

The Effectiveness of Implementing Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 Concerning Marriage in Polygamy Practices (A Case Study in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency)

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Abstract : This study aims to analyse the effectiveness of the implementation of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage in polygamy practices from the perspective of Islamic law, with a research focus in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency. This research is motivated by the prevalence of unregistered (siri) polygamy practices in Madurese society and the limited compliance with state requirements for obtaining polygamy permission through the Religious Court. The study employed a descriptive qualitative method using an empirical legal research approach. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with polygamous practitioners, wives, religious leaders, and community figures, while secondary data were obtained from marriage regulations, the Compilation of Islamic Law, and classical Islamic jurisprudence literature. Data were analysed through interactive stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The findings indicate that the implementation of Article 4 in Tambak Village has not been fully effective due to religious interpretations that emphasise textual understanding while neglecting legal registration requirements. Islamic law views state regulation of polygamy as an effort to achieve *maslahah mursalah* by ensuring justice and legal protection.

Keywords : Polygamy, Article 4 Of The Marriage Law, Islamic Law

Abstrak : Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis efektivitas penerapan Pasal 4 Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 tentang Perkawinan dalam praktik poligami ditinjau dari perspektif hukum Islam, dengan fokus penelitian di Desa Tambak, Kecamatan Omben, Kabupaten Sampang. Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh maraknya praktik poligami siri dalam masyarakat Madura serta rendahnya kepatuhan terhadap persyaratan izin poligami melalui Pengadilan Agama. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan yuridis empiris. Data primer diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam dengan pelaku poligami, istri, tokoh agama, dan tokoh masyarakat, sedangkan data sekunder diperoleh dari peraturan perkawinan, Kompilasi Hukum Islam, dan literatur fikih klasik. Analisis data dilakukan melalui tahapan reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan secara interaktif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penerapan Pasal 4 Undang-Undang Perkawinan di Desa Tambak belum sepenuhnya efektif karena masih terdapat pemahaman keagamaan yang menekankan aspek tekstual

serta mengabaikan kewajiban pencatatan perkawinan secara hukum negara. Perspektif hukum Islam memandang pengaturan poligami oleh negara sebagai upaya mewujudkan masalah mursalat melalui jaminan keadilan dan perlindungan hukum bagi seluruh anggota keluarga.

Kata kunci : Poligami, Pasal 4 Undang-Undang Perkawinan, Hukum Islam, Masalah Mursalat

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is the fundamental social institution in Islam, intended to establish a lawful family and produce a pious generation. Within this sacred bond, Islam essentially upholds the principle of monogamy while allowing an exception for the practice of polygamy, provided that strict conditions of justice are fulfilled. In Indonesia, this principle has been formally adopted into positive law through Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, particularly Article 4, which regulates the alternative and cumulative requirements that a husband must satisfy before applying for permission to practice polygamy before the Religious Court. This regulation was established as a formal legal instrument to provide legal protection, ensure legal certainty, and prevent arbitrary actions against wives and children in the future. In the context of fulfilling these requirements, the existence of Article 4 is intended to ensure that every practice of polygamy within society remains under state legal supervision for the benefit of the public welfare.

However, the implementation of Article 4 of the Marriage Law in practice does not always proceed in accordance with the provisions of positive law or the principles of religious justice. Several studies indicate that social dynamics, partial religious understanding, and weak cultural supervision in rural communities often encourage the practice of unofficial polygamy (polygamy siri or unregistered polygamy). In several regions, people tend to disregard the requirement of obtaining court permission because it is perceived as complicated, costly, or because prospective practitioners are unable to fulfill the stringent legal requirements stipulated by the law (Supriadi, 2021). Such unregistered polygamous marriages frequently lead to social conflict, economic neglect, and the loss of legal rights for second wives and the children born from these marriages. Nevertheless, other studies have revealed that a sound understanding of the law, coupled with extensive legal education provided by legal authorities, can significantly improve public awareness and encourage compliance with formal marriage regulations in order to support family harmony (Setiawan et al., 2020). From the perspective of Islamic law, the primary objective of imposing strict requirements for marrying more than one wife is to achieve *maslahah* (public welfare) and prevent greater domestic harm within family life (Suryadi, 2022; Nurhayati, 2020).

Social realities indicate that the people of Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency, whose lives are strongly characterized by an agrarian-religious culture, continue to encounter the practice of polygamy in their daily lives. Nevertheless, most previous studies concerning the effectiveness of Article 4 of the Marriage Law have primarily focused on the analysis of judicial decisions in Religious Courts or on its implementation in urban communities with broader access to legal information. For example, a study conducted by Ramadan and Wijaya (2018) found that the strict enforcement of Article 4 significantly contributed to reducing the incidence of illegal polygamy. However, the study was limited to large urban areas where the population generally possessed a relatively homogeneous level of legal awareness. Similarly, Lopez and Saputra (2020) demonstrated a positive correlation between officially authorized polygamy and the psychosocial well-being of families, yet their study also concentrated on metropolitan communities and did not examine the dynamics of legal compliance in the rural communities of Madura, where customary law remains deeply influential.

A study by Al-Habsyi (2019) emphasized that fulfilling the requirement of justice in polygamy constitutes an absolute religious obligation, but it did not explicitly discuss the effectiveness of state regulations when confronted with the growing trend of unregistered polygamy supported by local religious leaders. Another study by Syarifuddin and Rahman (2021) argued that local cultural values in Sampang strongly influence public perceptions of the validity

of marriage based solely on the fulfillment of the pillars of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), yet it did not specifically examine the effectiveness of positive law in enforcing the Marriage Law. Therefore, the limited number of studies integrating the dimensions of Islamic law, the effectiveness of statutory regulations, and the socio-religious dynamics of rural communities demonstrates the existence of a research gap. This study seeks to address that gap by analyzing the effectiveness of the implementation of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage in the practice of polygamy from the perspective of Islamic law and the socio-cultural dynamics of society. Specifically, this research focuses on examining the practice of polygamy, its impacts, and the effectiveness of state regulations governing this phenomenon. Accordingly, the objective of this study is to analyze the practice of polygamy from the perspective of Islamic law and to identify the factors influencing the effectiveness of the implementation of the statutory provisions in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative method using a socio-legal case study approach to examine the level of legal compliance among rural communities. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with individuals involved in unregistered polygamous marriages (polygamy siri), their wives, religious leaders (*kyai/ustadz*), and officials of the local Religious Court. Meanwhile, secondary data were collected through an examination of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage and the doctrines of classical Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). The data collection techniques included semi-structured interviews, observation of the sociological impacts within the communities where the participants resided, and a review of relevant documentary and library sources. The collected data were analyzed using an interactive qualitative approach through the stages of data reduction, narrative text description, and conclusion verification (Creswell, 2018). The trustworthiness of the data was ensured through member checking and methodological triangulation to guarantee the authenticity of the sensitive information obtained.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Practice and Forms of Polygamy in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency

The practice of polygamous marriage in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency, sociologically demonstrates a pattern predominantly characterized by unregistered marriages, commonly referred to as polygamy siri (unregistered polygamy). Although Indonesian positive law, through Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, establishes the principle of monogamy and imposes strict procedures for obtaining permission for polygamy through the Religious Court, the reality in the field reveals a considerable gap between the state's written law and the institution of marriage as practiced within society (living law). For the majority of the community in the research location, the validity of a polygamous marriage is determined solely by the fulfillment of the pillars (*rukun*) and requirements of classical Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), officiated by local religious leaders, whereas the administrative registration required by the state is often regarded as a secondary matter, as reflected in the following family cases.

The family of Mr. T.M., Mrs. S.R. (the first wife), and Mrs. N.H. (the second wife) represents a pattern of polygamy siri practiced based on unilateral internal family consent. The second marriage was conducted privately without submitting an official application for permission to the Sampang Religious Court because the husband considered the state's bureaucratic procedures to be overly complicated, costly, and time-consuming. The relationship between the two wives evolved through a rigid process of social adaptation, in which the first wife was compelled to accept the situation in order to preserve the stability of child-rearing and avoid the social stigma associated with divorce within the village. In contrast, the family of Mr. K.A., Mrs. M.Y., and Mrs. F.T. illustrates a form of polygamy characterized by significant structural conflict. The second marriage was carried out secretly by the husband without the knowledge or consent of the first wife. When the polygamous marriage was eventually revealed, it resulted in serious domestic tension, leading to a breakdown in communication, neglect of both financial and emotional support for the first family, and an inequitable distribution of the husband's time between the two households.

In the family of Mr. J.F., Mrs. A.N., and Mrs. S.S., the practice of polygamy siri was justified on the grounds of religious motives and social protection for a widow in the local community. Although the marriage was initially based on mutual agreement, the absence of an official state-issued marriage certificate for the second wife eventually created new legal problems when the child born from the second marriage encountered difficulties in obtaining a birth certificate legally recognizing the biological father's name. The family only became aware of the adverse consequences of disregarding positive law when confronted with the administrative requirements of the child's school. Meanwhile, the family of Mr. H.U., Mrs. Z.B., and Mrs. R.M. demonstrates the characteristics of polygamy siri practiced under severe economic pressure. The husband, who worked as a daily laborer, insisted on entering into a polygamous marriage despite lacking sufficient financial capacity to provide equitable support for two households. Consequently, both wives were compelled to work hard to compensate for the deficit in meeting the family's daily living expenses. This description of the realities of polygamous practices in rural communities indicates that the resilience of the household is strongly influenced by the three principal pillars of *maslahah* (public welfare) in Islamic marriage, namely. The Achievement of Inner Peace and Justice within the Family.

وَلَنْ تَسْتَطِيعُوا أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا بَيْنَ النِّسَاءِ وَلَوْ حَرَصْتُمْ فَلَا تَمِيلُوا كُلَّ الْمِيلِ فَتَدْرُوهَا
كَالْمُعَلَّقَةِ ۚ (١٢٩)

*Translation: "And you will never be able to be completely just between your wives, even if you earnestly desire to do so. Therefore, do not incline too much toward one of them, leaving the other suspended (without proper care and attention)..." (**Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa' [4]: 129).*

The Obligation to Provide Maintenance (Nafkah) in a Proper and Reasonable Manner

وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ ...

Translation: "The father is obligated to provide for them and clothe them in a reasonable manner (ma'ruf)..." (Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah [2]: 233).

The Obligation to Avoid All Forms of Harm and Detriment

لَا ضَرَرَ وَلَا ضِرَارَ

Translation: "There should be neither harm inflicted upon oneself nor harm inflicted upon others." (Narrated by Ibn Majah).

Factors Causing and the Impacts of Polygamy Practices in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency

Based on the results of in-depth interviews with several key informants in the field, various sociological determinant factors and structural obstacles that have contributed to the continued growth of illegal polygamy practices were identified. To maintain data confidentiality, the identities of the informants have been anonymized using new initials. First, Mr. M.T. (MT), a local religious leader, argued that the primary factor contributing to polygamy siri (unregistered polygamy) is the strong influence of textual religious-cultural legitimacy deeply embedded within the community. The villagers believe that the permission of the first wife or the authorization of the Religious Court is not what determines the validity of a marriage before Allah SWT. Consequently, state law is regarded merely as an administrative burden.

Second, Mr. S.R. (SR), who practices polygamy siri, explained that the highly restrictive procedural requirements imposed by the Religious Court constitute a logical reason for husbands to choose an alternative route. The alternative requirements stipulated in Article 4 are perceived as nearly impossible for lower-middle-class rural communities to fulfill; therefore, they prefer non-formal procedures. Third, Mrs. K.H. (KH), a prominent female community figure, stated that the negative consequence of this low level of legal awareness is that first wives are placed in a weak

bargaining position. Many women involved in polygamy siri choose to remain silent because they do not know where to seek legal assistance and fear being socially ostracized by the surrounding community. Fourth, Mr. L.A. (LA), a representative of the local village administration, added that one of the administrative consequences of unregistered polygamy is the birth of children without clear legal identity, as the marital status of their parents is not recognized by the state.

Another internal sociological factor that serves as a major cause is closely related to the patriarchal structure that remains deeply rooted within the kinship system of Tambak Village. Within the local social structure, men or husbands are positioned as holders of absolute authority whose domestic decisions should not be questioned by their wives. This rigidly interpreted culture of obedience causes the involvement of the first wife in providing written consent to become merely a symbolic formality or to be entirely disregarded, as it is considered detrimental to the husband's authority and dignity as the head of the household. In addition to the issue of patriarchal culture, the lack of equal access to legal information in the rural areas of Omben constitutes another significant structural factor. The majority of residents of Tambak Village possess inadequate knowledge regarding legal procedures before the Religious Court and do not fully understand the essence of the legal protection provided by statutory regulations. The relatively long geographical distance from the regency government center, combined with the limited availability of legal awareness programs targeting marginalized rural communities, has led many residents to perceive the court as an exclusive and intimidating institution.

Furthermore, the complete economic dependence of wives upon their husbands exacerbates the negative consequences of this practice. Most women or first wives in Tambak Village are housewives without independent sources of income, leaving them without the financial independence necessary to refuse polygamy. Their fear of divorce and the loss of the family's primary source of livelihood for their children compels many wives to endure such injustice in silence, resulting in long-term mental health problems and prolonged psychological distress. Another equally significant sociological impact is associated with the permissive attitude and collective tolerance demonstrated by the surrounding community toward the phenomenon of unregistered marriages. In Tambak Village, polygamy siri is not perceived as a serious legal violation or social disgrace but rather as a private matter that should not be interfered with by others. This misguided sense of social solidarity has psychological consequences for children, who grow up in an environment that normalizes the neglect of the legal rights of women and children.

Finally, the widespread commercialization of the services provided by unauthorized marriage officiants or informal intermediaries for nikah siri at the local level further perpetuates the failure to enforce existing regulations. The presence of certain individuals offering instant, confidential, and inexpensive services for conducting unregistered polygamous marriages has become a practical solution for many husbands. The cumulative impact of the persistence of these factors is the deterioration of the population administration system in Tambak Village, as evidenced by the large number of household records in which the information recorded on Family Cards (Kartu Keluarga) is inconsistent with the actual marital conditions existing in the community.

The Effectiveness of the Implementation of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage on the Practice of Polygamy in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency

Within the framework of Islamic family law, the existence of state regulations that impose stricter procedures and regulate the practice of polygamy through the provisions of Article 4 should not be regarded as a prohibition of what has been permitted by the Sharia. Rather, it should be understood as an application of Taqyid al-Mubah (the restriction of permissible acts by the government for the sake of public welfare). Analytically, the following discussion presents an Islamic legal perspective on the effectiveness of enforcing these regulations in Tambak Village. Marriage Registration as an Instrument of Public Welfare (Maslahah Mursalah). Although classical fiqh does not require court authorization or official registration for the validity of a polygamous marriage, contemporary Islamic law views the existence of Article 4 of the Marriage Law as a manifestation of Maslahah Mursalah. The primary objective of the state's stricter requirements for polygamy is to ensure that the civil rights of the first wife, the second wife, and the children born from such marriages remain protected against potential injustice. The disregard for marriage

registration regulations in Tambak Village demonstrates that Article 4 has not been implemented effectively, as tangible harms such as economic neglect and the loss of inheritance rights remain widespread within the community.

Justice in Polygamy Between the Ideal Principles of Sharia and the Reality in Practice. The provision of Article 4, which requires a husband to demonstrate his financial capability and guarantee his ability to treat all wives fairly before a judge, constitutes a preventive measure that is highly consistent with the spirit of Surah An-Nisa', verse 3. Islam emphasizes that if a man fears that he will be unable to act justly, he is obligated to marry only one wife (*fa-in khiftum allā ta'dilū fawāḥidatan*). The practice of polygamy siri in Tambak Village, which disregards judicial verification, clearly violates this principle of substantive justice, as husbands enter into polygamous marriages driven merely by biological desires without sufficient economic preparedness to fulfill their responsibilities. Consequently, the implementation of the law can be regarded as having a very low level of effectiveness.

When examined more deeply through the epistemological approach of Islamic law, the ineffectiveness of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 in the rural communities of Sampang reflects the existence of cognitive dissonance between substantive Islamic law and formal Islamic law. The people of Tambak Village remain influenced by a local understanding of fiqh that is legalistic, formalistic, and rooted in pre-modern traditions, in which a marriage is considered complete solely upon the fulfillment of the essential pillars (*rukun*) of a *nikah siri* (unregistered marriage). They overlook the fact that the national Marriage Law, including the formulation of Article 4, was developed through the mechanism of *ijtihad jama'i* (collective legal reasoning) by Indonesian Islamic scholars, based upon the principles of *Maqashid al-Shari'ah* to promote gender justice and domestic welfare. Furthermore, this implicit rejection of the effectiveness of Article 4 may be analyzed through the Islamic legal maxim concerning the authority of governmental directives that are intended to achieve the common good:

حُكْمُ الْحَاكِمِ فِي الْمَسَائِلِ الْإِجْتِهَادِيَّةِ يَرْفَعُ الْخِلَافَ

Translation: "Government decisions or regulations concerning matters of ijtihad must eliminate differences of opinion and are legally binding."

Since the regulation of restrictions on the requirements for polygamy falls within the domain of *ijtihad* for the sake of maintaining social order, compliance with the procedures stipulated in Article 4 is, from the perspective of Islamic law, obligatory for every Muslim in Indonesia as a good citizen (*muwathin*). Disregarding the Marriage Law by engaging in polygamy siri (unregistered polygamy) in Tambak Village not only violates positive law but is also considered ethically flawed under Islamic legal principles because it breaches the obligation to obey *Ulil Amri* (the legitimate governing authority).

Furthermore, the adverse consequences resulting from the ineffective implementation of this regulation have direct implications for the collapse of the objective of marriage, namely the realization of a family characterized by *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah* (tranquility, affection, and mercy). The practice of polygamy siri carried out without the authorization of the Religious Court in Tambak Village has proven to generate greater psychological harm, including profound emotional trauma experienced by first wives and their children. In fact, one of the most fundamental principles of *ushul fiqh* states: "Preventing harm takes precedence over obtaining benefit." When a polygamous marriage results in physical and emotional suffering for an existing family, the original legal permissibility of polygamy may change from being permissible to *makruh* (discouraged) or even *haram* (prohibited) in order to prevent greater domestic harm.

From the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law, improving the effectiveness of Article 4 requires the reconstruction of legal thought among religious leaders in the rural communities of Madura. The *kyai* and *ustadz* in Tambak Village should no longer facilitate or legitimize the practice of polygamy siri on the grounds of religious devotion without first examining the administrative readiness of the parties involved and verifying the consent of the first wife through the Religious Court. Religious leaders should become the foremost agents in disseminating the understanding

that marriage registration and compliance with state law constitute integral components of the perfection of one's faith.

As a legal conclusion, the effectiveness of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 in Tambak Village will never be fully achieved as long as law enforcement authorities rely solely upon a rigid positivistic-legalistic approach. A more humane policy is required, combining state law enforcement with the utilization of local customary and religious law through mechanisms such as social sanctions or strengthening the role of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in conducting pre-marital mediation. Once the community's awareness of citizenship is integrated with a comprehensive understanding of Islamic law, restrictions on polygamy through judicial authorization will no longer be viewed as bureaucratic obstacles but rather as an honorable form of legal protection intended to produce future generations of Madurese society who are spiritually, socially, and legally resilient.

From a philosophical perspective, the ineffectiveness of the implementation of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 in Tambak Village confirms the continuing conflict between the positivism of state law and the living law practiced within society. Law enforcement cannot be imposed solely through rigid administrative sanctions; rather, it must reach the moral and transcendental consciousness of the agrarian-religious community, which tends to place strong patronistic trust in local religious scholars. Therefore, improving the effectiveness of the regulations governing polygamy requires a collective reconstruction of legal culture, whereby the formal legality of state marriage registration is no longer regarded as a bureaucratic obstacle but is internalized as an essential social pillar of marriage that must be fulfilled to guarantee the fundamental rights of women and children in Madura in the future.

As the concluding part of this analysis, the effectiveness of the guarantee of substantive justice embodied in Article 4 ultimately depends upon the personal commitment (individual religiosity) of those entering into marriage. Islamic law has provided a highly comprehensive normative framework to prevent domestic injustice; however, this framework will lose its function in promoting public welfare (*maslahah*) as long as society continues to normalize the practice of unregistered polygamy for purely selfish interests. Strong synergy among the structural supervision exercised by the Religious Court, the active guidance provided by the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), educational initiatives based in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), and the strengthening of women's economic independence in the rural communities of Omben constitutes an indispensable strategy. Only through such systemic integration can the essence of state regulation restricting polygamy operate harmoniously with the noble principles of Islamic law in realizing a family institution that is just, stable, and founded upon *maslahah*.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of Article 4 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage has proven ineffective in Tambak Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency, where polygamy *siri* (unregistered polygamy) remains widely practiced outside the official legal framework. This reflects a significant gap between the state's positive law, which upholds open monogamy, and the living law actually practiced within society. This ineffectiveness stems from several interrelated factors: a textual religious-cultural belief that polygamy is valid once the classical *fiqh* pillars are met, without requiring state authorization; the strict alternative and cumulative requirements imposed by the Religious Court; a patriarchal culture granting husbands absolute authority; the economic dependence of first wives; and community permissiveness combined with easy access to unauthorized marriage officiants.

From the perspective of Islamic Family Law, judicial restriction of polygamy reflects the concept of *Taqyid al-Mubah*, the government's regulation of a permissible act for the sake of public welfare (*Maslahah Mursalah*). Neglecting the procedures of Article 4 has led to real harm, including unfulfilled financial obligations (*nafkah*) and the loss of children's civil rights. From the perspective of Islamic law (*shar'i*), compliance with polygamy permission procedures is obligatory, based on the maxim that government rulings on matters of *ijtihad* are legally binding (*hukm al-hakim yarfa' al-khilaf*). Practicing polygamy *siri* without the first wife's consent or proof of financial

capability risks violating substantive justice; where such marriages cause greater harm than benefit, their status may shift from permissible to makruh or even haram.

Philosophically, this situation illustrates a cognitive dissonance between substantive Islamic law and state law, which is often perceived as rigid by agrarian-religious communities. Strengthening legal effectiveness requires reforming legal culture through the reconstruction of religious leaders' understanding in rural Madura, alongside harmonizing the state's positivistic approach with local customary social sanctions. Based on these findings, it is recommended that the Religious Court and the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) of Sampang regularly conduct mobile legal awareness and outreach programs at the village level to educate the public on the essence of protecting women's rights as guaranteed under Article 4 of the Marriage Law. Religious leaders and local kyai in Omben District are also encouraged to firmly refuse to facilitate or legitimize polygamy siri ceremonies and instead direct their congregants toward obtaining official polygamy authorization through the Religious Court. In addition, village government officials should strengthen their supervisory role by closely monitoring the activities of unauthorized marriage officiants and periodically registering and documenting the civil status of children born from unregistered polygamous marriages. Finally, future researchers are encouraged to examine the effectiveness of monetary fines or criminal sanctions under the most recent marriage legislation in reducing the incidence of unregistered polygamy practices in the Madura region.

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