

# A Feminist Critique of the Practice of Polygamy in the Context of Islamic Law and Human Rights

**Suud Sarim Karimulllah**

Gümüşhane University, Bağlarbaşı, 29100 Gümüşhane Merkez/Gümüşhane, Türkiye|  
suudsarimkarimullah@gmail.com

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35719/ijlil.v6i1.354>

**Abstract:** This study aims to identify the impact of polygamy practices on women's welfare, consider the gender justice issues that arise, and evaluate its relevance in the context of an Indonesian society that increasingly recognizes and strives for gender equality. This study uses a library research method with a holistic literature analysis to explore the topic comprehensively with an interdisciplinary approach. The results of the study show that feminist criticism highlights that polygamy reinforces patriarchal structures that place women in a position of subordination and dependence, as well as creating competition between wives for attention and resources from husbands who often do not share their time and affection fairly. Although positive law in Indonesia requires the permission of the first wife and proof of the husband's financial capability and fairness in polygamy, its implementation is often weak and fails to protect women's rights. Feminist perspectives emphasize the need for strict and human rights-oriented legal reforms, with rigorous monitoring mechanisms and empowerment of women through education of their rights, as well as changes in social and cultural views on polygamy to create an inclusive and fair environment for all individuals regardless of gender.

**Keywords:** feminism, polygamy, islamic law, human rights.

**Abstrak:** Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dampak praktik poligami terhadap kesejahteraan perempuan, mempertimbangkan masalah keadilan gender yang muncul, dan mengevaluasi relevansinya dalam konteks masyarakat Indonesia yang semakin mengakui dan memperjuangkan kesetaraan gender. Kajian ini menggunakan metode library research dengan analisis literatur secara holistik untuk mendalami topik kajian secara komprehensif dengan pendekatan interdisipliner. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa kritik feminis menyoroti bahwa poligami memperkuat struktur patriarkal yang menempatkan perempuan dalam posisi subordinasi dan ketergantungan, serta menciptakan persaingan antar istri untuk perhatian dan sumber daya dari suami yang sering kali tidak membagi waktu dan kasih sayangnya secara adil. Meskipun hukum positif di Indonesia, mensyaratkan izin istri pertama dan pembuktian kemampuan finansial serta keadilan suami dalam berpoligami, implementasinya sering lemah dan gagal melindungi hak-hak perempuan. Perspektif feminis menegaskan perlunya reformasi hukum yang tegas dan berorientasi pada hak asasi manusia, dengan mekanisme pengawasan ketat dan pemberdayaan perempuan melalui pendidikan hak-hak mereka, serta perubahan pandangan sosial dan budaya tentang poligami untuk menciptakan lingkungan yang inklusif dan adil bagi semua individu tanpa memandang jenis kelamin.

**Kata kunci:** feminisme, poligami, hukum islam, hak asasi manusia.

## Introduction

The practice of polygamy in Indonesia often creates complex dynamics that significantly impact the emotional and financial stability of the women and children involved.<sup>1</sup> In many cases, women in polygamous marriages experience severe psychological distress, insecurity, and uncertainty about their future and that of their children. Children can also experience confusion and emotional conflict due to unstable family dynamics. In

<sup>1</sup> Suud Sarim Karimulllah, "Poligami Dalam Tinjauan Hifdz Al-Nāsl," *MADDIKA: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 4, no. 2 (2023): 11–26, <https://doi.org/10.24256/maddika.v4i2.3291>.



the favorable legal framework in Indonesia, Marriage Law No. 1/1974 stipulates that polygamy is allowed under certain conditions that the husband must meet. One of the main requirements is that the husband must obtain permission from the court and the consent of his existing wives. However, obtaining this permission is often not transparent and fair to women. Many women feel pressured or coerced to give their consent for various reasons, including social and economic pressures.

Polygamy is also regulated by Islamic law, which requires justice on the part of the man. However, implementing this requirement in actual practice is often far from ideal. Feminist critiques highlight that although Islamic law emphasizes justice, in reality, many women feel discriminated against and do not receive their full rights. Justice in marriage is often a central issue, as polygamous women may not be treated equally, whether in terms of attention, affection, or material support. Furthermore, in the context of inheritance law and family responsibilities, women are often at a disadvantage. Feminist criticism suggests that polygamy laws tend to discriminate against women in the division of inheritance and distribution of family responsibilities. Polygamy can complicate inheritance situations, where women's rights are often overlooked or not prioritized.

The social and economic changes taking place in Indonesian society often have a significant impact on the practice of polygamy, both in traditional and contemporary contexts. Factors such as increased global mobility and urbanization are essential in accelerating the transformation of relationship patterns and family structures, including polygamy. International mobility, for example, allows for the spread of new ideas on individual rights and gender equality, which can influence society's views on polygamy. Urbanization, however, can change traditional family dynamics, resulting in shifts in polygamous practices more suited to the modern urban context.

However, this impact of globalization is not always positive. On the one hand, globalization can raise awareness about the importance of individual rights and gender equality, potentially leading to positive changes in polygamous practices. On the other hand, globalization can also expand inequality and exploitation of women in the context of polygamy. In some cases, globalization reinforces existing patriarchal structures, placing women in a more vulnerable position to polygamous abuse by those with greater economic or social power. For example, men with more significant financial resources can use their power to practice polygamy in ways that harm women, both emotionally and financially.

Feminist critiques of polygamy in Indonesia emphasize the need to consider gender perspectives in formulating and implementing laws and public policies. This perspective is crucial to ensuring that polygamy laws are not only fair on paper but also fair in practice. In addition, feminist critique encourages the need to strengthen the protection of women's rights, ensuring that every individual has the freedom and independence to determine their destiny and life without being a victim of gender inequality and social injustice.

This study will make a significant contribution to shaping public opinion and raising public awareness of gender issues, particularly about the practice of polygamy in Indonesia. By raising relevant and in-depth debates on women's rights in the context of polygamy, this study has the potential to change public perceptions and attitudes toward the practice. This is particularly important given that polygamy is often seen as an unshakeable part of tradition and culture, even though this practice has significant implications for women's lives. This study is academic and has significant practical consequences in achieving gender equality and social justice. By examining feminist criticism of the practice of polygamy in the context of Islamic law and human rights, it is hoped that it can open up a broader and deeper discussion about the need for legal reforms that are more just and equal. This reform is crucial to ensure that the practice of polygamy is no longer a tool of male domination but rather respects and protects women's rights.

Previous feminist studies have identified the negative social, economic, and

psychological impacts of polygamy on women. For example, several studies have highlighted how polygamy can produce gender inequities in the division of attention and resources within the family, often increasing tension and competition between wives.<sup>2</sup> In addition, a study by Grace V. S. Chin emphasizes that polygamy can reinforce patriarchal power structures in society by making women objects of ownership and devaluing their position in marital relationships.<sup>3</sup> Feminist critiques have also highlighted how polygamy is often used as a tool of control and domination by men over women by limiting women's freedom and autonomy in choosing and determining the course of their lives.

On the other hand, some studies highlight women's experiences in the more complex context of polygamy that illustrate how some Muslim women choose to engage in polygamy based on their religious and cultural beliefs but still face challenges in maintaining balance and justice in the relationship.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, some studies provide insights into legal reform efforts in the context of Islamic law related to polygamy.<sup>5</sup> These studies highlight the importance of integrating feminist perspectives in the law reform process, taking into account the rights of women in polygamous marriages and ensuring better protection for them. Thus, the literature review of previous studies shows a diversity of views and experiences related to polygamy in the context of Islamic law and human rights. From here, future studies can broaden the scope by exploring these various perspectives and integrating the findings to develop a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of the issue.

## Research Methods

This study uses a library research method with a holistic literature analysis to comprehensively explore the study topics through an interdisciplinary approach. This approach allows researchers to investigate the diversity of perspectives, findings, and arguments that have been described in relevant literature from various fields of study, such as religious studies, gender studies, anthropology, sociology, and law, to enrich the understanding of the practice of polygamy and its impact on women's rights. In addition, the study will adopt a woman-centered approach to ensure that the analysis and interpretation of data is based on the experiences and perspectives of women involved in polygamy. By prioritizing women's voices and experiences, this study will provide deeper

<sup>2</sup> Charles Amone, "Polygamy as a Dominant Pattern of Sexual Pairing among the Acholi of Uganda," *Sexuality & Culture* 24, no. 3 (2020): 733-48, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-019-09660-0>; Susan Dierickx et al., "Women with Infertility Complying with and Resisting Polygyny: An Explorative Qualitative Study in Urban Gambia," *Reproductive Health* 16, no. 1 (2019): 1-11, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-019-0762-1>; Emily Smith-Greenaway and Jenny Trinitapoli, "Polygynous Contexts, Family Structure, and Infant Mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Demography* 51, no. 2 (2014): 341-66, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-013-0262-9>.

<sup>3</sup> Grace V S Chin, "State Ibuism and One Happy Family: Polygamy and the 'Good' Woman in Contemporary Indonesian Narratives," *The Southeast Asian Woman Writes Back: Gender, Identity and Nation in the Literatures of Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines*, 2018, 89-106, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7065-5\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7065-5_6).

<sup>4</sup> Dena Hassouneh-Phillips, "Polygamy and Wife Abuse: A Qualitative Study of Muslim Women in America," *Health Care for Women International* 22, no. 8 (2001): 735-48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/073993301753339951>; Javaid Rehman, "The Sharia, Islamic Family Laws and International Human Rights Law: Examining the Theory and Practice of Polygamy and Talaq," *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 21, no. 1 (2007): 108-27, <https://doi.org/10.1093/lawfam/eblo23>.

<sup>5</sup> Amira Mashhour, "Islamic Law and Gender Equality: Could There Be a Common Ground?: A Study of Divorce and Polygamy in Sharia Law and Contemporary Legislation in Tunisia and Egypt," *Human Rights Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2005): 562-96; Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, "Culture, Islamic Feminism, and the Quest for Legal Reform in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 24, no. 4 (2018): 423-45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2018.1524549>; Lia Noviana, Risma Wigati, and Nurulaini Halimatus Sakdiyah, "The Dynamics of Family Law Reform in Asia and Africa (Portrait of Polygamy Regulations in Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Morocco and Tunisia)," *Al-Syakhsyiyah: Journal of Law & Family Studies* 4, no. 2 (2023): 187, <https://doi.org/10.21154/syakhsyiyah.v4i2.5895>.

insights into how the practice of polygamy affects their lives and well-being. In addition, it can build a deeper understanding of this complex issue. The literature analysis is holistic, meaning that the researcher does not limit itself to one particular viewpoint or theoretical framework, but tries to consider the various dimensions and diversity in previous studies. This enabled the researcher to identify trends, patterns, and differences in approaches to the issue of polygamy in the context of Islamic law and human rights and gain a more thorough insight into its complexity.

In conducting the literature analysis, the researcher highlighted vital ideas that emerged in previous studies, including feminist critiques of polygamy, legal and religious arguments for or against the practice, and the experiences of individuals and groups in society who engage in polygamy. In doing so, the study was able to gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of the practice of polygamy and its impact on women's rights from various perspectives. In addition, a holistic analysis of the literature also allows researchers to identify knowledge gaps or issues that have not been adequately addressed in the existing literature. This can be the basis for formulating relevant and innovative study questions, as well as making new contributions to understanding the issue of polygamy in the context of Islamic law and human rights. By using library research methods and analyzing the literature holistically, this study aims to build a solid foundation for understanding and addressing the challenges associated with polygamy in the context of women's rights.

## Results and Discussion

### The Impact of Polygamy on Women's Welfare

Polygamy, as a marriage practice where a man has more than one wife simultaneously, can have significant impacts on the physical, emotional, and social well-being of the women involved. One often debated impact is the division of resources and attention among the wives, which may result in inequalities in the distribution of basic needs, such as food, shelter, and children's education. In addition, polygamy may also cause strain in the relationship between wives, as well as increase the risk of domestic conflict and violence. However, it is essential to note that the impact of polygamy on women's well-being is not always negative. Some studies show that polygamy can provide financial security for women, especially in situations where they do not have a source of income.<sup>6</sup> In some cases, wives in polygamy can also offer emotional and social support to each other, creating networks of solidarity and mutual support within the family.<sup>7</sup>

The effect of polygamy on women's well-being is also strongly influenced by the cultural, religious, and social context in which the practice occurs. In some societies, polygamy is seen as a cultural norm that is considered a legitimate option in family life.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Nina Nurmila, "Polygamous Marriages in Indonesia and Their Impacts on Women's Access to Income and Property," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 54, no. 2 (2016): 427-46, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2016.542.427-446>; VERED SLONIM-NEVO and Alean Al-Krenawi, "Success and Failure among Polygamous Families: The Experience of Wives, Husbands, and Children," *Family Process* 45, no. 3 (2006): 311-30, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2006.00173.x>; Mirit Sinai and Ora Peleg, "Marital Interactions and Experiences of Women Living in Polygamy: An Exploratory Study," *International Journal of Psychology* 56, no. 3 (2021): 361-77, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12726>.

<sup>7</sup> William Jankowiak and Monique Diderich, "Sibling Solidarity in a Polygamous Community in the USA: Unpacking Inclusive Fitness," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 21, no. 2 (2000): 125-39, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1090-5138\(00\)00027-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1090-5138(00)00027-1); Stephanie Rose Montesanti and Wilfreda E Thurston, "Mapping the Role of Structural and Interpersonal Violence in the Lives of Women: Implications for Public Health Interventions and Policy," *BMC Women's Health* 15, no. 1 (2015): 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-015-0256-4>.

<sup>8</sup> Gregg Strauss, "Is Polygamy Inherently Unequal?," *Ethics* 122, no. 3 (2012): 516-44, <https://doi.org/10.1086/664754>; Arif Sugitanata, Suud Sarim Karimullah, and Faradila Hasan, "Dinamika Dalam Praktik Pernikahan: Tawaran Untuk Mengurangi Prevalensi Poligami Di Era Kontemporer," *AT-THARIQ: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Budaya* 4, no. 01 (2024): 33-41, <https://doi.org/10.57210/trq.v4i01.284>.

However, in others, polygamy can be a source of gender injustice and human rights violations, especially if the wives have no control or power in the relationship.<sup>9</sup> In the context of Islamic law, the practice of polygamy is regulated by sharia law, which sets limits and criteria that must be met by a husband who wishes to marry more than one wife. However, the implementation of this law often leads to differences in interpretation and application, as well as a lack of protection for the rights of women involved in polygamy.

The effects of polygamy on women's well-being can also affect other aspects of their lives, including mental health and psychological well-being.<sup>10</sup> Polygamy can create emotional tension and conflict in relationships between wives and lead to jealousy, low self-esteem, and depression. The psychological burden borne by women in polygamy can also affect their overall mental health. In addition, polygamy can also impact the well-being of children in polygamous families. The sharing of parental attention, resources, and support among children of different mothers can affect children's overall development and well-being. Some research suggests that children in polygamous families may face a higher risk of mental health problems, abuse, and family instability.<sup>11</sup>

However, it should also be recognized that the effects of polygamy on women's well-being may vary depending on the social context and individual circumstances. Some women may choose to engage in polygamy for reasons of economic or financial security, while others may feel fulfilled and happy in their polygamous relationships. Therefore, it is essential to avoid generalizations that do not consider the diversity of experiences and perspectives of women involved in polygamy.

In addition to the impacts above, the effect of polygamy on women's well-being can also be reflected in the social and economic aspects of their lives. Socially, polygamy can affect women's social status and reputation in society. Sometimes, women who become second or subsequent wives in polygamy may experience stigmatization or discrimination from the wider community. They may be regarded as "second wives" or "subsequent wives" who are considered inferior in status compared to the first wives, which may affect their psychological and social well-being. On the other hand, from an economic perspective, polygamy can also affect women's financial independence.

Wives in polygamy may have to rely entirely on their husbands for their financial needs, as they may not have the opportunity or access to work outside the home. This can create an economic power imbalance in the relationship and increase women's dependence on their husbands, limiting women's freedom and autonomy in making decisions related to their lives. However, as mentioned earlier, the impact of polygamy on women's well-being is not uniform and can vary depending on the specific context and individual circumstances. Some women may find security and support in their polygamous relationships, while others may face challenges and injustice. It is, therefore, essential to understand the diversity of women's experiences and perspectives in the context of polygamy, as well as to take into account the various factors that moderate the effect of

<sup>9</sup> Ruth Gaffney-Rhys, "A Comparison of Child Marriage and Polygamy from a Human Rights Perspective: Are the Arguments Equally Cogent?," *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 34, no. 1 (2012): 49–61, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09649069.2012.675464>; Andrew March, "Is There a Right to Polygamy? Marriage, Equality and Subsidizing Families in Liberal Public Justification," *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 8, no. 2 (2011): 246–72, <https://doi.org/10.1163/174552411X563583>.

<sup>10</sup> Omar M Khasawneh, Abdul Hakeem Yacin Hijazi, and Nassmat Hassan Salman, "Polygamy and Its Impact on the Upbringing of Children: A Jordanian Perspective," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42, no. 4 (2011): 563–77, <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.42.4.563>.

<sup>11</sup> Alean Al-Krenawi and John R Graham, "A Comparison of Family Functioning, Life and Marital Satisfaction, and Mental Health of Women in Polygamous and Monogamous Marriages," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 52, no. 1 (2006): 5–17, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00207640060061245>; SALMAN Elbedour, William Bart, and Joel Hektner, "The Relationship between Monogamous/Polygamous Family Structure and the Mental Health of Bedouin Arab Adolescents," *Journal of Adolescence* 30, no. 2 (2007): 213–30, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.02.003>.

polygamy on women's well-being.

Polygamy often creates complex dynamics and has the potential to cause inequality among the wives involved. In polygamous practices, a husband has more than one wife, which leads to the division of resources, attention, and time between the wives. Inequality in the allocation of resources and attention on the husband's part can lead to competition between the wives and cause injustice in meeting basic needs and getting proper attention. In the context of positive law in Indonesia, polygamy is strictly regulated by law. Based on Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, a husband who wants to be polygamous must fulfill several strict conditions. He must obtain permission from the first wife, demonstrate that he can be fair to all wives, and have sufficient financial means to support more than one family. However, despite these rules, there are often violations or manipulations of these provisions, resulting in injustice to the wives.

The Supreme Court Circular Letter (SEMA) also guides polygamy's procedures and legal provisions. SEMA emphasizes the importance of fairness and financial capability in polygamy permits. However, feminist perspectives highlight that despite legal provisions, their implementation is often ineffective in protecting women's rights. Feminist perspectives criticize the practice of polygamy as it tends to reinforce patriarchy and disadvantage women. Inequities in the distribution of attention and resources are often rooted in unequal power structures in polygamous households.

Wives in polygamous families often have to compete for their husbands' attention and affection. Husbands with more than one wife may have time and attention constraints that make it difficult to give sufficient attention to each wife. This can create tension and competition between the wives and lead to feelings of jealousy, inferiority, or unappreciation. In addition, polygamy can also result in inequality in resource allocation between the wives. As the head of the household, the husband controls the distribution of resources such as money, food, shelter, and children's education. In some cases, younger or newer wives may get priority in the distribution of resources, leaving older or longer-married wives with limited or insufficient access to their basic needs.

Inequalities in resource allocation and attention on the part of husbands can also affect the well-being of children in polygamous families. Children of different mothers may experience differential treatment or unfairness in the division of attention and support from their fathers. This can create an unstable or uneven environment for the children's growth and development and trigger conflict or competition. Thus, through polygamy, there is potential for inequality, competition between wives, and unfairness in the allocation of resources and attention on the part of the husband. These impacts can create an unhealthy and stressful environment in family relationships and affect the physical, emotional, and psychological well-being of family members, especially women and children. It is, therefore, essential to consider the complex social, economic, and welfare implications of polygamous practices and take steps to protect the rights of affected women and children. Feminist perspectives assert that the protection of the rights of women and children should be a top priority in any policy or practice involving polygamy.

### **Gender Justice in Polygamy Practices**

Gender justice in the practice of polygamy highlights the complexity of the relationship between cultural practices and social norms and principles of gender equality. In many contexts where polygamy is allowed or legally recognized, the question of the extent to which this practice respects and promotes gender justice becomes particularly relevant. Gender justice concerns equal rights, opportunities, and treatment for all individuals, regardless of gender.<sup>12</sup> However, in the practice of polygamy, gender inequality

---

<sup>12</sup> Suud Sarim Karimullah, "Children's Rights in Islam: Towards Gender Equality and Youth Justice," *Muadalah* 11, no. 2 (2023): 87–98, <https://doi.org/10.18592/muadalah.v11i2.11113>.

often manifests in the distribution of resources, power, and social status among wives and husbands. In many cases, polygamy creates dynamics that reinforce gender inequality, with husbands as the primary power-holders in household relationships. Husbands have the authority to make decisions that affect their wives and children, while wives may have little or no control over those decisions. This creates inequality in rights and obligations, with wives often subordinate to their husbands within the prevailing power structure.

Gender inequality in polygamous practices is also reflected in the allocation of resources and attention. Husbands often have the authority to decide how family resources, such as money and time, will be allocated among their wives and children. This can result in inequalities in access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities among wives, with some wives possibly getting less attention and support from their husbands than others. In this context, polygamous wives often face pressure to fulfill idealized standards of traditional gender roles, such as being obedient and understanding wives and good mothers to children. However, their opportunities to pursue their aspirations and ambitions are often limited by existing power structures and gender norms. This creates inequities in opportunities for self-development and personal achievement among polygamous wives.

Polygamy can also affect women's emotional and psychological freedom, especially in terms of mental health and emotional well-being.<sup>13</sup> Inequality, competition between wives, and unfairness in resource allocation can create an unstable and stressful environment in the household, which in turn can affect women's emotional well-being. Jealousy, insecurity, and anxiety are often the result of polygamous household dynamics, causing additional stress and pressure on women. Furthermore, in some cases, polygamy can also lead to an increased risk of domestic violence or abuse of power. In unequal power structures, husbands may use their position to control and dominate their wives, even in very personal and sensitive matters. This creates extreme inequality and can lead to detrimental impacts on the physical and psychological well-being of the women involved.

In the context of discussing gender justice in the practice of polygamy, it is also essential to consider the social and cultural implications associated with polygamy. The practice of polygamy is often closely linked to certain social norms, cultural values, and religious interpretations in different societies. These influence perceptions and acceptance of polygamy in those societies and shape power dynamics and gender equality within them. In some cultural contexts, polygamy may be seen as a form of power and honor for the husband, while wives may be expected to show loyalty and obedience to their husbands. This view reflects patriarchal gender structures, where power and authority are more likely to be centered on the husband, while women's roles are considered more as supporters and followers.

However, on the other hand, there are also opponents of polygamy who argue that the practice goes against the principles of gender equality and human dignity. They highlight that polygamy often creates inequality and oppression of women and can be a source of conflict and instability in family relationships. This view reflects efforts to fight for gender equality and women's rights in a society that places the values of equality and human dignity as central principles. As such, the debate on gender justice in the practice of polygamy not only reflects the clash between different cultural and religious views but also reflects the broader struggle to achieve gender equality and human rights around the world. It highlights the need for a culturally and contextually sensitive approach in formulating policies and interventions to improve women's well-being and promote gender equality in all aspects of life.

---

<sup>13</sup> Chalachew Kassaw and Seid Shumye, "The Prevalence of Suicidal Behavior and Its Associated Factors among Wives with Polygamy Marriage Living in Gedeo Zone, Southern Ethiopia, 2020," *PLoS One* 16, no. 10 (2021): e0259029, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0259029>.

In addition to creating gender inequality and being vulnerable to the oppression of women, the practice of polygamy also actively reinforces patriarchal power structures within it. In the context of polygamy, husbands act as the ultimate power holders, while wives are often placed in a subordinate position of vulnerability and dependence on their husbands' decisions. This reflects the patriarchal paradigm that places men as the ultimate holders of power and authority within the family structure.<sup>14</sup> In the practice of polygamy, husbands have the right to marry more than one wife, while wives can only marry one husband. This creates a fundamental inequality in marriage rights and the possibility of equal relationships, with men having more freedom and flexibility in establishing and ending relationships than women. In addition, husbands have greater control over important decisions within the household, such as resource allocation, children's education, and access to healthcare.

The impact of patriarchal power structures in polygamy also extends to the social and economic spheres. Husbands are often considered the backbone of the family and the monetary authority, while wives may have limited access to financial resources and opportunities to generate their income. This creates an economic dependency that reinforces the husband's power and control in family relationships. In addition, patriarchal power structures in polygamy can reinforce traditional gender norms and limit women's opportunities to develop and reach their full potential. The term "womanhood" is often defined in terms of domestic and reproductive roles assigned by society, with little room for women to pursue professional aspirations, education, or economic independence. This creates an environment that confines women to traditionally defined roles while cementing a power structure that favors the husband as the ultimate ruler and decider of family life.

In societies where polygamy is the norm or legally recognized, women often face challenges in gaining the same legal recognition, inheritance rights, and legal protection as men. Women's dependence on their husbands in polygamous contexts often makes them vulnerable to oppression, abuse, and discrimination, especially if there are no adequate legal safeguards to protect their rights. In addition, patriarchal power structures in polygamous practices can also influence the construction of gender identities in such societies. Women are often seen as the keepers of the household and mothers responsible for domestic work and childcare, while men are considered the leaders of the family who have the right to marry more than one wife.

This creates strong and binding gender stereotypes, which can restrict women in traditional roles and hinder their ability to flourish and participate fully in community life. In this regard, efforts to achieve gender equality in the context of polygamy must involve broader social transformation, including changes in laws, policies, and cultural norms that influence the perception and treatment of women and men. This requires collaboration between governments, civil society, and international institutions to develop and implement effective strategies to protect women's rights, reduce gender inequality, and strive for equality in all aspects of life.<sup>15</sup>

It should be understood that opposition to polygamy is not merely a rejection of a particular religious or cultural practice but an effort to ensure that human rights and gender equality are respected and upheld. The practice of polygamy that results in injustice and oppression of women is contrary to the internationally recognized universal principles

---

<sup>14</sup> Frangky Suleman et al., "The Review of the Maslahah Mursalah Related to Early Marriage: Implementation and Orientation," *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 23, no. 3 (2023): 573–86, <https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2023.23.3.3783>; Suud Sarim Karimullah, "Pembaruan Islam Bidang Keluarga Dan Relevansinya Dengan Peraturan Poligami Di Indonesia," *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 2, no. 2 (2021): 61–81.

<sup>15</sup> "(Pdf) Criminogenic Factors Of Data Fraud In Early Marriage Tradition," Accessed July 1, 2024, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/364056160\\_Criminogenic\\_Factors\\_Of\\_Data\\_Fraud\\_In\\_Early\\_Marriage\\_Tradition](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/364056160_Criminogenic_Factors_Of_Data_Fraud_In_Early_Marriage_Tradition).



of human dignity and gender equality. In response to this challenge, some countries have adopted laws restricting or even banning polygamy, citing the protection of the rights of women and children. These measures are usually based on principles of international human rights law, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which stipulates the need to eliminate the unfair practice of polygamy against women. However, it is essential to remember that efforts to end the practice of polygamy are not always easy to undertake, especially in societies that recognize or respect polygamy as part of their cultural or religious heritage.

The social change needed to address gender inequality and protect women's rights in the context of polygamy requires time, education, and sustained advocacy. In addition, the approach to addressing the issue of polygamy must be holistic and comprehensive, involving efforts to strengthen women's access to education, health, employment, and other resources that can enhance their independence and well-being. It also includes efforts to raise awareness and strengthen law enforcement against domestic violence, gender discrimination, and other human rights violations associated with the practice of polygamy. Thus, measures to end the unfair practice of polygamy against women are not merely about legally prohibiting the practice but also about creating a social and cultural environment that supports gender equality and respects human rights.

It is essential to open a discussion on the need for reforms in the interpretation and application of Islamic law related to polygamy to ensure a balance of power and protection of women's rights. In this context, it is essential to recognize that the interpretation and implementation of Islamic law relating to polygamy can often lead to oppression and injustice against women, especially as traditional interpretations tend to favor husbands in patriarchal power structures. Reforms in the interpretation of Islamic law related to polygamy can lead to a more inclusive and progressive understanding of women's rights in the context of polygamy. This could include a reinterpretation of Qur'anic verses related to polygamy, taking into account their historical, cultural, and social contexts, as well as the values of gender equality and the protection of human rights.

Reforms in the interpretation and application of Islamic law related to polygamy can also have a positive impact in strengthening the balance of power between husbands and wives, as well as ensuring that women's rights are adequately protected. Within a reformed framework, it is essential to emphasize that polygamy should be understood as permissible in Islam under strict conditions and in a just and equitable social context. In this context, reform of Islamic law may involve further restrictions on the practice of polygamy, such as tightening the conditions that must be met before a man is allowed to marry more than one wife. For example, it may require strong evidence that the man can meet the financial, emotional, and responsible needs of his wives and their children and obtain the absolute consent of existing wives.

Reforms could also include stronger legal protections for wives in polygamy, including their rights to fulfillment of basic needs, fairness in the allocation of resources and attention from the husband, and equal inheritance rights. This can be achieved through the development of laws that recognize and protect women's rights in the context of polygamy, as well as through strict enforcement of violations of these rights. In addition, it is essential to strengthen the role of community and religious institutions in supporting the principles of gender equality and human dignity in polygamy. This includes engaging ulama, religious leaders, and religious communities in delivering messages that promote fair treatment of wives in polygamy, as well as strengthening awareness of women's rights in Islam.

In the context of Islamic law reform in Indonesia related to polygamy, it is essential to integrate a feminist perspective in the reform process. This approach allows for highlighting possible gender inequalities in the interpretation and application of Islamic

law and ensuring that the proposed reforms strengthen women's position and rights. A feminist perspective can help in exploring and understanding the multifaceted impact of polygamy on women's lives in a holistic manner. This includes analyzing how polygamy affects the economic, social, emotional, and psychological lives of women in polygamous households. Thus, women can be recognized as empowered agents in the context of polygamy rather than just objects or passives in a patriarchal power structure. In addition, a feminist perspective can provide impetus for legal reforms that are oriented towards fulfilling the human rights of women in polygamy. This includes the struggle to recognize and strengthen women's rights as individuals with autonomy and dignity and the rights to justice, equality, and protection from all forms of oppression and discrimination. Integrating feminist perspectives in polygamy law reform can include several concrete steps.

First, ensure that legal provisions governing polygamy in Indonesia are not only in text but also effectively implemented to protect women's rights. For example, the SEMA could provide stricter and more detailed guidance on how permission from the first wife must be genuinely obtained without coercion and how the husband's financial capability and fairness are objectively assessed.

Secondly, legal reforms should include strict oversight mechanisms to ensure that husbands seeking polygamy comply with all the requirements set out by the law. This could involve establishing an independent oversight body comprising various stakeholders, including women's representatives, who can assess each polygamy application fairly and transparently.

Third, a feminist perspective on polygamy law reform can promote women's empowerment through education and awareness-raising. Education on women's rights in the context of marriage and family should be improved, both among women and men, to create a better understanding of the importance of gender equality and justice in the household.

Fourth, the law must provide vital protection for women in polygamous marriages. This includes clear and guaranteed financial rights, access to emotional and psychological support, and effective legal mechanisms to address cases of injustice or abuse in polygamous households. Thus, polygamy law reform that integrates a feminist perspective will not only improve women's legal position but will also provide better protection and strengthen their rights in daily practice.

### **A Feminist Perspective on Polygamy and Its Relevance in the Modern Context**

Feminist perspectives on polygamy highlight various aspects related to the relationship between gender, power, and social structure in the context of polygamous practices.<sup>16</sup> Feminism offers an in-depth analysis of how polygamy not only reflects but also reinforces gender inequality and power hierarchies in society. Polygamy is often seen as a reflection of a patriarchal system where men hold control and dominance in domestic relationships, while women are usually in a position of subordination.

Feminism seeks to uncover the impact of polygamy on women's well-being in various dimensions, including economic, social, and emotional. Economically, women in polygamous marriages may face an unfair division of resources. In many cases, husbands have complete control over family finances, and wealth distribution is often unequal, with younger or newer wives getting priority. These inequities can exacerbate women's financial dependence on their husbands, which in turn reinforces their subordinate position in the household.

Socially, women in polygamous marriages often have to compete for their husbands'

---

<sup>16</sup> Thom Brooks, "The Problem with Polygamy," in *Justice and the Capabilities Approach* (Routledge, 2017), 377-90.

attention and affection. This competition creates tension between wives and can affect their relationships with their children and other family members. Inequity in attention and emotional support from husbands can lead to feelings of jealousy, low self-esteem, and disrespect, all of which contribute to poor emotional well-being.

In the context of positive law in Indonesia, polygamy is regulated by Law No. 1/1974 on Marriage, which requires that a husband who wishes to be polygamous must obtain permission from the first wife and prove his financial capability and fairness. However, the implementation of this law is often weak, with many cases where the first wife's permission is obtained through coercion or manipulation. The Supreme Court Circular Letter (SEMA) provides additional guidance on the legalization of polygamous marriages. Still, feminist perspectives suggest that this policy is far from sufficient to protect women's rights effectively.

Feminism emphasizes the need for more stringent legal reforms toward women's human rights. Such reforms should include strict oversight mechanisms to ensure permission requirements and fairness are enforced. In addition, the education and empowerment of women should be increased so that they are more aware of their rights and able to demand justice in domestic relationships. In practice, the integration of feminist perspectives in Indonesia's polygamy law reform will mean developing policies that not only protect women's rights in the text of the law but also its application. This includes ensuring women access to resources, legal support, and effective grievance mechanisms. Legal reforms that adopt a feminist perspective will help create a more just and equal social structure, where women are no longer seen as objects or passive parties to patriarchal power dynamics but as empowered individuals with equal rights and dignity.

In the modern context, feminist perspectives on polygamy also highlight the importance of taking into account women's needs and aspirations in designing relevant laws and policies. This includes emphasizing the need to ensure women have equal access to education, employment, and other resources to enhance their independence and well-being. In addition, feminist perspectives highlight the importance of actively involving women in decision-making relating to polygamy and gender equality issues more broadly. Women's participation in the decision-making process can ensure that their voices are heard and considered and enable them to fight for policies and programs that better meet women's needs and interests.

A feminist perspective also emphasizes the importance of fighting for women's rights in a legal context, including their rights in marriage, divorce, asset ownership, and protection against domestic violence.<sup>17</sup> This involves advocating for laws that strengthen the protection of women's rights in polygamy, as well as effective law enforcement against violations of these women's rights. In addition, a feminist perspective also highlights the importance of changing cultural and social norms that justify gender inequality and oppression of women in polygamous practices. This involves promoting a better understanding of gender equality and human dignity in society, as well as building awareness about the negative impact of polygamy on the well-being of women and the overall culture. As such, a feminist perspective on polygamy offers essential insights into understanding the complexities of gender relations, power, and social structures in the context of polygamous practices.<sup>18</sup> It allows us to identify the challenges and opportunities faced by women in modern society, as well as design effective strategies to promote gender

---

<sup>17</sup> Suud Sarim Karimullah and Siti Rutbatul Aliyah, "Feminist Criticism of Traditional Understanding of Women's Roles in Islam," *An-Nisa': Journal of Gender Studies* 16, no. 2 (2023): 195-214, <https://doi.org/10.35719/annisa.v16i2.177>.

<sup>18</sup> Bianca J Smith, "Sexual Desire, Piety, and Law in a Javanese Pesantren: Interpreting Varieties of Secret Divorce and Polygamy," in *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 24 (Taylor & Francis, 2014), 227-44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2014.947918>.

equality, justice, and human dignity for all individuals, regardless of their gender.

Feminist views and critiques of the practice of polygamy within the broader social and cultural context often highlight how polygamy not only affects the individuals in the polygamous relationship itself but also reinforces and prolongs patriarchal gender power structures within society as a whole. Feminism highlights how polygamy becomes a tool used by men to strengthen their dominance over women, as well as how social and cultural systems support and justify polygamy as a legitimate form of relationship arrangement. One of the leading feminist critiques of the practice of polygamy is that it gives men greater power in relationships. At the same time, women are often the objects of their husbands' decisions and desires. This creates an unbalanced hierarchy between men and women in relationships, where men have greater power to control and organize women's lives.

Feminism highlights how the practice of polygamy can lead to gender inequality in the allocation of resources and attention. In polygamy, men often must provide financial and emotional support to multiple wives and their children, which can lead to inequalities in the distribution of resources and attention among family members. Furthermore, feminist views highlight how the practice of polygamy reinforces patriarchal gender power structures in society more broadly. Polygamy symbolizes male dominance over women, and the practice is often legitimized and reinforced by social, cultural, and religious norms that support gender inequality. The implications of polygamy for gender power structures in society can also be seen in how polygamy affects women's social roles and status. In polygamous societies, women are often seen as objects to fulfill men's needs rather than as individuals with their rights and desires.

Feminist views and critiques of the practice of polygamy also explore the broader implications for women's lives outside of polygamous relationships.<sup>19</sup> The practice of polygamy can create cultural norms that are detrimental to women, such as those that reinforce the notion that a woman's value and dignity lie in her ability to fulfill men's sexual and reproductive needs. This can lead to the oppression of women and limit their ability to develop their potential beyond the domestic role. In addition, the practice of polygamy can also reinforce legal and institutional systems that do not fulfill women's rights reasonably. For example, in many cases, family and inheritance laws in polygamous societies may give preference to men in terms of property and inheritance rights, while women are often mistreated. Feminist critiques of the practice of polygamy also highlight its impact on women's overall health and well-being.

In polygamy, women can experience significant psychological and emotional distress due to competition between wives, lack of financial security, and uncertainty regarding their status and future. This can lead to stress, depression, and other mental health issues that negatively impact women's well-being. In addition, the practice of polygamy can also reinforce cycles of poverty and economic dependency for women. In many cases, women in polygamy can have limited access to education, job training, and decent work, which can reduce their ability to be financially independent and improve their quality of life and that of their children.

Feminist critiques of the practice of polygamy also highlight that polygamy is often used as an instrument to maintain male dominance in society.<sup>20</sup> The practice reinforces patriarchal gender hierarchies and supports narratives of male superiority over women. In polygamous societies, men are often granted greater rights to have and control more than

---

<sup>19</sup> Arif Sugitanata and Suud Sarim Karimullah, "Nalar Kritis Poligami Sebagai Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga: (Analisis Terhadap Undang-Undang KDRT Nomor 23 Tahun 2004)," *HUNILA: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Integrasi Peradilan* 1, no. 2 (2014): 63–76, <https://doi.org/10.53491/hunila.v1i2.515>.

<sup>20</sup> Nicole Iturriaga and Abigail C Saguy, "'I Would Never Want to Be an Only Wife': The Role of Discursive Networks and Post-Feminist Discourse in Reframing Polygamy," *Social Problems* 64, no. 3 (2017): 333–50, <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spwo38>.

one partner. At the same time, women are placed in a position of subordination and dependence on men's decisions. In addition, feminist critiques also highlight that polygamy can result in the abuse of power by men over women. In polygamous relationships, men can use their position to manipulate, exploit, or even oppress their wives. This creates an unsafe and unhealthy environment for women, where they do not have the power or authority to resist such abuse.

Feminism highlights that the practice of polygamy can exacerbate economic inequality between men and women in society.<sup>21</sup> In polygamy, men are responsible for providing for multiple wives and their children, which can result in unequal distribution of resources among family members. This can result in financial instability for women and their children, as well as reinforce their dependence on men in economic terms. In addition, feminist critiques of the practice of polygamy also highlight that polygamy can stunt women's individual development and hinder their access to opportunities and personal freedom.<sup>22</sup> Women in polygamy are often restricted in terms of education, employment, and personal autonomy, which can impair their ability to develop their full potential and take control of their own lives.

In polygamous situations, wives often experience emotional distress, stress, and complex psychological conflicts. They may feel insecure, unappreciated, or unloved by their husbands, primarily if they must compete for their husband's attention and affection with other wives. This can lead to mental health issues such as depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem. In addition, the practice of polygamy can also have severe implications for the children involved in polygamous relationships. Children in polygamy may experience identity conflict, confusion, and emotional instability due to complex and unconventional household dynamics. They may also face social stigmatization and pressure from their surroundings, affecting their social, emotional, and psychological development.

In the context of a modern society that increasingly recognizes and strives for gender equality, the practice of polygamy has become increasingly controversial and of questionable relevance. With the growing awareness of women's rights, as well as increased efforts to combat gender inequality, the practice of polygamy is considered contrary to the values of equality and human dignity. The practice of polygamy has the potential to hinder women from achieving equality and economic independence. In a modern society where women are increasingly pursuing education, careers, and financial freedom, polygamy can limit their choices and opportunities. Women in polygamy often have to share economic resources, attention, and time with other wives, which can hinder their progress and development.

In a society that is increasingly oriented towards gender equality, polygamy can be considered a form of injustice as it privileges men to have more than one wife.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, women are not given the same opportunity to have more than one husband. This reflects the structural inequalities in gender relations that persist in society. Moreover, in the context of a modern society that is increasingly open and inclusive of diversity and diversity, the practice of polygamy can trigger conflicts of conflicting cultures and values. Values such as gender equality, human rights, and individual freedom may conflict with polygamous practices that are often based on patriarchal norms and rigid traditions. In a

---

<sup>21</sup> Sonja Van Wichelen, "Polygamy Talk and the Politics of Feminism: Contestations over Masculinity in a New Muslim Indonesia," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009): 173–88.

<sup>22</sup> Suud Sarim Karimullah et al., "The Relevance of Feminism in Promoting Gender Reform in the Context of Progressive Islam," *Jurnal Anifa: Studi Gender Dan Anak* 4, no. 2 (2023): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.32505/anifa.v4i2.7187>.

<sup>23</sup> Annemarie Profanter and Stephanie Ryan Gate, "'Deal Justly With Them...': (In) Justice in Polygyny—The Male Perspective," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 149, no. 3 (2009): 323–42, <https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.149.3.323-342>.

society that increasingly values individual autonomy and equality in relationships, the practice of polygamy may be perceived as a restriction on women's freedom and rights. Many modern women refuse to be part of polygamy because they consider it inconsistent with the principles of equality and human dignity. They demand the right to have relationships based on mutual respect, fidelity, and a balance of power, which is often not realized in the context of polygamy. In addition, modern women are also increasingly aware of the risks and negative consequences associated with the practice of polygamy, including injustice, emotional instability, and financial uncertainty. They may be more inclined to live in monogamous relationships that provide more security, stability, and fidelity.

On the other hand, some individuals choose to engage in polygamy on religious, cultural, or personal decision grounds. Nevertheless, ensuring that such choices are made voluntarily and with full knowledge of the associated implications and consequences is essential. Thus, an evaluation of the relevance of the practice of polygamy in modern societies emphasizes the importance of paying attention to the aspirations and rights of individuals, especially women, in determining their desired form of relationship. Increased awareness of individual rights and gender equality values raises questions about the appropriateness of polygamy in the context of an increasingly inclusive and human rights-oriented society.<sup>24</sup> It is also necessary to strengthen efforts to raise awareness of women's rights, promote gender equality, and establish legal and policy systems that protect individuals from exploitation, oppression, and discrimination, including in the context of polygamous practices. This requires the active involvement of various parties, including governments, non-governmental organizations, religious communities, and civil society, in driving positive change and realizing human values and equality in an increasingly advanced and inclusive society.

## Conclusion

The practice of polygamy in Indonesia has a significant impact on women's well-being and gender justice, with a range of economic, psychological, and social implications that disadvantage the women involved. Feminist studies reveal that polygamy often reinforces patriarchal power structures, places women in positions of subordination and dependency, and creates competition between wives for the attention and resources of husbands, who usually do not share their time and affection fairly. This inequality in resource distribution and emotional injustice exacerbates women's economic conditions, stunts individual development, and creates a household environment of tension and inferiority. Although Marriage Law No. 1/1974 and the Supreme Court Circular Letter (SEMA) establish conditions for the legalization of polygamy, implementation is often weak and fails to protect women's rights effectively. Feminist perspectives emphasize the need for more stringent and human rights-oriented legal reforms, with strict monitoring mechanisms and women's empowerment through education about their rights in marriage. These reforms should seek to change social and cultural views on polygamy, ensure gender equality, and protect women's dignity in all aspects of life, thus creating a more inclusive, just, and humane society.

## Bibliography

Al-Krenawi, Alean, and John R Graham. "A Comparison of Family Functioning, Life and

---

<sup>24</sup> Suud Sarim Karimullah, "For True Humanity: Harmonization of Islamic Law and Human Rights Towards Universal Justice," *Matan: Journal of Islam and Muslim Society* 5, no. 2 (2023): 40-56, <https://doi.org/10.20884/1.matan.2023.5.2.9125>.

- Marital Satisfaction, and Mental Health of Women in Polygamous and Monogamous Marriages." *International journal of social psychiatry* 52, no. 1 (2006): 5-17.
- Amone, Charles. "Polygamy as a Dominant Pattern of Sexual Pairing among the Acholi of Uganda." *Sexuality & Culture* 24, no. 3 (2020): 733-748.
- Brooks, Thom. "The Problem with Polygamy." In *Justice and the Capabilities Approach*, 377-390. Routledge, 2017.
- Chin, Grace V S. "State Ibuism and One Happy Family: Polygamy and the 'Good' Woman in Contemporary Indonesian Narratives." *The Southeast Asian woman writes back: Gender, identity and nation in the literatures of Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines* (2018): 89-106.
- Dierickx, Susan, Gily Coene, Bintou Jarju, and Chia Longman. "Women with Infertility Complying with and Resisting Polygyny: An Explorative Qualitative Study in Urban Gambia." *Reproductive health* 16, no. 1 (2019): 1-11.
- Elbedour, SALMAN, William Bart, and Joel Hektner. "The Relationship between Monogamous/Polygamous Family Structure and the Mental Health of Bedouin Arab Adolescents." *Journal of adolescence* 30, no. 2 (2007): 213-230.
- Gaffney-Rhys, Ruth. "A Comparison of Child Marriage and Polygamy from a Human Rights Perspective: Are the Arguments Equally Cogent?" *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 34, no. 1 (2012): 49-61.
- Hassouneh-Phillips, Dena. "Polygamy and Wife Abuse: A Qualitative Study of Muslim Women in America." *Health Care for Women International* 22, no. 8 (2001): 735-748.
- Iturriaga, Nicole, and Abigail C Saguy. "'I Would Never Want to Be an Only Wife': The Role of Discursive Networks and Post-Feminist Discourse in Reframing Polygamy." *Social problems* 64, no. 3 (2017): 333-350.
- Jankowiak, William, and Monique Diderich. "Sibling Solidarity in a Polygamous Community in the USA: Unpacking Inclusive Fitness." *Evolution and Human Behavior* 21, no. 2 (2000): 125-139.
- Karimullallah, Suud Sarim. "Children's Rights in Islam: Towards Gender Equality and Youth Justice." *Muadalah* 11, no. 2 (2023): 87-98.
- . "For True Humanity: Harmonization of Islamic Law and Human Rights Towards Universal Justice." *Matan: Journal of Islam and Muslim Society* 5, no. 2 (2023): 40-56.
- . "Pembaruan Islam Bidang Keluarga Dan Relevansinya Dengan Peraturan Poligami Di Indonesia." *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 2, no. 2 (2021): 61-81.
- . "Poligami Dalam Tinjauan Hifdz Al-Nāsl." *MADDIKA: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 4, no. 2 (2023): 11-26.
- Karimullallah, Suud Sarim, and Siti Rutbatul Aliyah. "Feminist Criticism of Traditional Understanding of Women's Roles in Islam." *An-Nisa': Journal of Gender Studies* 16, no. 2 (2023): 195-214.
- Karimullallah, Suud Sarim, Aat Ruchiat Nugraha, Ihda Shofiyatun Nisa, and Yokke Andini. "The Relevance of Feminism in Promoting Gender Reform in the Context of Progressive Islam." *Jurnal Anifa: Studi Gender dan Anak* 4, no. 2 (2023): 1-15.
- Kassaw, Chalachew, and Seid Shumye. "The Prevalence of Suicidal Behavior and Its Associated Factors among Wives with Polygamy Marriage Living in Gedeo Zone, Southern Ethiopia, 2020." *PloS one* 16, no. 10 (2021): e0259029.
- Khasawneh, Omar M, Abdul Hakeem Yacin Hijazi, and Nassmat Hassan Salman. "Polygamy and Its Impact on the Upbringing of Children: A Jordanian Perspective." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42, no. 4 (2011): 563-577.
- March, Andrew. "Is There a Right to Polygamy? Marriage, Equality and Subsidizing Families

- in Liberal Public Justification.” *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 8, no. 2 (2011): 246–272.
- Mashhour, Amira. “Islamic Law and Gender Equality: Could There Be a Common Ground?: A Study of Divorce and Polygamy in Sharia Law and Contemporary Legislation in Tunisia and Egypt.” *Human rights quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2005): 562–596.
- Montesanti, Stephanie Rose, and Wilfreda E Thurston. “Mapping the Role of Structural and Interpersonal Violence in the Lives of Women: Implications for Public Health Interventions and Policy.” *BMC women’s health* 15, no. 1 (2015): 1–13.
- Mutaqin, Zezen Zaenal. “Culture, Islamic Feminism, and the Quest for Legal Reform in Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 24, no. 4 (2018): 423–445.
- Noviana, Lia, Risma Wigati, and Nurulaini Halimatus Sakdiah. “The Dynamics of Family Law Reform in Asia and Africa (Portrait of Polygamy Regulations in Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Morocco and Tunisia).” *Al-Syakhsyiyah: Journal of Law & Family Studies* 4, no. 2 (2023): 187.
- Nurmila, Nina. “Polygamous Marriages in Indonesia and Their Impacts on Women’s Access to Income and Property.” *Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 54, no. 2 (2016): 427–446.
- Profanter, Annemarie, and Stephanie Ryan Gate. “‘Deal Justly With Them...’: (In) Justice in Polygyny—The Male Perspective.” *The Journal of social psychology* 149, no. 3 (2009): 323–342.
- Rehman, Javaid. “The Sharia, Islamic Family Laws and International Human Rights Law: Examining the Theory and Practice of Polygamy and Talaq.” *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 21, no. 1 (2007): 108–127.
- Sinai, Mirit, and Ora Peleg. “Marital Interactions and Experiences of Women Living in Polygamy: An Exploratory Study.” *International journal of psychology* 56, no. 3 (2021): 361–377.
- SLONIM-NEVO, VERED, and Alean Al-Krenawi. “Success and Failure among Polygamous Families: The Experience of Wives, Husbands, and Children.” *Family process* 45, no. 3 (2006): 311–330.
- Smith-Greenaway, Emily, and Jenny Trinitapoli. “Polygynous Contexts, Family Structure, and Infant Mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Demography* 51, no. 2 (2014): 341–366.
- Smith, Bianca J. “Sexual Desire, Piety, and Law in a Javanese Pesantren: Interpreting Varieties of Secret Divorce and Polygamy.” In *Anthropological Forum*, 24:227–244. Taylor & Francis, 2014.
- Strauss, Gregg. “Is Polygamy Inherently Unequal?” *Ethics* 122, no. 3 (2012): 516–544.
- Sugitanata, Arif, and Suud Sarim Karimullah. “Nalar Kritis Poligami Sebagai Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga: (Analisis Terhadap Undang-Undang KDRT Nomor 23 Tahun 2004).” *HUNILA: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Integrasi Peradilan* 1, no. 2 (2014): 63–76.
- Sugitanata, Arif, Suud Sarim Karimullah, and Faradila Hasan. “Dinamika Dalam Praktik Pernikahan: Tawaran Untuk Mengurangi Prevalensi Poligami Di Era Kontemporer.” *AT-THARIQ: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Budaya* 4, no. 01 (2024): 33–41.
- Suleman, Frangky, Qadriani Arifuddin, Saifudin Saifudin, Fitrohtul Khasanah, and Suud Sarim Karimullah. “The Review of the Masalah Mursalat Related to Early Marriage: Implementation and Orientation.” *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 23, no. 3 (2023): 573–586.
- Van Wichelen, Sonja. “Polygamy Talk and the Politics of Feminism: Contestations over Masculinity in a New Muslim Indonesia.” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009): 173–188.