

Polygamy in Papua Traditional Marriage Reviewed from Marriage Laws

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine and analyze the juridical problems in the implementation of polygamy in Papuan traditional marriages which are established according to customary law. This research was conducted on Papuan customary communities in Sentani, Central Sentani District (Hobong Village) and West Sentani District (Doyo Village). The data were collected by means of interviews, and the data were analyzed through qualitative analysis. The results showed that the implementation of polygamy marriage in indigenous Papuan/Sentani communities carried out by Ondoafi / Ondofolo who as leaders in customary communities is not in accordance with the provisions in Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage. The Marriage Law is based on monogamy, but still provides concessions for those whose religions allow them to practice polygamy with fairly strict conditions. The requirements for polygamy in the Marriage Laws are set aside by Ondofolo who practices polygamy, the consent of the first wife is not required. By setting aside the requirements in the Marriage Laws for polygamy, there will be a negative impact on the polygamous marriage, namely that the marriage is not recorded or is illegitimate, resulting in children born in the marriage to become illegitimate children. The disharmony between customary law and national law (Marriage Laws) in terms of polygamous marriage among indigenous Papuans results in no sense of justice in the household. Lack of socialization regarding the Marriage Laws as a National Law to indigenous Papuans has resulted in a lack of legal awareness and resulting in minimal legal compliance.

Keywords: Papuan Traditional Marriage - Marriage Law.

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INTRODUCTION

Basically, a marriage between a man and a woman, or a marriage is a monogamous system. However, there are some imbalances that occur so that marriages can be carried out using the Polygamy system. The problem of polygamy is the smallest social phenomenon in society. Observing the development of marriage law in Indonesia, polygamy is a problem that continues to receive great attention in its discussion because it is not just a simple problem, which is a very principle problem in society. In Indonesian the marriage life relates to religion, culture and customs as well as biological needs which one another is very difficult to determine which one should get top priority.

The implementation of polygamous marriage in society, especially in the indigenous Papuan community, namely on Ondofolo/Onoafi, is a phenomenon that exists and is still ongoing. Ondofolo or Onoafi are people who are in power in the community, and who become landowners, and the Papuan Indigenous people are very subservient to Ondofolo. After the enactment of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (Marriage Law), in fact there are still many cases of polygamy in Papuan society that show imbalances in its implementation, for example men (Onoafi/Ondofolo) who practice polygamy without obtaining permission from the wife or permission from the religious court in the polygamous marriage, there are also many husbands who do not treat their other wives fairly both materially and spiritually so that it can affect the integrity of their household.

Marriages with a polygamy system have conditions in accordance with the Marriage Law, by fulfilling the requirements, marriages can be said to be legal, whereas in Papuan Customary Law, marriage with a polygamy system can be carried out using the Papuan Customary Law system, for example Ondofolo/Onoafi can marry several women without conditions as regulated in the Marriage Law, namely second marriage and so on without the consent of the first wife. If the second wife does not come from an Ondofolo/Onoafi family, her social status will change. The children that will be born will become an Ondofolo/ Onoafi family. However, the issue is whether these marriages are legal according to national law. In Indonesia, there are many customary law communities with their respective characteristics, and in fact each tribe has their customs and these become laws or regulations for these indigenous peoples.

The composition of customary law communities in Indonesia can be divided into two groups. First, there are territorial customary law communities. They are permanent and regular communities, whose community

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members are bound to a certain residential area either as a place of life or as a place of spiritual nature. Second, genealogical customary law communities, it is an orderly community unit in which members are tied to the same lineage from one ancestor, either directly due to blood relations or indirectly due to marital ties or customary ties. The genealogical nature can be distinguished into three types, namely patrilineal, matrilineal and parental in nature, and the last is genealogical territorial customary law communities or vice versa. It is a permanent and orderly community unit where the members are not only tied to a place of residence in a certain area but are also bound by ties, that is blood ties and or kinship. (Hilman Hadikusuma: 2003: 109)

In the 1945 Constitution, marriage is a human right, where every human being has the right to marry to form a happy family. Article 28B paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution states that "everyone has the right to form a family and continue their offspring through a legal marriage." In 1974, to be precise on January 2, 1974 these ideals came true and became a reality and were ratified and Number 1 Law of 1974 concerning Marriage was officially promulgated. This Marriage Law came into effect effectively on October 1, 1975. The existence of a National Marriage Law is absolutely necessary for a country like Indonesia whose people consist of various ethnic groups and population groups. Since the enactment of the Marriage Law and Government Regulation (PP) Number 9 of 1975 concerning the Implementation of Law Number 1 of 1974, the marriage law in Indonesia has undergone a renewal. The Marriage Law (UUP) is a legal order that has put the principles of national marriage law, which has put the law of various religions in the field of marriage and then becomes the benchmark for the formulation of Articles in the Marriage Law thus constitutes a legal system.

In general, a form of monogamous marriage is known, in the sense of the word marriage between a man and a woman at the same time. Even so, in the community there is also a form of polygamous marriage, which is a man who marries more than one woman at the same time. Polygamy in the Marriage Law, where a husband intends to have more than one wife, then according to the law he is obliged to submit a written application to the Court. Marriage registrar employees are prohibited from recording the marriage of a husband who will have more than one wife before the Court's permission is granted. The Marriage Law as a legal system in the field of marriage has reduced various legal regulations that have been in effect previously in societies with various changes or reforms in order to meet the legal needs of a developing society. In this regard, the implementation of the law deals with the living values of marriage law (living law) in society. Therefore, one of the interesting phenomena to study in socio-juridical manner, is the implementation of regulations on polygamy. It is because in reality, polygamous marriages have their own characteristics that rise as a case in marriage. On the one hand, in general, a wife by nature will not volunteer herself in polygamy, but on the other hand, legal provisions allow polygamy to occur as long as it is for objective reasons and certain conditions or by obtaining prior permission from the competent court. Problems concerning a polygamous marriage system arise from a lack of understanding of the basis for polygamous marriage in the Marriage Law. Custom Law Palam of Sentani Papua Community has stipulated what actions or provisions can be done and what cannot be done, for example the provisions regarding marriage.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Marriage is a physical and mental bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family (household) based on Supreme Lordship (Article 1 of the Marriage Law). In the explanation of Article 1, a meaning and purpose of marriage is concluded. Subekti explained that marriage was a legal relationship between a man and a woman for a long time. Another opinion was stated by Wirjono Prodjodikoro is that marriage is a life together of a man and a woman who meet the requirements included in the law of marriage, while in another language K. Wantjik Saleh said marriage is a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife (LibertusJehani: 2008: 1-2).

The purpose of marriage is to form a happy and everlasting family based on Supreme Lordship. A family is said to be happy when two basic needs are met, namely physical and spiritual. Physical needs include such as shelter, clothing, food, and education, while the essence of spiritual needs, for example, the existence of a child who comes from their own flesh and blood (R.M Sudikno Mertokusumo: 2008: 62). The occurrence of an inner bond in marriage is the main basis for achieving the noble goal of marriage according to the provisions of Article 1 of the Marriage Law, which is to form a happy and eternal household or family based on Almighty God, by passing on the offspring of the married and a family is formed. Hence the Marriage Law is closely related to Family Law.

In Indonesia, there are various kinship characteristics, which can be included in three types of groups, namely the first is fatherhood, in a family that is fatherly in nature, a wife because of her marriage is released from the family relationship with her parents, ancestors, siblings, cousins and other relatives. The second is Motherhood. This kind of kinship in Indonesia only exists in one area, namely Minangkabau, marriages in this area occur, having a husband to live in the house of his wife or her family. The husband himself does not belong to the wife's family, but the children of his descendants are considered to belong to the mother alone, not to the father. And the father essentially has no power over his children. The third is fatherhood - motherhood, in this

kind of family there is virtually no difference between husband and wife regarding their position in their respective families.

As a result of marriage, the husband becomes a member of the wife's family, and the wife also becomes a member of the husband's family. Thus, as a marriage, a husband and a wife each have two kinships. Thus their children will also have two kinships, namely from their father and mother. (WirjonoProdjodikoro: 1991: 17-19). The law of marriage is closely related to socio-religious life. Most of them want marriage law unification, but they require that the unification has to be carefully and gradually conducted or executed, so as not to offend a certain legal group. On the other hand, there are those who criticize the unification of the marriage law, because the relationship between the law of marriage is deeply influenced by religious and social understandings. (Rachmadi Usman: 2006: 232)

According to Paul Scholten, marriage is a legal relationship between a man and a woman to live together everlastingly, which is recognized by the state. (LibertusJehani: 2008: 1-2). The forms of marriage that apply in Indonesian society vary. Starting from the form of "honest marriage", "semenda marriage", "free marriage" (independent) to "mixed marriage". This is because the composition of society in Indonesia is different between those that are patrilineal, matrilineal, parental and mixed (Mustari Pide, 2009: 155). In a customary society, marriage is part of family law, and each customary community has its own customary law and is obeyed by its customary community. The term of "*customary law*" - "*adat recht*" was used for the first time by Snouk Hurgronje to denote *adat* which has customary sanctions "*die rechtsgevolgenhebben*" (which has legal consequences), in contrast to customs or views that have no legal meaning. Likewise, according to Ter Haar, not all customs are customary law. On the other hand, customary law is part of the customs to which sanctions have been added or "*die rechtsgevolgen*" (Afdol, 2006: 146).

According to Ter Haar, customary law is the whole regulation that is incarnated in the decisions of legal officials, which has authority and influence, and in its implementation it automatically applies and is obeyed wholeheartedly by the community. Ter Haar's opinion is known as the "Decision" theory, which means to see that a custom is already a customary law, it is necessary to look at the attitude of the community rulers towards the violator of customary rules. If the authorities impose a sentence against the offender, the customs are already customary law. (Soerjono Soekanto, 1978: 16-17). The existence of customary law communities in Indonesia have received clear and firm legal recognition and protection in the constitution in Article 18B of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution.

A proof that husband and wife are one unity, that is to let go of a wife's family name into one name, usually uses the family name of her husband, and is a soul mate for both of them as well as the existence of their collective properties during their marriage. (BewaRagawwino: 2008: 72-73).

The Marriage Law is a National Law. The notion of National Law is used in a different meaning from the meaning of Positive Law, but it contains the meaning of *ius consistuendum* or the legal system that Indonesian nation aspires to. Since a system always consists of a number of elements or components that are interrelated and influencing one to another, which is bound by one or several certain principles, the legal system also consists of a number of elements, some of which currently exist or are functioning, but some still have to be created. (Farida Patittingi: <http://idapada.page.tl/>). The Marriage Law becomes a rule or norm that regulates marriage, in this case also concerning polygamy. Legal norms are formulated in general and abstract. A legal norm is formed (designed, formulated, promulgated) because there are certain events that require law (L. M. Gandhi Lapijan: 2012: 112).

Polygamy is a form of marriage that exists in society, so the polygamous marriage system will not be separated from the discussion about marriage in general and also to customary societies. In the original form, customary law does not regulate how a husband should be fair to his wives because the positions of the wives are different, these differences will have legal consequences in the position of the children and the marriage. (Tolib Setiady: 2009: 253-254).

Theory of Justice in Polygamy

Justice is a word that is commonly used, but its meaning can be different from one usage to another. For example: giving a living is fair. Justice is a major virtue in social institutions, as is truth in systems of thought. Everyone has honor based on justice so that even the whole society cannot cancel it. On this basis, the judiciary refuses if the loss of freedom for some people can be justified by greater things that others get. Justice does not allow the sacrifices imposed on the few to be enjoyed by many. As the main virtues of humankind, truth and justice are inviolable. (John Rawls: 2011: 3-4). By stating that the aim of the law is to achieve justice solely, it is far easier than answering the question about what justice means. What is fair like and what is unfair? (Achmad Ali: 2009: 217).

In polygamy, it cannot be said whether justice can be felt through numerical equality or proportional equality. Justice for women who become first wives and those become the next wives are absolutely different, it is highly possible that there will be feelings of disapproval of women as first wives when their husbands will

take other women to become wives or their husbands will practice polygamy. Sentani customary society is subject to their Customary Laws and the law should be obeyed for the sake of justice. Justice apart from being a general virtue (natural law) is also acting as a special moral virtue. Justice determines how good a relationship is among human beings. (Otje Salman: 2009: 64). Justice is an appreciation for every person according to his or her dignity as a person and in relation to everything that is outside his or her personality. (Maidin Gultom: 2008: 22).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sentani people or Sentani community live in the area or around Lake Sentani, with *Iynea (clan)* and *Yoho* (a combination of several clans), having sago hamlets (*fiung-fikela*), water and land boundaries (*buhe-khelahe*), land boundaries (*khanihe-khelahe*) where all power is held by Ondofolo (the highest customary power holder) and Khoselo (as the head of the clan). The Papuan customary society carry out the same customary marriage procedures, but Kampung Doyo is already a more open area or has a faster access to the city, while Kampung Hobong is still a rural area where access to the city must use the transportation of boats or small boats, so that their kinship is still very traditional compared to Kampung Doyo. The two communities have the same customs or have Customary Laws and customary marriage procedures that are regulated from generation to generation, where both are still in one kinship.

Generally, the principle of marriage in Sentani customary society recognizes the principle of monogamy. However, for the ruling Ondofolo, he can marry 5 (five) wives if he does not have sons to continue his descent or leadership, while for the chief of the tribe he can marry 3 (three) wives. In practice, it turns out that this marriage system causes many conflicts within the family, especially in determining inheritance or distribution of assets, especially customary land. According to an Ondofolo, named Piet Ibo (interviewed on 11 August 2019), said Ondofolos and their descendants can carry out polygamous marriages with the provisions of custom and the marriage is legal and recognized by the local customary society. Customary provisions or Customary Law determine the marriage procedures, with conditions that must be fulfilled, for example by giving a dowry, but the permission of the first wife is not required, in other words, this polygamy can be carried out without the permission of the first wife, to ensure the principle of polygamy, it requires several formal requirements, such as applying for a polygamy permit in writing to the court. Then the court will examine and decide whether it is possible to grant the request or not. However, the fact shows that in Sentani there are polygamous marriages carried out by customary society which deviate from the point of view of the Marriage Law, which is not in accordance with the contents of Article 2 (1) where marriage is legal if it is carried out according to their religion. People of Sentani customary society are Christians who do not recognize the existence of polygamous marriages, and the polygamous marriages are also carried out without permission from the court. Judging from the explanation above, it is important to point out the existence of polygamy in Papuan traditional marriages carried out by Ondofolo/Ondoafi to the Sentani indigenous people not in accordance with the provisions of the Marriage Law or national law, legal awareness is still very low among indigenous Papuans. As it is known that there are two kinds of legal awareness, namely positive law awareness that identical with 'law abiding' and negative legal awareness, identical with 'disobedience' (Achamad Ali, 2009: 298). Based on the research obtained, it shows that Ondofolo among indigenous Papuans is still practicing polygamy. The practice of polygamy is carried out without the permission of the court or not in accordance with the rules of the Marriage Law, namely Article 4 and Article 5, for example, there is no written permission from the wives / wives or permission from government agencies for civil servants. Polygamy that is carried out by Ondofolo without the permission of the wife is carried out by customary marriage or customary law that applies to the local community.

Legal awareness in the Sentani customary society can be said to be negative legal awareness of the National Law (Marriage Law), but Sentani customary society has positive legal awareness of their customary law or obey their customary law. Based on this fact, there are indications that Ondofolo can carry out polygamous marriages by ignoring the Marriage Law. The problem of polygamy is one of the polemics in the community, according to Tidores Marweri, Ondofolo in Doyo Village argued that "Ondofolo is the sun for their customary society". This means that Ondofolo can do anything, and that is or becomes a rule or law for the community. According to Marweri, if an Ondofolo wants to do polygamy or takes another woman to become his second wife or his next ones is the right of the Ondofolo (interview, 10 August 2019).

The traditional marriage must be carried out in accordance with the customs or marriage procedures of the community, namely the Sentani customary society, after the customary marriage procedure is in accordance with their customary law, the marriage can be said to be legal, according to *Piet Ibo*, Ondofolo in Kampung Hobong (interview, 11 August 2019). Papuan Customary Societies are part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, so it is necessary to comply with the National Law, this must be grown with the awareness of Positive Law in every Papuan customary community, especially Sentani and this must be socialized in an approach first to their traditional leaders, namely Ondofolo, because customary society will submit to their Ondofolo.

Four indicators of legal awareness, put forward by Soerjono Soekanto are (a) knowledge of law, (b) understanding of the law, (c) attitudes towards the law, and (d) legal behavior (Achmad Ali: 2009: 301). Law

here means not only as state law (official law, written positive law), but also includes law that comes from social norms (triangular of society) and law that comes from religion, ethics, or morality (triangular of morality). So, in Indonesia, what we mean by law is not only legislation, but also Islamic law and customary law as long as it is still relevant to the reality and legal needs of the Indonesian people. (Achmad Ali: 2009: 302). The adherence of customary society to their customary laws is supported by positive legal awareness of their customary laws, so that positive legal awareness of the National Law is lacking. And this is also caused by the government's lack of socialization to customary society regarding to the National Law, especially the Marriage Law.

According to Marweri (interview on 10 August 2019), in general, customary society are very subject to their customary values or customary provisions as the applicable law. They believe if they do not obey the rules of the Customary Law, they will get a curse from the customary society and their ancestors. Anthropologically, marriage is a product of culture and human civilization. Civilization and culture can be seen from the cultural arts and the structuring of cultural and civilization behavior. There are normative rules on sexual intercourse done by husband and wife, namely marriage that is witnessed and legalized. Meanwhile, sexual relationship among animals do not know the rules or rules of marriage. (Dominikus Rato, 2011: 29).

The conditions for polygamy in Article 4 of Marriage Law, "the husband is obliged to submit an application to the court in the area where he lives and the court gives permission if: a) the wife is unable to carry out her obligations as a wife; b) the wife has a physical disability or incurable disease; c) the wife cannot bear offspring." Another requirement for polygamy in (Article 5 of Marriage Law), "a) the consent of the wife / wives; b) there is assurance that the husband is able to provide for the necessities of life of his wives and children; c) there is a guarantee that the husband will treat his wives and children fairly.

The customary law of Sentani community does not regulate the above-mentioned requirements regarding to polygamy. The customary society only follows the customary rules made by Ondofolo. This is a clash against the National Marriage Law, namely the Marriage Law, in which the provisions for conducting polygamy must be subject to several conditions, for example there must be permission from the first wife and in accordance with the provisions of the religion he embraces.

The principles of marriage according to the customary law of the Sentani people are as follows:

1. Marriage is aimed at forming a family and family relationship that is harmonious and peaceful, happy and everlasting.
2. Marriage is considered valid if it has received recognition from traditional leaders (Ondofolo) and family members.
3. Marriage can be carried out by a man with several women as wives. In principle, in customary law, a man can have more than one wife but there must be strong reasons if a man will have more than one wife, for example the wife cannot provide offspring, or the wife is disabled for life. thus unable to serve her husband's biological needs
4. Marriage must be based on the consent of parents and relatives, and must be carried out by traditional leaders. So that the community can reject the position of husband or wife that is not recognized by the customary community.
5. Marriage can only be performed by men and women who are physically and mentally mature. Likewise, even though a man and a woman who intend to get married are old enough, they must obtain permission or blessing from parents/family and relatives.

In Sentani customary community, the level of maturity of a person can only be seen and measured in physical form and behavior. A man can be said to be an adult if he grows chest hair, has a mustache, and is able to do jobs that are usually done by adult men such as gardening, hunting, fishing, harvesting sago palm and other jobs. Whereas for women, the level of maturity can be seen from their breasts that have been large or are expanding. Because if the breasts have not been large and expanding, it means that they are not yet to become a mother for her baby, then if the woman has experienced menstruation she can do jobs normally done by adult women such as cooking, kneading sago, serving food, being able to garden, and so forth.

Polygamy can only be done by Ondofolos while ordinary people cannot do it, according to Piet Ibo (interview, 16 August 2019). Ondofolo's power is hereditary, so in a marriage there must be a successor and a son is a requirement as a successor. The reason for polygamy is to have a son if the first wife or the old wife does not have a son, but the first wife or the old wife is the one who plays a role in the family.

Ondofolo considers polygamy to be part of Ondofolo because by doing polygamy an Ondofolo is considered capable both materially and mentally and the marriage is legal if it is carried out in accordance with his customary provisions, the purpose of his marriage is also to form his family happy (interview 13 August 2019). The opinion of *Tidores Marweri* (Ondofolo in Doyo Village) is that polygamy is not good because every individual is different, where practicing polygamy can only be done with the wish of Ondofolo who really likes to be married to fulfill his lusts. Moreover, with the entry of the Bible into the land of Papua which does not give permission for polygamy, whether he is an Ondofolo or an ordinary person who must obey the rules of the church. (interview on 10 August 2019). For example, a marriage conducted by Ondofolo in Central Sentani,

Hobong village. In this polygamous marriage where the role of the first wife is recognized by the customary community as the main one while the second wife is a complement, the second wife and so on must be satisfied with this situation, meaning that the first wife is in control as the legal wife while the second wife or so on is only as a complement.

Unhealthy polygamy practice occurs due to weak legal controls, resulting in polygamy that does not meet applicable regulations. This is also supported by a lack of legal awareness from a polygamous couple, where the customary society of Sentani do not understand the Marriage Law. This is because the lack of socialization carried out by the government, and it is felt by the Sentani people, as expressed by Sentani customary society. (interview, 9 November 2019). The division of legal counseling at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (interview on 12 November 2019), stated that the socialization of the government regarding the law, especially the Marriage Law, is indeed very limited, because there are many problems that cause minimal socialization, namely the condition of the customary society. Moreover, customary societies in Papua area very obedient and fanatical about their customary laws, then with security risks, this condition is worse remembering that Papua area is still a conflict area.

The very weak awareness of public on National Law as well as weak socialization carried out by government, have made National Law felt strange to Papuan customary communities. In connection with the occurrence of polygamy which is motivated by moral actions or coitus before marriage, it can be described as follows:

- a. Ondofolo is too powerful in his customary community so that customary society cannot prevent the actions or actions taken by Ondofolo. Ondofolo is considered the sun, meaning that what he says is a rule which must be obeyed and there will be bad consequences when ignoring the rules or the Marriage Law.
- b. It's too easy for Ondofolo to do polygamy by getting permission of the customary society, resulting in Polygamous marriages. The first wife or previous wife must be willing her husband (Ondofolo) do polygamy or willing to live and share with other wives.

This Ondofolo's polygamous marriage remains positioning the first wife as a companion if there are traditional events, or can be said to be the consort of the Ondofolo as said by Ondofolo Marweri (interview on 10 August 2019). Ondofolo Tidores Marweri is the descendant of the second wife of Ondofolo Marweri, because the first wife, whose clan is Wareu (Kwadeware), cannot bear any offspring, while the second wife's clan is Ui (Doyo). According to Marweri's statement as Ondofolo in Kampung Doyo (West Sentani), this polygamous marriage affects families and their children: "if the polygamous marriage is carried out with customary provisions or stipulated conditions, namely local Customary Law and Ondofolo.

This is a contradictory practice to the polygamy in the Marriage Law, where in the Marriage Law which is based on monogamy, and polygamy is only another alternative which has conditions. Polygamy carried out by Ondofolo of Sentani customary society has an impact on property, children and families. Based on interviews conducted in two villages in Sentani Tengah and West Sentani Subdistricts, a description of the impact of polygamous marriages on property, children and families was obtained. The issue of property is often the starting point that can lead to disputes in the marriage and the position of the wives, the second wife cannot be equal to the first wife, the second wife and the next ones are only considered as a complement or jewelry of the Ondofolo. Then the wife cannot inherit and only the children can inherit. The wife can only enjoy but cannot possess, in this case the wife does not remarry (interview, 18 August 2019). Assets cannot be separated from the inheritance system, and in Sentani customary society, there are already rules regarding assets and these rules are following the customs of that community.

CONCLUSION

Customary marriages of Papuan customary communities have been determined by law or provisions from generation to generation and made by Ondofolo, where Ondofolo has power over his customary communities. Ondofolo as the holder of power and the customary community must comply with the provisions made by Ondofolo as their customary law. Ondofolo can do polygamy or have more than one wife, without the consent or permission of the first wife, and or ignore the provisions of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage, this is due to the lack of socialization of the Marriage Law in the customary society of Sentani so that awareness and obedience to the national law in customary societies is very low. The impact of polygamy greatly affects family relationships, where the position of the first wife and other wives is different, for example the first wife is responsible for the children of a polygamous marriage, and the other wives are only jewelry from Ondofolo.

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