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## **Polygamy in Islam: A Study on Its Religious Justifications and Empowerment of Women Within Islamic Teachings**

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### **Abstract**

*This research article delves into the intricate dynamics of polygamy in Islam, emphasizing its potential as a support system among co-wives. Traditionally viewed with controversy, especially in Western societies, this study challenges such perceptions by highlighting how polygamous arrangements can foster mutual support, shared responsibilities, and companionship. By examining these relationships through religious, cultural, and social lenses, the study reveals how polygamy can empower women within the framework of Islamic teachings, transforming traditional familial roles and enhancing their agency. Women's choices to enter polygamous marriages often reflect a complex interplay of factors, combining strategic decision-making for financial or social stability with deeply rooted religious motivations and commitments. The research utilizes diverse narratives from a global Facebook group, allowing for a comprehensive exploration of polygamy's dynamics and benefits. This perspective underscores polygamy's role as a supportive alliance among women, contributing significantly to broader discussions on gender dynamics and marital structures within both Islamic and global contexts.*

**Keywords:** Polygamy; Islam; Agency; Marriage.

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## Introduction

Polygamy in Islam, particularly the practice where a man is married to multiple wives, has long been a subject of both cultural and academic discussion. While often viewed through a lens of controversy in Western societies, within Islamic contexts, polygamy is seen through various perspectives, one of which is the notion of mutual support and cooperation among co-wives.

This research delves into the complex dynamics of polygamy within Islam, highlighting the perspective of polygamy as a supportive network among women. The main aim of the study is to investigate how polygamous relationships can cultivate mutual aid, collective responsibilities, and camaraderie among co-wives, thus contesting the conventional views of rivalry and discord. The research seeks to illuminate how polygamy can act as a beneficial framework for women, especially in Islamic communities.

Existing research on polygamy in Islamic contexts highlights both its challenges and benefits. For instance, Al-Krenawi [5], Shepard [36], Hasan et al. [14] examines the negative psychosocial impacts on family members, including mental health challenges faced by co-wives and children. Similarly, Gadban and L. Goldner [13] also provides a comprehensive review of how polygamous arrangements can exacerbate psychological distress for women, leading to issues of neglect and low self-esteem.

A study by Sungay and Booley [38] examines Islamic teachings on women's rights, particularly the legal and ethical aspects of polygamy. It cites Quranic verses that set conditions for polygamy, stressing justice and fairness. The ethical treatment of women is portrayed as a reflection of a man's character. The conclusion emphasizes that while Islam permits polygamy, it must adhere to strict ethical guidelines that ensure women's dignity and respect, advocating for their broader rights within marriage.

Naseer et al. [25] and Tabi et al. [39] emphasize how co-wives often develop systems of shared responsibility, finding opportunities for solidarity and cooperation despite occasional conflicts. Research by Yasin et al. [18] also illustrates polygamy's role in addressing socio-demographic challenges, particularly in providing support for widows and single mothers within Islamic contexts. A study by Mahdavinoor and Radan [23] highlights that polygamy in Islam can serve as a supportive system for women and contribute to religious growth. It emphasizes that polygamy can meet the needs of women by providing emotional and financial support. This arrangement can also foster a sense of community and shared responsibility, as it allows for the upbringing of orphans and the provision of both male and female role models, which is seen as beneficial for children's development.

The novelty of this article lies in its focus on a single Facebook group where women from diverse backgrounds share their experiences in polygamous

relationships. This study challenges traditional views of polygamy as solely restrictive to women by exploring it through their own narratives. Focusing on co-wives' experiences, it reveals how they build supportive networks and exercise agency within polygamous marriages. By centering these voices, the research offers fresh insights into gender dynamics in Islam, enriching scholarly debates on family and marital structures.

## Method

The study utilized cyber-ethnography, a contemporary research method that modifies traditional ethnographic techniques to explore communities and cultures established through online interactions. Thematic analysis, a method that identifies, analyzes, and reports patterns within data, was employed to process the information [11].

Over six months, I observed a women-only Facebook group dedicated to discussions on polygamy. This duration provided a comprehensive understanding of Muslim women's perspectives on polygamy, aligning with Kozinets [22] assertion that six months is sufficient for capturing the evolution and dynamics of online community conversations. This social and geographical diversity among the group is crucial as it allows for a holistic examination of the research question, bringing together perspectives from various cultural and social contexts. The global nature of the group enhances the study's validity by transcending specific cultural or social settings, providing a unique opportunity to explore polygamy in a more comprehensive manner.

Approximately 500 posts, including discussion threads, comments, and replies, were thoroughly analyzed to ensure a rich and representative data set of participants' experiences. Posts were selected for their relevance to research questions, with particular emphasis on understanding the perception of polygamy as a religious practice and exploring personal narratives. The study received approval from the Compliance with Research Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Philosophy and the Institute of Asian and Transcultural Studies, Vilnius University.

The study sheds light on the potential of polygamy to empower women within Islamic teachings by framing it as a supportive network. This fresh interpretation emphasizes cooperation and partnership among women, transforming traditional familial roles and enhancing their agency. It highlights how these relationships enable women to exercise their rights and make autonomous decisions within their families and social structures. This approach significantly contributes to discussions on gender dynamics and marital structures within Islamic and global contexts, reinforcing the study's relevance and depth.

## Historical Roots and Modern Views

In Islam, the practice of polygamy is sanctioned by the Holy Quran, allowing a man to marry up to four wives at once. As stated in QS. An-Nisa':3, "And if you fear that you will not deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four. But if you fear that you will not be just, then [marry only] one or those your right hands possess [i.e., slaves]. That is more suitable that you may not incline [to injustice]." This tradition is deeply embedded in historical contexts, particularly after the Battle of Uhud, which led to a diminished male population. As a result, polygamy became a means to support widows and orphans, mirroring the socio-economic realities of early Islamic society [40].

A study by Syamsuddin and Abidin [37] engages in Quraish Shihab work *Tafsir Al-Mishbah*, that offers a contextual and balanced interpretation of polygamy within Islamic teachings. Shihab views polygamy not as a recommendation or obligation but as a conditional and permissible practice, likening it to an "emergency exit" that should only be utilized in specific, unavoidable situations.

Shihab's interpretation is shaped by a modern and transformative methodology that incorporates historical context and societal relevance, diverging from classical approaches. Influenced by his education in Indonesia and Egypt, and guided by the works of notable scholars like Al-Biqā'i and Muhammad Abduh, Shihab bridges traditional Islamic principles with the realities of contemporary life. He also rejects the notion that all aspects of the Prophet Muhammad's polygamous life are meant to be directly imitated, noting that the Prophet's motivations often stemmed from social responsibility rather than personal desire.

Shihab states that polygamy can serve as a solution in situations where there is a social need, such as caring for widows and orphans, especially in the aftermath of wars where many men have died. This aligns with the historical context in which polygamy was practiced to provide protection and support to those left vulnerable. Shihab also notes that polygamy can address demographic imbalances, such as when there are significantly more women than men due to various circumstances, including wars or natural phenomena.

A study by Beddu [10] discusses the historical transition from polygamy to monogamy in Islamic societies, focusing on the perspective of QS. An-Nisa':3 from the Qur'an. It highlights how polygamy was historically common in Arab societies, often practiced for social reasons such as providing protection to war widows and strengthening inter-tribal ties.

Beddu [10] and Alavi et al. [2] highlight that polygamy, as regulated by the Qur'an, is intended to ensure the protection and importance of women's rights within marriage. It emphasizes that polygamous practices must be

conducted with fairness and justice, ensuring that women are treated equally and with dignity. This framework is designed to safeguard women's rights, providing them with the necessary support and respect in a marital relationship. The study underscores the relevance of these principles in modern Islamic marriage, promoting equality and justice as fundamental values that protect and uplift women.

In modern Islamic societies, polygamy is often perceived with mixed views, with various sources highlighting both its positive and negative impacts on women's rights and family structures. When discussing the negative aspects of polygamy for women, the psychological harm is frequently highlighted, as the emotional challenges and stress associated with sharing a spouse can significantly impact their mental well-being. For example, studies reveal that polygamous marriages can lead to significant emotional and psychological challenges for women, such as feelings of neglect and low self-esteem, which can also adversely affect their children, additionally unfair treatment between co-wives [35]; [36]; [16]; [3]; [39]; [31]; [17]; [27]..

Polygamy can have profound negative effects on all family members, especially children and men. For children, growing up in a polygamous family often leads to poorer academic performance and overall well-being [6]. Researches by Yelwa [19] and Karimullah [21] highlight that existing legal frameworks and cultural practices often fail to protect women's rights in polygamous marriages, leading to issues such as unequal treatment, lack of fair resource distribution, emotional and financial instability, as well as psychological distress and insecurity about their future and that of their children.

Furthermore, men in polygamous marriages may also face detrimental effects, such as a higher likelihood of developing alcoholism, as well as higher scores for mental health issues compared to monogamous counterparts [4]; [5]. These individual challenges extend to broader societal issues, as polygamous practices can exacerbate social inequalities and create community tensions, complicating social structures and relationships.

Despite the generally negative perception of polygamy, there are studies that uncover positive experiences and outcomes, offering a more nuanced understanding of the practice.

Historically, polygamy was designed as a societal advantage. Scholars have underscored the potential benefits of polygamy, linking them to demographic imbalances between men and women [1]. This perspective spans various time periods, from the era of Muhammad—when numerous men perished in wars—to the present day. The research by Renner and Krieger [31] examine factors such as the greater number of women compared to men and the higher male mortality rate due to warfare and risky occupations. These imbalances can lead to a social crisis if monogamy is strictly observed. Similarly,

in the research Yasin [18], the authors analyze Malaysia's 2009 demographics, noting that women made up 49% of the population. They further discuss how polygamy, within an Islamic context, can provide support and protection for women who are widows, ill, or unable to bear children [18].

In modern days, the benefits of polygamy have broadened to include not only the protection of women and orphans but also aspects related to sexual life and marriage opportunities. Quiroz [28] notes that men tend to justify polygamy by arguing that men are more prone to sexual temptations, with Islamic law enforcing strict penalties for adultery. Rehman [30] and Naseer et al. [26] highlights that polygamy could fulfill natural desires and needs for both men and women, providing a legal framework for sexual relationships.

In cases where a woman cannot bear children, Islamic scholars suggest a man might take another wife instead of divorcing her [24]. Yasin et al. [18] highlight how menopause affects women's sexual function, while older men maintain potency, leading scholars to advocate for polygamy to address these challenges. and the consequences of resisting temptation.

Johnson [20] and Rohmandi et al. [32] state, that polygamy is presented as a solution to various social issues, offering a legal framework to reduce prostitution and adultery. It addresses demographic imbalances by providing marital options for unmarried aging women and supports widows and single mothers with financial and social stability. When aligned with Islamic principles, polygamy can create a supportive family structure that alleviates women's socio-related challenges.

Bahari et al. [35], Naseer et al. [25], Husain et al. [15], Nasser et al. [26] suggest that polygamy could provide additional support within the family unit. For instance, during times when a wife is ill or weak, the responsibility of child-rearing could be shared among the wives. If one wife works for a living, others could step in to care for her children, contributing to the financial stability of the family. The burdens of pregnancy could also be shared, alleviating substantial physical and psychological stress. Moreover, children would benefit from having an extended network of siblings, ensuring they never feel alone and fostering a bright, joyful childhood.

In researches by Naseer et al. [25] and Tabi et al. [39] the dynamics among co-wives are characterized by a sense of acceptance and shared responsibility, as they collaborate on household chores and strive to maintain harmonious relationships. Although disagreements may arise, they are generally infrequent. Religious and cultural beliefs play a crucial role in the acceptance of polygamy, providing women with the resilience and adaptability needed to embrace this lifestyle. These beliefs significantly influence their understanding and acceptance of polygamy, highlighting the strength and adaptability of the women involved.

## Polygamy and Family in Women's Religious Identity

Polygamy in Islam was historically instituted with the primary goal of providing protection and support for widows and orphans, particularly in the aftermath of war when many women and children were left vulnerable. This practice was intended as a compassionate response to societal needs, ensuring that those without familial support had a means of security and care. However, the relevance of polygamy in today's world invites critical examination. In modern contexts, where social structures and welfare systems have evolved significantly, questions arise about whether polygamy is still necessary or applicable universally.

In the private group about polygamy for women, I asked the following question: "Why would you consider to become a co-wife? While in the past, women were often reliant on men for sustenance due to restrictions on education and employment, today's women are capable of supporting themselves."

The social standing of divorced women has been emerged theme in this discussions. There is a perception among women in the comments that their prospects for forming a monogamous family diminish after divorce. They often feel that potential partners may be dissuaded by their past marital status and the presence of a child from a previous relationship, making the process of remarriage significantly more challenging: "Some ladies like me divorced and reverted need polygamy... Good option to find her real man"; "I mean I am a divorcee with a child, what else I could expect?"

Islam does not prohibit or discourage marriage to a divorced woman, even if she has children. It's encouraged to support and integrate these women back into the societal structure. E.g. on an online platform where Muslims can anonymously inquire and Sunni clerics respond, a query was raised regarding the possibility of a divorced woman with children being compelled to remarry. The cleric clarified that in Islam, there are no prohibitions against remarriage under such circumstances. The primary consideration is that if the divorced woman is a devout Muslim with strong faith and commendable manners, she would be a suitable choice. However, the cleric also highlighted that when presented with an option between a virgin and a previously married woman, both having equal levels of piety and righteousness, scholars suggest it is preferable to marry a virgin.

There can be societal stigmatization within some Muslim communities towards divorced women, especially those with children [33]; [34]. Despite this stigma is cultural rather than religious, the inclination in marriage is towards those who are virgins.

Another commentator pointed that a marriage is a part of religious responsibilities: "Don't get comfortable in being unmarried. Marriage is part of the sunnah of Allah's Messenger."

In considering whether an independent, self-sufficient unmarried woman might choose to be a co-wife, it's clear that religious and societal factors play a significant role. Within Islam, marriage is greatly esteemed and fulfilling marital obligations is seen as completing half of one's religious duties, as emphasized in the teachings of Prophet Muhammad. While being single is not deemed sinful, marriage holds substantial value. For divorced or widowed women, the societal landscape can be challenging. Polygamy might present an opportunity to enhance their status, offering a more favorable alternative to single parenthood post-divorce. According to the concept of empowerment agency (Burke, 2012), these women may find empowerment by reinterpreting their religious practices, embracing their role as co-wives as a form of agency that aligns with their religious identity, without necessarily challenging the existing doctrines.

In gender-traditional religions, women may pursue economic empowerment by becoming second wives, a decision that aligns with the concept of instrumental agency as described by Bartkowski and Read [8]. Instrumental agency involves using religious participation to achieve non-religious benefits, such as economic stability and social advancement. For women facing financial hardships or limited opportunities, becoming a second wife can provide access to additional resources and financial support: „Mostly because majority of women exist in some form of poverty. Many women accept polygamy as a means to finances and security for herself and her children. Some women have no choice but to accept it as an alternative to divorce.”

This arrangement allows them to leverage their marital role for economic gain, enhancing their financial security and potentially elevating their social standing within the community. Through this pragmatic approach, women navigate their religious roles to achieve personal and economic objectives, demonstrating agency in their choices and actions.

In navigating the complexities of marriage within a traditional religious framework, the perspectives of individuals can reveal much about their personal values and aspirations. For an older woman unable to have children, the decision to become a second wife emerges not only from a place of acceptance but also from a desire to contribute meaningfully to a family unit: „I am an older woman who cannot have children. I know many males seek to have a family. <...> I believe the man is the head of the household. I just know how to occupy my time in a halal way if he is not with me everyday. I would be honored to help my co-wife with her children.”

The perspective of the woman in her 50's aspiring to become a second wife aligns with the concept of compliant agency [7]; [9]. This theory emphasizes the ways individuals conform to religious or traditional roles while finding personal meaning and fulfillment within those structures. The woman's acceptance of the male as the head of the household and her willingness to support her co-wife's



children illustrate her compliance with traditional gender roles. Yet, she also finds a sense of purpose and fulfillment in occupying her time meaningfully within the constraints of these roles.

By choosing to engage in supportive and nurturing activities, she exercises agency by intentionally embracing her position and deriving satisfaction from her contributions to the family unit. This approach highlights how women in gender-traditional settings can exhibit agency through their nuanced interactions with prescribed roles, finding empowerment and identity within them.

### **Strategic Alliances: Redefining Roles and Embracing Collaboration in Polygamous Families**

From the viewpoint of a first wife contemplating or pursuing a co-wife, some women see polygamy as a potential way to gain additional support within their marriage. A commentator asks in her posts could polygamy serve as a support for a women in coupling with everyday tasks around the house: "If you have health issues and a few kids to look after which is hard to handle alone when hub [i.e. husband, lover] is working and you want an extra female hand about the house. It also affects ability to give husband what he wants when he wants. Is polygyny a good option in this case?"

In the context of a first wife contemplating polygamy to gain support with household and family duties, agency is manifested through her strategic navigation of traditional roles. By choosing to conform to the cultural expectations of a multi-wife structure, she exercises agency not by resisting these norms but by actively seeking practical solutions to her everyday challenges. This decision reflects her ability to find empowerment by transforming a conventional marital arrangement into a collaborative effort, where domestic responsibilities are shared. Through this choice, she leverages the traditional framework to alleviate individual burdens, striking a balance between cultural compliance and personal fulfillment. This dynamic illustrates her sophisticated agency, as she embraces traditional roles while simultaneously addressing her needs and enhancing the efficiency and satisfaction within her family unit.

In a following comment, a woman expresses her viewpoint, insisting that polygamy doesn't signal her replacement. She has pondered over the concept of polygamy multiple times and believes that it could indeed be beneficial if the right women are chosen to integrate into the family. However, she clarifies emphatically that she doesn't desire someone else to supersede her role as a homemaker and mother, or to "raise my children on my behalf".

A commentator states: "While I am still capable, but I am a physically challenged women with health conditions that make everyday tasks more difficult for me than they would be for an average person. I mean a potential

sisterly relationship between co wife and I with Mutual Support and sharing a home as I would want the women to become apart of our whole family unit and have relationships with everyone, not only my husband."

This situation could be seen as an opportunity for solidarity and shared responsibility. It could be argued that polygamy, in this case, can serve as a platform for mutual support and cooperation and even benefited to mental health of the woman.

In the end a women added she believes in a saying: "It takes a tribe". This is a saying that emphasizes the importance of community support in achieving goals or overcoming challenges. It's a variation of the popular phrase "It takes a village to raise a child," which highlights that child-rearing is a communal effort and not just the responsibility of the parents.

In this discussion surrounding polygamy, many women voiced their support in the comments section, sharing sentiments like: "Nothing wrong with another pair of helping hands."; "I love the thought of having a big family where my children and I have that village of women to help raise one another's children."

These comments illustrate polygamy as a supportive network where women collaborate to manage household responsibilities. Originally, polygamy aimed to provide support to widows, not necessarily to create a mutual aid system among wives. Furthermore, assuming that a co-wife will naturally be a "helping hand" is misleading. The second wife has no obligation towards the first and is entitled to her own living arrangements. She may choose to have minimal interaction with the first wife, exercising her own rights. As one commenter pointed out: "I think just remember that after she marries, her purpose will kind of change around the house - she won't just be there to assist you with the kids - she'll also be a wife and maybe also have children of her own, etc. Allahu salam."

In the context of polygamy, as reflected in the supportive comments, women's agency is evident in how they reinterpret traditional roles to fit their needs for support and community. By perceiving polygamy as a system where wives aid each other, women exercise agency by reshaping cultural expectations to align with their personal desires for collaboration and mutual care. This reinterpretation showcases their ability to find empowerment within existing structures, redefining polygamy beyond its historical context to suit contemporary challenges.

According to compliance agency, in polygamous relationships, women might view the arrangement as a means to gain support and community, thereby redefining their roles to create a supportive network. By doing so, they navigate cultural expectations and find empowerment within the existing structure, demonstrating agency not through resistance or empowerment alone, but through strategic compliance and adaptation to their environment.

## Discussion

The analysis of polygamy within the framework of women's religious identity reveals compelling insights into how historical practices are recontextualized in modern societal structures. Historically rooted in the Islamic tradition as a mechanism to protect widows and orphans during crises, polygamy has evolved into a multifaceted institution that intersects with cultural, economic, and spiritual dimensions of women's lives in contemporary settings. However, its relevance today invites nuanced interpretation, as its implications are both enabling and constraining, depending on the socioeconomic and cultural context.

One notable theme emerging from the research is the role of polygamy in providing a safety net, particularly for divorced women or widows facing societal stigma or financial instability. According to responses collected from discussions within private group, polygamous arrangements are perceived as opportunities for women to regain social standing and financial security. This aligns with Burke's [12] concept of empowerment agency, where women reinterpret religious frameworks to reclaim agency within traditional structures. While this perspective emphasizes agency, it also underscores how economic and societal pressures, such as poverty and stigma against divorcees [33]; [34], often limit women's perceived choices, framing polygamy as a necessary alternative rather than an ideal option.

The strategic choice to enter a polygamous marriage to secure financial stability for themselves and their children demonstrates pragmatic decision-making within restrictive environments. Women in these circumstances leverage polygamy as a tool for survival, transforming what might traditionally be seen as a submissive act into a calculated move to safeguard their welfare and social position. This echoes the argument by Yasin [18] that polygamy—historically designed to address specific social crises—can still act as a targeted solution when applied to modern socioeconomic challenges.

Conversely, the text sheds light on the emotional and relational complexities of polygamous setups, particularly for first wives and co-wives. Accounts highlighting the dynamic between co-wives, where mutual support and shared responsibilities are emphasized, offer a reframing of polygamy as a communal aid system. By adopting the principle "it takes a tribe," some women reinterpret traditional roles to foster solidarity and practical collaboration, reshaping polygamy into an arrangement aimed at shared resilience. However, such perspectives risk oversimplifying the inherent difficulties, as limited interaction or autonomy among co-wives (discussed in participant comments) challenges the assumption that polygamy routinely facilitates mutual support systems. This discrepancy emphasizes the need to critically evaluate the socio-

emotional impacts of polygamy on all parties involved, particularly in contexts lacking strong communal bonds.

The findings also highlight how polygamy, while rooted in traditional frameworks, can create opportunities for empowerment within these structures. For instance, the choice of older, childless women to become a second wife demonstrates their ability to find meaningful roles that contribute to familial and societal dynamics. This aligns with Rohmandi et al. [32], who emphasize the potential for polygamy to foster collaboration, support networks, and shared responsibilities among co-wives, offering these women a space to engage in nurturing relationships and collective caregiving. Such decisions reflect a positive interplay between individual aspirations and cultural traditions, showcasing how women can strategically engage with traditional norms to find fulfillment and purpose in their roles.

Nevertheless, the research raises critical questions about the sustainability of polygamy in its modern application. While studies like those by Naseer et al. (2021) and Husain et al. (2019) highlight its potential for economic stability and shared responsibilities, the challenges tied to fairness [4] and the psychological toll on women [35]; [16] cannot be ignored. These findings indicate both the limitations and opportunities polygamy presents, necessitating a balanced approach when evaluating its relevance in contemporary family structures.

Ultimately, the research underscores how polygamy functions as both a reflection of cultural continuity and a conduit for adaptive agency in women's lives. Whether through strategic alliances among co-wives or as an avenue for economic empowerment, polygamy's evolving role highlights the resilience of women navigating traditional frameworks. However, its future viability hinges on addressing the inherent inequalities and emotional burdens documented in both historical practices and modern adaptations. By critically examining and reconciling these dimensions, societies can better understand the intersection of tradition and agency within this deeply complex institution.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, this research presents a comprehensive exploration of polygamy in Islam, challenging conventional perceptions by illuminating its multifaceted benefits from women perspective. Beyond serving as a supportive system among co-wives, polygamous arrangements are revealed to play a crucial role in fulfilling religious duties, such as family formation, which is a significant aspect of Islamic teachings. This framework allows women to partake in a shared familial environment, aligning with religious responsibilities and offering a sense of community and spiritual fulfillment for those who choose this path.

Furthermore, the study highlights how polygamy can contribute to financial stability, providing economic security for women and their families. By

participating in polygamous marriages, women can access additional resources and support, enhancing their financial independence and social standing within their communities. This financial aspect, combined with the supportive network of co-wives, empowers women to navigate their roles with greater autonomy and agency.

The findings underscore the transformative potential of polygamous relationships when approached with mutual understanding and cooperation. By redefining traditional roles, women exercise agency, turning polygamous arrangements into empowering structures that address contemporary challenges. This research contributes significantly to broader discussions on gender dynamics and marital structures, highlighting how polygamy, within Islamic contexts, can serve as a pathway to empowerment and fulfillment for women, both spiritually and materially.

### Author Contributions

**Gintarė Sereikaitė-Motiejūnė:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing & editing, Data Collection & analysis, Supervision.

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