The commodification of polygamy through the ecranization of the novel *Air Mata Tuhan* into the film *Air Mata Surga*

Komodifikasi poligami melalui ekranisasi novel *Air Mata Tuhan* ke film *Air Mata Surga*

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Submitted: January 13, 2022; Accepted: June 8, 2022; Published: August 25, 2022

**KEYWORDS**
commodification, polygamy, ecranization, film, *Air Mata Surga*

**ABSTRACT**
This study explored the commodification of polygamy in the *Air Mata Surga* (AMS) movie, adapted from the *Air Mata Tuhan* novel. The movie was selected for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is an effective transformation medium to reach people with distinctive backgrounds, including their age, social status, domicile, education, culture, language, and even religion. Secondly, polygamy is considered sacred as it is correlated with religion. However, in the industrial sector, polygamy becomes a profane commodity once it is taken as a theme in a movie. Therefore, this study investigated the commodification types of polygamy in the AMS movie and society’s reception of those commodification. The researcher used the observation technique on material objects in a novel and film and also created a questionnaire using Google Form. The research participants came from Malang, Surakarta, and Jakarta, Indonesia. The results show that the commodification observed in the AMS movies consists of both content and audience commodification. Meanwhile, polygamy was used by the production house as a means to gain revenue and to transform ideology, both in the novel and in the movie. The findings also suggest that 78 percent of participants mentioned that their viewpoint toward polygamy shifted after watching the movie.

**KATA KUNCI**
komodifikasi, poligami, ekranisasi, film, *Air Mata Surga*

**ABSTRAK**

**How to cite this article:**

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Introduction

In the last decade, people have become used to living with media. Through the help of the media, we know most of the events occurring all over the world. Purwasito (2015) defines the logical outcome of technological advancement as a shift in worldview, which also alters the concept of space and time. The evidence of technological advancement accelerates human activities in numerous fields.

Further, the space and time transformations have expedited the progress of history. The complexity of progress attained by humankind is correlated with technological progression. The historical acceleration is marked by the piling up of various popular cultures. Consequently, it raises different types of commodification as a generalization of an event.

In short, commodification is a means of turning something into a commodity. Ibrahim and Akhmad (2014) define commodification as the conversion of the initial function assessed from the capacity to be something assessed from its advantage. The value of a good or service can change from the use-value to the sale value. For instance, a life story that initially serves as a daily communication medium among humans can generate revenue if it is written as a novel. Burton (2008) positions commodification as a keyword mentioned by Karl Marx as an "ideology" within the media.

One of the oldest commodification's is the commodification of a life story into movies. Initially, a life story functions as a medium to communicate and share experiences with other humans. However, once it is packed as a movie, its value increases not only as media but also as a commercial means to generate income. A movie theme can be a commodity. Commodification is not only practiced in a life story but also in religious activities. Commodification is used not only in common household stories, but also in the religious practice of polygamy.

Polygamy is one of the central issues related to the legal position of women and men in Indonesian law. Nasution (1996) summarizes three main purposes of the women's movement in Indonesia, namely: polygamy, forced early marriage, and divorce. In Indonesia, these three issues have become the primary causes of women's low legal standing, particularly when compared to men. Polygamy-related controversies are unavoidable. As explained by Azwarfajri (2011), polygamy is always inseparable from controversies, as some people support it while others are against it. This controversy is reported in the legal and social reality domains.

Until recently, polygamy was always synonymous with Islamic teaching, as most polygamy cases were carried out by Muslim men. However, other religions essentially do not prohibit the act of polygamy. As written by Emily J. Duncan in an article entitled The Positive Effects of Legalizing Polygamy: "Love is a Many Splendored Thing," polygamy is also practiced by non-Muslim men (Duncan, 2008). Yasin and Jani (2013) say that Islam does not force or stop its followers from being polygamists if certain conditions are met.

Islam regulates polygamy comprehensively. It can be classified as personal and even sacred since it is directly correlated with religious teaching. However, polygamy's holiness may shift once it enters the profane realm. It is packed in such a way to be a
commodity to gain profits, such as a movie theme. A movie is made according to a screenplay, which is based on the life experiences of the screenplay writer or other people.

Representation of an object in the media has never deviated from society’s realities. If the representation does not represent reality, then it reflects the thinking process, norms, and values of society (Habsari et al., 2010). Further, it distorts reality construction in the media, preventing the media from being neutral. Various media tend to convey the investor’s interest. Besides, the media is always characterized by generating revenue since it is a product of capitalism.

The issues adapted into a movie are always alluring to be criticized. A movie is an accessible medium for people across social status, cultural background, economic condition, age, education level, and even religion. Downes (2014) positions film as a strategic medium for transforming ideas and thoughts because it is an entertainment medium that functions by giving cultural space. The film is one of the most popular commodified products in society. It can be consumed by people with different backgrounds. Isomaa (2016) states that a film is a cultural product that can go beyond a country’s borders. Movies are produced in many different countries and distributed internationally. Its production process is affected by other movie productions and cultural backgrounds. Thus, it is classified as a transnational medium.

Arifianto & Junaedi (2014) explain that the accomplishment of a movie relies not only on its production process but also on its distribution procedure. Different from other media, such as newspapers that can be accessed from everywhere, film requires another medium to work, such as a movie theatre.

Many screenplays are derived from novels in Indonesia. Most of those movies can be categorized as successful as they have invited a huge number of people to come to the cinemas. As reported on the Indonesian National Film Agency’s (BPI) website, the top ten most popular movies are adapted from novels (http://filmindonesia.or.id).

Eneste (1991) defines the adaptation process of a novel to a movie as ecranization. In Indonesia, ecranization has been massively practiced. Our observation results suggest that this technique was first adopted in Indonesia by Huyung, a movie director who filmed a drama by Armijn Pane entitled Antara Bumi dan Langit. The Air Mata Surga (AMS) movie is one of the Indonesian polygamy movies adapted from a novel entitled Air Mata Tuhan, written by Aguk Irawan. Most of the different ecranization processes are induced by the distinctive systems of literary works and films. The technical differences between a novel that uses language and words and a film that uses audio-visual effects also result in differences.

Further, this study examines the narration and illustration of polygamy within the AMS movie. The adoption of the polygamy issue as a movie theme signifies its position as an industrial product that can be advertised to gain revenue. Initially, polygamy was classified as an aspect of the religious realm, but it has since transformed into a profane realm. Thus, an investigation of polygamy commodification within the film is required as it has been consumed extensively by society. The investigation should look at the similarities and differences between how polygamy is shown in the movie and how it is actually done in society, as well as what it means to watch the movie.
Up until recently, many studies have examined issues related to polygamy, but most of them only discuss the representation of polygamy within a novel or film. For instance, Dhamayanti (2014) analyzed three Indonesian polygamy movies produced between 2006 and 2009, entitled Berbagi Suami (2006), Ayat-Ayat Cinta (2008), and Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (2009). The study concluded that those three movies illustrate the decision-making process of men and women to engage in polygamy, along with their particular distinctive reasons. Initially, that study aimed to identify the audiences’ reception toward the polygamy illustration from those three films. The results showed that the informants’ different backgrounds, especially religion, led to distinctive receptions. The research informants’ position of reading also varies, from dominant-hegemonic, oppositional, to negotiating. This study selects a particular ecranization movie. It’s different from the previous study from Dhamayanti (2014). Besides, unlike Dhamayanti’s (2014), which focuses on social reception, this study concentrates on polygamy’s commodification.

Putri (2017) explains that the messages from a movie frequently represent the current social condition. In her study entitled “Representation of Sincerity in Air Mata Surga Film (Semiotic Analysis of Fisha Figure),” Putri (2017) focuses on the sincerity characteristics of the figure of Fisha. The Semiotic Roland Barthes was used to analyze data obtained through documentation. The study revealed that the sincerity characteristics demonstrated by the Fisha figure are not showing off, not being a hypocrite, persistent, not easily disappointed, avoiding all prohibited matters by the Almighty God, and being kind to everyone.

Another study on AMS movies was carried out by Aisyah (2016), focusing on the semiotic analysis of the struggle of being a pious wife. Aisyah (2016) states that every movie carries purposes and messages. That study was initiated to identify the nuance of connotation, denotation, and myths in the AMS film, as well as the dominant messages within the movie. Using a descriptive qualitative approach and Roland Barthes’s theory, the study reviewed and obtained data intensively and in-depth. The study concluded that signs or semiotics carry the unseen capacity to reveal the presented structure of meaning. Meanwhile, another commodification study was carried out by Endah (2011) on a television show (Idola Cilik 3). That study was motivated by parents’ or media observers’ anxiety about the effects of the television show on society, especially the children. That study concluded that Idola Cilik 3 does not fully appreciate or accommodate children’s talent in Indonesia, but rather exploits the children to attain profits.

Therefore, this study offers different aspects from previous studies as it investigates the representation of polygamy within the novel and film while also examining the way polygamy is placed as a commodity in the movie. Besides, it also explores the correlation between the polygamy illustration in the film and the real polygamy practiced by society. In our society, polygamy is distinguished as a negative act, including the perpetrator. Several public figures who practiced polygamy have received a different reaction, including a lack of sympathy and reduced charisma. During the 2019 election in Indonesia, one of the candidates campaigned on the rejection of polygamy. Polygamy has been regarded as a form of male domination over females and a disastrous element for family harmony. However, the movie offers a distinctive illustration of polygamy. Every
one of us may choose to participate in polygamy even without the initial intention. Besides, the demand for polygamy does not always come from the husband, and the wife frequently asks her husband to marry again. A further investigation of this phenomenon and its effects on society is thought-provoking. The primary problems examined in this study revolve around the commodification of polygamy in AMS film. This study also investigates the background, reasons, process, and types of polygamy.

Piliang (2005) describes how modern society is characterized by its ability to position everything in their lives as commodities to gain revenue. Commodification has been observed in every part of human life, including in the economy, education, culture, and religious areas. As explicitly explained by Barker (2004) and Mulyanto (2012), commodities are the product of human creativity, in the form of goods and services, expected to be exchanged in the market. Most of the time, commodification is equalized to commercialization, even if they have differences. Mosco (1996) defines commodification as "the process of transforming use values into exchange values." Mosco (1996) states that, generally, commodification is divided into two: message content and the social of audience commodification. The message content within a given medium is the primary form of commodification. The themes in the message content are packaged and created to attain revenue. Also, the commodification of the audience shows how society has a lot of potential to be used as a market for media creation products.

In addition, this study also uses reception theory to identify the movie audience's reception toward polygamy commodification. The reception theory describes how a text produces a different reaction if it is read or consumed by people with distinctive backgrounds. Additionally, Iser (1978) also explains that a piece of text can come to life once it is read. If it is not read, then it remains as an artifact without the utmost meaning. The text's meaning is processed according to the readers' distinctive point of view. Similarly, Segers (2000) states that, as a form of the communication process, a feedback process occurs between the readers and the text. The readers assign meanings to the unseen, non-explicit symbols.

**Method**

This study was categorized as descriptive-qualitative cultural studies-oriented postmodernism. In this context, the commodification was characterized by dominant capitalistic power (religion) by placing polygamy practice as the main theme of the movie and retailing it in society. This study used two means of data collection, namely document study and questionnaire distribution. The document study was carried out by examining the form of polygamy commodification within the incarnation of AMS film. Meanwhile, the questionnaire was used to identify society's reception and its implications towards society.

This study used a critical qualitative approach, which is frequently used to observe several phenomena. This critical qualitative was used in the entire research procedure, starting from data collection, data processing, and data analysis. In the data collection process, two procedures were adopted: observation and literature review (including the analysis of questionnaire results). Critical behavior was prioritized during the data collection process in reviewing and observing the field phenomena. Similarly, the data analysis was also carried out critically to ensure the validity of the obtained data.
The data obtained was in the form of words, sentences, audio, and visuals, as well as stories related to the discussed materials. Additionally, the data was also obtained from an interview with informants. The data for this study were gathered by observing, copying, and gathering relevant information. Aside from the interview, the questionnaire was also used to attain information from the informants. The questionnaire was disseminated through Google Forms for efficiency and to reach informants from across Indonesia.

The information gathered from informants is used to identify society’s perception and the implication of polygamy commodification in AMS movies. Several criteria were used in the informant selection. First, the informants should have read the novel and never watched the movie. This category aimed to identify the effects of polygamy's commodification for the novel's readers. The second category includes people who did not read the novel but saw the AMS film in a theater, on a personal computer, laptop, or with a VCD or DVD player. The third category is for people who have watched the movie and read the novel. Those three categories can be further divided into smaller categories, such as the informants who only read one of the novels or only watched one of the series of movies. The total number of informants involved in this study was 50, coded from INF01 to INF50.

The informants come from various areas of Indonesia. However, most of the informants come from Surakarta (Solo), Jakarta, and Malang. These three big cities were selected to fulfill the representation of the biggest races in Indonesia. The Surakarta (Solo) people are represented as Javanese people. As the novel and film had a close correlation to Javanese culture, we investigate whether the informant’s perspective affects their appreciation of the movie or film. The Jakarta people were selected to represent the metropolitan people who always followed the rapid era of development. Jakarta has always symbolized modernization. The urban Jakarta people are always contrasted with the agrarian people living in the rural areas. These people were selected as informants to see how their appreciation of the novel or film translated into Meanwhile, the people from Malang represented the society in the city of international education, as there are a lot of state and private universities in Malang. Like Yogyakarta, Malang has many active college students coming from across Indonesia's areas. This group in society has a great number and carries effects on the dynamic era. The college students’ acceptance and implication of reading the novel and watching a film are essential in this study. The 19 (38%), 12 (24%), and 12 (24%) informants come from Solo, Malang, and Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi), while the remaining participants (7 or 14%) come from other areas.

In addition, the marital status of the informants also varies, from not married to married, widowed, polygamous men, and polygamous women. As this study investigated the polygamy issue, the informants’ age and marital status were essential. In this category, equally, 18 (36%) participants have been married and not yet married, while 5 (10%), 4 (8%), 3 (6%), and 2 (4%) informants were male polygamy, male widow, female polygamy, and female widow, respectively. The marital status of the research informant is illustrated in Figure 1.
The descriptive-qualitative technique was used to analyze the data. Concretely, the data analysis procedures consisted of data classification, tabulation, and inference. The data classification was used to select and arrange the data following the research focus. Meanwhile, data tabulation functions to gather and summarize the data, facilitating a more straightforward analysis process. Lastly, data inference was used to interpret the data based on the theory and conclude the research results. We acted as the data collector and analyzer instruments, as it was qualitative research.

Results and Discussion

Mass media is part of the capitalist interest. Originally, the primary function of the media was as a tool to generate maximum revenue in the form of money or other material revenue, as well as the other interests of capital owners. However, with this media capitalization, people still enjoy using the media.

Film is a type of media. Putri et al. (2017) explains that the production of a movie requires a significant amount of capital. Later, the movie should attain a higher revenue than the capital. The primary way to generate that income is through the sale of tickets, which is enhanced by commercial advertising. However, as the media becomes a commercial space for capitalistic gain, most of the capital holders are no longer focusing on creating a qualified product. They instead focus on gaining as much profit as possible. Meanwhile, the persecuting system in Indonesia is the social responsibility of all Indonesian people.

Our observation results confirm that the AMS film tells the story of a woman named Fisha (performed by Dewi Sandra), a graduate student from Yogyakarta who was completing her final project. She was suggested to meet a lecturer in Jakarta to be her project advisor, named Fikri (performed by Richard Kevin). Their introduction grew into love between them. After their special first meeting, Fikri went to Yogyakarta to propose to Fisha. The story’s pieces of scenes are illustrated in Figure 2.
Fikri had been confident in his decision to propose to Fisha. Their marriage was celebrated glamorously, even when they were not blessed by Fikri’s family, since he had been matched with another woman selected by his mother. Meanwhile, Fikri’s grandmother still supported their marriage.

After the marriage, Fisha moved to Jakarta. Even with numerous bad treatments from Fikri’s mother, Fisha tried to withstand them. However, Fisha's miscarriages exacerbated and exacerbated their conflict. Fikri’s mother became more anxious as Fikri should have children as quickly as possible to continue their family lineage. Thus, Fikri’s mother’s hatred toward Fisha grew expeditiously. One day, when Fikri was out of town, Fisha had a terrible stomachache, and the doctor diagnosed her with late-stage ovarian cancer, which caused her difficulties getting pregnant. During that situation, Fikri never put the blame on Fisha. Numerous scenes illustrate the story precisely by swirling the viewers’ emotions, as illustrated in Figure 4.
As Fisha knew that she had no time and no ability to have children, she was willing to sacrifice her position as a wife. She asked her best friend, Weni, to marry Fikri. Weni was shocked when listening to Fisha’s wish. However, Fikri and Weni finally agreed to Fisha’s offer. Initially, Fikri did not want to get married again as long as Fisha was still alive. However, they got married and practiced polygamy.

Mosco (1996) mentions two types of commodification, namely message content and audience commodification. The commodification of content messages was observed in the AMS movie on the topic of polygamy. This movie placed polygamy as one of its crucial story conflicts. This movie is categorized as a drama, so it packed its story to generate dramatic effects using polygamy as a trigger. In this movie, the scenes aim to awaken viewers’ emotions, primarily the sad and heartwarming ones. The marriage between Weni and Fikri, when Fisha was still alive, marks the beginning of polygamy practice. This scene also symbolizes commodification.

The AMS movie aspires to confirm the contexts where women are willing to prioritize their husband’s contentment. It was communicated by Fisha, who sincerely asked her husband to marry another woman. Fisha’s willingness is not induced by religious teaching, but it is caused by the specific context of her illness and the insistence of her mother-in-law. The film raises a number of polygamous discourses, including the occurrence of polygamy, polygamous actors, and the reasons for their decision to practice polygamy.

In addition, audience commodification was also observed within the AMS movie. A huge number of novel readers become potential movie viewers. Besides, the potency of high viewer numbers is also caused by Indonesia’s high population, which tends to be permissive and easily influenced, as well as the abundant availability of cinemas. In the last two years, Indonesian movies have been recorded as gaining millions of viewers
successfully. However, Riri Riza, a movie director, mentioned that the number had not been sufficient and added that Indonesia has the potential for higher movie viewer numbers. Riri also described that compared to South Korea, with a 50 million population, its best-seller movie, The Admiral: Roaring Currents (2014), had been watched by 17 million viewers, signifying that one in three South Koreans had watched the movie (Juniman, 2017).

Every film director has calculated how to make more money than they invested. Its polygamy theme, which is identical to Islam, shows that the AMS movie targets Indonesian Muslim majority people. Since Indonesia’s majority of the population is Muslim, many movie producers produce religious movies. Meanwhile, Garin Nugroho, another movie director, argued that a film could be a family and religious indoctrination medium for Indonesia’s heterogenous market target (Pasaribu, 2011). In the production of spiritual movies, religion can be an exciting part that invites an excellent number of viewers.

In the AMS movie, the polygamy practiced ended with the death of its main character. This ending signifies the film producer’s avoidance of the harmonious and happy ending of the polygamous family. Recently, a happy ending has been a long-lasting dominant norm in Indonesian movies. Heryanto (2015) states that in an Islamization context, the situation shows that a Muslim was able to solve a problem in his or her life.

Individuals’ reception towards a literary text can be distinctive. Istanti (2008) defines a literary work as an artwork constructed with aesthetic elements. Without being read, a literary text remains an artifact, and its aesthetic part can only be realized through the active participation of readers (as seen in its form of creativity).

Our research informants were selected following a set of criteria, while our data was collected with the help of a questionnaire. The analysis of interview and questionnaire results suggests that most viewers gain new knowledge. For instance, they initially perceive polygamy as something negative that is always initiated by the man’s desire to marry another woman and hurt his first wife. However, in the AMS film, polygamy is practiced due to the wives’ requests in specific coherent contexts. Consequently, the story shifts society’s point of view and extends their interpretation related to polygamy practice. They become aware of another possible context that induced polygamy, aside from the husband’s wild desire.

Our result identifies that a movie carries a role in influencing its viewers’ perspective. It highlights that the alteration of society’s viewpoint does not always require violence. A ruler can adopt another temporary measure to influence people. Similarly, the capital owners (in the movie production context) can channel an idea toward society softly. Gramsci (2013) proposes that for the subordinate to understand the values of the ruler, they should agree to the ruler’s subordination.

In addition, this study also investigates the effects of AMS movies on informants’ viewpoints toward people practicing polygamy. Twelve informants mention that their perspective toward polygamy remains the same, while 35 informants’ perspectives change. Meanwhile, the other three informants have no idea whether their view toward polygamy has changed. The informants with transformed perspectives describe that
the alteration is caused by the portrayal of polygamists as kind people. As a result, those who were initially opposed to polygamists are now aware that some polygamists are kind.

In a particular situation, both men and women can practice polygamy. Besides, the AMS movie confirms that wives can take any measure to demonstrate their sincere love to their husbands, as illustrated by Fisha’s request for Fikri to marry Weni. It exemplifies that there are women willing to do anything to show their love for their husband, including asking their husband to marry another woman.

In the questionnaire, the informants were also asked whether they agreed with the production of religious movies in the future. 42 out of 50 informants agree with the production of more religious movies since they perceive movies as an effective medium to enlighten society on religious issues. Therefore, they can access balanced information. With its empathetic features, the film is effective in gently influencing society by widening the room of interpretation and providing choices without being patronizing. Also, our study shows that commodification makes movie production more profitable and creates a mutually beneficial system of symbiosis.

We observe a mutually beneficial triangle pattern since we have screenplay or novel writers, readers, and movie viewers for these religious movies and novels. In our study, we involved informants who had read the novel and watched the movie, but there are people who avoid reading the novel and watching the movie since they have specific expectations toward them. The INF16 informant, a woman, the first wife of a polygamist, expressed gratitude toward the creation of this type of movie and novel since it helped transform society’s viewpoint toward polygamy. She added that the movie did not explicitly promote polygamy, but it exemplifies a wiser perspective toward polygamy. Even if people choose not to practice polygamy, at least they do not place a negative label on polygamists.

The novel writer or movie producer establishes positive effects for society. Even if commodification always aims to generate revenue, it still has positive effects on society. Aside from gaining a profit, movie producers have to examine the possible negative effects of the movie on society.

In the last session of the questionnaire, the informants were asked whether they grasped the movie production’s purposes aside from profit generation, such as the ideological purpose. The informants’ answers can be classified into three categories: mere economic motive, possible ideological transfer or da’wah motive, and doubting answer. The movie carries implications both for society and for Islam.

Most of the informants also agreed that movies could be an effective medium for spreading propaganda. This film can be used as a medium to confirm various sides of polygamy, which have not been proportionally exposed to society. This movie does not ask people to practice polygamy. It rather places polygamy as a common practice that is forbidden in Islam.

Conclusions

This study describes the commodification of polygamy in the ecranization of Air Mata Tuhan’s novel to the Air Mata Surga movie. It further discusses the types of
polygamy commodification and society’s perception of it. The movie was observed to have message content and audience commodification, with content message positioning in the crucial position of polygamy in the story. Polygamy is used as a commodity to attain society’s interests, resulting in economic benefit. As the number of novel readers is huge, the movie also potentially has a lot of viewers. Besides, the Indonesian population is primarily Muslim, which is targeted by the movie. This movie brings specific information related to polygamy to a universal audience. This movie reveals the other unseen contexts where people may decide to be polygamists, Thus, society learns different possible reasons for being a polygamist. Besides offering benefits for society, especially movie lovers, this study can also be used as a reference by future relevant studies, especially studies of commodification. Movie studies are important because they are one of the most accessible and closest mediums to society. The film illustrates the life of our community. This study does not aim to promote polygamy, but it demonstrates that religious teaching can be super private and cause controversy. However, the teaching can be adapted into a screenplay that produces less resistance in society. Other studies on movies are required in the future. Indonesia’s scientific findings, especially those about commodification and film media, need to be improved by looking at them from different points of view.

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