

THE NARRATIVE OF PROTECTING POLYGAMOUS WOMEN IN INDONESIA'S DIGITAL WORLD Between Moderate and Conservative Muslims

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Abstract

This article focuses on the narrative of the polygamy issue on four Indonesian Islamic websites: portal-islam.id, nu.or.id, rumaysho.com, and muslim.or.id. They are selected based on ranking and visitation by referring to the results of processing data on similarweb. Deploying a content analysis approach, this article looks at the extent to which moderate and conservative school websites display the legal narrative of polygamy on their platforms. This research shows that there is a reasonably intense contestation between conservative and moderate perspectives on Islamic websites on the issue of polygamy. Both use the excuse of protecting women as the fundamental argument. Moderate Islamic website such as nu.or.id criticizes conservative understanding but also shows some views that align with traditional schools. The conservative Islamic websites: portal-islam.id, rumaysho.com, and muslim.or.id mostly stand firmly on the traditional argument, polygamy means protecting women. I argue that in this position, the moderate and the conservative Islamic websites, at the top of the rankings do not significantly impact the progressivity of the polygamy legal discourse movement in the digital discourse.

[Artikel ini berfokus pada narasi isu poligami di empat situs web Islami Indonesia: portal-islam.id, nu.or.id, rumaysho.com, dan muslim.or.id. Mereka diseleksi berdasarkan ranking dan visitasi dengan mengacu pada hasil pengolahan data pada similarweb. Menggunakan pendekatan analisis konten, artikel ini melihat sejauh mana situs web Islami bernuansa moderat dan konservatif menampilkan narasi hukum poligami di platform mereka. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat kontestasi antara perspektif konservatif dan moderat dalam situs web Islami tentang isu poligami. Keduanya menggunakan dalih melindungi perempuan sebagai argumen dasar. Situs web Islami beraliran moderat, yakni

nu.or.id mengkritisi pemahaman konservatif, tetapi juga menunjukkan beberapa pandangannya berkelindan dengan aliran tradisional. Situs web Islami yang konservatif: portal-islam.id, rumaysho.com, dan muslim.or.id sebagian besar berdiri teguh pada argumen tradisional, yakni poligami berarti melindungi perempuan. Saya berargumen bahwa dalam posisi ini, situs-situs web Islami moderat dan konservatif, di peringkat teratas tidak berdampak signifikan terhadap progresivitas gerakan wacana hukum poligami dalam wacana digital.]

Keywords

Moderate and conservative Muslims, polygamy, Islamic websites

Article History

Received 10 July 2022

Approved for Publication 30 December 2022

To Cite this Article

Mukhammad Nur Hadi, "THE NARRATIVE OF PROTECTING POLYGAMOUS WOMEN IN INDONESIA'S DIGITAL WORLD: Between Moderate and Conservative Muslims" *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 15, no. 2 (2022): 161—186, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2022.15201>.



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Introduction

Today, the issue of polygamy in Indonesia is receiving an ever-increasing response on popular social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.¹ This condition has a significant impact on public lifestyles and garners public interest in polygamy issues. Indirectly, it has diminished religious values and the sanctity of human

¹ Rizqa Ahmadi, Wildani Hefni, and Mutrofin, "Indonesian Global Ikhwan's Reception and Expression Toward Sunnah Polygamy in Online Media," *Ulul Albab* 20, no. 1 (2019): vol. 91, <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v20i1.5660>.

life.² As with social media, the response to other forms of media such as websites, YouTube, and films is enormous. One of the author's studies demonstrates that this enthusiastic response takes the form of films that address various marriage law issues, including polygamy. All of these media are capable of transmitting information, doctrines, and beliefs³ related to how polygamy should be understood and implemented in a broader and faster context.⁴

The digital discussion of polygamy is monitored by the public, particularly on Islamic websites. The fact that polygamy is controversial and closely related to discrimination against women and children in many Muslim countries is a compelling reason behind this argument.⁵ More discrimination occurs as the pro-polygamy narrative on an Islamic website becomes stronger. Inversely, as the moderate and progressive narrative against polygamy becomes stronger, consequently should the public's protection of women and children. Therein lies the connection between the function of Islamic websites and polygamy, and consequently, this connection should not be ignored. On the basis of these arguments, it is essential to investigate how the issue of polygamy is presented on the Islamic website.

When discussing the transmission of polygamy knowledge, including other Islamic family law narratives, it is commonly believed that social media plays an important role in the public sphere, either as a source of information or a learning environment. Handayani, for example, believes that Instagram, as a popular media that is interested in the public, especially teenagers, has been quite successful in leading the public perspective to go

² Ahmadi, Hefni, and Mutrofin, "Indonesian Global Ikhwan's Reception and Expression Toward Sunnah Polygamy in Online Media."

³ Ansori and Muhammad Iqbal Juliansyahzen, "The Contestation of the Family Law Discourse in the Digital Age: Islam, State, and Gender," *Samarah* 6, no. 1 (2022): 246, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v6i1.9128>.

⁴ Mukhammad Nur Hadi, "CONSERVATIVE MUSLIM ON THE SCREEN: The Narrative of Islamic Family Law in Indonesian Films," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 14, no. 2 (2021): 133–45, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2021.14202>.

⁵ Alean Al-Krenawi, "Mental Health and Polygamy: The Syrian Case," *World Journal of Psychiatry* 3, no. 1 (2013): 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.5498/wjp.v3.i1.1>; Emine Öztürk, Ahmet Emis Seyhan, and Aynur Yildiz, "Polygamy in the Islamic World; Psychosocial and Verbal Abuse Towards the Women and Treating The," *International Journal of Arts and Commerce* 3, no. 7 (2014): 218–36.

conservative *fiqh* in responding to issues of marriage law, including polygamy.⁶ Observing the Gerakan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran (Indonesia without dating movement), Sulaiman concluded that Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter contributed to the success of its propaganda and mobilization.⁷ In addition, against the Global Ikhwan movement that calls for a polygamy movement, Ahmadi et al. demonstrate the success of social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube in the form of short courses to promote polygamy.⁸

Nonetheless, the use of the website as a medium of transmission of family law issues should not be ignored. Ali, founder of islami.co., emphasized that the website has an advantage in search engines. Rather than content on social media, website search trails are more durable.⁹ Also, accessing information easily anywhere and anytime makes information on the website easier to transmit.¹⁰ This fact shows that the strategy to entrust Islamic teachings in the global context must use qualified media that can reach a larger audience.¹¹ It does not rely only on individual strengths and qualities but also on the work of the internet. At this point, Islamic websites play a significant role in how polygamy issues with various perspectives can exist in any context and how they can reach a larger audience with varied backgrounds.

Several researchers have studied the issue of polygamy and its relation to the media. Some examine the construction of discourse and the utilization of the media as propaganda and resistance to discourse. Syachritunnisa once researched the structure of polygamous opinion in printed media. Collecting data from several women's magazines from the 50s to 60s, Syachritunnisa found a breaking point in women's magazine critics and President

⁶ Yulmitra Handayani, "HUKUM PERKAWINAN ISLAM DI RUANG DIGITAL: Bias Gender Dalam Wacana Hukum Perkawinan Di Instagram," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 14, no. 2 (2021): 112–32, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2021.14201>.

⁷ Akhmad Sulaiman, "Gerakan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran (GITP): Propaganda and Mobilization of Youth's Social Praxis," *Fikrah* 8, no. 1 (2020): 226, <https://doi.org/10.21043/fikrah.v8i1>.

⁸ Ahmadi, Hefni, and Mutrofin, 'Indonesian Global Ikhwan's Reception and Expression Toward Sunnah Polygamy in Online Media'.

⁹ Ahmad Zaenudin, 'Competition Among Various Islamic Websites', *tirto.id* (2018), <https://tirto.id/kompetisi-di-antara-berbagai-situsweb-islam-cEHl>, accessed June 7, 2022.

¹⁰ Nadirsyah Hosen, 'Online Fatwa in Indonesia : From Fatwa Shopping to Googling a Kiai ', in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. by Greg Fealy and Sally White (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308528-013>.

Sukarno's polygamy practices. It eventually provoked other critics, which focused on the issue of polygamy and divorce in the draft of Marriage Law No.1/1974.¹² Meanwhile, McFarling, using virtual ethnography, traces how websites are used as a medium to support the practice of polygamy in the United States.¹³ Another study is the author's research on Islamic films in Indonesia that raise marriage issues, including polygamy. The study showed that Islamic films representing polygamy in Indonesia are based on conservatory jurisprudence, not state-style jurisprudence.¹⁴

The studies quite close to the object discussed in this article are the study of Alfiah, Kort, Schneider, Ansori, and Iqbal. Alfiah highlighted the account of ITAMI Instagram (Indonesia Without Polygamy). She pointed out that the ITAMI movement successfully used Instagram to educate about the issue of polygamy and women's discrimination.¹⁵ Kort has also researched how Islamic websites can influence efforts to strengthen the position and rights of Muslim women. Although it was difficult to prove, Kort eventually concluded that the possibility existed.¹⁶ Schneider discussed public legal discourse on the internet and the media about the new Draft of Family Law in Iran, especially article 23 regulating polygamous marriage and removing the necessity for the first wife's permission in Iran. This study shows that legal debate in the digital space can challenge and influence state legislation. However, it happens in the theocratic state.¹⁷ Like Shneider, by capturing the gender debate on family law issues in the digital space, Ansori and Iqbal argued that religious group affiliation influences how the construct of family law

¹¹ Gary R. Bunt, *Hashtag Islam: How Cyber-Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority* (Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press, 2018), 20.

¹² Esti Syachrotunnisa, *Opinions About Marriage and Polygamy in Women's Magazines in the 50s to 60s* (S2 Thesis, Gadjah Mada University, 2018).

¹³ Kristen Sweet-mcfarling, *Polygamy on The Web: An Online Community For An Unconventional Practice* (2014).

¹⁴ Hadi, CONSERVATIVE MUSLIM ON THE SCREEN: The Narrative of Islamic Family Law in Indonesian Films.

¹⁵ Alfiah Faizatul Arif, Tindakan Sosial Terhadap Penolakan Poligami dalam Akun Instagram, *Miyah*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2020): 118–34, <https://doi.org/10.33754/miyah.v16i1.227>.

¹⁶ Alexis Kort, 'Dar al-Cyber Islam: Women, Domestic Violence, and the Islamic Reformation on the World Wide Web', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2005): 381, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000500408393>.

¹⁷ Irene Schneider, "Polygamy and Legislation in Contemporary Iran: An Analysis of the Public Legal Discourse," *Iranian Studies* 49, no. 4 (2016): 657–76, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00210862.2015.1028239>.

issues, including polygamy, were drawn. In addition, the variety of media as the source of law in the digital space also has a role in portraying the ideal rule of polygamy.¹⁸

Continuing the existing research, this study samples four popular Islamic websites: portal-islam.id, nu.or.id, rumaysho.com, and muslim.or.id. The four are the top four Islamic websites referring to visitation and rankings based on similarweb.com data. Because this study examines website content, a qualitative content analysis approach is used to map polygamy issues spread across various narratives. This study focuses on how the reasons contest on Islamic websites. In addition, the purpose of this research is to determine the extent to which moderate-faith Islamic websites compete for a popular stance on the issue of polygamy. This analysis reveals the extent to which conservatism and moderation on polygamy are reflected on the aforementioned Islamic websites. This step is important because the outbreak of conservatism in Islamic law considerably affects the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia which is currently being projected to enliven moderate, progressive, and responsive ideas to the struggle for women's and children's rights. The terms moderatism and conservatism are inspired by the argument of El Fadl. Moderatism positions itself to take the middle position.¹⁹ This is certainly by providing a more humanist view and attitude and even by modifying his thinking. Meanwhile, conservatives tend to maintain their legacy without making modifications.²⁰ These two terms guide the analysis conducted in this study.

Why the Islamic Websites

Today, social media looks much more interesting to research, especially renewable discourses related to family law issues. What Hayat did to the *dakwahtainment* of Mama and Aa,²¹ Handayani did to the reasoning of family law in Instagram,²² and what I did to family

¹⁸ Ansori and Juliansyahzen, "The Contestation of the Family Law Discourse in the Digital Age: Islam, State, and Gender."

¹⁹ Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists* (New York: Harper San Fransisco, 2005), 16.

²⁰ Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists*.

²¹ Muhammad Jihadul Hayat, "Tradisionalisme Pemikiran Hukum Keluarga Islam Dalam Dakwahtainment (Studi Relasi Gender Pada Vidio Ceramah Program Mamah Dan Aa Beraksi)" (Program Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2018).

²² Handayani, "HUKUM PERKAWINAN ISLAM DI RUANG DIGITAL: Bias Gender Dalam Wacana Hukum Perkawinan Di Instagram."

law issues in Indonesian films²³ prove a representation that those digital platforms constitute the heated topic of Islamic family law. To monitor the development of family law issues in the digital world, Islamic websites are no less fascinating. It has become an older locus to effectively and efficiently disseminate ideas, including Islamic family law ideas, rather than the mentioned platforms.²⁴

Developing Islamic family law in Indonesia necessitates Islamic websites as essential and valuable research objects for a number of reasons. First, the Islamic website provides numerous tools for locating information. Numerous Islamic websites provide a search function to facilitate users' direct and rapid keyword-based topic searches. In addition, theme-based and scientific rubrics can be classified, making it easier to find information across a broader scope. Second, Islamic organizations make extensive use of Islamic websites to disseminate Islamic teachings and educate the public. Individual and collective scholars also use Islamic websites to transmit their religious knowledge without barriers and with high-quality content.²⁵ The Islamic websites also offer the potential for greater insight into religious figures.²⁶ Therefore, the Islamic website can be a medium for mobilizing unpopular ideology, as Iqbal found in studying the Salafi Islamic movement.²⁷ Third, the Islamic website is also one of the most effective mediums for reformation within Islam.²⁸ Fourth, Islamic websites have a high ability to attract with various appearances, such as the use of symbols and the formation of exciting presentations and content. It is because some prefer Islamic websites that are better able to help them to promote virtue and resist puffiness.²⁹

²³ Hadi, "CONSERVATIVE MUSLIM ON THE SCREEN: The Narrative of Islamic Family Law in Indonesian Films."

²⁴ Ihab Habudin, "Diskursus Feminisme Dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam Pada Situsweb Islam Di Indonesia: Respon Kelompok Islam Konservatif Dan Islam Moderat," *Al-Ahwal* 12, no. 1 (2019): 100, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2019.12108>.

²⁵ Mansur Aliyu, Murni Mahmud, and Abu Osan Md Tap, "Features Influencing Islamic Websites Use: A Muslim User Perspective," *Intellectual Discourse* 21, no. 1 (2013): 34.

²⁶ Bunt, *Hashtag Islam: How Cyber-Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority*.

²⁷ Asep Muhamad Iqbal, "Cyber-Activism and the Islamic Salafi Movement in Indonesia," 2017, 284.

²⁸ Kort, "Dar Al-Cyber Islam: Women, Domestic Violence, and the Islamic Reformation on the World Wide Web."

²⁹ Aliyu, Mahmud, and Tap, "Features Influencing Islamic Websites Use: A Muslim User Perspective."

Popular Islamic Websites in Indonesia: Scope and Affiliation

This study selected four popular website articles based on similarweb.com. The similarweb.com was chosen as a tool to rank the Islamic websites because it was the winner of the Online Measurement Standard Technology Selection event for the Indonesian Market in 2021 held by the Indonesian Digital Association (IDA).³⁰ The data was taken on June 6, 2022. The selection of these four Islamic websites refers to the ranking and number of visitations per May 2022 in the "*Faith and Beliefs-in Indonesia*" category.

Table 1: Ranking and number of four web visitors

No	Islamic Web	Country Rank	Global Rank	Total Visits	Average Duration	Visit
1	portal-islam.id	245	11.153	6.2 M	00:05:12	
2	nu.or.id	673	31.661	2.6 M	00:01:42	
3	rumaysho.com	713	33.513	1.9 M	00:01:26	
4	muslim.or.id	1.035	44.765	1.8 M	00:01:14	

Table 1 portrays the top-fourth of Islamic webs by their ranks and visits. Each year, the composition of the ranking shown in Table 1 changes. Mujibuddin and Riza's findings for example show that based on similarweb.com and alexa.com (currently Alexa has closed its services since May 1, 2022), nu.or.id for three consecutive years, 2018-2020, topped the rankings. While the other two websites, rumaysho.com, and muslim.or.id are fighting for the top five positions with several other moderate Islamic websites, such as islami.co and bincangsyariah.com. Uniquely, the struggle for the position did not happen in portal-islam.id. This website bounced far to tenth place in 2019 and did not enter the top twenty rankings in 2020.³¹ The latest data above shows an interesting fact because it features portal-islam.id in the top position, overtaking nu.or.id which has been popular for several years.

³⁰ Shinta Nur Dewi, *IDA Officially Chose Similarweb as the Standard for Online Audience Measurement in Indonesia* (2021) <https://www.digination.id/read/017077/ida-resmi-memilih-similarweb-sebagai-standar-pengukuran-audiens-online-di-indonesia>, accessed June 9 2022.

³¹ M. Mujibuddin SM and M. Fakhru Riza, "Internet Sebagai Ruang Baru Kontestasi Diskursus Agama Dan Politik: Kajian Atas Diskursus Islam, Demokrasi Dan Pancasila Pada Website Keislaman Populer Di Indonesia," *JISPO* 11, no. 2 (2021): 335, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v11i2.14148>.

First is portal-islam.id. The jargon carried by this website is "voicing the truth". Getting the first rank in cyber activities, portal-islam.id has an interesting rubric. However, portal-islam.id only provides four rubric columns: national, notes, trending, and politics. This political rubric certainly indicates the tendency of the portal-islam.id movement, which is politically Islamic. This website also does not specify who the managers are and what goals will be achieved through this medium. It is certainly an interesting question why this website can be ranked first in the Islamic category while the Islamic rubric columns are not displayed. Although this website is in the top position, the rubric presented is not as interesting as the three Islamic websites below.

The second is nu.or.id, more popular as NU Online. This website was founded on July 11, 2003. This media is the official media of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization'. It can be seen from the editorial structure where Said Aqil Siraj (the previous chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama Organization) and Yahya Cholil Staquf (the current chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama Organization) serve on the advisory board. NU Online has the vision to be a source of information about NU and Islamic science that is soothing and trusted. Therefore, the critical mission of NU Online is to be the first choice to find information about NU, its schools and ideologies, and Islamic science. Not only that, NU Online is committed to promoting and encouraging religious attitudes that are fair, moderate, and respect diversity. In terms of content, nu online has more varied columns than others. The column is divided as follows: news, fragments, Qur'an, Islamic, opinion, video, figures, wisdom, health, archives, marriage/family, obituary, *ramadan* (fasting month), national, international, essay, sermon, region, short story, worship, cultural arts, prophetic history, interpretation, and editorial treatise. The variety of columns presented shows that NU online seeks to respond to all kinds of issues but still with Islamic narratives.

The third is rumaysho.com. The website was founded and commanded by Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, S.T., M. Sc. He graduated with a bachelor of engineering at Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta, a Master of Polymer Engineering at King Saud University, and a Doctor of Educational Management at Yogyakarta State University. At first glance, formally, Tuasikal has no history of religious studies. However, he has experience studying with several salafist teachers, both from Indonesia to Saudi Arabia, such as Aris Munandar, Abu Isa, Shalih bin Fauzan bin 'Abdullah al-Fauzan (member of the Fatwa Commission of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), Sa'ad bin Nashir Asy-Syatsiri

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(Advisor to King Salman of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), and Abdurrahman bin Nashir Al-barrak (the theologian expert in Riyadh). Rumaysho presents several interesting columns studying Islam, sermon manuscripts, Islamic law, matchmaking bureau, Rumaysho care, and Rumaysho academy. The column of the matchmaking bureau and rumaysho care shows the website as a medium to build concern for others. Meanwhile, rumaysho academy will become a medium for learning religion online and interactively. These two types of columns seem to be the advantages of the media in proselytizing that can attract sympathizers, in addition to the content.

The fourth is muslim.or.id. The motto of this website is "purifying aqidah [belief], spreading the sunnah [prophetic tradition]". The reason why using the slogan is classic and popular among the Salafists. The slogan is based on the ambiguity of the Islamic creed and that many of the worship performed are not sourced from the sunnah. So, it is not surprising that muslim.or.id provides *aqidah* and *manhaj* (schools) columns to strengthen their motto. The other columns are heart conditioning, transaction *fiqh (muamalah)*, history, Friday sermons, inheritance calculators, and e-books. Looking at the list of contributors, this website has a close relationship with rumaysho.com because there is the name of Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, the founder of rumaysho.com. It is thus clear that the two have similar missions and go hand in hand. In fact, the inclusion of Firanda Andrija's name as a contributor also strengthens the affiliation of this website school, conservative Islam.

Based on these explanations, we can see that each website has its characteristics, mission, and market to spread knowledge. Some are affiliated with specific organizations formally. Some are ideologically affiliated but not organizationally. Among the four Islamic websites above, only nu.or.id is officially affiliated with the organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). It is clear that nu.or.id represents a moderate thought. However, does this moderatism applies to the issue of polygamy? While others do not indicate their affiliation, such as portal-islam.id. Some are affiliated with Salafists, such as rumaysho.com and muslim.or.id.

Presenting the Law of Polygamy

I tracked the legal issues and interpretations of polygamy on the four Islamic websites in the search section using the keyword of "polygamy". Using the keyword portal-islam.id presents 17 articles, nu.or.id. presents at least 60 articles, rumaysho.com presents 13

articles, and muslim.or.id presents 12 articles. The majority of articles refer to legal issues and interpretations of polygamy verses through a variety of narrative models, including tales of wisdom, questions, and answers, to critiques of the political issue genre. In terms of traffic, nu.or.id surpasses the other three websites. This is certainly good news for adherents of the moderate school, as the moderate school's polygamy has been successfully mainstreamed in cyberspace. It is due to the fact that there are only 42 articles on the other three conservative Islamic websites.

The moderate and conservative Islamic websites present the law of polygamy from different perspectives. In general, by ignoring the socio-anthropological context, the conservative Islamic website asserts that polygamy is permissible because the Qur'an expressly permits it. In contrast, the moderate Islamic website employs multiple perspectives, such as gender, history, and sociology, to combat this narrative. I analyze the content and categorize it according to both types. This approach enables us to depict collectively and comprehensively the relationship between the interpretation of polygamy verses and the resulting polygamy law.

The Conservative Islamic Website: Polygamy as The Women's Protector

Islamic websites that tend to be conservative are portal-islami.id, rumaysho.com, and muslim.or.id. This tendency is based on his numerous posts emphasizing a single narrative relating to the law of polygamy, namely that polygamy is the Prophet's sunnah, a theological act. The narratives of avoiding adultery, protecting women, and propagating shariah elaborate on this concept. The promotion of justice in the practice of polygamous marriage, which discriminates against women, remains a priority for all. Because the male aspect is emphasized more. To comprehend this interim conclusion, we must examine how the narrative was structured to demonstrate that polygamy is a theological act.

In determining the law of polygamy, there is a narrative built against the background of political issues. It can be read in the writings of Adian Husaini in portal-islam.id in *“Ada Apa dengan Poligami, Mengapa Dihebohkan Lagi?”*³² which states that polygamy is a part of Islamic teachings, but its implementation should be based on sharia

³² Adian Husaini, “Ada Apa Dengan Poligami, Mengapa Dihebohkan Lagi?,” n.d.

that commands justice. This statement rises when the chairman of the Sharia Council of the PKS (one of the Indonesian Islamic Parties) suggests polygamy. Corroborating that opinion, the article cites the statement of Yusuf Wibisono in his book, *Monogami atau Poligami*. Yusuf declared that Islam chooses legal polygamy rather than illegal polygamy, but with restrictions to prevent the abuse of male power. In this way, Yusuf Wibisono concludes that polygamy becomes a truly devoted institution for human happiness. Other statements cited by the writer come from Leonard. The key to Leonard's argument is that the ugliness of polygamy lies not in the legal aspects of polygamy but in the abuse of polygamy. Interestingly, in this condition, the writer concludes that polygamy is not only a personal affair but also a state. Polygamy for the country's leaders, such as Soekarno-the first President of Indonesia, actually brought goodness to the nation because none of his children protested Soekarno's polygamy. This conclusion is all the more interesting if we juxtapose it with another article on this website, *Penelitian: Poligami Memperpanjang Umur Pria 12%*,³³ which states that the results of the study of Virpi Lumma, an ecologist at the University of Sheffield, showed that those who chose polygamous marriage, men, and women, were longer than that who chose monogamy. It correlates to sexual satisfaction.

Another exciting fact is that when portal-islam.id also criticized the argument of the National Commission on Women regarding polygamy in the article "*Tolak Qonun Poligami Aceh, Komnas Perempuan: Hanya Mengedepankan Syahwat*".³⁴ Polygamy, according to the National Commission on Women, is a form of discrimination against women and children and should be prohibited. Here, portal-islam.id fails to convey solid and lucid criticisms. This website only contains a public tweet on Twitter condemning the National Commission for Women's rejection because it is considered to be in opposition to God's command. In other words, this website argues that polygamy is not only a sunnah of the Prophet but also a divine command that should not be rejected, despite the fact that the context has shifted.

Another reason used in establishing the legal conclusion of polygamy as a religious suggestion or prophet suggestion relates to sexual issues. It can be seen in the article:

³³ "Penelitian: Poligami Memperpanjang Umur Pria 12%," n.d.

³⁴ "Tolak Qonun Poligami Aceh, Komnas Perempuan: Hanya Mengedepankan Syahwat," n.d.

“*Anjuran Para Ulama, Cukup Satu Istri Saja*”³⁵ on rumaysho.com. It is based on the third verse of An-Nisā which asserts the law of polygamy is *mubab* (permitted). However, in the end, the law of polygamy was led toward a legal concept that has different implications. Polygamy is presented as a suggestion that is only bound to two conditions. The first condition is when the sexual needs of a man are not met only by a wife. The second condition is when a person is in a position that encourages him to commit adultery. When referring to Rofiah’s explanation, such an opinion arises from the superficial meaning of *ghadhul bashar* (subduing vision). Quoting Amrah Kasim's description, Rofiah explained that *bashar* does not mean physical eyes but mental state when looking at something. That word, *ghadhul bashar*, was focused on control over the perspective.³⁶ With this perspective, a sex narrative reinforcing the command of polygamy is no longer ideal.

Rumaysho.com build a narrative of condemnation for anyone who rejects the revelation of polygamy in “*Poligami, Wahyu Ilahi yang Ditolak*”.³⁷ The constructed argument is that revelation, in this case, the Qur'an, is the spirit, the essence of life, and bringing tranquillity. Rejecting the suggestion of polygamy by considering it a source of problems will receive punishment from Allah. Furthermore, this article affirms that, basically, polygamy has dignified women based on protecting and glorifying women. Even polygamy is a medium for multiplying Muslim society as the way to publicize *shariah*.

Discussing justice in polygamy, some arguments are built quite interestingly. Rummyasho.com asserts in “*Poligami, Bisakah Adil?*”³⁸ that the concept of polygamous justice applies only to the physical and inner aspects of living, not the psychological aspect in terms of the inclination of the heart. It is based on the interpretation of As-Sa'adi, Taisir Al Karimir Rahman on An-Nisā verse 129, who asserts that such justice is an obligation. Such an interpretation is repeated several times with the same narrative, as in the article “*Faedah Sirah Nabi: Wafatnya Khadijah dan Mulainya Rasulullah Berpoligami*”.³⁹ In this position, it can be seen that psychological discrimination is not regarded. In fact, this psychological justice has a more prolonged impact than other justice. In other words, this concept of justice is not

³⁵ “Anjuran Para Ulama, Cukup Satu Istri Saja,” n.d.

³⁶ Nur Rofiah, *Nalar Kritis Muslimah: Refleksi Atas Keperempuanan, Kemanusiaan, Dan Keislaman* (Bandung: Afkaruna, 2020), 111.

³⁷ “Poligami, Wahyu Ilahi Yang Ditolak,” n.d.

³⁸ “Poligami, Bisakah Adil?,” n.d.

³⁹ “Faedah Sirah Nabi: Wafatnya Khadijah Dan Mulainya Rasulullah Berpoligami,” n.d.

aligned with the spirit of protection and the struggle for women's rights. Therefore, justice ended up just being an illusion. In this position, it is also interesting to quote sociological expressions, although it is judged very cruel. The honor of a wife lies in her marital status. She would be honored if the husband was monogamous and humiliated if her husband was polygamous. Kodir asserts that this sociological expression is difficult to refute because his observations show that not a few women feel devastated by polygamy.⁴⁰ Muslim.or.id interprets the same about the concept of justice by referring to *An-Nisā*, verse 129, in “*Poligami, Bukti Keadilan Hukum Allah*” by citing the interpretations of Imam Shafi’i, Imam Bukhori, Imam Qurthubi, and Imam Ibn Katsir.⁴¹ To know how the concept of justice is to be better realized, muslim.or.id explain how to make polygamous women softer respond by trying to accept the situation while surrendering to God. In comparison, men are emphasized to be fair. Women are not required to fight for their rights to build equality, but women are only encouraged to be passive.

The argument for the relationship between polygamy and politics in the digital narrative is different from the description built by Hussein Muhammad. He argued that polygamy was related to the temporary politics of the Prophet. Quoting Rasyid Ridha's argument, Hussein Muhammad asserted that the Prophet was polygamous when the burden of Islamic proselytizing became heavier and the socio-political system became complicated.⁴² It is where the Prophet's practice of polygamy began. In addition to quelling socio-political unrest, the Prophet's polygamy was also carried out to protect some women subjected to substantial psychological and social pressure from their families.⁴³ In short, the polygamy of the Prophet is not to avoid adultery or the fulfillment of the libido of sex but rather in the framework of humanity.

The narrative of the construction of polygamy law on conservative Islamic websites is built to protect women and enforce justice. However, the principle is not used proportionately and contextually. It is constructed only based on readings that ignore the current context of global women’s protection. The concept of protection is close to the

⁴⁰ Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, *Sunnah Monogami: Mengaji Al-Qur’an Dan Hadis* (Yogyakarta: Umah Sinau Mubadalah, n.d.), 5.

⁴¹ “Poligami, Bukti Keadilan Hukum Allah,” n.d.

⁴² Husein Muhammad, *Poligami: Sebuah Kajian Kritis Kontemporer Seorang Kiai* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2020).

⁴³ Muhammad.

enforcement or fulfillment of justice. Protecting is also close to fighting for women's rights to the point, including abstract rights, such as the right to psychological protection. Such a pattern of protection is seen to be ignored in building the legal narrative of polygamy on these Islamic websites.

In this part, the author needs to give important notes. First, the concept of justice is described in an unbalanced and non-holistic position. Justice is only presented with the idea of fulfilling living costs and sexual desire, but it is not applied to the concept of love. Justice is more identified with the male side as a subject considered capable of fulfilling justice. In contrast, women are positioned as objects of implementation of justice without being portrayed as subjects claiming justice. Second, the concept of protecting women is used to legitimize the practice of polygamy as a medium to protect women from various social problems such as sexual violence, oppression, and poverty. This reason may eventually lead to a public view of an illogical and contextual conclusion that polygamous marriage is a step toward the dignity of women today. The above criticism is based on several unilateral justice practices that many researchers find in the field. From various findings, polygamy adversely affects the lives of women as well as children,⁴⁴ no longer just potentially.⁴⁵

The Moderate Islamic Website: Between Protecting and Discriminating Women

The legal construction of polygamy in moderate websites is the opposite of the legal concept of polygamy introduced by conservative websites. Using a question and answer model (online fatwa), polygamy law is characterized by a reasonably detailed socio-historical context in the *"Hukum Asal Poligami yang Kerap Dipelintir dalam Islam"*.⁴⁶ Quoting

⁴⁴ Siti Hikmah, "Fakta Poligami Sebagai Bentuk Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan," *Samwa* 7, no. 2 (2012): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v7i2.646>; Mohtazul Farid and Medhy Aginta Hidayat, "Perlawanan Perempuan Pesantren Terhadap Poligami Kiai Di Madura," *Edukasi Islam* 10, no. 2 (2021): 992–1009, <https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v10i02.1805>; Zainul Fitriyyah and Achmad Mujab Masykur, "Suka Dan Duka Menjadi Yang Kedua (Studi Kualitatif Fenomenologi Kepuasan Pernikahan Pada Perempuan Yang Menjadi Istri Kedua Dalam Pernikahan Poligami)," *Jurnal Empati* 9, no. 3 (2020): 249–55, <https://doi.org/10.14710/empati.2020.28349>.

⁴⁵ Shinta Dewi Rismawati, "Persepsi Poligami Di Mata Perempuan Pekalongan," *Muwazah* 6, no. 2 (2014): 249–63, <https://doi.org/10.28918/muwazah.v6i2.447>.

⁴⁶ "Hukum Asal Poligami Yang Kerap Dipelintir Dalam Islam," n.d.

the opinion of Zuhayli, who asserts monogamy is the ideal building for households, nu.or.id asserts that the third verse of An-Nisa' basically seeks to limit the number of marriages to only four wives. That is, the context of marriage in the Arab world at that time was no longer humane. Therefore Allah carried out restrictions. On this basis, the verse is no longer contextual to be applied today, incredibly to advocate the practice of polygamy. What should be made public is the ability.

A detailed description of the law of polygamy can be found in the article *Tafsir Surat an-Nisa' Ayat 3 (Bagian 1)*⁴⁷ which focuses on the context of the verse. Quoting Tafsir Ar-Razi, nu online displays the tendency of its legal reasoning toward Ikrimah's interpretation. The context of the verse is actually, for Ikrimah, relating to the number of wives and orphans owned by a man. In condition, a man is depressed because when providing for many wives, at the same time, he will not be able to provide for the orphans he cares for. This is where the verse criticizes people who have too many wives because there is a concern about taking the property of orphans to deny their wives.

The narrative of criticism of the above practice of polygamy is reinforced by the article *Tafsir Surat an-Nisa' Verse 3 (Part 2)*.⁴⁸ The main focus is outlined in the concept of justice. nu.or.id prefers interpretations that can accommodate all aspects. Quoting ad-Dhahak, justice in polygamy includes the physical and sexual needs and the inclinations of the heart. Further emphasizing the fulfillment of justice, nu.or.id quoted al-Qurthubi's opinion, which asserts that justice is mandatory. Therefore, if unable to do justice, the man should marry only one wife. This concept of justice is different from that narrated by conservative websites that only emphasize justice in any aspect because it considers that justice in the inclinations of the heart is not mandatory.

Such a model of interpretation is reinforced by the exposure of the opinions of scholars that tend to close access to polygamy. The presentation of this argument can be seen in the article *Hukum Islam Memandang Praktik Poligami?*⁴⁹ Shafi'iyah and Hanabilah do not advocate polygamy because it is prone to discrimination, which of course, concerns not only the physical and sexual needs aspect but also the psychological needs. In comparison,

⁴⁷ "Tafsir Surat An-Nisa' Ayat 3 (Bagian 1)," n.d.

⁴⁸ "Tafsir Surat An-Nisa' Ayat 3 (Bagian 2)," n.d.

⁴⁹ "Hukum Islam Memandang Praktik Poligami," n.d.

the Hanafiyah allowed polygamy as long as there was definite justice. This argument is based on Mausu'ah Fiqhyah al-Kuwaitiyah.

In the previous, nu online only placed polygamy as a matter of mubah. While in another article, "*Nyai Badriyah Fayumi: Poligami Dekat dengan Ketidakadilan*,"⁵⁰ nu.or.id wanted to assert that polygamy deserves to be banned. This article is extracted from the arguments of Badriyah Fayumi, a Muslim Woman scholar who actively campaigned for the feminist perspective. Fayumi emphasized that the current polygamy law should be directed to the illegitimate law to defend justice and oppression. This discourse is based on the narrative of the story of the Prophet who forbade his sons-in-law to polygamize his daughters. He also corroborated that this discourse is juridically in line with the mandate of the Marriage Law, which affirms the principle of monogamy in marriage (article 3 paragraph (1). Not only that, but Fayumi also refuted legal reasons that are often used as the basis for the practice of polygamy, such as the reason for avoiding adultery. The reasoning for choosing polygamous over adulterous is a comparison that is not ideal. The ideal is that if someone is afraid of falling into adultery, one should avoid things that come close to cheating by building a lawful romance, not remarrying, which causes problems. Fayumi's thought narrated by nu.or.id is in line with the idea of Husein Muhammad, a famous Muslim feminist from a traditionalist group, who views polygamy as gradually abolished, especially in the Indonesian context.⁵¹ What the nu.or.id proclaimed was seen following the bold steps of some Muslim countries in banning the practice of polygamy, such as Tunisia and Morocco.

Claimed polygamy as an unfair practice by no.or.id through Fayumi's explanation in line with some media efforts to portray polygamy as a sexual appetite-based practice, as carried out by Narasi [one of Indonesian news providers] and Vice Indonesia [one of global new providers] in their coverage on their respective YouTube channels. By interviewing the family of polygamous mentors, Narasi proves that the publication of the practice of polygamy is carried out based on sexual appetite and the economic interests of men. Meanwhile, Vice Indonesia also interviewed polygamous mentors with different families and pointed out sexual fulfillment as his motive. However, on the other hand, Vice

⁵⁰ "Nyai Badriyah Fayumi: Poligami Dekat Dengan Ketidakadilan," n.d.

⁵¹ Muhammad, *Poligami: Sebuah Kajian Kritis Kontemporer Seorang Kiai*.

Indonesia, including Narasi in a more detailed reading, wants to invite women to defend human rights and the protection of women.⁵² At this point, we can see that the above narratives are generally built on the perspective of feminism in the name of justice.

Another article portrays how Marzuki Mustamar's response to polygamy was in line with Badiryah Fayumi's argument. In the article "*KH Marzuki Mustamar: Poligami Sah, Tapi Tak Fair*,"⁵³ nu.or.id elaborates that Marzuki Mustamar judged polygamy as an unfair practice because it hurts the wife's physical and psychological side, which significantly impacts the child's development. In fact, polygamy can erode the rights of women and children. The logic is that to realize a quality generation of the nation, the door to polygamy can ideally be closed.

Interestingly, on the other hand, nu.or.id seems to provide a looser perspective, although it does not lead to the herding of polygamous narratives. In the article "*Hukum Larangan Poligami*,"⁵⁴ nu.or.id responded to a question about the prohibition of polygamy that the Prophet did against Fatimah. nu.or.id asserts that the Prophet allows polygamy. Prohibited polygamy is when polygamizing the daughter of the Prophet with the son of the enemy of the Prophet. This answer refers to one of the hadiths in *Shahih Muslim*. A similar review of legal narratives that corroborates this argument is the presentation of the article "*Santri Halalkan Nikah Siri dan Poligami*."⁵⁵ This article describes the results of Bahtsul Masail NU at Al-Falah Islamic Boarding School, Kediri, East Java. The discussion criticized the Draft Law in 2010, which provides for criminal sanctions for perpetrators of serial marriage and polygamy because it was considered discriminatory. The ideal thing for the government to do is to make it easier for *isbat nikah* (marriage validation by Religious Court) and remove the mandatory rule for obtaining written permission from the first wife for those who want to be polygamous, not to commit violations of jurisprudence. Here, the arguments constructed by nu.or.id is seen breaking the character of the law built in other writings. Instead of calling for the protection of women, nu.or.id appears to be hindering efforts to eliminate discrimination against women due to polygamy.

⁵² Fakhrur Rozi and Firda Adinda Syukri, "Berbagi Surga: Poligami Di Indonesia Dalam Bingkai Media Asing," *Al-Hikmah* 11, no. 1 (2020): 26, <https://doi.org/10.32505/hikmah.v11i1.1828>.

⁵³ *KH Marzuki Mustamar: Poligami Sah, Tapi Tak Fair*, <https://nu.or.id/nasional/kh-marzuki-mustamar-poligami-sah-tapi-tak-fair-rtKgL>, accessed June 6 2022.

⁵⁴ "Hukum Larangan Poligami," n.d.

The Inclination of Indonesian Islamic Websites to Conservatism

Conservatism and moderation are two ideologies that continue to vie for influence in a variety of ways. This competition is motivated by the same goal: to effect change. The difference is that moderate groups move forward while preserving the past that is relevant. While conservative groups are actively constructing a utopia based on the ideal Islam of the past, they are fully immersed in the past. This condition leads to the neglect of Islam as a way of life.⁵⁶ The competition is now increasingly apparent since the internet provides an effortless facility for accessing and transmitting information. Each of their classes seeks to succeed in the target of such mainstreaming, including in the realm of marriage law. Along the way, conservative groups are considered successful in taking quick steps by utilizing the internet to disseminate their thoughts, although, in the end, the moderate group is also regarded as successful in following the lag.

The above facts awakened moderate groups to carry out massive resistance. It was because the legal school promoted by conservative groups tends to put the law in a non-progressive and contextualist position and ignore the protection of women's rights. In this context, the response of two major organizations in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, can be an example.⁵⁷ Wahyudi Akmaliah proved that the new religious authorities in the digital world, including the Islamic website, NU and Muhammadiyah are pretty responsive. It is NU that looks more reactive than Muhammadiyah.⁵⁸ The question is whether NU's reactive response, one of which is manifested in digital response with the presence of nu.or.id, has provided a breakthrough in confronting the mainstreaming of conservative perspectives. Are the legal narratives of nu.or.id, especially polygamous laws, capable of countering the narratives of conservative groups? Is nu.or.id drifted into the frame of conservatism?

⁵⁵ "Santri Halalkan Nikah Siri Dan Poligami," n.d.

⁵⁶ Munawir, "Muslim Puritan Dan Muslim Moderat (Pembacaan Terhadap Kedudukan Perempuan)," *Fikrah* 5, no. 1 (2017): 45–46, <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/fikrah.v5i1.2068>.

⁵⁷ Shafira Choirunissa and Ali Nurdin, "Moderation of Islamic Messages Based on Cyber Media: Discourse Analysis on the Nu.or.Id and Muhammadiyah.or.Id Sites," in *Proceedings of International Conference on Da'wa and Communication* (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2020), 231–43, <http://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3738315>.

⁵⁸ Wahyudi Akmaliah, "The Demise of Moderate Islam: New Media, Contestation, and Reclaiming Religious Authorities" 10, no. 1 (2020): 16, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i1.1-24>.

The Narrative of Protecting Polygamous Women

The polygamy narration in the four Islamic websites above shows an interesting picture. In general, the conservative narrative about polygamy predominates over the moderate school. Uniquely, this dominance is not only due to the large number of Islamic websites affiliated with *Salafists* perched in the top four so that it can establish the position of the conservative narrative of polygamy in the digital world. However, the role of moderate Islamic websites, nu.or.id, is also a trigger. Observing holistically, the legal construction of polygamy built by nu.or.id looks inconsistent. This website does not seem to make a standard of perspective, including polygamy laws. It causes the moderate characteristics of nu.or.id to be seen indistinctly. The boundary line between moderates and conservatives finally looks blurred.

In the legal narrative of polygamy, the women's experience is not the primary perspective due to the boundary bias. Although it was intended to contextualize justice with the narrative of women's protection, the effort appeared immediately weak and vague. In other words, efforts to strengthen women's rights on the issue of polygamy were hindered by nu.or.id's own legal contradictions. On the one hand, it appears moderately progressive. On the other hand, he appears to be conservative. This incoherence of voices is the basis for nu.or.id's inability to protect women in their entirety. In contrast to conservative Islamic websites, it is liberal. Although some of the titles they include lead readers to a moderate viewpoint, the central narrative and conclusions arrive at the same conclusion: polygamy is a living sunnah suggestion. These findings support Masdar Hilmy's claim that literalist and contextualist Islamist groups do not consistently and permanently apply their methodological approaches.⁵⁹ In this position, the predominance of conservatism against polygamy is strong.

My findings are different from Habudin's, who also observed Islamic websites. Regarding the two websites, al-manhaj.or.id and islami.co., Habudin finds opposing characters in narrating the issue of feminism. Al-manhaj rejects feminism, islami.co instead supports feminism.⁶⁰ islami.co and nu.or.id share the same vision, seeking to ground the moderate to progressive school on issues of struggle, including polygamy. However,

⁵⁹ Masdar Hilmy, "Quo-Vadis Islam Moderat Indonesia? Menimbang Kembali Modernisme Nahdlatul Ulama Dan Muhammadiyah" XXXVI, no. 2 (2012): 272, <http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v36i2.127>.

⁶⁰ Habudin, "Diskursus Feminisme Dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam Pada Situsweb Islam Di Indonesia: Respon Kelompok Islam Konservatif Dan Islam Moderat."

nu.or.id seems to be carried away by the current of conservatism. In this position, nu.or.id has not been fully able to block the perceptive conservatism of polygamy laws in the digital space. What they are narrating regarding the regulation of polygamy is not much different from the thinking of conservative scholars who still believe polygamy to be a part of sharia that is not entirely appropriate to be banned.

I argue that the drift of nu.or.id as a carrier of moderate thought toward the law of polygamy into the conservative paradigm is based on the coordination line of nu.or.id's management. The nu.or.id is still controlled structurally by the Nahdlatul Ulama Grand Secretary (PBNU), whose website lists a number of leader officials as advisors. This condition demonstrates the strong patronage of *kyai* (cleric), which has been recognized as the most conservative characteristic on nu.or.id. Even though they do not have direct control over their thoughts, they are able to remotely and consistently monitor the progression of the discourse.⁶¹ Here, there is an auto critic of the content of the Islamic legal narrative on nu.or.id. This fact also affects the character, perspective, and paradigm of the legal narrative about polygamy on nu.or.id.

Such circumstances demonstrate that the Islamic website is a major game-changer. To reinforce and disseminate their views on polygamy, they successfully established a conservative digital sphere. Over time, the digital atmosphere can create an atmosphere in the physical world. The battle of ideas surrounding polygamy has finally appeared more effective and efficient in the digital age, as the modern public is highly dependent on information disseminated via digital media.⁶² It is where the view that digital sources become the authority in building a polygamous perspective is created.

At this point, I argue that some Islamic websites I have explored have managed to define an opinion regarding how polygamy is ideally practiced and regulated. Most Islamic websites seem to agree that conservative views of polygamy are more established to be disseminated and consumed by the public. The massiveness of this discussion shows how conservative groups are working hard to control the public understanding of the polygamy law. Here it can be seen how the digital public sphere is formed through Islamic websites

⁶¹ Rumadi, "Membendung Arus Progresif: Dinamika Intelektualisme Komunitas NU," *Ulumuna* 9, no. 1 (2005): 141, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v9i1.447>.

⁶² Robert K Logan, "Understanding Humans: The Extensions of Digital Media" (Toronto: Infomation, 2019), 5, <https://doi.org/10.3390/info10100304>.

to maintain and construct the legal discourse of polygamy. Islamic websites, which humans create, actually shape and change public thinking regarding polygamy laws. Here, it can be seen that the digital public sphere formed in Islamic websites opens up agreements about polygamy. In this position, I call this phenomenon the digital conservative deal, an indirect deal that has negative implications for developing Islamic family law in Indonesia.

This conservative deal seems to reflect the form of *ijma'* (consensus). However, the *ijma'* shown here does not confer the genuine concept of *ijma'* as explained in Islamic legal theory, which can be called a form of a collective of rational human discussions.⁶³ It is because the resulting agreement does not go through a form of deliberation that requires the existence of an individual *ijtihad* (legal finding) process and sharing the results of the *ijtihad* on a case. We see a form of commonality of arguments or collective identity of views, with a pattern of sharing ideas in the large digital public sphere on the issue of polygamy. What we witness here is similar to el-Nawawy's and Khamis's findings when reviewing Arabic discussion forums on two popular Islamic websites, islamionline.net, and islamway.com.⁶⁴

In addition, this conservative deal relates to aspects of polygamy's continuity and change. The continuation of what they call sharia of polygamy is contingent on the massive propagation and dissemination of conservative ideas. Simultaneously, the distinction focuses on how Islamic websites can define a new type of legal logic to bolster their conservatism regarding the law of polygamy via a new medium. It is the condition under which the construction of Islamic law in Indonesia is finally challenged again. In Indonesia's Marriage Law, the principle of marital monogamy was again criticized. The fact suggests that the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia, which leads to a more progressive outlook, has slowed dramatically in tandem with the rapid development of technology. In other words, when it comes to Islamic websites, technology offers a new way to solidify the public's beliefs.

⁶³ Tariq Ramadan, "Ijtihad and Maslaha: The Foundations of Governance," in *Islamic Democratic Discourse: Theory, Debates, and Philosophical Perspective*, ed. M.A. Muqtader Khan (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006), 11.

⁶⁴ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Sahar Khamis, "Collective Identity in the Virtual Islamic Public Sphere: Contemporary Discourse in Two Islamic Websites," *The International Communication Gazette* 72, no. 3 (2010): 243, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048509356949>.

Conclusion

The contestation between moderate narratives and conservatism related to polygamy on the Islamic website can be seen from two sides. Conservative groups: portal-islam.id, rumaysho.com, and muslim.or.id, dominate the discourse on the popular level. On the other hand, when referring to content, nu.or.id as representatives of moderate groups is enough to provide many alternative answers rather than content from conservative groups that seem single-minded. Upon closer look, however, the conservative group's perspective is dominant. The majority of conservative Islamic websites share the same visions or ideas. In this position, the power of the conservative group is constructed, bringing public discourse on polygamy into the conservative paradigm. This trend bolsters conservative views of polygamy in Indonesia and demonstrates how the strength of Islamic conservative websites can be utilized to sap the expansion of modernist views of polygamy. The dominance of the conservative group is due to the fact that moderate groups' efforts to build a strong counter-narrative regarding polygamy are carried away by the currents of conservatism, one of whose causes originates within the nu.or.id by presenting conservative discourse on polygamy. It demonstrates that efforts to build a moderately progressive perspective on polygamy in the digital space appear overshadowed by the robust conservatism that has long been embedded in the form of any social norm or regulation.

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