



From Digitalization to Normalization: A Netnography of Everyday Indonesian Muslims' Polygamous Marriages on YouTube

Laila Sari Masyhur^{1*}, Fatmah Taufik Hidayat², Nur Hidayah Nazri³, Anwar⁴
 Nabilah Yusof⁵

^{1,2,3}*Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia*

⁴*Institut Agama Islam Negeri Langsa, Indonesia*

⁵*Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia, Malaysia*

*Email: laila.sari.masyhur@uin-suska.ac.id

*Corresponding Author

Submitted: March 18, 2026	Accepted: July 30, 2026	Published: August 08, 2026
How to Cite (Chicago): Masyhur, Laila Sari, Fatmah Taufik Hidayat, Nur Hidayah Nazri, Anwar Anwar, and Nabilah binti Yusof. 2026. "From Digitalization to Normalization: A Netnography of Everyday Indonesian Muslims' Polygamous Marriages on YouTube". <i>Al-Qadha : Jurnal Hukum Islam Dan Perundang-Undangan</i> 13 (2): 215-246. https://doi.org/10.32505/qadha.v13i2.14461 .		

Abstract

Research on the themes of intersectionality in digital spaces, gender representation, and within polygamous families in Muslim communities has gained increased scholarly attention over the past few decades. However, studies focusing on the critical role of digital media in reproducing practices and normalizing polygamy have not been extensively examined. This article explores the normalization of polygamy within Indonesia's digital landscape, focusing on the three YouTube channels operated by Muslim polygamists, including the most-viewed channel covering the everyday life of Indonesian polygamous families. The study posits that the everyday portrayal of polygamous families in the digital realm contributes to the normalization of polygamy, reinforces patriarchal structures, and simultaneously contests the principle of monogamy within Indonesian Muslim marriage culture. Data was collected using netnography techniques from the three YouTube channels. This article integrates Judith Butler's concepts of gender performativity and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice into an analysis of patriarchal habitus. It has been found that the normalization of polygamy on these channels occurs through four primary patterns: the religiosity surrounding polygamy, the naturalization of male desire, the coercive interpretation of the Quranic teachings on polygamy, and the portrayal of the ideal woman as submissive and obedient. The findings reveal that these patterns of normalizing polygamy on these YouTube channels serve as a discursive and symbolic strategy to uphold male dominance in family relationships, under the guise of religion and culture. This study highlights the complex interplay between religion and digital platforms, which, on one hand, can foster gender equality, but on the other hand, may also provide a significant avenue for the reinforcement of patriarchal values within Muslim families and society.

Keywords: Normalizing polygamy, Digital space, Indonesian marriage

Abstrak

Penelitian mengenai tema interseksionalitas dalam ruang digital, representasi gender, dan keluarga poligami dalam komunitas Muslim telah memperoleh perhatian akademik yang semakin besar dalam beberapa dekade terakhir. Namun, penelitian yang secara khusus mengkaji peran penting media digital dalam mereproduksi praktik dan menormalisasi poligami masih belum banyak dilakukan. Artikel ini mengkaji normalisasi poligami dalam lanskap digital Indonesia dengan berfokus pada tiga kanal YouTube yang dikelola oleh Muslim yang menjalankan poligami, termasuk kanal dengan jumlah penonton terbanyak yang menampilkan kehidupan sehari-hari keluarga poligami di Indonesia. Penelitian ini berargumen bahwa representasi kehidupan sehari-hari keluarga poligami di ruang digital berkontribusi terhadap normalisasi poligami, memperkuat struktur patriarkal, sekaligus menantang prinsip monogami dalam budaya perkawinan Muslim di Indonesia. Data dikumpulkan menggunakan teknik netnografi dari tiga kanal YouTube tersebut. Artikel ini mengintegrasikan konsep performativitas gender Judith Butler dan teori praktik sosial Pierre Bourdieu untuk menganalisis habitus patriarkal. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa normalisasi poligami pada kanal-kanal tersebut berlangsung melalui empat pola utama, yaitu religiusitas yang melingkupi poligami, naturalisasi hasrat laki-laki, interpretasi koersif terhadap ajaran Al-Qur'an tentang poligami, serta penggambaran perempuan ideal sebagai sosok yang tunduk dan patuh. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pola-pola normalisasi poligami pada kanal-kanal YouTube tersebut berfungsi sebagai strategi diskursif dan simbolik untuk mempertahankan dominasi laki-laki dalam relasi keluarga dengan mengatasmakan agama dan budaya. Studi ini menyoroti kompleksitas hubungan antara agama dan platform digital yang, di satu sisi, dapat mendorong kesetaraan gender, tetapi di sisi lain juga dapat menjadi ruang yang signifikan bagi penguatan nilai-nilai patriarkal dalam keluarga dan masyarakat Muslim.

Kata kunci: Normalisasi poligami, Ruang digital, Perkawinan Indonesia

Introduction

This study explores the normalization of polygamy within digital spaces, specifically through a case study of three YouTube channels belonging to polygamous Muslims in Indonesia. While monogamy predominantly characterizes Indonesian Muslim marriage practices, there has been a notable rise in polygamous narratives in Indonesian digital spaces. This increase is evidenced by religious sermons, mentoring, campaigns led by religious figures, and insights into the daily lives of polygamous families.¹ The digital space presents a contestative narrative about polygamy, but this phenomenon is not comparable to the limited and often neglected scholarship on the interconnectivity between polygamy and the Muslim digital space.²

¹ Miski Miski et al., "Polygamy Mentoring in Indonesia: Al-Qur'an, Hadith and Dominant Discourse Resistance," *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 7, no. 1 (July 4, 2022): 15-32, <https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v7i1.7036>.

² Rika Astari et al., "Indonesian Muslim Society's Reception of Sensation Language and Invitation to Polygamy on Social Media," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2023): 369-98, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v13i2.369-398>.

The rise of several YouTube channels that showcase the daily lives of polygamous marriages highlights new strategies employed by conservative Muslims to maintain and promote patriarchal culture within Muslim families and communities. Although the number of digital activists practising polygamy is relatively small, their skilful use of technology and digital platforms has enabled them to influence the Indonesian Muslim public sphere. Their digital activism not only challenges the dominance of monogamous culture in Muslim marriage traditions but also paves the way for greater gender equality and a reduction in patriarchal practices within the Indonesian Muslim community.

Previous studies exploring the intersection of polygamy and digital space in Indonesia include contributions by Miski et al.,³ and Astari et al.⁴ Both works offer valuable insights into the mediatization of polygamy. Miski et al. examine videos on the YouTube channel of a polygamy mentor, Hafidin, whereas Astari et al. analyse the use of sensational language in campaigns promoting polygamy. Both studies highlight how digital channels are used to reinterpret verses and hadiths on polygamy, an effort to legitimize the view that polygamy is permitted in Islam and to mobilize support for that view. However, neither study addresses the mobilization of digital space as a strategy for normalizing polygamous marriage. Bianca J. Smith has made an interesting contribution through her study of the practice of polygamy and its normalization at the same pesantren in Lombok, Eastern Indonesia, but her writing does not discuss the dynamics in the digital space at all.⁵

On a broader scale, the intersection of polygamy and digital media within Muslim communities has garnered attention from several scholars, even though the research remains relatively limited. For instance, Humairah Zainal examines the portrayal of polygamy in Indonesian and Malaysian television, highlighting its role within these Muslim communities.⁶ In addition, several scholars have conducted research on the depiction of polygamy in Indonesian cinema, including Ahmad Nuril Huda,⁷ Lukman Hakim,⁸ Grace V.S. Chin,⁹ and Ariel Heryanto.¹⁰ Their studies highlight how the films of *Ayat-Ayat Cinta*

³ Miski et al., "Polygamy Mentoring in Indonesia: Al-Qur'an, Hadith and Dominant Discourse Resistance."

⁴ Astari et al., "Indonesian Muslim Society's Reception of Sensation Language and Invitation to Polygamy on Social Media."

⁵ Bianca J. Smith, "Stealing Women, Stealing Men: Co-Creating Cultures of Polygamy in a Pesantren Community in Eastern Indonesia," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009): 118–35.

⁶ Humairah Zainal, "Intersectional Cosmopolitanism: Muslim Women's Engagement with Polygamy on Malaysian and Indonesian Screens," *Culture and Religion* 20, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 151–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2019.1619602>.

⁷ Ahmad Nuril Huda, "Filming Ayat-Ayat Cinta: The Making of a Muslim Public Sphere in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 1 (June 1, 2010): 43–61, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2010.4.1.43-61>.

⁸ Lukman Hakim, "Conservative Islam Turn or Popular Islam? An Analysis of the Film Ayat-Ayat Cinta," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 48, no. 1 (June 18, 2010): 101–28, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2010.48.1.101-128>.

⁹ Grace V.S. Chin, "Imagined Subjects: Polygamy, Gender and Nation in Nia Dinata's Love for Share," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13, no. 3 (2012): 137–52.

(Verses of Love) and *Berbagi Suami* (Love For Share) convey narratives of polygamy from contrasting ideological viewpoints.¹¹ The former is crafted to normalize the practice of polygamy, showcasing the dilemmas faced by its practitioners, while the latter explicitly critiques and rejects polygamy. However, these studies do not prioritize the concept of digital space and the normalization of polygamy as a central academic discussion. Digital space presents a distinctive dynamic for Muslims in Indonesia to mobilize and normalize polygamous practices as a form of resistance against the dominance of monogamous marriage.

This study is a qualitative study utilizing a netnographic or digital ethnographic approach. It focuses on a case study of three Indonesian Muslim YouTube channels: Mat Peci (@MATPECI_hilman), Kampus Poligami (@kampuspoligami), and Robbanian Family (@RobbanianFamily).¹² These channels were selected due to their strong emphasis on narratives surrounding women in polygamous families within the digital realm. Although the primary managers of these three YouTube accounts are men, the women from the polygamous families featured in the channels actively participate as well. Their self-presentation on these digital platforms results from their autonomous decisions.

This study inventories, monitors, and documents information from 90 videos across three YouTube channels, with the majority sourced from the Mat Peci channel. It adheres to Marôpo et al.'s recommendation that netnographic research involving a YouTube video inventory include documentation of the video title, the associated YouTube channel, release date, duration, view count during the research period, and the number of likes and dislikes.¹³ Additionally, it records the number of viewer comments, their characteristics, and classifies the direction of viewers' comments.

Moreover, researchers either transcribe or compile netnographic notes based on observations of video content related to the research theme. Field notes also play a crucial role in netnography by capturing the context depicted in the videos.¹⁴ Then, field data is analyzed through the lens of Judith Butler's concepts of performativity and normalization,¹⁵

¹⁰ Ariel Heryanto, *Identity and Pleasure The Politics of Screen Culture* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2014).

¹¹ Muhammad Ansor, "Panorama Poligami Dan Resistensi Perempuan Di Langsa Aceh," *Ulumuna* 16, no. 1 (November 4, 2017): 163–88, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v16i1.194>; Muhammad Ansor, "Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 23, no. 3 (2016): 471–515, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v23i3.2412>.

¹² Robert V. Kozinets, *Netnography Doing Ethnographic Research Online* (London: SAGE, 2010).

¹³ Lidia Marôpo, Raiana de Carvalho, and Ana Jorge, "Children's Cancer Narratives on YouTube: Agency and Entrepreneurship in Brazilian CarecaTV," *Global Studies of Childhood* 11, no. 4 (December 27, 2021): 318–30, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610620967018>.

¹⁴ Kozinets, *Netnography Doing Ethnographic Research Online*.

¹⁵ Lisa Disch, "Judith Butler and the Politics of the Performative," *Political Theory* 27, no. 4 (1999): 545–59, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591799027004006>; Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Judith Butler, *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of Performative* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997); Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 1999).

Pierre Bourdieu's notion of patriarchal habitus,¹⁶ as well as the discourse surrounding digital public space highlighted by various scholars, including digital activism expert, Meylina Lim.¹⁷

This study begins by exploring the discourse surrounding Islam and polygamy in post-reform Indonesia, highlighting its connection to the dynamics of digital space. The next section analyzes how polygamy is normalized on YouTube channels, focusing on four key aspects: the religiosity associated with polygamy, the naturalization of male desire, the selective interpretation of the Quran, and the portrayal of the ideal woman as submissive and obedient. This study aims to enrich the discussion on the use of digital space as a discursive and symbolic strategy that upholds male dominance in family relations under the guise of religion or culture. While the narrative of polygamy in digital space does not reflect the dominant views on marital principles among Indonesian Muslims, its existence is important for understanding the ongoing transformation of patterns that perpetuate patriarchal values and religious conservatism in contemporary Indonesian society.

Indonesian Marriage and the Digitalization of Polygamy

After the reforms, Indonesia underwent political decentralization and democratization of information. Knowledge and information sources were no longer centralized in a single state or formal institution; instead, they became decentralized, allowing anyone to actively participate in producing information. This change led to the emergence of a new public space where citizens could express their ideas, views, political ideologies, and aspirations more freely. Topics that were previously limited to discussion, such as polygamy, gender issues, and power relations within Muslim societies, could now be openly articulated.

Digital spaces, particularly social media platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, and Facebook, have emerged as new arenas for the development of religious, moral, and social narratives that were once controlled by the state or formal religious institutions.¹⁸ The authority over these discussions has become decentralized, no longer

¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of A Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14–25; Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14–25, <https://doi.org/10.2307/202060>; Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990).

¹⁷ Merlyna Lim, "Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia," *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 411–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>; Merlyna Lim, "Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43, no. 4 (November 2013): 636–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.769386>; Merlyna Lim, "Cyber-Civic Space in Indonesia: From Panopticon to Pandemonium?," *International Development Planning Review* 24, no. 4 (December 2002): 383–400, <https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.24.4.3>.

¹⁸ Nikmatullah Nikmatullah and Emawati, "Conservative Muslim and Textual Interpretation of the Hadiths in Polygamy Propaganda in Indonesia," *Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 23, 2024): 558–70, <https://doi.org/10.69598/hasss.24.3.263308>.

concentrated in specific institutions or figures. Consequently, topics like polygamy, which were previously considered private and domestic matters, are now being openly discussed, presented, and sensationalized in the digital space. This study examines how polygamy is portrayed in these online environments by focusing on the narratives of individuals or communities that practice polygamy and share their experiences in the digital realm.

Butler's performative concept and Bourdieu's habitus are useful for understanding the intersectionality between digital space and everyday practices in the normalization of polygamous practices. From Butler's perspective, social practices are essentially repetitive performances. Normalization occurs through the repeated articulation of social and linguistic practices.¹⁹ Within this framework of thought, the repetition of narratives about the daily life of polygamous families contributes to the acceptance and normalization of polygamy, even though the practice was previously understood as an anomaly. Digital space narratives conveyed through sermons, campaigns, or reality shows about polygamous life gradually help change the understanding, thoughts, and attitudes of Muslim communities toward polygamy. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, social practices are repeatedly performed in digital spaces, thereby shaping reflective awareness and normalising them. Bourdieu states that the patriarchal habitus is formed through ongoing negotiations between agents and patriarchal structures.²⁰ Therefore, understanding how the discourse on polygamy operates in the digital space in Indonesia today will be useful for building a better understanding of the shifting attitudes of Muslim society towards polygamous marriage.

Table 1. Profiles of Three Indonesian YouTube Channels Focused on Polygamy

No	Channels	URL	Date Created	Total Videos	Total Views
1	@MATPECI I_hilman	https://www.youtube.com/@MATPECI_hilman	2016	460	32,518,298
2	@kampuspoligami	https://www.youtube.com/@kampuspoligami/	2020	33	89,702
3	@RobbanianFamily	https://www.youtube.com/@RobbanianFamily	2020	56	147,580

Source: Compiled from YouTube by Authors (2025)

This phenomenon has been observed on at least three YouTube channels that were the focus of this study: Mat Peci (@MATPECI_hilman), Kampus Poligami (@kampuspoligami), and Robbanian Family (@RobbanianFamily). Based on our research, the majority of videos uploaded to the three YouTube channels listed in Table 1 below focus on

¹⁹ Butler, *Undoing Gender*; Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.

²⁰ Mariano Croce and Andrea Salvatore, "Normality as Social Semantics: Schmitt, Bourdieu and the Politics of the Normal," *European Journal of Social Theory* 20, no. 2 (2017): 275–91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431016633002>; Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," 1989.

polygamy from various perspectives, although a small portion of uploads have non-polygamy themes. The Mat Peci channel is among the most prominent Indonesian YouTube channels showcasing the lives of polygamous families and the daily dynamics of its two wives, Achie and Ochie. In addition to portraying everyday aspects of polygamous families, the channel also features content on dakwah (Islamic preaching), entertainment, and family drama, all framed within a religious narrative. Meanwhile, two other channels, Kampus Poligami and Robbanian Family, uploaded videos containing religious sermons, testimonial experiences, or monologue narratives about polygamy while greeting their audiences. This seems to be due to the managers' background, who are preachers (*ustadz*).

The @MATPECI_hilman YouTube channel is run by a polygamist who identifies himself as Mat Peci, whose full name is Hilman Firmansyah, alongside his two wives, Achie and Ochie. According to the channel description, Mat Peci is an "Entrepreneur, Creator, Comedian, Actor, Producer & Director." Established on August 17, 2016, the channel boasts 224,000 subscribers and features 460 videos, which, at the time of this research, had received a total of 32,518,298 views. Based on observations of related digital channels, it is known that Mat Peci and his two wives were also invited by television stations, YouTubers, or religiously-oriented influencers to share their experiences with polygamy. National television stations such as TVOne,²¹ and TransTV,²² or influencers like Irfan Hakim,²³ and Oki Setiana Dewi,²⁴ are identified as parties that facilitated Mat Peci in sharing his polygamy experience with the public while also popularizing himself in the digital space.

The primary theme of the video content uploaded on this channel revolves around polygamous marriage. The channel features keywords such as "polygamy secrets," "Indonesian polygamy," "what is polygamy," and "sharing content," highlighting that polygamy and its associated family dynamics are central topics.²⁵ The content spans a variety of formats, including daily-life vlogs, testimonials from wives, discussions of domestic

²¹ Indy Rahmawati, "Cerita Mat Peci Seru Nih! Poligami Bukan Cuma Enak Di Kasur Vois Podcast #6," @tv0nenews, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fl06wbi_VzE.

²² Feni Rose, "Beristri 2, Mat Peci Sehari Makan 6 Kali!!!," @TRANSTVofficial, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybMMWSsQbgo>.

²³ Irfan Hakim, "Istri Pertama Yang Seleksi Calon Istri Kedua, Waduuhh...!," @DehakimStory, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ag1fXv09aqU>.

²⁴ Oki Setiana Dewi, "Suara Hati Istri Pertama & Kedua, Tawa & Air Mata!," @OSDokisetianadewi, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N9iiB-5K5zU>.

²⁵ Awan Abdullah, "Manisnya Poligami," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KadSGHqy0ns>; Awan Abdullah, "Gini Lho Adabnya Berpoligami," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8aa68Cn-ZYQ>; Awan Abdullah, "Curhat Blak-Blakan Suka Duka Poligami," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xkIHm4DyzA8&t=5s>; Hafidin, "Ngobrol Ringan Seputar Bahagiannya Poligami," @RobbanianFamily, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2PXAC2vu8s>; Hafidin, "Kenapa Harus Bahas Poligami, Emang Ga Ada Sunnah Lain?," @RobbanianFamily, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E3ofayWfv7E>; Hafidin, "Benarkah Mustahil Adil Jika Poligami?," @RobbanianFamily, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwW9W2mvgfE>; Hilman Firmansyah, "Datang Ke Kondangan Bawa 2 Istri, Pengantin Laki Gemeteran!," @MATPECI_hilman, 2025, https://youtu.be/vpgUpTxFLwk?si=XSE8mCs_ZDA0xaoS.

conflicts, and provocatively titled videos designed to elicit public engagement. For instance, the video titled "*Datang Ke Kondangan Bawa 2 Istri, Pengantin Laki Gemeteran!!* [Comes to a Wedding Bringing 2 Wives, the Groom Trembles!!]" from Mat Peci's channel presents a balanced narrative that challenges polygamous households to maintain fairness.²⁶ Such videos are compelling because they convey a sense of moral legitimacy, suggesting that polygamy can be conducted in an orderly, equitable, and harmonious way, provided it is carefully managed in terms of time and emotions.

Conversely, other videos from Mat Peci's channel, such as "*Lagi Liburan!! Dilarang Saling Cemburu!!* [On Vacation!! Jealousy is Forbidden!!]", present a narrative marked by conflict and uncertainty about the romanticization of polygamy.²⁷ Additionally, another video from @OSDokisetianadewi interviewing Mat Peci and his wives titled "*Suara Hati Istri Pertama & Kedua, Tawa & Air Mata!* [The Heart of the First & Second Wives, Laughter & Tears!]" showcases the emotional experiences of the wives, revealing that behind the facade of harmony lie wounds and struggles.²⁸ The involvement of netizens further fuels the reproduction of content; public comments, a mix of positive and negative responses, and audience inquiries contribute to an evolving narrative. Consequently, Mat Peci transcends mere static portrayal of a polygamous family; it embodies an interactive digital practice in which the audience actively participates in constructing the meaning of polygamy.

Three years before Mat Peci's content activities, Hafidin launched the YouTube channel @RobbianFamily, which not only shared content but also advocated for polygamous marriage.²⁹ Meanwhile, Awan Abdullah created the YouTube channel @kampuspoligami, which also focuses on similar themes.³⁰ However, while Mat Peci centered his content around the daily experiences of polygamous life with his two wives and children, the videos produced by Hafidin and Awan Abdullah were more focused on mentoring and encouraging their audience to embrace polygamy.

The description of the @RobbianFamily YouTube channel conveys the channel's mission: to serve as a hub for learning about polygamy. The channel also aims to foster a "happy mindset towards a Robbany family." While the description does not elaborate on the specific meaning of the term 'Robbany family' as intended by the channel manager, it can be inferred that the term refers to a family whose life is guided by norms believed to be established by God within the Islamic framework. In essence, the YouTube channel is

²⁶ Firmansyah, "Datang Ke Kondangan Bawa 2 Istri, Pengantin Laki Gemeteran!!"

²⁷ Hilman Firmansyah, "Lagi Liburan!! Dilarang Saling Cemburu!!," @MATPECI_hilman, 2024, https://youtu.be/fSBJ-n8UH0w?si=_JI09JXbRXop49Wm.

²⁸ Dewi, "Suara Hati Istri Pertama & Kedua, Tawa & Air Mata!"

²⁹ Hafidin, "Begini Caranya Agar Istri Pertama Mau Berbagi Dengan Istri Yang Lain," @RobbianFamily, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KbHgSQvLqNY>; Hafidin, "Ini Yang Membuat Perempuan Tidak Trauma Lagi Dengan Poligami," @RobbianFamily, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2u5VevQpok>; Hafidin, "Ngobrol Ringan Seputar Bahagiannya Poligami."

³⁰ Awan Abdullah, "Salah Kaprah Seputar Poligami Part#2," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z9YtID9Qx3o>; Abdullah, "Curhat Blak-Blakan Suka Duka Poligami"; Awan Abdullah, "Pasutri Wajib Tau Ini Sebelum Poligami," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pOYA5urH2Pk&t=42s>.

intended to mentor and support the realization of a *sakinah* family, a family built on the foundations of tranquility, peace, love, and compassion, for Muslims in polygamous marriages.

The titles of digital content featured on the YouTube channel @RobbanianFamily reflect a focused theme centered around polygamy pedagogy from an Islamic perspective, actively encouraging its practice. A notable video from @RobbanianFamily released in early 2020, titled "*Efek Buruk Kalau Masyarakat Tidak Berpoligami* [The Negative Effects of Not Practicing Polygamy]," exemplifies the channel's dual role as both a campaign and mentorship for the polygamy.³¹ A significant majority of the video titles prominently include the term "polygamy." This article identifies that all 56 uploaded videos address this topic. Hafidin has asserted that the channel was established to serve as a mentorship platform for polygamy in Indonesia.³²

According to Muzaki et al.,³³ it aims to educate those interested in practicing polygamy, particularly those who may lack the necessary knowledge and understanding of the topic. Hafidin emphasizes that the goal of this mentoring is to minimize the likelihood of failure in polygamous marriages due to insufficient understanding, to foster responsible and caring husbands, to mitigate any mistreatment of wives involved in polygamy, to raise awareness in the community regarding the practice, and to promote a comprehensive understanding of Islam.³⁴

Awan Abdullah has been actively promoting polygamy in the digital realm through his YouTube channel @kampuspoligami since late 2020, which was formerly known as *Poligami Asyik*.³⁵ The channel explicitly addresses the theme of polygamy within the context of family life, social issues, and personal experiences. According to its description, the channel aims to "educate the community about correct polygamy to prevent misunderstandings regarding sharia, protect women from harassment, and avert injustices that husbands may impose upon their wives." The title of the channel itself clearly reflects its thematic focus, suggesting that polygamy is presented as a life education program designed to encourage viewers to learn about and understand polygamy as a genuine aspect of Muslim life. The exploration of this theme is conveyed through testimonies, discussions, and monologue lectures delivered by Awan Abdullah.³⁶

³¹ Hafidin, "Efek Buruk Kalau Masyarakat Tidak Berpoligami," @RobbanianFamily, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NFsrhZ7vTHA>.

³² Miski et al., "Polygamy Mentoring in Indonesia: Al-Qur'an, Hadith and Dominant Discourse Resistance."

³³ Ahmad Muzaki, Saifullah, and Ali Hamdan, "Analisis Teori Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Terhadap Mentoring Poligami Yang Viral Di Media Sosial (Studi Kasus Di Pesantren Tahfidz Qur'an Ma'had Yashma Serang Banten).," *Jurnal Darussalam: Jurnal Pendidikan, Komunikasi Dan Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 15, no. 1 (September 7, 2023): 16–36, <https://doi.org/10.30739/darussalam.v15i1.2267>.

³⁴ Hafidin, "Efek Buruk Kalau Masyarakat Tidak Berpoligami."

³⁵ Astari et al., "Indonesian Muslim Society's Reception of Sensation Language and Invitation to Polygamy on Social Media."

³⁶ Awan Abdullah, "Kaderisasi Poligami Sejak Dini," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6tA9Hn6NnZg>; Abdullah, "Manisnya Poligami"; Awan Abdullah, "Tips Biar Istri ACC," @kampuspoligami, 2023,

Awan Abdullah is a young preacher who actively delivers sermons at mosques in his city. Kampus Poligami, or Poligami Campus, is a YouTube channel dedicated to campaigning against polygamy and actively uses social media to promote religious studies. The channel consistently presents content on marriage, finding a life partner, and the complexities of polygamy. As of the time of this research, it had uploaded 33 videos on the subject, garnered over two thousand followers, and attracted a total audience of 89,585 viewers. While primarily focused on preaching and education, the content also incorporates elements of entertainment and family drama, often crafted to capture public interest through provocative titles, emotional conflicts, and personal testimonials. Kampus Poligami effectively bridges the religious and social spheres through its digital media presence.

The three YouTube channels examined illustrate the shift of Indonesia's digital landscape regarding polygamy discourse. In today's Indonesian digital sphere, channels such as Robbanian Family, Mat Peci, and Kampus Poligami utilize intricate communication strategies to frame polygamy not only as a legitimate religious practice but also as a performative expression of piety that can be visually appreciated and admired. They intentionally curate messages, visuals, narratives, and public interactions to portray polygamy as fair, harmonious, and spiritual, while concurrently establishing social and religious legitimacy in the public arena. Consequently, the following exposition aims to demonstrate how these digital platforms serve as an arena for normalizing polygamous marriage and explore its implications for the construction of gender relations within the Indonesian Muslim community.

Normalization of Polygamous Marriage

The normalization of polygamy can be viewed as an initiative aimed at making the practice more socially and legally acceptable while also easing existing restrictions on its implementation.³⁷ In this context, normalization serves as a discursive strategy employed by conservative Indonesian Muslims, as illustrated through the three YouTube channels discussed, to sustain patriarchal culture within the family under the guise of religious tradition. The following presentation examines the various manifestations of polygamy normalization based on the daily social practices of polygamous families. It engages with Judith Butler's concept of performativity and Pierre Bourdieu's notion of patriarchal habitus.

Judith Butler's theory of performativity posits that gender is not an intrinsic quality but rather a series of repeated actions, gestures, and desires that manifest visibly on the body's surface.³⁸ According to Butler, individual social practices are performative in that the identities they convey are constructed and sustained through physical expressions and

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l17z6FZC_ik; Abdullah, "Curhat Blak-Blakan Suka Duka Poligami."

³⁷ Nikmatullah and Emawati, "Conservative Muslim and Textual Interpretation of the Hadiths in Polygamy Propaganda in Indonesia."

³⁸ Joy Jenkins and Teri Finneman, "Gender Trouble in the Workplace: Applying Judith Butler's Theory of Performativity to News Organizations," *Feminist Media Studies* 18, no. 2 (March 4, 2018): 158, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1308412>.

various discursive methods.³⁹ Butler further emphasizes the relationship between performativity theory and the concept of materialism.⁴⁰ This means that the narrative about the positive aspects of polygamy, which is repeatedly conveyed through digital spaces, undergoes a process of materialization or establishment among the audience, ultimately leading to polygamous marriage becoming a normalized social practice. Meanwhile, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus suggests that individual social practices emerge from a tension between agents and the social structures surrounding them.⁴¹ Patriarchal habitus refers to a social system where men dominate and wield significant power across multiple spheres, including politics, economics, and social life.⁴² This cultural framework positions women in subordinate roles and limits their participation in society.⁴³ Within Bourdieu's framework of patriarchal habitus, the narrative of polygamy in the digital space in this article is analyzed as a social practice operating under the pressures of patriarchal culture.

Based on a netnographic study of the daily lives of polygamous participants represented on three YouTube channels that are the focus of this study, and using a combination of performativity and patriarchal habitus concepts, we identified four patterns of polygamy's normalisation in digital spaces. These patterns include the religiosity associated with polygamy, the naturalization of male desire, the selective interpretation of religious texts along with the establishment of sole authority, and the characterization of the ideal woman as submissive and obedient to her husband.

The Religiousization of Polygamy

The discourse surrounding the relationship between Islam and polygamy is ongoing and multifaceted. Both proponents and opponents of polygamy draw on religious arguments to defend their positions, either in support of or against the practice.⁴⁴ Although

³⁹ Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 173.

⁴⁰ Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex,"* xii.

⁴¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of A Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*; Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

⁴² Rachel Rinaldo, "Muslim Women, Middle Class Habitus, and Modernity in Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 2, no. 1 (2008): 23–39, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-007-0035-6>; Jennifer Fleetwood, "Narrative Habitus: Thinking through Structure/Agency in the Narratives of Offenders," *Crime Media Culture* 12, no. 2 (2016): 173–92, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659016653643>; Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," 1989; Erica Halmes, "Embodied Spaces, Social Places and Bourdieu: Locating and Dislocating the Child in Family Relationships," *Body & Society* 9, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 11–33, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X03009001044>.

⁴³ Chin, "Imagined Subjects: Polygamy, Gender and Nation in Nia Dinata's Love for Share."

⁴⁴ Deborah Bernstein, "Democracy, Polygamy, and Women in Post-Reformasi Indonesia" 116, no. 1 (2014): 28–47; Suzanne Brenner, "Democracy, Polygamy, and Women in Post-Reformasi Indonesia," *Social Analysis* 50, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 164–70, <https://doi.org/10.3167/015597706780886094>; Muhammad Saleh Ridwan, Wahidah Abdullah, and Idham Idham, "Public Perception of Polygamy in Makassar, Indonesia: Cultural Perspective and Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 (January 13, 2024): 20–38, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v8i1.15419>; Irene Schneider, "Polygamy and Legislation in Contemporary Iran: An Analysis of the Public Legal Discourse," *Iranian Studies* 49, no. 4 (July 1,

monogamy is the foundation of marriage in Muslim society and polygamy is practised by a small minority, the mobilisation of narratives and campaigns about polygamy through digital spaces is believed to contribute to changing Muslim attitudes towards polygamy. In line with Bourdieu's concept,⁴⁵ the digital channels in this context serve as arenas for the production and reproduction of a new religious habitus: from rejection to acceptance of polygamy. The three YouTube channels analyzed in this article represent Muslim advocates who promote harmony between Islam and polygamy. They utilize digital platforms to share their personal experiences with polygamous marriages. The concept of the religiousization of polygamy pertains to the process of sanctifying the practice, framing it as a justified and recommended option based on Islamic teachings. Notably, while the Quran addresses polygamy, it does not explicitly endorse it; rather, it sets forth stringent limitations and conditions for its practice.

In contemporary digital spaces in Indonesia, channels such as Robbanian Family, Mat Peci, and Kampus Poligami employ intricate communication strategies to portray polygamy not only as a justified religious practice but also as a performative expression of piety that can be perceived, experienced, and admired.⁴⁶ These channels intentionally craft their messages, visuals, narratives, and public interactions to present polygamy as fair, harmonious, and spiritual, while simultaneously establishing social and religious legitimacy in the public eye. Here are some key elements of these communication strategies and the concept of performative piety. Butler uses the metaphor 'the prisoner's body' as proposed by Michel Foucault to explain the process of normalization of a particular social practice.⁴⁷ Similarly, the acceptance of polygamy among the YouTuber participants in this study mainly results from the performative nature of discourses that are reiterated through digital spaces. As a result, polygamous marriage is not only socially unacceptable but also believed to be a manifestation of religiosity.

One prominent method of promoting religiosity involves selectively citing verses from the Quran and Hadith, combined with easily digestible interpretations of Islamic law. On platforms like YouTube, these interpretations are often shared in concise, rhetorical formats designed for practical application—such as “how to make polygamy shar’i,”

2016): 657–76, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00210862.2015.1028239>; Samuel. Chapman, *Polygamy, Bigamy and Human Rights Law* (Amerika Serikat: Xlibris Corporation, 2001); Souad T. Ali, “Feminism in Islam: A Critique of Polygamy in Mariama Ba’s Epistolary Novel *So Long a Letter*,” *Hawwa* 10, no. 3 (2012): 179–99, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341236>; Elizabeth A Archampong, “Reconciliation of Women’s Rights and Cultural Practices: Polygamy in Ghana,” *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 36, no. 2 (June 2010): 325–32, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050718.2010.481401>.

⁴⁵ Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*.

⁴⁶ Abdullah, “Gini Lho Adabnya Berpoligami”; Hafidin, “Poligami Setelah Istri Wafat?,” @RobbanianFamily, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JaSasn5JVoU>; Hafidin, “Kenapa Harus Bahas Poligami, Emang Ga Ada Sunnah Lain?”; Hilman Firmansyah, “Bingung!! Mat Peci Tidur Bareng Siapa!,” @MATPECI_hilman, 2024, <https://youtu.be/Psb0mXghoVw?si=Cr-J10H0xv3sj56s>.

⁴⁷ Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex,”* 8; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

“conditions of justice according to the Quran,” or “when is polygamy permissible”.⁴⁸ Pop-tafsir on these channels typically employs two main strategies: textual affirmation—validating the permissibility of polygamy based on sacred texts—and technical-practical guidance, which provides a checklist of requirements and techniques to present polygamy as being implemented ‘fairly’. This approach mirrors the phenomenon of *pop-tafsir* in Indonesia, where interpretations of Islamic texts are tailored for digital mass consumption—quick, accessible, and minimizing complexities of hermeneutics. Consequently, religious authority is portrayed not only as a normative foundation but also as a moral assurance that, when executed correctly, polygamy aligns with Islamic law and can serve as a viable solution.

The majority of polygamy narratives featured in the YouTube content of @MATPECI_hilman, as well as other channels showcasing Mat Peci, portray a harmonious view of polygamy within Islam.⁴⁹ Mat Peci, along with his two wives, has expressed that their decision to pursue a polygamous lifestyle stems from their interpretation of Islamic teachings. In an interview with Anang Hermansyah and Ashanty, Mat Peci's first wife, Achie, revealed that the idea of a polygamous marriage originated with her. After participating in religious studies—though she did not provide specific details—Achie and Mat Peci present themselves and their family as faithful practitioners of Islamic principles. While Mat Peci is not a religious leader, his commitment to Islamic teachings is evident in his personal practices. This narrative is repeatedly formatted by Mat Peci on various occasions to represent his married life and family through digital space.

Based on the above explanation, analysis using Bourdieu's habitus theory shows that the three YouTube channels discussed in this article function as arenas for the production and reproduction of certain religious habitus.⁵⁰ Through the repetition of narratives about sharia, justice, Sunnah, and family experiences with polygamy, viewers are shaped to accept polygamy as a normal practice with religious value. Symbolic capital in the form of religious authority, personal experience, and media competence provides legitimacy to the participating YouTubers in defining the meaning of polygamy in the digital space. Meanwhile, from Butler's performativity perspective,⁵¹ it is understood that the audience's acceptance of polygamous families is not inherently natural but is formed through the repeated actions, language, and representations continuously displayed in digital content. Through the repetition of content about family experiences with polygamy, testimonies from wives, and tutorials on sharia-compliant polygamy, polygamy appears as a social reality considered normal, even though it is actually a discursive construction that is continuously

⁴⁸ Hafidin, “Begini Caranya Agar Istri Pertama Mau Berbagi Dengan Istri Yang Lain”; Abdullah, “Gini Lho Adabnya Berpoligami.”

⁴⁹ Hilman Firmansyah, “Di Insert Investigasi Trans TV-Pun Mat Peci Bengkek!!,” @MATPECI_hilman, 2025, <https://youtu.be/RqLDRN7eBs4?si=CqCl7CiFOUP3oNQg>; Hilman Firmansyah, “Mau Ke Acara Maulid Nabi Masa Pake Shimmer...?? Mat Peci Ga Setuju!!,” @MATPECI_hilman, 2024, <https://youtu.be/KQN8-C6t04o?si=ijrRJLUQomJ9vdG->.

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, *Outline of A Theory of Practice*; Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.

⁵¹ Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”*; Butler, *Undoing Gender*; Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.

produced and negotiated within the digital space.

From a gender perspective, the religiosity and normalization of polygamy on YouTube have the potential to perpetuate dysfunctional patriarchal relationships. Empirical studies examining the impact of polygamy on women—ranging from economic and psychological dimensions to domestic violence—highlight significant risks, particularly when the practice fails to adhere to legal and sharia requirements.⁵² Field notes from Indonesia indicate that some wives experience diminished access to resources, social stigma, and various forms of subtle violence. However, the literature also reveals narratives from women who support polygamy; these complex accounts illustrate that experiences are not homogenous, as some women express agency and present justifications for accepting or endorsing the practice.⁵³ Consequently, discourse analysis on YouTube must be sensitive to the diversity of experiences while also addressing the gendered power structures at play.⁵⁴

As a result, normalization does not occur without resistance. Pro-polygamy channels often face criticism from women's activists, human rights advocates, and academics who emphasize the dangers of commercializing and oversimplifying societal norms.⁵⁵ In response, proponents of polygamy frequently reaffirm their religious convictions, accuse opponents of secularizing moral values, and present positive testimonials as counterarguments. Studies examining the public discourse surrounding the polygamy debate reveal a pattern of polarization: on one side, there are religious claims and solutions, while on the other, issues of women's rights and child protection are raised. Observations of public comments and media coverage indicate that this topic generates polarization that is similarly mirrored in the digital landscape.

Masculinization or naturalization of the male desire

The discourse surrounding masculinization, which naturalizes male desires, is expressed in various rhetorical forms across the three YouTube channels analyzed in this

⁵² Ansor, "Panorama Poligami Dan Resistensi Perempuan Di Langsa Aceh."

⁵³ Ansor, "Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia."

⁵⁴ Muhammad Ansor, "Moving out of Islam on YouTube: Acehese Christian Narratives, the Public Sphere, and Counterpublics in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 31, no. 3 (December 30, 2024): 543–74, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v31i3.39771>.

⁵⁵ 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 (December 14, 2016): 427–46, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2016.542.427-446>; Muhammad Ansor, "Berbagi Suami Atas Nama Tuhan: Pengalaman Keseharian Perempuan Dipoligami Di Langsa," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 14, no. 1 (2014): 41, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v14i1.41-63>; Alean Al-Krenawi, John R. Graham, and Sivan Ben-Shimol-Jacobsen, "Attitudes Toward and Reasons for Polygamy Differentiated by Gender and Age Among Bedouin-Arabs of the Negev," *International Journal of Mental Health* 35, no. 1 (March 8, 2006): 46–61, <https://doi.org/10.2753/IMH0020-7411350104>; Mhd Yazid, "Neglecting Women's Rights: Indonesian YouTube Preachers' Legal Opinion on Polygamy," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 1 (April 25, 2023): 69–88, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16104>; Suzanne Brenner, "Democracy, Polygamy, and Women in Post-Reformasi Indonesia," *Social Analysis* 50, no. 1 (2006): 164–70, <https://doi.org/10.3167/015597706780886094>; Bianca J. Smith, "Sexual Desire, Piety, and Law in a Javanese Pesantren: Interpreting Varieties of Secret Divorce and Polygamy," *Anthropological Forum* 24, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 227–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2014.947918>.

article. On @kampuspoligami, an educational dakwah platform, the narrative of polygamy is frequently framed within a naturalistic argument: men possess greater sexual drives and different emotional capacities compared to women, leading to the perception that the desire to remarry is a natural need rather than a deviation. Lecture videos often feature *Ustad* (Islamic religious teachers) or "polygamy mentors" who assert that Islam has a realistic understanding of male psychology and thus provides legal grounds for polygamy. This reasoning positions polygamy as a solution to the tension between the moral ideal of modern monogamy and the biological realities faced by men. In this rhetoric, gender differences are transformed into a moral hierarchy, portraying men as having undeniable natural needs, while women are encouraged to understand and accommodate these urges for the sake of family harmony.⁵⁶

On the other hand, the @RobbanianFamily channel presents a more narrative version of this naturalization. In its vlogs, polygamous household life is presented as harmonious and religious. Among the recorded family moments—meals together, religious activities, jokes between wives—are interspersed with narratives that interpret polygamy as a form of self-control for devout men.⁵⁷ Polygamy is portrayed not as an outlet, but as a sublimation of desire: Rather than adultery, it is better to remarry. This formula becomes a moral mantra that shifts discourse from the ethical realm (self-control) to the biological realm (fulfilling natural needs). In the context of discourse theory, what is happening here is the naturalization of patriarchal ideology through religious language—a mechanism that, according to Pierre Bourdieu,⁵⁸ transforms symbolic power into something seemingly natural.

Then, the @MATPECI_hilman channel adopts a more nuanced visual approach. It features a man wearing a skullcap, sharing his daily life with his two wives in a lighthearted and friendly vlog format reminiscent of a reality show. Through humor, laughter, and familial bonds, the channel portrays polygamy as a normal aspect of a humane household dynamic. Hilman often emphasizes that a man's inclination towards multiple partners is not sinful but instead something "created by God" that should be navigated wisely. Phrases like

⁵⁶ Elif Gursoy et al., "Views of Women's Sexuality and Violence Against Women in Turkey," *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 27, no. 2 (March 15, 2016): 189–98, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659614550485>; Rachmah Ida and Muhammad Saud, "Female Circumcision and the Construction of Female Sexuality: A Study on Madurese in Indonesia," *Sexuality & Culture* 24, no. 6 (December 27, 2020): 1987–2006, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-020-09732-6>; Margarita Lia Delgado-Infante and Mira Alexis P. Ofreneo, "Maintaining a 'Good Girl' Position: Young Filipina Women Constructing Sexual Agency in First Sex within Catholicism," *Feminism & Psychology* 24, no. 3 (2014): 390–407, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353514530715>; Elham Amini and Mark McCormack, "Older Iranian Muslim Women's Experiences of Sex and Sexuality: A Biographical Approach," *The British Journal of Sociology* 72, no. 2 (March 20, 2021): 300–314, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12805>; Sneha Krishnan, "Agency, Intimacy, and Rape Jokes: An Ethnographic Study of Young Women and Sexual Risk in Chennai," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 22, no. 1 (2016): 67–83, <https://doi.org/10.1111.1467-9655.12334>; Elli N Hayati et al., "Behind the Silence of Harmony: Risk Factors for Physical and Sexual Violence among Women in Rural Indonesia," *BMC Women's Health* 11, no. 52 (2011): 11–18.

⁵⁷ Hafidin, "Benarkah Mustahil Adil Jika Poligami?"

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*.

"desire is *fitrah*" or "the nature of men" frequently recur, reinforcing the notion that opposition to polygamy contradicts both biological impulses and religious teachings.⁵⁹

The process of naturalization is deeply rooted in a patriarchal tradition of interpretation, which has long regarded biological differences as the foundation for legitimizing social and legal distinctions. As noted by Ahmed,⁶⁰ and Wadud,⁶¹ classical interpretations of the verse on polygamy (QS. al-Nisā': 3) frequently presume male superiority as a prevailing social and spiritual norm. In the digital realm, this pattern is manifested in a new format: rather than through extensive fiqh texts, it emerges through concise narratives and visuals that embody the teachings. In this context, YouTube channels serve as both a medium for dakwah and a space for meaning-making, where the naturalization of male desire is conveyed through the aesthetics of intimacy rather than formal authority.

In addition, the normalization of polygamy through the lens of male desire can be understood as a form of "biological religiosity," where biological instincts are transformed into theologically sanctioned moral values. In numerous videos from @kampuspoligami and @RobbanianFamily, speakers refer to Quranic verses and hadith to distinguish between "lawful lust" and "forbidden lust".⁶² In this narrative, men who express their desires through polygamy are depicted as individuals who avoid adultery. In contrast, men who reject polygamy yet struggle to resist temptation are viewed as moral failures. This discourse reinforces the notion that male morality is evaluated not by the suppression of desire, but by the ability to channel it in accordance with Islamic law. As Sari argues, this rhetoric shifts the focus of moral accountability from asceticism to affirmation: a virtuous man is one who can manage multiple wives equitably, rather than one who simply restrains himself.⁶³

The naturalization of desire also marks the rise of a new ideology of masculinity based on domestic spirituality. Haganta et al. refer to this phenomenon as "libidinal religiosity" – a form of religiosity that intertwines desire and worship.⁶⁴ Through seminars, vlogs, and personal testimonies, polygamous men are depicted not merely as leaders of their households but also as spiritual figures who transcend their egos through pluralistic love. Within this discourse, the ability to practice polygamy fairly is regarded as the ultimate spiritual test for men. Conversely, women find themselves in two roles: either as spiritual support for their husbands or as a test of their patience. While both roles are framed

⁵⁹ Hilman Firmansyah, "Siapa Yg Suruh Punya Suami Berbagi!? Seharian Mat Peci Cuekin Istri-2!! #17 Bongkar Rahasia Poligami," @MATPECI_hilman, 2021, <https://youtu.be/WkOKBTVCrBU?si=aEZYRQQIX6Wijg8c>.

⁶⁰ Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁶¹ Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁶² Hafidin, "Efek Buruk Kalau Masyarakat Tidak Berpoligami."

⁶³ Qorir Yunia Sari, "Kampanye Poligami Coach Hafidin Dalam Perspektif Feminisme," *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner* 7, no. 2 (December 2022): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jkii.v7i2.1316>.

⁶⁴ Karunia Haganta, Firas Arrasy, and Siamrotul Ayu Masruroh, "Polygamy Seminars: Building Masculinity Via Libidinal Economy," *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 9, no. 1 (November 30, 2022): 79–102, <https://doi.org/10.15408/iu.v9i1.25811>.

positively, they remain entrenched in hierarchical dynamics that reinforce subordination.

Furthermore, the normalization of polygamy, facilitated by the naturalization of desire, is significantly influenced by the attention economy in digital media. These platforms leverage the sensational aspects of polygamy to attract clicks and generate comments, thereby enhancing algorithmic visibility. Consequently, polygamy becomes a form of religious clickbait, intertwining elements of controversy with piety. The framing of male desire as natural transcends theological discourse, evolving into a branding strategy that portrays a religion as "down to earth" and men as "true to their nature." Yet, beneath these narratives of warmth and devotion, gender research reveals contradictory real-world consequences. In many instances, appeals to nature serve to suppress women's resistance, shifting the burden of emotional responsibility onto them: A righteous wife must accept her husband's nature. In digital spaces, this sentiment is echoed in various forms, often accompanied by counsel to be *ikhlas* (sincere) and *tawakkul* (reliance).⁶⁵ Thus, the normalization of polygamy occurs through a mechanism of culpabilization, where women who oppose polygamy are deemed spiritually immature.

These narratives function on three distinct levels. Firstly, at the textual level, the term "nature" serves as an ideological keyword that obscures the social construction of desire. Secondly, at the level of discursive practice, YouTube channels serve as platforms for creating and disseminating meaning, where comments reinforce masculine biases. Thirdly, at the level of social practice, this discourse contributes to the growing gender conservatism prevalent among the urban Muslim middle class. In this context, polygamy emerges as both a symbol of resistance to liberal modernity and a genuine expression of Islam.

Interestingly, several videos across three channels feature women who seem to endorse the narrative of naturalization. These wives, dressed in Islamic attire and sharing spiritual perspectives, express that embracing polygamy signifies accepting their husband's destiny and nature.⁶⁶ This phenomenon resonates with Suryakusumah's findings on State Ibuism—a concept that portrays women as ideal moral supporters of male leadership.⁶⁷ In the digital age, this ibuism has evolved into a form of "pious womanhood," characterizing a devoted woman who submits. This discourse highlights the intricate relationship between religion and culture, which normalizes unequal gender dynamics not through violence, but rather through an aesthetic of willing acceptance. Some researchers refer to this phenomenon as "digital neo-conservatism",⁶⁸ highlighting the emergence of conservatism through popular media platforms such as YouTube and Instagram. In this context, polygamy is positioned as a new moral political symbol that signifies an authentic Islamic identity. By asserting that male desire is natural and legitimate according to sharia, this narrative

⁶⁵ Dewi, "Suara Hati Istri Pertama & Kedua, Tawa & Air Mata!"; Abdullah, "Kaderisasi Poligami Sejak Dini"; Abdullah, "Curhat Blak-Blakan Suka Duka Poligami."

⁶⁶ Abdullah, "Manisnya Poligami"; Hafidin, "Begini Caranya Agar Istri Pertama Mau Berbagi Dengan Istri Yang Lain"; Firmansyah, "Siapa Yg Suruh Punya Suami Berbagi? Sehari Mat Peci Cuekin Istri-2!! #17 Bongkar Rahasia Poligami."

⁶⁷ Julia Suryakusumah, *Agama, Seks, Dan Kekuasaan* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2012).

⁶⁸ Eva F. Nisa, "The Internet Subculture of Indonesian Face-Veiled Women," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (May 8, 2013): 241–55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877912474534>.

dismisses feminist critiques as products of secularization. Consequently, the naturalization of desire serves as an ideological shield that reinforces men's positions within the social structure, while sidelining alternative interpretations that prioritize mubaalah and emotional justice.

An intertextual analysis of these three channels reveals that the normalization of polygamy through the naturalization of male desire operates across three dimensions: epistemic, aesthetic, and affective. It is epistemic in that it employs religious language to establish a foundational knowledge, asserting that desire is a creation of God. Aesthetic, as it showcases the image of a harmonious family as empirical evidence of nature. Finally, it is effective because it engages viewers—particularly men—through empathy, humor, and a lighthearted sense of spirituality. Together, these three dimensions intertwine to create an effective discourse ecology that normalizes polygamy without imposing harsh ideological coercion.

As Nisa and Sunesti caution, digital preaching that romanticizes nature can have, with unintended consequences for young women nurtured within the framework of domestic piety⁶⁹. They may come to view polygamy as a religious necessity before fully developing the critical skills needed to interpret the associated texts and contexts. Over time, this approach undermines the movement for equality and restricts women's ability to engage in the public religious discourse. Consequently, examining this phenomenon serves not only as a moral critique but also as an epistemological critique regarding how religious knowledge is produced and disseminated in the algorithmic age.⁷⁰

The normalization of polygamy, facilitated by the naturalization of male desire across the three YouTube channels analyzed in this study, signifies a paradigm shift in modern religious communication. *Dakwah* has evolved from relying on the authority of scripture to emphasizing the performative aspects of the body and everyday life. Polygamous men are portrayed not as rulers, but as individuals who are simply "true to their nature." Rather than being defended through complex theological arguments, polygamy is now supported by reassuring psychological and biological narratives. From Bourdieu's perspective, the codification of men's desires can be understood as symbolic violence that operates through religious habitus.⁷¹ The narrative that polygamy is a natural response to men's innate nature is repeatedly reproduced, thus being accepted as something normal and unquestioned. However, from Butler's perspective, the masculinity of polygamous men does not emerge naturally but is constructed and normalized through the repetition of discursive practices

⁶⁹ Eva F. Nisa, "Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Online Conflicting Narratives behind the Women Ulama Congress," *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 434–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1632796>; Yuyun Sunesti, "The 2002 Bali Bombing and the New Public Sphere: The Portrayal of Terrorism in Indonesian Online Discussion Forums," *Al-Jami'ah* 52, no. 1 (2014): 231–55, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2014.521.231-255>.

⁷⁰ Lim, "Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia"; Beth Singler, "'Will AI Create A Religion?': Views of the Algorithmic Forms of the Religious Life in Popular Discourse," *American Religion* 5, no. 1 (September 2023): 95–103, <https://doi.org/10.2979/amerreli.5.1.05>.

⁷¹ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*.

that make it appear as an absolute religious and social truth.⁷²

Normalization through the naturalization of desire extends beyond religious or gender concerns; it also poses an epistemic challenge regarding how truth is constructed and perpetuated. As long as YouTube continues to offer a platform for such narratives without providing a balanced counter-discourse, the public will remain inclined to perceive polygamy as a natural state rather than a socially constructed choice subject to critique. The task for academics and activists is not merely to oppose polygamy, but to deconstruct the underlying logic of naturalization—one that transforms desire into evidence and positions patriarchy as a sunnah. Borrowing Antonio Gramsci's perspective, the hegemony of the narrative that normalizes is deconstructed by dismantling the epistemology that drives it, by introducing counter-hegemonic narratives.⁷³

Coercive Interpretation of Qur'anic Teachings about Polygamy

The term "coercive interpretation" refers to the practice of highlighting specific verses or hadith that endorse polygamy, such as QS 4:3, without sufficiently considering the requirements of justice, the socio-historical context, and the implications for women and children. Research by Digital Religion indicates that a phenomenon known as pop Qur'anic interpretation has emerged on Indonesian YouTube, serving as a popular, easily accessible form of interpretation. However, this often leads to oversimplifications of the complex hermeneutic and contextual issues involved. Furthermore, studies on polygamous content on YouTube reveal that these narratives remain grounded in classical fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and fail to adequately address the protection of women's rights.

The channels examined, both visually and narratively, display a relatively consistent pattern: the speaker or host often presents themselves as a polygamy mentor, utilizing religious terminology such as sharia, justice, and halal lust, framing these concepts in an authoritative manner.⁷⁴ This assertion of authority is reinforced through their delivery style, which incorporates textual references (such as verses and hadith), personal testimonials or experiences, and adopts a class or training tone.⁷⁵ Consequently, the interpretations offered are not simply explanations of texts; they are educational products that provide competencies on how to practice polygamy according to sharia. For instance, the channel @kampuspoligami features lectures and tutorials that resemble "polygamous household management".⁷⁶ Such narratives blur the lines between dakwah, family counseling, and commercialization.

In the context of interpretive selectivity, it is crucial to observe how verses endorsing

⁷² Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.

⁷³ Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Nowell Smith (India, 1996).

⁷⁴ Abdullah, "Pasutri Wajib Tau Ini Sebelum Poligami"; Abdullah, "Salah Kaprah Seputar Poligami Part#2."

⁷⁵ Awan Abdullah, "Biar Gak Maju Mundur Lagi," @kampuspoligami, 2023, <https://youtu.be/wxxWJnoEUPE?si=ZCMJH3v68TTH91Lj%0A%0A>; Awan Abdullah, "Habis Nonton Ini!! Auto Langsung Pngen Poligami #SecercaKisahIbroh," @kampuspoligami, 2021, https://youtu.be/6mYhOpaPQ8U?si=KZe3wLxZ_427RFou.

⁷⁶ Abdullah, "Gini Lho Adabnya Berpoligami."

polygamy are presented without a critical examination of the contextual narrative, such as the social and economic conditions during the Prophet's time, or the empirical evidence concerning the potential risk of injustice to wives and children. Yazid highlights that in Indonesian YouTube content, interpretations of polygamy often emphasize its nobility, the patience of wives, and the preservation of household integrity – while the well-being of women and children receives comparatively less attention.⁷⁷ Similarly, Sari identified that the discourse often navigates the realms of commodification of religion and self-authority in interpretation.⁷⁸

Claims of interpretive authority on these digital platforms arise through several mechanisms. First, popular formats such as vlog videos, testimonials, and informal lectures lend the narrators an air of expertise, making them appear as experts or mentors. Second, the recurring use of authoritative terms (sharia, justice, sunnah) creates an impression of standardization in these interpretations. Third, personal or familial experiences of polygamy are reframed as empirical evidence, utilized to garner social legitimacy. This narrative asserts, "we have experienced it," thereby establishing the authority to offer interpretation and guidance. Within discourse studies, this phenomenon can be viewed as the production of alternative authority in the digital space, where audiences perceive interpretation as a personal moral decision, rather than merely a reference to traditional religious institutions. Fikriyati and Fawaid suggest that pop-interpretation cultivates a new habitus of interpretation, marked by the introduction of concepts such as "back to the Qur'an and Sunnah" and "Islam rahmatan li al-'ālamīn" as the underpinning doxa.⁷⁹

The effect of this selective interpretation and assertion of authority is the normalization of polygamous practices for several reasons: (1) polygamy is framed as a legitimate aspect of Islamic law with a 'revealed' textual basis presented by the channel; (2) the discourse minimizes the social and gender implications, making it easier for viewers to accept polygamy as a positive choice; (3) the light-hearted and affirmative digital format transforms the perception of polygamy from a contentious issue to a lifestyle or even a widely accepted religious culture. Astari et al. demonstrate that one particular YouTube channel promoting polygamy employs sensational language and metaphors, branding itself as a fun polygamy channel, which significantly influences public discourse surrounding Islamic marriage law.⁸⁰

Moreover, normalization occurs when interpretive selectivity results in two significant effects: internalization and recontextualization. Internalization refers to the process by which viewers come to accept the narrative that polygamy is regarded as the

⁷⁷ Yazid, "Neglecting Women's Rights: Indonesian YouTube Preachers' Legal Opinion on Polygamy."

⁷⁸ Sari, "Kampanye Poligami Coach Hafidin Dalam Perspektif Feminisme."

⁷⁹ U Fikriyati and A Fawaid, "Pop-Tafsir on Indonesian YouTube Channel: Emergence, Discourses, and Contestations," in *Proceedings of the Proceedings of the 19th Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies, AICIS 2019, 1-4 October 2019, Jakarta, Indonesia* (EAI, 2020), 1-10, <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291646>.

⁸⁰ Astari et al., "Indonesian Muslim Society's Reception of Sensation Language and Invitation to Polygamy on Social Media."

'correct' interpretation, as revealed by digital mentors. Recontextualization, on the other hand, involves translating this interpretive material into practical applications—such as vlogs depicting polygamous households, testimonies from second wives, and seminars on how to practice Islamic polygamy. In this manner, the discourse is not only understood from a theological perspective but is also brought to life in both aesthetic and emotional terms. For instance, channels like @MATPECI_hilman utilize vlogs showcasing the daily lives of polygamous families as a form of recontextualization. Here, the interpretive narrative is presented in a tangible context, allowing viewers to "see" how this interpretation can be practically implemented.⁸¹

However, it is essential to recognize the critical aspects of this phenomenon. The selective interpretation and claims of authority in digital spaces pose several risks, including neglecting the contextual framework of revelation, gender justice, and socioeconomic conditions. This can lead to a lack of critical examination of texts and may reinforce the subordinate status of women in polygamous relationships. Nurmila cautions that the reality of polygamy often results in unequal access to resources and can perpetuate gender-based violence, despite assertions of "fairness."⁸² Moreover, these claims of interpretive authority have the potential to undermine the role of formal religious institutions and promote pop Qur'anic interpretation that are not subject to scientific or scholarly oversight. As observed in studies examining interpretations on social media, these interpretations are increasingly "popular" and fragmented.

The normalization of polygamy through selective interpretation and claims of digital interpretive authority on the discussed YouTube channels illustrates that religious interpretation transcends academia; it serves as a significant arena for shaping popular discourse that can sway public attitudes. By emphasizing verses that endorse polygamy, oversimplifying the requirements for justice, and framing personal experiences as authoritative, this narrative effectively presents polygamy as a reasonable and widely accessible moral alternative. Further empirical research is needed to examine how viewers internalize this narrative, its effects on wives and children, and how religious and gender regulatory frameworks respond to the authority of digital interpretation

Framing the Ideal Woman as Submissive

The normalization of polygamy in the public sphere extends beyond mere textual advocacy; it necessitates a specific portrayal of the social subject, rendering the practice seemingly acceptable, typical, and even praiseworthy. On YouTube, this portrayal unfolds through a blend of theological rhetoric, the aesthetics of familial harmony, and narrative strategies that depict the ideal woman in pro-polygamy discourse as a submissive and pious figure. The three channels examined in this research produce diverse content, including pop

⁸¹ Hilman Firmansyah, "Suami Kerjanya Suka Bohongin Istri Pngen Poligami No Way!! - #23 Bongkar Rahasia Poligami," @MATPECI_hilman, 2021, https://youtu.be/_J8Kwb4d3k?si=hXNc79x_IDMJMABf; Hakim, "Istri Pertama Yang Seleksi Calon Istri Kedua, Waduuhh..!!"

⁸² Nurmila, "Polygamous Marriages in Indonesia and Their Impacts on Women's Access to Income and Property."

lectures, polygamy training workshops, and family vlogs that showcase the lives of polygamous households.⁸³ All three channels consistently depict the ideal woman with traits that bolster her husband's position and mitigate objections to the practice of polygamy. This framing effectively diminishes public resistance by emphasizing the aesthetics of domestic obedience and piety.

The prevailing narratives on these platforms depict the ideal woman through narrative techniques that highlight patience, readiness, and women's spiritual obligation to "support" their husbands' choices. According to Hakim testimonial videos, conversations among wives, and excerpts of religious guidance tell the stories of wives who either give their blessing or remain loyal, serving as moral role models to be emulated.⁸⁴ In contrast, wives' refusals are often portrayed as stemming from a lack of piety, insufficient religious education, or mental unpreparedness. While these narratives do not completely silence women who oppose polygamy—some content even features dissenting wives—the editing and narrative positioning tend to provide greater credibility to those who accept polygamy, reinforcing the image of the submissive woman as the more visible norm.⁸⁵ The function of these testimonies is consistent with the practice of recontextualization: personal experiences are leveraged as empirical evidence that polygamy can be harmonious if wives "practice" obedience.

The channels discussed in this study utilize a theological framework that connects women's obedience to a religious calling. For instance, they often use phrases such as a true wife is one who "supports the sunnah" or "is patient for the sake of Allah's pleasure." Such expressions frame obedience not merely as a personal trait but as a moral obligation deeply rooted in faith. Consequently, women's submission to their husbands' decisions is presented as an expression of their faith, rather than simply a form of social subordination. This shift is significant as it reframes potential critiques of gender dynamics into spiritual matters; objections to polygamy, for example, are reinterpreted as a lack of religious understanding or a test of one's patience. Numerous studies on pop Qur'anic interpretation and digital dakwah reveal how contemporary forms of religious communication produce new moral frameworks—practical, emotional, and easily digestible—and how these frameworks shape gender interpretations among online audiences.

⁸³ Hilman Firmansyah, "Seharian Achie Merasakan Suami Seutuhnya!!," @MATPECI_hilman, 2025, <https://youtu.be/pdb57AwM0Ck?si=1s0ttRyBHmlQPkXw>; Hilman Firmansyah, "Mat Peci Pergi Bedua Sama Achie, Anak2 Diasuh Ochie !!," @MATPECI_hilman, 2025, <https://youtu.be/UwzflJidafI?si=cwxFtgPPZ5uRoaAl>; Hilman Firmansyah, "Istri Kedua Punya Alat Penakluk Mat Peci !!," @MATPECI_hilman, 2025, <https://youtu.be/YKtVRYCyBTc?si=MmBGK4e3coXBJ2Yy>; Hafidin, "Ini Yang Membuat Perempuan Tidak Trauma Lagi Dengan Poligami"; Hafidin, "Keprihatinan Seorang Murrobi," @RobbanianFamily, 2020, <https://youtu.be/eBAAtCwoErxE?si=z4AiCsUQmY7viOgb>.

⁸⁴ Hakim, "Istri Pertama Yang Seleksi Calon Istri Kedua, Waduuhh..!!"

⁸⁵ Hafidin, "Ini Cara Membuat Istri Istri Anda Tersenyum Bahagia," @RobbanianFamily, 2021; Hafidin, "Kiat Agar Istri Tidak Menolak Di Poligami," @RobbanianFamily, 2020, <https://youtu.be/IZil-yfvaRw?si=Bq1zBPuvrNNQw4FL>; Hafidin, "Poligami, Minta Izin Atau Minta Maaf - Family Harmony #1," @RobbanianFamily, 2020, <https://youtu.be/7L1mEuXDRsM?si=no-zaNNMuEHHP152>.

This study highlights that the visual aesthetics of family vlogs, such as those on channels like @MATPECI_hilman and documentary-style content from @RobbianFamily, play an essential role in portraying the ideal woman. The camera captures moments of togetherness, mutual support among wives, and warm expressions that convey a sense of “harmony.” These visuals serve as compelling evidence to counter public perceptions of polygamy.⁸⁶ In these representations, wives are depicted as individuals who gracefully navigate conflicts, care for their children, and uphold the family’s religious harmony. This form of visual storytelling operates on an emotional level, generating empathy and reducing moral distance, making it easier for viewers to perceive submissive women as role models. Repeated exposure to these idealized images of households, viewed through a Bourdieuan lens, can subtly influence social norms—transforming a once-controversial subject into a “normal” discourse through visual habituation.⁸⁷

The portrayal of submissive women is reinforced through an economic-psychological discourse that frames the choice to accept polygamy as an adaptive strategy aimed at preserving family dignity. This narrative encompasses two layers of claims: a practical dimension (i.e., accepting polygamy for familial stability, children's well-being, and overall harmony) and a moral dimension (viewing it as a form of religious obedience). Practical arguments are often conveyed through advice or training on platforms such as @kampuspoligami, making the acceptance of polygamy seem rational and even intelligent. This approach tends to downplay structural complexities; issues such as unequal access to resources, the potential economic marginalization of wives, and emotional burdens are frequently trivialized or attributed to individual shortcomings (i.e., unpreparedness) rather than systemic factors. Research on pro-polygamy movements, such as *dauroh* (training, course, seminar, or workshop) on polygamy, illustrates how this training discourse integrates religious rhetoric with marketing techniques, ultimately presenting polygamy as a concept that can be “learned” and “managed.”

The discourse surrounding the ideal woman as submissive is frequently supported by strategies of interpretive selectivity and assertions of interpretive authority. In various video lectures or workshops, speakers interpret religious texts succinctly and practically—emphasizing verses that condone polygamy while minimizing those that advocate for justice or provide historical context. This selective approach establishes a moral framework that compels women to trust and accept their husbands' choices regarding polygamy. Additionally, content creators—whether referred to as “mentors,” “religious educators,” or “public figures”—assert their interpretive legitimacy through their track records, informal degrees, or online popularity; these claims often carry equal or even greater weight than

⁸⁶ Firmansyah, “Mat Peci Pergi Bedua Sama Achie, Anak2 Diasuh Ochie !!”

⁸⁷ Terry Rey, *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy* (London and New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014); Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power,” 1989; Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*; Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*; Bourdieu, *Outline of A Theory of Practice*; Lois McNay, “Agency and Experience: Gender as a Lived Relation,” in *Feminism after Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 175–90; Pierre Bourdieu, “Legitimation and Structured Interests in Weber’s Sociology of Religion,” in *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 119–36.

traditional religious institutions in the eyes of their audiences. Research on YouTube content related to polygamy indicates a tendency toward classical fiqh-oriented teachings presented in a pop-interpretive style that resonates with lay audiences.⁸⁸

This study underscores that the dynamics of comments and community interactions surrounding these videos reinforce the portrayal of idealized women. Viewer communities that endorse the content frequently promote values of obedience and marginalize dissenting opinions by labeling critics as "impatient" or "lacking knowledge." Such interactions foster a discursive ecosystem where compliant women receive social rewards, including praise and spiritual recognition, while the need for accountability to their husbands and the state is often overlooked. Furthermore, platform mechanisms like recommendation algorithms, which tend to amplify content that elicits strong emotional reactions, contribute to this ecosystem by enhancing the visibility of the submissive woman stereotype and normalizing its prevalence. Research on the platformization of dakwah highlights the significant role that algorithms and the attention economy play in shaping popular religious discourse.⁸⁹

Moreover, the discourse surrounding feminine submissiveness prevalent on YouTube poses significant ethical dilemmas for both researchers and activists. On one hand, the platform offers a vital space for pro-polygamy women to articulate their voices and assert their agency—many of these women choose and support polygamy for religious or personal reasons. Conversely, the prevailing narrative tends to favor those who accept polygamy, rendering alternative experiences, such as rejection or trauma, less visible. When these narratives do surface, they frequently receive diminished attention. As such, critiques of the portrayal of submissive women must emphasize the diversity of women's experiences without undermining individual autonomy, all the while highlighting how the dominant discourse shapes the concept of choice—rather than merely presenting it.

Therefore, the normalization of polygamy, facilitated by the portrayal of the ideal woman as submissive, is a complex phenomenon that intertwines religious legitimacy, the aesthetics of family life, selective interpretive strategies, and platform mechanisms. According to Bourdieu's perspective, the representation of obedient women in polygamous content on YouTube discussed in this article functions as a mechanism for reproducing

⁸⁸ Chapman, *Polygamy, Bigamy and Human Rights Law*; Miski et al., "Polygamy Mentoring in Indonesia: Al-Qur'an, Hadith and Dominant Discourse Resistance"; Dena Hassounah-Phillips, "Polygamy and Wife Abuse: A Qualitative Study of Muslim Women in America," *Health Care for Women International* 22, no. 8 (December 10, 2001): 735–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/073993301753339951>; Yazid, "Neglecting Women's Rights: Indonesian YouTube Preachers' Legal Opinion on Polygamy."

⁸⁹ Yearry Panji Setianto, "Mediatization of Religion: How the Indonesian Muslim Diasporas Mediatized Islamic Practices," *Journal of Media and Religion* 14, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 230–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348423.2015.1116268>; Moch Fakhruroji, "Mediatization of Religion in 'Texting Culture': Self-Help Religion and the Shifting of Religious Authority," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, no. 2 (December 10, 2015): 231–54, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v5i2.231-254>; Mia Lövhelm, "Mediatization: Analyzing Transformations of Religion from a Gender Perspective," *Media, Culture & Society* 38, no. 1 (January 20, 2016): 18–27, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443715615411>.

patriarchal habitus through symbolic violence,⁹⁰ which occurs when subordinate relations are accepted as natural and morally legitimate. Women's compliance is repeatedly constructed as the ideal gender norm, so women who reject polygamy are positioned as subjects who deviate from religious and social expectations. This process yields a dual impact: it diminishes social resistance to polygamy while concurrently perpetuating hierarchical gender relations. Addressing this discourse necessitates interventions at multiple levels: enhancing critical religious literacy and contextual interpretation among the public, monitoring and regulating commercial preaching that offers "polygamy training," and reinforcing protective policies for women affected by polygamous practices. Furthermore, it is crucial to develop counter-narrative content that provides contextual analyses, diverse testimonies, and perspectives on legal and mental health issues to balance a discourse currently dominated by the framing of obedience.

Conclusion

The aforementioned explanation concludes that the three YouTube channels examined operate within a framework of religious digital discourse aimed at normalizing the practice of polygamy. They employ narrative strategies that intertwine religiosity, affection, and moral authority. In this context, polygamy is framed not merely as a personal choice but as an act of obedience to God and a means of embodying pious male leadership. This perspective positions polygamy as a sacred sunnah, rather than as a social issue that warrants critical scrutiny from the viewpoints of ethics, justice, and gender equality. Consequently, the digital space serves as a platform for the perpetuation of patriarchal ideology, cloaked in symbols of piety and theological legitimacy.

The three channels consistently convey a narrative of religious masculinity that highlights men's roles as leaders and controllers of desire, while women are positioned as moral and spiritual supporters. Polygamy is portrayed as both a test of patience for women and a demonstration of responsibility for men. By depicting the ideal woman as submissive, obedient, patient, and magnanimous in the context of polygamy, these channels shift the focus from issues of ethics and justice to the spiritual and emotional domains. This pattern subtly obscures existing power imbalances and normalizes women's subordination through seemingly wise and gentle religious rhetoric.

This study indicates that the normalization of polygamy across these three channels is underpinned by selective interpretations. Quranic verses, such as QS 4:3, are frequently quoted without regard for their socio-historical context, and such quotations are often accompanied by claims of personal interpretive authority that overshadow the insights of both classical and contemporary scholars. This trend reveals the rise of a "new interpretive authority" grounded in personal experience and religious charisma rather than established scholarly credentials. Consequently, the digital landscape acts as a platform for decentralized religious authority, enabling individuals to produce interpretations aligned with their ideological and narrative agendas, thereby transforming religion into a tool for legitimizing unequal gender power dynamics.

⁹⁰ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*.

Ultimately, this phenomenon illustrates that the normalization of polygamy within the digital sphere transcends mere discourse and involves significant dimensions of power and knowledge. It highlights how patriarchal values are perpetuated through religio-political strategies that associate piety with gender compliance. Despite progressive efforts to offer inclusive and equitable interpretations, these channels reveal a cultural resistance to feminist interpretations of Islam, which advocate for principles of mercy, deliberation, and justice within marital relationships. Therefore, a critical analysis of this phenomenon should focus on deconstructing the religious symbols and narratives that normalize inequality while proposing an alternative interpretive framework grounded in the *maqāṣid of the Qur'an* and the ethics of gender equality.

Acknowledgment

We would like to thank Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau for funding this research (Project Number 616/2025). We also greatly appreciate the anonymous reviewers for their critical comments and helpful suggestions for revisions on earlier versions of this article.

References

- Abdullah, Awan. "Biar Gak Maju Mundur Lagi." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://youtu.be/wxxWJnoEUPE?si=ZCMJH3v68TTH91Lj%0A%0A>.
- — —. "Curhat Blak-Blakan Suka Duka Poligami." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xkIHm4DyzA8&t=5s>.
- — —. "Gini Lho Adabnya Berpoligami." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8aa68Cn-ZYQ>.
- — —. "Habis Nonton Ini!! Auto Langsung Pngen Poligami #SecercaKisahIbroh." @kampuspoligami, 2021.
https://youtu.be/6mYhOpaPQ8U?si=KZe3wLxZ_427RFou.
- — —. "Kaderisasi Poligami Sejak Dini." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6tA9Hn6Nnzg>.
- — —. "Manisnya Poligami." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KadSGHqy0ns>.
- — —. "Pasutri Wajib Tau Ini Sebelum Poligami." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pOYA5urH2Pk&t=42s>.
- — —. "Salah Kaprah Seputar Poligami Part#2." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z9YtID9Qx3o>.
- — —. "Tips Biar Istri ACC." @kampuspoligami, 2023.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l17z6FZC_ik.
- Ahmad Muzaki, Saifullah, and Ali Hamdan. "Analisis Teori Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Terhadap Mentoring Poligami Yang Viral Di Media Sosial (Studi Kasus Di Pesantren Tahfidz Qur'an Ma'had Yashma Serang Banten)." *Jurnal Darussalam: Jurnal*

- Pendidikan, Komunikasi Dan Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 15, no. 1 (September 7, 2023): 16–36. <https://doi.org/10.30739/darussalam.v15i1.2267>.
- Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New York and London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Al-Krenawi, Alean, John R. Graham, and Sivan Ben-Shimol-Jacobsen. "Attitudes Toward and Reasons for Polygamy Differentiated by Gender and Age Among Bedouin-Arabs of the Negev." *International Journal of Mental Health* 35, no. 1 (March 8, 2006): 46–61. <https://doi.org/10.2753/IMH0020-7411350104>.
- Ali, Souad T. "Feminism in Islam: A Critique of Polygamy in Mariama Ba's Epistolary Novel so Long a Letter." *Hawwa* 10, no. 3 (2012): 179–99. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341236>.
- Amini, Elham, and Mark McCormack. "Older Iranian Muslim Women's Experiences of Sex and Sexuality: A Biographical Approach." *The British Journal of Sociology* 72, no. 2 (March 20, 2021): 300–314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12805>.
- Ansor, Muhammad. "Berbagi Suami Atas Nama Tuhan: Pengalaman Keseharian Perempuan Dipoligami Di Langsa." *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 14, no. 1 (2014): 41. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v14i1.41-63>.
- — —. "Moving out of Islam on YouTube: Acehese Christian Narratives, the Public Sphere, and Counterpublics in Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* 31, no. 3 (December 30, 2024): 543–74. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v31i3.39771>.
- — —. "Panorama Poligami Dan Resistensi Perempuan Di Langsa Aceh." *Ulumuna* 16, no. 1 (November 4, 2017): 163–88. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v16i1.194>.
- — —. "Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* 23, no. 3 (2016): 471–515. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v23i3.2412>.
- Archampong, Elizabeth A. "Reconciliation of Women's Rights and Cultural Practices: Polygamy in Ghana." *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 36, no. 2 (June 2010): 325–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050718.2010.481401>.
- Astari, Rika, Djameluddin Perawironegoro, Muhammad Irfan Faturrahman, and Hanif Cahyo Adi Kistoro. "Indonesian Muslim Society's Reception of Sensation Language and Invitation to Polygamy on Social Media." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2023): 369–98. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v13i2.369-398>.
- Bernstein, Deborah. "Democracy, Polygamy, and Women in Post-Reformasi Indonesia" 116, no. 1 (2014): 28–47.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- — —. "Legitimation and Structured Interests in Weber's Sociology of Religion." In *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*, 119–36. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- — —. *Masculine Domination*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- — —. *Outline of A Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

- — —. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- — —. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14–25.
- — —. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14–25. <https://doi.org/10.2307/202060>.
- — —. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Brenner, Suzanne. "Democracy, Polygamy, and Women in Post-Reformasi Indonesia." *Social Analysis* 50, no. 1 (2006): 164–70. <https://doi.org/10.3167/015597706780886094>.
- — —. "Democracy, Polygamy, and Women in Post-Reformasi Indonesia." *Social Analysis* 50, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 164–70. <https://doi.org/10.3167/015597706780886094>.
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- — —. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of Performative*. New York and London: Routledge, 1997.
- — —. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 1999.
- — —. *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- — —. *Undoing Gender*. New York and London: Routledge, 2004.
- Chapman, Samuel. *Polygamy, Bigamy and Human Rights Law*. Amerika Serikat: Xlibris Corporation, 2001.
- Chin, Grace V.S. "Imagined Subjects: Polygamy, Gender and Nation in Nia Dinata's Love for Share." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13, no. 3 (2012): 137–52.
- Croce, Mariano, and Andrea Salvatore. "Normality as Social Semantics: Schmitt, Bourdieu and the Politics of the Normal." *European Journal of Social Theory* 20, no. 2 (2017): 275–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431016633002>.
- Delgado-Infante, Margarita Lia, and Mira Alexis P. Ofreneo. "Maintaining a "Good Girl" Position: Young Filipina Women Constructing Sexual Agency in First Sex within Catholicism." *Feminism & Psychology* 24, no. 3 (2014): 390–407. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353514530715>.
- Dewi, Oki Setiana. "Suara Hati Istri Pertama & Kedua, Tawa & Air Mata!" @OSDokisetianadewi, 2024. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N9iiB-5K5zU>.
- Disch, Lisa. "Judith Butler and the Politics of the Performative." *Political Theory* 27, no. 4 (1999): 545–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591799027004006>.
- Fakhrurroji, Moch. "Mediatization of Religion in 'Texting Culture': Self-Help Religion and the Shifting of Religious Authority." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, no. 2 (December 10, 2015): 231–54. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v5i2.231-254>.
- Fikriyati, U, and A Fawaid. "Pop-Tafsir on Indonesian YouTube Channel: Emergence, Discourses, and Contestations." In *Proceedings of the Proceedings of the 19th Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies, AICIS 2019, 1-4 October 2019, Jakarta, Indonesia*, 1–10. EAI, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291646>.
- Firmansyah, Hilman. "Bingung!! Mat Peci Tidur Bareng Siapa!?" @MATPECI-_hilman, 2024.

- <https://youtu.be/Psb0mXghoVw?si=Cr-J10H0xv3sj56s>.
- — —. “Datang Ke Kondangan Bawa 2 Istri, Pengantin Laki Gemeteran!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2025. https://youtu.be/vpgUpTxFLwk?si=XSE8mCs_ZDA0xaoS.
- — —. “Di Insert Investigasi Trans TV-Pun Mat Peci Bengkek!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2025. <https://youtu.be/RqLDRN7eBs4?si=CqCl7CiFOUP3oNQg>.
- — —. “Istri Kedua Punya Alat Penakluk Mat Peci!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2025. <https://youtu.be/YKtVRYCyBTc?si=MmBGK4e3coXBJ2Yy>.
- — —. “Lagi Liburan!! Dilarang Saling Cemburu!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2024. https://youtu.be/fSBj-n8UH0w?si=_JI09JXbRXop49Wm.
- — —. “Mat Peci Pergi Bedua Sama Achie, Anak2 Diasuh Ochie!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2025. <https://youtu.be/UwzflIidafl?si=cwxFtgPPZ5uRoaAl>.
- — —. “Mau Ke Acara Maulid Nabi Masa Pake Shimmer..?? Mat Peci Ga Setuju!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2024. <https://youtu.be/KQN8-C6t04o?si=ijrRjLUQomJ9vdG->.
- — —. “Seharian Achie Merasakan Suami Seutuhnya!!” @MATPECI_hilman, 2025. <https://youtu.be/pdb57AwM0Ck?si=1s0ttRyBHmlQPkXw>.
- — —. “Siapa Yg Suruh Punya Suami Berbagi!? Seharian Mat Peci Cuekin Istri-2!! #17 Bongkar Rahasia Poligami.” @MATPECI_hilman, 2021. <https://youtu.be/WkOKBTVCrbU?si=aEZYRQQIX6Wijg8c>.
- — —. “Suami Kerjanya Suka Bohongin Istri Pengen Poligami No Way!! - #23 Bongkar Rahasia Poligami.” @MATPECI_hilman, 2021. https://youtu.be/_J8Kwb4d3k?si=hXNc79x_IDMJMABf.
- Fleetwood, Jennifer. “Narrative Habitus: Thinking through Structure/Agency in the Narratives of Offenders.” *Crime Media Culture* 12, no. 2 (2016): 173–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659016653643>.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited by Quintin Hoare and Nowell Smith. India, 1996.
- Gursoy, Elif, William F. McCool, Serap Sahinoglu, and Yasemin Yavuz Genc. “Views of Women’s Sexuality and Violence Against Women in Turkey.” *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 27, no. 2 (March 15, 2016): 189–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659614550485>.
- Hafidin. “Begini Caranya Agar Istri Pertama Mau Berbagi Dengan Istri Yang Lain.” @RobbanianFamily, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KbHgSQvLqNY>.
- — —. “Benarkah Mustahil Adil Jika Poligami?” @RobbanianFamily, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwW9W2mvgfE>.
- — —. “Efek Buruk Kalau Masyarakat Tidak Berpoligami.” @RobbanianFamily, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NFsrhZ7vTHA>.
- — —. “Ini Cara Membuat Istri Istri Anda Tersenyum Bahagia.” @RobbanianFamily, 2021.
- — —. “Ini Yang Membuat Perempuan Tidak Trauma Lagi Dengan Poligami.”

- @RobbanianFamily, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2u5VevQpok>.
- — —. “Kenapa Harus Bahas Poligami, Emang Ga Ada Sunnah Lain?” @RobbanianFamily, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E3ofayWfv7E>.
- — —. “Keprihatinan Seorang Murrobi.” @RobbanianFamily, 2020. <https://youtu.be/eBAAtCwoErxE?si=z4AiCsUQmY7viOgb>.
- — —. “Kiat Agar Istri Tidak Menolak Di Poligami.” @RobbanianFamily, 2020. <https://youtu.be/IZiL-yfvaRw?si=Bq1zBPurvNNQw4FL>.
- — —. “Ngobrol Ringan Seputar Bahagiannya Poligami.” @RobbanianFamily, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2PXAC2vu8s>.
- — —. “Poligami, Minta Izin Atau Minta Maaf - Family Harmony #1.” @RobbanianFamily, 2020. <https://youtu.be/7L1mEuXDRsM?si=no-zaNNMuEHHP152>.
- — —. “Poligami Setelah Istri Wafat?” @RobbanianFamily, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JaSasn5JVoU>.
- Haganta, Karunia, Firas Arrasy, and Siamrotul Ayu Masruroh. “Polygamy Seminars: Building Masculinity Via Libidinal Economy.” *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 9, no. 1 (November 30, 2022): 79–102. <https://doi.org/10.15408/iu.v9i1.25811>.
- Hakim, Irfan. “Istri Pertama Yang Seleksi Calon Istri Kedua, Waduuhh..!!” @DehakimStory, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ag1fXv09aqU>.
- Hakim, Lukman. “Conservative Islam Turn or Popular Islam? An Analysis of the Film Ayat-Ayat Cinta.” *Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 48, no. 1 (June 18, 2010): 101–28. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2010.481.101-128>.
- Halmes, Erica. “Embodied Spaces, Social Places and Bourdieu: Locating and Dislocating the Child in Family Relationships.” *Body & Society* 9, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 11–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X03009001044>.
- Hassounah-Phillips, Dena. “Polygamy and Wife Abuse: A Qualitative Study of Muslim Women in America.” *Health Care for Women International* 22, no. 8 (December 10, 2001): 735–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/073993301753339951>.
- Hayati, Elli N, Ulf Högberg, Mohammad Hakimi, Mary C Ellsberg, and Maria Emmelin. “Behind the Silence of Harmony: Risk Factors for Physical and Sexual Violence among Women in Rural Indonesia.” *BMC Women’s Health* 11, no. 52 (2011): 11–18.
- Heryanto, Ariel. *Identity and Pleasure The Politics of Screen Culture*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2014.
- Huda, Ahmad Nuril. “Filming Ayat-Ayat Cinta: The Making of a Muslim Public Sphere in Indonesia.” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 1 (June 1, 2010): 43–61. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2010.4.1.43-61>.
- Ida, Rachmah, and Muhammad Saud. “Female Circumcision and the Construction of Female Sexuality: A Study on Madurese in Indonesia.” *Sexuality & Culture* 24, no. 6 (December 27, 2020): 1987–2006. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-020-09732-6>.
- Jenkins, Joy, and Teri Finneman. “Gender Trouble in the Workplace: Applying Judith Butler’s Theory of Performativity to News Organizations.” *Feminist Media Studies* 18, no. 2 (March 4, 2018): 157–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1308412>.

- Kozinets, Robert V. *Netnography Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. London: SAGE, 2010.
- Krishnan, Sneha. "Agency, Intimacy, and Rape Jokes: An Ethnographic Study of Young Women and Sexual Risk in Chennai." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 22, no. 1 (2016): 67–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111.1467-9655.12334>.
- Lim, Merlyna. "Cyber-Civic Space in Indonesia: From Panopticon to Pandemonium?" *International Development Planning Review* 24, no. 4 (December 2002): 383–400. <https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.24.4.3>.
- — —. "Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 411–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>.
- — —. "Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43, no. 4 (November 2013): 636–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.769386>.
- Lövheim, Mia. "Mediatization: Analyzing Transformations of Religion from a Gender Perspective." *Media, Culture & Society* 38, no. 1 (January 20, 2016): 18–27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443715615411>.
- Marôpo, Lidia, Raiana de Carvalho, and Ana Jorge. "Children's Cancer Narratives on YouTube: Agency and Entrepreneurship in Brazilian CarecaTV." *Global Studies of Childhood* 11, no. 4 (December 27, 2021): 318–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610620967018>.
- McNay, Lois. "Agency and Experience: Gender as a Lived Relation." In *Feminism after Bourdieu*, edited by Lisa Adkins and Baverley Skeggs, 175–90. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Miski, Miski, Mila Aulia, Roudlotul Jannah, and Ridya Nur Laily. "Polygamy Mentoring in Indonesia: Al-Qur'an, Hadith and Dominant Discourse Resistance." *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 7, no. 1 (July 4, 2022): 15–32. <https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v7i1.7036>.
- Nikmatullah, Nikmatullah, and Emawati. "Conservative Muslim and Textual Interpretation of the Hadiths in Polygamy Propaganda in Indonesia." *Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 23, 2024): 558–70. <https://doi.org/10.69598/hasss.24.3.263308>.
- Nisa, Eva F. "Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Online Conflicting Narratives behind the Women Ulama Congress." *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 434–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1632796>.
- — —. "The Internet Subculture of Indonesian Face-Veiled Women." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (May 8, 2013): 241–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877912474534>.
- 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 (December 14, 2016): 427–46. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2016.542.427-446>.
- Rahmawati, Indy. "Cerita Mat Peci Seru Nih! Poligami Bukan Cuma Enak Di Kasur Vois

- Podcast #6." @tv0nenews, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fl06wbi_VzE.
- Rey, Terry. *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy*. London and New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Ridwan, Muhammad Saleh, Wahidah Abdullah, and Idham Idham. "Public Perception of Polygamy in Makassar, Indonesia: Cultural Perspective and Islamic Law." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 (January 13, 2024): 20–38. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i1.15419>.
- Rinaldo, Rachel. "Muslim Women, Middle Class Habitus, and Modernity in Indonesia." *Contemporary Islam* 2, no. 1 (2008): 23–39. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-007-0035-6>.
- Rose, Feni. "Beristri 2, Mat Peci Sehari Makan 6 Kali!!!" @TRANSTVofficial, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybMMWSsQbgo>.
- Sari, Qorir Yunia. "Kampanye Poligami Coach Hafidin Dalam Perspektif Feminisme." *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner* 7, no. 2 (December 2022): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jkii.v7i2.1316>.
- Schneider, Irene. "Polygamy and Legislation in Contemporary Iran: An Analysis of the Public Legal Discourse." *Iranian Studies* 49, no. 4 (July 1, 2016): 657–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00210862.2015.1028239>.
- Setianto, Yearry Panji. "Mediatization of Religion: How the Indonesian Muslim Diasporas Mediatized Islamic Practices." *Journal of Media and Religion* 14, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 230–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348423.2015.1116268>.
- Singler, Beth. "'Will AI Create A Religion?': Views of the Algorithmic Forms of the Religious Life in Popular Discourse." *American Religion* 5, no. 1 (September 2023): 95–103. <https://doi.org/10.2979/amerreli.5.1.05>.
- Smith, Bianca J. "Sexual Desire, Piety, and Law in a Javanese Pesantren: Interpreting Varieties of Secret Divorce and Polygamy." *Anthropological Forum* 24, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 227–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2014.947918>.
- — —. "Stealing Women, Stealing Men: Co-Creating Cultures of Polygamy in a PesantrenCommunity in Eastern Indonesia." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009): 118–35.
- Sunesti, Yuyun. "The 2002 Bali Bombing and the New Public Sphere: The Portrayal of Terrorism in Indonesian Online Discussion Forums." *Al-Jami'ah* 52, no. 1 (2014): 231–55. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2014.521.231-255>.
- Suryakusumah, Julia. *Agama, Seks, Dan Kekuasaan*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2012.
- Wadud, Amina. *Qur'an and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Yazid, Mhd. "Neglecting Women's Rights: Indonesian YouTube Preachers' Legal Opinion on Polygamy." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 1 (April 25, 2023): 69–88. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16104>.
- Zainal, Humairah. "Intersectional Cosmopolitanism: Muslim Women's Engagement with Polygamy on Malaysian and Indonesian Screens." *Culture and Religion* 20, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 151–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2019.1619602>.