading.

4.1 Mentoring polygamy: Women's subordination and religion's commodification

Propagandists purposefully and systemically use propaganda to shape perceptions and manipulate cognitions to achieve their goals (Jowett & O'donnell, 2012). The ISIS group, for instance, uses propaganda to recruit Muslim community members (Boutz et al., 2018; Mahood & Rane, 2017; Tarras-wahlberg, 2016; Welch, 2018). Propaganda can be accomplished through the commodification of religion which can be interpreted as a practice that turns religious symbols into pious objects (Schmidt, 2012). The way religion is portrayed and generally made available to the public via the internet is related to the monetization of religion. Religion is no longer just ideas and rituals but has evolved into a symbolic good that is relevant to modern society's consumption and way of life (Kholis et al., 2020).

The commodification of polygamy transforms religion into an Islamic polygamous experience that promises happiness and prosperity. As a result, polygamy becomes a part of the conservative lifestyle that promises happiness in this world and the afterlife. Propaganda is interconnected and systematically organized aiming to form opinions based on what individuals or groups convey with specific goals. These polygamous

narratives assist readers in understanding events relating new information to previously known information, justifying actions, and directing those actions toward their goals and interests.

Polygamy mentoring is carried out through a polygamy class program that is based on the spirit of returning to Islamic teachings. The polygamy class is claimed to be a "Healthy and Sharia-compliant Samara Polygamous Family Education Center" (Medistiara, 2017). The founder of DPI, Vicky Abu Syamil, stated that the purpose of the polygamy class is to educate Muslims on marriage in general based on Islamic law, specifically on Islamic polygamy (www.kba.one). With the slogans "Quick Way to Get Four Wives" and "45 Days of Successful Polygamy," the polygamy class promotes "Beautiful polygamous marriages full of blessings" (Newsroom, 2021). According to the program's promotional brochure, it is designed to assist men who want to be polygamous: "Many husbands wish for polygamy, and many single women want to marry, but they do not know what to do or where to start and how to prepare so that the wife is ready for her husband's decision to follow polygamy on how Islam organizes it from A-Z, thus, we assist and help you" (DPI, 2018).

Additionally, the polygamy mentors are *da'wah* activists from DPI and FPI who are not only from Islamic boarding schools but also conservative Islamic *da'wah* activists with various professions, such as consultants and entrepreneurs (Redaksi, 2018). The mentors refer to themselves as polygamous practitioners, implying that they are experts, skilled, and successful in polygamy with two to four wives, which is permitted in Islam. The other wives are divorced if they want to remarry for various of reasons, including menopause and the eagerness to have many children (Newsroom, 2021).

Despite the fact that this program is intended for both men and women, it appears that women are only subordinate to men. The roles of men and women in polygamy classes are gender-biased based on the courses given. Men commit polygamy and women are the victims of men's decisions, which they must obey. The committee prepares women for the polygamy program to be successful.

Women are subordinate to men in polygamy where the husband is both the subject and the active party. Husbands are taught how to negotiate with the first wife and persuade women to become second wives. While the wife, as a passive object, accepts polygamy as her husband's choice. The wife has no choice, but they have to accept the consequences of polygamy because her husband has made the decision. Even if the wife opposes polygamy, the husband must persuade her to accept it. If a legal problem arises, the husband is trained to handle the polygamy legality. Ironically, despite being stereotyped as a homewrecker (*pelakor* in Bahasa), subordinated, and abused, the wife is forced to maintain the household. Although, the stereotype of *pelakor* should be addressed to women acting as cheating partners of married men or women as the second wife status. Table 1 below displays data from the course materials on polygamy.

Table 1: Polygamy class material

Topic	Husband's courses	Wife's courses
Polygamy knowledge	The <i>fiqh</i> of husband's polygamy	The <i>fiqh</i> of wife's polygamy
Preparation	Husband's polygamous marriage preparation The doubtful of polygamy, searching for the co-wives prospective Self-reassurance of doing polygamy How to start polygamy	Wife's polygamous marriage preparation Self-reassurance to being a polygamous wife Husband's willingness to be polygamous
First wife's consent	The first wife's polygamy consent but no prospective second wives Polygamy without the first wife's consent What if the first wife does not approve of polygamy?	How to get the first wife's approval Become the mistress without the first wife's consent
Prospective second wives	The second wives' guardian does not approve of polygamy Is a prospective second wife not prepared for polygamy? Persuade the wife to accept polygamy What is the process for procuring a polygamy certificate?	Choosing prospective second wives Are you a homewrecker?
Unregistered marriage	Unregistered marriage legitimization in Islamic law	
Maintaining harmonious marriage		Tips and tricks of a solid polygamous marriage; Polygamous marriage cons Children in polygamous households Management of jealousy in a polygamous marriage Time management in polygamy

Table 1: Polygamy class material (continued)

Topic	Husband's courses	Wife's courses
Conflict management	Conflict management in polygamy	Conflict management between wives
Divorce	Wife filing a divorce	Should polygamous couples stay together or divorce?

Source: Researchers' miscellany

The polygamous class, which caters to Indonesia's conservative Muslim middle class, has become a profitable business. Each male participant must pay an investment fee ranging from IDR 2,900,000 (two million nine hundred thousand rupiahs) to IDR 6,000,000 (six million rupiahs) for one day of offline class. Meanwhile, female participants receive a fifty percent discount ranging from IDR 1,450,000 (one million four hundred fifty thousand rupiahs) to IDR 3,000,000 (three million rupiahs).

Funds raised through these programs are used not only for preaching but also for personal gain. The DPI's chairman, Vicky Abu Syamil, argued that the funds were to be used for operational and da'wah purposes (Redaksi, 2018). Meanwhile, one of the polygamy mentors, Ustadz Hafidin stated that "The initial motivation [polygamy mentoring] was to improve the community and individuals, but in order for me to thrive, I also need to earn a living, it is only natural that I collect fees from polygamy classes because I teach participants knowledge also it is permissible in Islam to pay people to teach the Koran" (Newsroom, 2021).

The commodification of religion is prevalent in polygamy propaganda, due to religion being commercialized to meet men's sexual needs and to financially benefit polygamous mentors. The high price that participants must pay reflects their upper-middle social class. Polygamous doctrine is easily accepted by middle-class Muslims with limited religious knowledge. Polygamy is defined as worship associated with Islam's five pillars and has no theological foundation other than to attract polygamous class participants. The Hadith of Fatima, protected by the Prophet from her husband's willingness to polygamy, demonstrates that polygamy is not good for women. Polygamy mentoring glorifies violence against women (Newsroom, 2021). This propaganda strengthens women's subordination in the domestic domain in the name of religion.

4.2 Islamic polygamy propaganda through memes on social media

Polygamy propaganda is spread via social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook, in order to shape perceptions and opinions about the values and happiness of polygamous families based on Islamic teachings, despite manipulating knowledge and facts about the reality of polygamy, which harms families and women. The use of social media for pro-polygamy campaigns aims to broaden the reach and distribution of polygamy mentoring information, and the community responds enthusiastically to their ideas. Propaganda is executed through memes and brochures with slogans, captions, al-Quran and hadith texts, and religious messages from al-Quran and hadith texts with appealing colours to help readers understand the message (Qudsy et al., 2021).



Figure 1: Polygamy class "Quick Way to Get Four Wives"



Figure 2: Polygamy coach and wives

Figures 1 and 2 depict polygamy propaganda with the motto "Quick Way to Get Four Wives" as a symbol of piety, depicting mentors with their wives alongside images of happy, harmonious, and prosperous families. The brochure, in addition to describing the polygamy class, includes the costs, facilities obtained by participants, the location, and a contact phone number. Brochures are written in suggestive and provocative sentences that commodified religion and the testimony of successful polygamous families; "initiating and

maintaining polygamy from an Islamic perspective with experienced polygamy practitioners." Table 2 illustrates the spread of polygamy propaganda under the guise of religion.

Table 2: Sharia Polygamy Propaganda

Code	Statement
Propaganda	Quick way to get four wives
	45 days of successful polygamy
Legitimization	Koran and Hadith
	Referring to the Prophet's polygamous marriage
Tagline	#savepoligamisyar'I (#saveshariapolygamy)
	"#2019tambahistrishalihah (#2019morewives)
Slogan	Polygamy is a form of worship
	Polygamy is a part of sharia law
	Polygamy is a part of Sunnah
	Polygamous marriage is full of blessings
	Polygamy is better than having an affair
	Polygamy solves prostitution
	Polygamy is men's destiny
The advantages and disadvantages of polygamy	Polygamy is a life solution
	Implementation of happiness rather than suffering
	Brings wealth
	Grant reward
	The wife's jealousy will grant a reward
	Fulfilling sexual urges

Source: Researchers' miscellany

The polygamy campaign used religious slogans and claimed that it was men's destiny. Polygamy is regarded as an obligation with religious significance. An obligatory action in the context of Fiqh is one that must be performed to receive a reward. Arif Abu Khalif (34 years old) believes that polygamy is a law that every Muslim must follow (Saumi & Hutari, 2018). Polygamy is thus regarded as a form of worship by those who engage in it. Sharia law requires the wife to support her husband's polygamy if he can afford it.

"As for women, do not prevent someone from doing something which Allah grants, even if she sees her husband wanting to do it (polygamy) and his husband has the material and physical ability to do so" (DPI, 2018; FPI, 2018).

There is not a single hadith or verse in the Koran that mandates polygamy for Muslims. Even the polygamy verse in QS. Annisa: 3 explains that monogamy is the best choice for fairness. Table 3 displays misogynistic polygamy mentoring propaganda.

Table 3: Misogynistic propaganda of polygamy mentoring

Code	Misogynistic view of polygamy
Jealousy and <i>kufr</i> are women's nature	If jealousy is a woman's nature, then <i>kufr</i> (infidelity) is a woman's nature, and the abyss is her best place.
<i>Kufr</i> wife (infidel)	A disbelieving wife is constantly convinced that her comforts are no better than those of others.
Pompous women	An arrogant woman takes pleasure in insulting and demeaning other women, believes she is the best and is anti-critics.
Female demon	The female demon suggested that her friend ask her husband for a divorce because of polygamy.
People who oppose polygamy are breaking Sharia law.	Make polygamy a place of worship... "And the enemy is the one who hinders the intention of worship. The idea of refusing or not wanting to engage in polygamy, which is spreading among Muslim women, is a very dangerous one that violates Islamic law.
Supporting prostitution while rejecting polygamy is the same thing.	Prostitution owners and women who support prostitution strongly oppose polygamy da'wah.
Adultery by a husband due to a wife opposes polygamy	His wife despises polygamy, and her husband is an adulterer, a perfect match.
Fragile husband	So, what is the deal with your husband being so effeminate? Where has his masculinity gone? Go get him a lipstick!

Polygamy imagery is sometimes manipulative, unreasonable, and simply an illusion. Polygamy is thought to have social, economic, biological, and spiritual benefits, as illustrated by the following memes:



Figure 3: Polygamy is better than monogamy



Figure 3: Polygamy brings happiness



Figure 4: Polygamy brings good fortune



Figure 5: Living smoothly with polygamy

Figure 3 illustrates that living alone is terrible, marriage is good, and polygamy is excellent, followed by illustrations in red, yellow, and green. Polygamy brings happiness (Figure 4) and fortune (Figure 5), making life's journey easier (Figure 6). Figure 4 depicts the joys of a polygamous life. According to the slogan stating polygamous marriage is full of blessings, polygamy is thought to be a manifestation of happiness and prosperity. Polygamous women are thought to benefit from men's love and affection, as well as mutual respect and cooperation among family members, to create social harmony (DPI, 2018). Polygamists are thought to be rewarded in addition to being happy in the world. The second wives are told to be patient despite their heartbreak and jealousy, as this will result in a reward. "The point of my advice to women is to not be overly jealous if their husbands remarry. Even if it is difficult for them, they must be patient and hope for a reward from Allah. However, this sense of heaviness or sadness tends to happen at the beginning of the marriage" (DPI, 2018).

Figure 5 depicts the analogy of the second wife as a guest, which is believed to bring fortune to the host in Islamic teachings. "Believe that polygamy brings fortune; (**People say "guests come with sustenance**"); so, we also say (**second wife comes with sustenance**)." As in Figure 4, the simplicity of life is represented by a man riding a bicycle, followed by four veiled women. According to the caption: "The more people who ride, the easier life is." They appear to be in sync while pedaling a bicycle, resulting in a comfortable journey. Maintaining a family is a difficult task. There will be disagreements. As a result, family members fail to support one another, leading to conflict and divorce. Furthermore, polygamy is thought to bring good fortune, indicating polygamy's blessing" (Istiningsih, 2019). Ironically, the benefits of polygamy are being promoted misleadingly. Polygamy is equally dishonest as well as disrespectful to women as adultery. Trust and loyalty are the keys to achieving a harmonious marriage that applies to both parties.

Polygamy is merely an imaginative way of legitimizing male sexual desires. It means channeling sexual drive with an intention of marrying another woman (DPI, 2018; FPI, 2018). Hafidin, one of the polygamous mentors, divorced his two menopausal wives since he wanted to have more children (Newsroom, 2021). Despite the fact that a divorce is a legal act, Allah despises it (Narrated by Abu Dawud and Ibn Majah). Thus, the desire for polygamy through a divorce from another wife is nothing more than a form of satisfying biological desires.

Despite the fact that polygamy beliefs are not scientifically proven, polygamists believe that it is their destiny to practice polygamy. According to Fadil Muzakki Syah, "Only one in a million men rejects polygamy, and only one in a million women accepts polygamy" (ABC, 2019). Polygamy is thought to benefit women as well, but this is more of an effort to preserve women's morality and psychology as beings capable of bearing children. "Women who have polygamous marriages are believed to be less stressed, to have a lawful and healthy sex life, to avoid illegal sexual activity, and to bear more children than Prophet loved" (DPI, 2018; FPI, 2018). This statement is an illusion produced by polygamy proponents to persuade people to accept polygamy, which is contradictory to the reality of polygamous families. In 2017, the National Commission on Violence Against Women recorded 1,697 incidences of domestic violence caused by polygamy (Wardah, 2018). As a result of polygamy promotes violence against women.

4.3 Polygamy hadith misreading

Polygamous mentoring's gender-biased and misogynist propaganda stems from a misinterpretation of polygamous hadiths. Regarding the motivation for polygamy and husband and wife relations, seven hadiths legitimize polygamy, which are the standards for individual piety. Hadith texts can be classified into three categories which are quoting texts based on topics, interpretations of specific hadiths, or simply hadith

messages from scholars to help readers understand the message to be conveyed. The following table presents the hadith's understanding of polygamy:

Table 4: Polygamy hadith text

Topic	Hadith text	Caption, restatements, interpretation
Polygamy as sunnah	Prophet's polygamous marriage	Fiqh Polygamy from A to Z Refers to the Prophet's Polygamy Practice
Become the best ummah	Do you have a wife?' 'Not yet!' I said. 'Marry, indeed, the best of this ummah is one of the best wives,' he said (HR. Bukhari).	
Women population outnumber men	Indeed, among the signs of the apocalypse are the increase in knowledge, the prevalence of gullibility, the prevalence of adultery, the prevalence of drinking khamr, and women outnumber men," Anas bin Malik Ra said. One man can save over fifty women (HR. Bukhari).	One of my motivations is to preserve the faith of my family. According to one of the hadiths, the majority of the Dajjal's followers at the end of this age are women (Saumi & Hutari, 2018). There are more females than males 50:1 (Saumi & Hutari, 2018).
Multiply Muslims	Marry a merciful woman who can bear many children, because I will be proud of many of you in front of the Prophets on the Day of Resurrection (HR. Ahmad dan Ibn Hibban).	My motivation is to increase the number of Muslims in the world. Because the presence of KB commonly known as a family planning contraception program is a result of infidel influence, there are few Muslims. That is why we use polygamy to increase the number of Muslims (Wargadiredja, 2018).
Prevent adultery	Young people! Whoever among you can marry should do so, because marriage lowers the gaze and prevents adultery. And whoever is unable to marry, let them fast (HR Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmidzi, and others).	Indeed, rather than being channelled, lust leads to adultery. Rape, prostitution, paedophilia, and other crimes are examples. Polygamy is much healthier because, in addition to channelling lust, you also get a reward (jalantikus.com).
Pious wives accept polygamy	A woman who maintains the five daily prayers, fasts for a month (in the month of Ramadan), keeps herself innocent (from adultery), and obeys her husband, it is said to her, "Welcome to heaven through whichever doors you please" (HR. Ahmad dan Ibn Hibban). "A companion once asked the Prophet, "Who is the best woman?" "That is the most well-behaved, obeying her husband and not disputing his wealth to the point of irritability," he replied (HR. An-Nasai).	A good wife definitely supports polygamy (DPI, 2018; FPI, 2018). Instead of asking your wife to love you, tell her to praise Allah so that she will accept whatever Allah allows. For example, her husband and Sharia law as well as polygamy. Heaven will be granted to a wife who approves her husband's willingness to engage in polygamy (Nazilah, 2021). A pious woman instead of a homewrecker. A Muslim woman who refuses to be polygamous and even demands a divorce from her husband may become a homewrecker in the future." "Throwing tantrums, slamming things, divorcing, and venting on social media are not characteristics of a pious wife. I am certain that my wives approve my polygamous proposal. As I do not need their consent (Sofiah, 2021).
Polygamy is a form of kindness to a wife	The most perfect believer in his faith is the one who has the most excellent manners, and the best of you are those who are best to their wives (HR. Attirmidzi, Ahmad, dan Ibn Hibban).	

Table 4: Polygamy hadith text (continued)

Topic	Hadith text	Caption, restatements, interpretation
The Prophet's rejection of Ali bin Abi Talib's wishes for polygamy.	Al-Miswar bin Makhramah reported When 'Ali bin Abi Talib asked for the hand of the daughter of Abu Jahl to be his wife besides Fatimah, I heard Allah's Messenger on his pulpit delivering a sermon in this connection before the people, and I had then attained my age of puberty. Allah's Messenger said, "Fatimah is from me, and I am afraid she will be subjected to trials in her religion (because of jealousy)." The Prophet then mentioned one of his sons-in-law who were from the tribe of 'Abd Shams, and he praised him as a good son-in-law, saying, "Whatever he said was the truth, and he promised me and fulfilled his promise. I do not make a legal thing illegal, nor do I make an illegal thing legal, but by Allah, the daughter of Allah's Messenger and the daughter of the enemy of Allah (i.e. Abu Jahl) can never get together (as the wives of one man).	This is a special case for Fatima (may Allah be pleased with her). It is, however, legal to marry two, three, or four women. The first wife has no right to intervene unless she has requested that the husband abstain from polygamy. In comparison, Muslim men are exempt from these restrictions. So, if a man wants to marry and can be fair and fulfil his responsibilities, there is nothing wrong with marrying two, three, or four women (DPI, 2018; FPI, 2018).

Source: Researcher's miscellany

Table 4 represents various hadith themes cited by polygamous mentors or class participants to justify their polygamous behaviour. Among these themes are polygamy as a sunnah, being the better person, women outnumbering men, having more children, avoiding adultery, devout wives, respecting wives, and the Prophet's rejection of Allah's polygamy wishes. Polygamy is regarded as a sunnah because it was practiced by the Prophet and the majority of his companions (Philips & Jones, 2005). After his first wife, Khadija, died, the Prophet Muhammad married nine or eleven women. In comparison to his monogamous life of approximately thirty years, the Prophet's polygamy lasted only five to eight years before his death. The Prophet practiced polygamy not for the benefit of Muslim men today, but to aid widows whose husbands had been killed in battle at the time. The Prophet's polygamy is also not motivated by a desire for Aisha, a minor. Women are viewed as a birth-giving machine in polygamy, which only serves to objectify them. In practice, polygamous mentors have many children but have no close relationship with them. Hafidin, for example, cannot recall the names of his children. Even though he already had twenty-five children from six previous marriages, one of the reasons he divorced his wife was to have more children (Newsroom, 2021).

The data does not support the claim that polygamy exists because women outnumber men. Based on statistical data, Indonesia's population in 2020, the male-to-female ratio was 50.35% and 49.65%, respectively. It indicates that the number of women outweighing men is a legitimacy of polygamy which belongs to the assumption without scientific evidence. According to the hadith, marriage helps to lower the gaze and prevent adultery. However, marriage (not polygamy) is only permitted for those who can afford it (physically, mentally, economically, and socially). If a person is unable to marry, Islam advises them to fast. Fasting is believed to prevent a person from committing adultery. Comparing polygamy to adultery is a logical fallacy, adultery is mentioned in the Koran as a heinous and sinful act, so Muslims are not even allowed to consider it, let alone commit it (QS. Al-Isra: 32). Scholars concluded that the Prophet's marriage was monogamous rather than polygamous (Wardeh, 2016). Polygamy is only permitted for men who can act fairly, as confirmed by Koran Annisa: verse 3.

DPI cited the hadith of doing good to a wife as an indication of a good man. In contrast to popular belief, polygamous men abuse their wives and engage in discrimination and violence against women (Hassounah-Phillips, 2001; Nurmila, 2009). The above hadith is being used to manipulate and to create public opinion by persuading them to support polygamy. Polygamy appears to be a positive thing and a manifestation of the husband's love for his wife. Polygamy is a form of violence and discrimination against women and children. According to Hafidin, husbands are not obliged to do good to their wives because Allah will repay their kindness (Newsroom, 2021). Polygamy usually begins with the husband's infidelity and dishonesty which hurts the woman. He engaged in polygamy without his wife's consent because it is not regarded as a crucial requirement. Hafidin remarried without informing or obtaining permission from his previous spouse.

In the pro-polygamy campaign, the wife who supports polygamy is said to receive the title of pious as well as the reward of heaven. Although women who become second wives are labelled as *pelakor* (homewreckers) and are given the title of pious women. The hadith about the Prophet defending his daughter who wanted to be polygamous by her husband became the justification for Muslim feminists' rejection of polygamy. The Prophet represents a father who helps to protect his daughter from harm, including polygamy. The Prophet openly rejected Fatima's willingness to be polygamous with her husband. According to the Indonesian Polygamy Forum, this hadith only applies to Fatima, not Muslim women in general.

Religious messages shared on social media help users understand the religion. The commodification of religion, on the other hand, demonstrates a tendency to understand religion superficially (Qudsy et al., 2021). It is critical to re-read polygamy in the Islamic historical context in 7th century Arabic (Azmeah, 2015) to avoid misreading hadith, which conservative Islamists use to justify polygamy in the name of religion. The current context considers modernity's values under humanity and justice. By understanding contextual hadith promotes monogamous marriage, which Islam values.

These texts should be understood holistically and comprehensively in Islamic teachings (Rahman, 2017). Contextual understanding strengthens Islam's commitment to gender justice and the principle of reciprocity in marriage (Azmeah, 2015; Hoel & Shaikh, 2013), preventing it from becoming entangled in a partial understanding that discriminates against women's lives. The principle of equality and loyalty of husband and wife is required to create an Islamic family essence that is *sakinah mawaddah warahmah* which means monogamous marriage is closer to happiness and peace because it is based on husband and wife's love and affection. The Qur'anic expression is that the husband is the wife's clothes, and the wife is the husband's clothes, or *hunna لباسun lakum wa antum لباسun lahunna*.

This not only has ramifications for Muslims who support Islam in accordance with human rights norms, but it also contradicts the discriminatory practice of polygamy against women that is carried out in the name of religion. Polygamy as worship and a Sharia obligation is a type of misreading of hadith.

5. CONCLUSION

Polygamy mentoring exemplifies not only Islam's identity and ideology but also the rise of conservative Islamists in the Indonesian Muslim community, as progressive Muslims fight for Islamic law reform, women's empowerment, and gender equality. Polygamy is an Islamic lifestyle that demonstrates individual piety and promises material, social, sexual, and spiritual benefits to attract polygamous mentoring participants. Conservative Muslim groups have successfully captured the attention of the Indonesian Muslim community by disseminating conservative ideology and religious teachings through various media, including digital media. The pro-polygamy campaign is part of their mission to increase the number of Muslims and children by relying on the Prophet's hadith. Gender bias and misogyny are common in textual interpretations of religion. It is used to legitimize polygamy, which has an impact on women's lives.

This article revealed that understanding textual hadith leads to a misinterpretation of hadith that fails to consider the historical context of past cultural traditions and the socio-cultural context of modern society on the one hand. A literal interpretation, in contrast, eliminates Islam's gender equality aspect. The belief that polygamy is a religious obligation and has religious value is such a kind of misunderstanding of Islamic teachings. In contrast, Islam regards polygamy as a viable option for Muslims who meet certain criteria, including fairness and culpability. Unfortunately, polygamy in the name of religion promoted by the conservative groups who target the middle class of Indonesian Muslims, not only campaigns for material benefits but it can also bring happiness, blessings, and heaven, and is a symbol of personal piety, in contrast to the fact that polygamy causes family conflict and violence against women. Because this study only focused on polygamy mentoring classes conducted by two polygamous communities, further research considering the response of Muslim feminists to polygamy mentoring is needed in the future.

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