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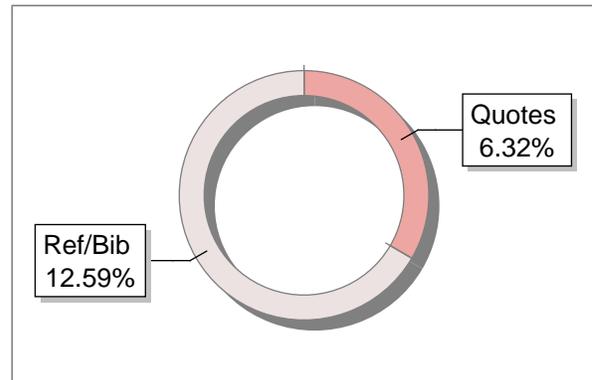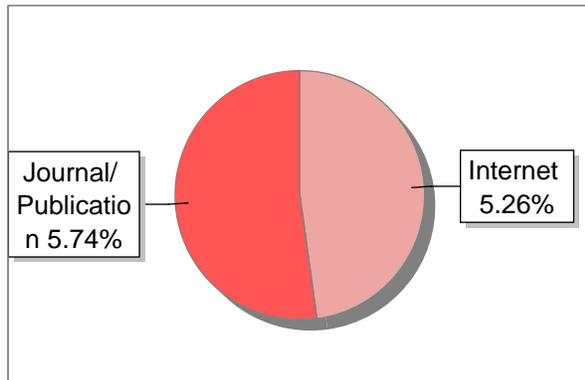
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# The Arabic Language of Resistance to Polygamy on Social Media: Study on Hastag *Ta'addud al-Zaujat*

**Rika Astari**
Universitas Ahmad Dahlan
rika.astari@bsa.uad.ac.id

**Abdul Mukhlis**
Universitas Ahmad Dahlan
abdul.mukhlis@bsa.uad.ac.id

**Yusroh**
Universitas Ahmad Dahlan
yusroh@bsa.uad.ac.id

**Muhammad Irfan Faturrahman**
Universitas Ahmad Dahlan
muhammad.faturrahman@staff.uad.ac.id

***ENGLISH ABSTRACT***

*The issue of polygamy in Arab society is rarely published in the media. Since the emergence of social media platforms in 2004, such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter, the public has communicated and disseminated information freely. On social media, the polygamy controversy is a common subject. The video explanation by Sheikh Doctor Ahmad Karimah Yajib regarding polygamy is one of the videos about the practice that has generated a lot of controversy. This qualitative research relies on primary data from the hashtag Ta'addud al-Zaujat post data (1000 and 5000 posted from 2019 to 2022). The data is disaggregated by expressions in the comments column indicating polygamy resistance. The reasons for resistance to polygamy are not just prompted by Arab netizens' psychological experiences in doing so. However, it is also influenced by the opposition expressed by other internet users from various cultural backgrounds. Expressions of resistance posted in the hashtag Ta'addud al-Zaujat have formed a public opinion to fight against polygamy. This expression of resistance is legitimized by sharing an explanation of the fatwa of Arab Ulama on social media, which only reveals a part of the explanation regarding the polygamy law.*

***Keywords****: Resistance of Language, Arab Netizens, Polygamy, Hastag Ta'addud al-Zaujat*

**INDONESIAN ABSTRACT**
Isu poligami dalam masyarakat Arab pada awalnya jarang dimuat di media. Sejak munculnya media sosial pada tahun 2004 seperti instagram, facebook, twitter,

masyarakat Arab mulai berkomunikasi dan menyampaikan informasi dengan bebas. Topik kontroversi poligami banyak dijumpai di media sosial. Salah satu postingan video tentang poligami yang menuai banyak kontroversi adalah video penjelasan Syekh Doktor Ahmad Karimah Yajib. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif yang mengandalkan data primer. Data primer diperoleh dari data postingan tagar Ta'addud al-Zaujat (1000 dan 5000 yang diposting dari 2019 hingga 2022). Data tersebut dipilah dengan ungkapan di kolom komentar yang menunjukkan penolakan terhadap poligami. Ekspresi perlawanan tidak hanya dilatarbelakangi oleh pengalaman psikologis netizen Arab dalam mengungkapkan alasan penolakan poligami, tetapi juga dipengaruhi oleh ekspresi resistensi dari netizen lain yang memiliki latar belakang budaya yang beragam. Ekspresi resistensi yang dimuat dalam tagar Ta'addud al-Zaujat telah membentuk opini publik untuk menentang poligami. Ekspresi resistensi ini dilegitimasi dengan memposting penjelasan fatwa Ulama Arab di media sosial yang hanya menampilkan sebagian dari penjelasan tentang hukum poligami.

**Kata kunci**: Bahasa Resistensi, Netizen Arab, Poligami, Hastag Ta'addud al-Zaujat

## Introduction

Polygamy in the tradition of Arab society is common, so the issue of polygamy is rarely discussed in the media. Since the emergence of social media in 2004 (Havas et al. 2017), such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter, the public feels they can communicate and convey information. Through social media, the issue of the pros and cons of polygamy has been widely voiced by the public. The video by Shaykh Doctor Ahmad Karimah Yajib that explains polygamy is one of the polygamy-related video uploads that has generated a lot of debate. He explained that polygamy, which does not need permission from the first wife, has caused controversy among Arab netizens. His statement regarding polygamy is as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

قال كريمة في لقاء تلفزيوني: "إن الزوجة الأولى يجب أن تعين الزوج على الزواج بثانية،

إذا أراد أن يعف نفسه كي لا يرتكب فاحشة."

</div>

Karima stated in a television interview:

"The first wife must help her husband marry the second wife, if she wants
to save her husband from committing immorality" (Musthofa, 2022).

The statement of Ahmad Karimah caused controversy from both Arab netizens and from the ulemas (Darul Ifta clerics and female clerics). This video lasted 7.32 minutes, watched 6,414 views, and received 30 comments and 33 likes. The number of ideas that reach thousands, comments, and replies show high public engagement.

Comments about this video of polygamy were posted on the hashtag Ta'addud al-Zaujat. This hashtag shows expressions that show resistance and satire against polygamy.

So far, two viewpoints exist on studying resistance in the Arabic language and culture, first, from the perspective of the resistance itself, specifically against colonialism and political authority (Hamdy 2017), and second, based on the way of resistance, namely by using linguistics, literature, humor, and the media. Linguistic behavior is associated with resistance to colonialism (Ngom 2002). An example of literary resistance contained in poetry is using the natural lexicon as a symbol of resistance against the occupiers of Palestinian land since 1984. Exploration of the natural environment has always shaped individuals and contributed to greening resistance through parts of biotic communities in the Arab world (Ahmed and Hashim 2015). Resistance poetry was used for resistance in the Mubarak era. The poetry explicitly expresses a rejection of persecution, poverty, disease, and other disastrous consequences of the regime's corruption and tyranny. Besides poetry, this resistance uses media and humor. The Egyptians used creative resistance methods such as joke stories (Muhammad Agami Hassan Muhammad 2017), (Al-Rawi 2016). The two typologies show the perspective of the object and the way of resistance. Existing studies have not explained how social media influences the language of resistance.

This paper complements previous studies, which look at resistance with an objective approach (not examining subjective dimensions). Accordingly, in addition to (1) mapping the forms of resistance by Arab netizens to polygamy, this paper also (2) analyzes the factors or conditions that lead to forms of expression of resistance to polygamy.

Expressions of resistance occur not only due to misinterpretation of texts on polygamy verses and the psychological impact on women but the presence of social media has influenced language behavior and user opinions. The language of expression used comes from various cultures and backgrounds, which has led to mixing one language of resistance with another without boundaries. The more expressive language will survive on social media used by users. The media is a form of symbolic and semiotic power because it shapes reality in people's minds (Djonov, Emilia, and Theo Van Leeuwen. 2017). Thus, the expression of resistance is produced and reproduced in the social life of society.

**Methods**

The language of resistance to polygamy in the Ta'addud al-Zaujat hashtag was chosen as the subject of this paper for two reasons. First, the problem of language resistance in Arabic on social media was a topic that did not gain much attention in previous studies. Second, the language of resistance explains a causal relationship arising from reasons that need to be disclosed about the pattern of resistance language to Arab netizens.

This qualitative research relies on primary and secondary data. The primary data was obtained from posting the hashtag Ta'addud al-Zaujat. (1000 and 5000) published from 2019 to 2022). The data was sorted based on the expressions in the comments column, which show resistance to polygamy. The data needed consists of data on forms of resistance language and the factors behind the expression. The expressions of resistance involve linguistic/pragmatic and psychological expression patterns. Factors that cause resistance are mapped from the form of the expression.

Before the research, various primary materials were collected, in the form of posts on resistance to polygamy on the hashtag taddud zaujat and expressions of resistance in the comments column. Online news was used to map the resistance that occurs at the text level. The stages of data processing start from data reduction (expressions of resistance in the comments column). The observation of data displays was carried out as a summary and synopsis based on patterns of terms of resistance— the data verification for the inference process. The analysis used follows an interpretation technique that starts with a restatement of the data found from posts on hashtags, followed by a description to find patterns or tendencies in the text data of expressions of resistance, ending with the interpretation of the data to reveal the meaning of the texts that have been collected. The research flow was shown in the following figure:
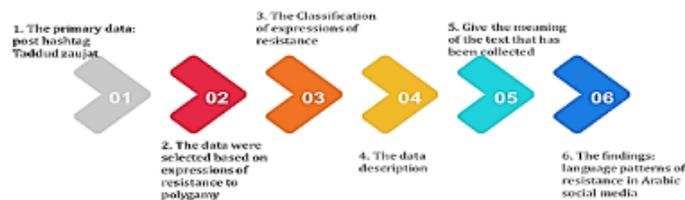


**Picture 1.** Methods of Research

**The Resistance**

Resistance is an action taken by a subordinate group that aims to reject claims made by a superordinate party or group against them (Haslam and Reicher 2012). Resistance occurs due to oppression in the daily life of a community or a certain group. The resistance of the oppressed group is their attempt to defend their rights (Martí and Fernández 2013). Resistance explains the occurrence of resistance by people who have been mistreated. Resistance can be in conflicts, demonstrations, or conveying aspirations through correspondence to related parties to voice their grievances. Whatever its form, resistance is a statement of attitude that is applied through action against all forms of injustice (Medina, José 2017). Henry A Lands Berger (1981) argues that the protest movement is a collective reaction against low positions vulnerable to social, economic, and political injustice (Sager 2016).

Resistance can occur in the social or scientific world. In the scientific world, resistance is a force that acts to stop the progress of something or make it slower. Resistance is resistance or refusal to protest the changes that occur and are not appropriate. This is a form of resistance most common in social society. (Stoknes 2015).

Resistance is a word that seeks to explain the phenomenon of resistance by subalterns or those oppressed because of injustice and so on. Resistance can also be seen as materialization or the most actual manifestation of the desire to reject the domination of knowledge or power (Medina, José. 2012).

Resistance consists of open, covert, or hidden resistance in the form of negotiations. Acts of violence, crowds, or riots mark the open resistance. Closed resistance is a form of resistance characterized by gossip or issues between one person and another so that people have the same perception of a particular object. Usually, this closed resistance is done in a hidden way. Scott explained that there are different perspectives between open resistance and closed resistance. Open resistance is: (a) organized, systematic, and cooperative; (b) principled or selfless; (c) has revolutionary consequences; (d) contains ideas and goals that negate the basis of domination itself.

Meanwhile, closed resistance is; (a) not organized, not systematic, and individual; (b) have self-interest; (c) has no revolutionary effect (Husain, Irfan Rahmad, and Rahmat Sewa Suraya. 2017). Community resistance, according to Scott, can be divided into two categories: resistance caused by direct causes and indirect causes. Community

resistance is due to direct reasons such as oppression, threats, pressure, and coercion by landlords, government, capital owners, or other parties. Meanwhile, resistance is indirectly through hidden resistance. Hidden resistance can achieve more significant results than open resistance.

**The Polygamy**

The concept of polygamy (ta'addud al-zaujāt) in fikih is generally understood as a husband concurrently bringing together two to four wives (Syamsuddin, Sukring. 2018). Since thousands of years ago, before the arrival of Islam, polygamy had become a tradition that was considered normal (Ahmed, Leila. 2021). The word polygamy comes from the Greek. This word is a fragment of the words poli and polus, meaning many, and the word gemein or gamos, meaning marriage or marriage (Diponegoro, Ahmad Muhammad 2014). These two words, when combined mean a lot of marriages. In Islam, polygamy is marriage that more than one person carries out with predetermined limits, generally understood to be up to four women. Some understand that polygamy in Islam can be up to nine or more. Polygamy with a maximum limit of four wives is more commonly understood with support from the history of the Prophet Muhammad (Wardeh 2016).

Saudi Arabia makes Islamic Law (Fiqh) the basis of the Act that regulates state law. The Marriage Law (UUP), which governs polygamy, is not explicitly regulated, which means that the practice of polygamy is permissible but must meet the requirements of having a fair attitude and may only have a maximum of 4 wives. (Siddi, Ibnu Radwan, and T. MA 2017). Even though polygamy has become commonplace in Saudi Arabia, over time, social changes have occurred, many young people have opposed it, and less and less do it. As reported in the news of the Middle Eastern world, women want to be polygamous because they are afraid they will not be able to get married due to the large number of unmarried women in the kingdom. Meanwhile, the first wife cannot forbid her husband to remarry (Mirecki, Brimhall, and Bramesfeld 2013). Another problem that has a more impact is that even though polygamy is legalized in Saudi Arabia, many Arab people avoid it because the practice of polygamy adds emotional and financial pressure to families. (Dissa 2016).

**The Hastag on Social Media**

Hashtags on social media were first used by a Twitter user, namely Chris Messina 14 years ago, to be precise, August 23, 2007. Hashtags have been used for various website purposes. But it was Chris Messina who first suggested using hashtags to collect specific topics (Mulyadi and Fitriana 2018). The hashtag (#) or in English is called a hashtag is a sign that was originally used to indicate numbers in Canada and the United States, often the mention of hashtags is changed to just the word tag to make it shorter and more efficient (van Vliet, Törnberg, and Uitermark 2020). The hashtag then began to enter telephone sets in times of war, until recently the definition of hashtag was expanded to become a sign in information technology to highlight a special meaning (Steinert-Threlkeld et al. 2015). Brian Kernighan and Dennis Ritchie later developed around 1970-1978 M. Hashtags as a tool to mark and refer to an individual, group, or message relevant to a particular topic. (Heilig 2015).

Variations in the use of hashtags are always formed from words. Making words on hashtags is divided into eight in terms of the process of making words divided into eight. First, affixation is a linguistic term for creating a new understanding in social media by adding prefixes or suffixes such as #regram consisting of re and gram, selfie consisting of self and, ie. The second, compounding, is two root words that are put together like #outfit consisting of out and fit. The third, coinage, is a new word that appears like #foodporn. The fourth, blending, is a word made up of combinations of words; for example, #instagood, the hashtag, is a combination of Instagram and good to show good photos with high aesthetic value. The fifth is an acronym (abbreviation), which is a word that appears as a result of an abbreviation; for example, #YOLO stands for you only live once. The sixth, initialism (initial letter, is almost the same as an acronym; it is just that it cannot be easily spelled in terms of pronunciation, for example, FOOTD, which stands for Outfit of the Day. The seventh, clipping (word cutting), is words that are deliberately trimmed to make it easier but still show the true meaning #pict to show a picture. The eighth is multiple processes to show special meaning.

**Result and Discussion**

The language of resistance against polygamy by Arab netizens is in the form of: interpretation of the argument, satire, and insults against men, with animal proverbs. The expressions used by Arab netizens are shown in table no.1 below:

**Tabel 1**. The Expressions of Resistance to Polygamy

| No. | The Resistance speech | Coding |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | هو خل يسأل نفسه اولاً هل هو مبُاح له أو لا و يحكم ضميره هل سيعدل او لا حتى يكون الزواج مبُاح له،،، و إلا لو يخافون فعلاً من الله ما كان التعدد عدهم بهذي السهولة<br><br>"He first asks himself whether it is permissible for him, and his conscience judges whether he will be fair so that marriage is permissible. Otherwise, if they really feared God, polygamy would not have counted them so easily". (noor.makki2) | Interpretation of The Qurán |
| 2 | والايه الثانيه الله قال خايف انك ماتعدل! خلاص اكتفي بوحده يابني ادم الله قاعد يحذر الانسان بس االانسان يروح للعذاب برجووله !<br><br>"And the second verse, God said, "I am afraid that you will not be just." Salvation is enough alone, my son Adam! God is sitting warning man, but man goes to torment out of his manhood". (97.meem@a.oy20) | Interpretation of The Qurán |
| 3. | سبحان الله كل الرجال بلا استثاء يصبحون فقهاء في الدين بمسالة التعدد ويجيب لك دلائل من القران والسنه،وهو من الاساس مايعرف طريق المسجد،من انتم؟؟؟؟؟؟<br><br>"Glory be to God, all men, without exception, become jurists in the religion on the issue of polygamy, and he answers you evidence from the Qur'an and Sunnah, and he is basically what knows the way to the mosque. Who are you??????" (se12h) | The satire on men |
| 4. | بو لحية زعفرانية متناقض !!! يسوي روحه يزوجهم للقضاء عالعنوسة!؟ تالي يقول الزوج اذا ما تزوج يدور الحرام !؟ معناته ان هالزوج فاسد ومو مكفيته زوجته !؟<br><br>"A contradictory saffron beard!!! He settles his soul to | The satire on men |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | marry them to the judiciary for spinsterhood!? Next, the husband says that he will go around the haram if he does not marry!? It means this husband is corrupt and his wife is insufficient for him!?"(eng_dandoon) | |
| 5. | كذب كذب كذب الرجال مايملي عينه الا التراب ليت بس احنا نعدد والله لا يفرك فرك من الحمس ͡° ° ° <br><br> "A lie, a lie, a men's lie. Nothing fills his eyes except dirt. I wish we were counting, and God does not rub a rub of zeal ° ° ͡°". (m_1kw) | The satire on men |
| 6. | خله يتزوج بتاخذ اول شي من فضلتي وثاني شي بتبتلش فيه و. ثالث شي والاهم ماهمني لوغيري ياخذ مكاني بقايا صيد الذيب ماتاخذ هـ الا الكلاب ͡° ° ° ͡° ° ° <br><br> "Let him get married. You take the first thing from my preference and the second thing you start with. The third and most important thing is that I don't care if someone else takes my place, the remains of wolf hunting that only dogs take ° ° ͡° ° ° ͡°". (tawalqassab3278) | Metaphor of animal |
| 7. | صح والله الطلاق ولا حرقة القلب ، امساك بمعروف او تسريح باحسان ، كان النصح بالطلاق افضل من التزوج بالثانيه <br><br> "It is true, by God, that divorce does not cause heartburn. Holding on a reasonable basis or letting go with kindness. Advising divorce is better than marrying a second wife". (terfah) | Resistance by choosing a divorce |
| 8. | اللي مأيده اكيد زوجه ثانيه ͡° ° ° بس مو منطق عشان لايروح الحرام اخليه يتزوج بالطقاق خله يروح وياخذ ذنوب ونهايته نار جهنم ͡° ° ° ͡° ° ° <br><br> "For sure, I'm sure she's the second wife ° ° ͡° but there's no logic so that what is illegal doesn't disappear, let her marry as she pleases, let her go and bring sins, and the end is hell fire ° ° ͡° ° ° ͡°". (q8.netflix) | Threat to hell |

Arab netizens expressed their resistance to polygamy by interpreting the argument, satire/insulting men, and using animal parables. The expression in data no.1 shows resistance which is represented by the heart (ويحكم ضميره) o raise doubts about the attitude of justice in polygamy which is demonstrated by the use of the sentence *istifham*

(هل سيعدل او لا). Furthermore, this symbol of resistance links the attitude of justice in polygamy with fear/fear of God. This expression of resistance is in line with data no. 2, which interprets the polygamy verse in Surah An-Nisa: 4 that God's commandment binds it and associates it with the word fair. That: "God said, I'm afraid you're not fair! Come on; just one is enough. (الله قال خايف انك ماتعدل! خلاص اكتفي بوحده يابني ادم!). Then this resistance is shown between manhood and the suffering and pain of polygamy (الانسان يروح للعذاب برجووله).

The expressions in no. 3, 4, and 5 show the satire of men who practice polygamy with the description of being a cleric, having zafran beards and dusty eyes. Satire expression no.3 begins with an expression of praise with the word subhanallah. Men are described as scholars who fully understand the polygamy law. Satire against men as if they are scholars when discussing the topic of polygamy, even though they are not praying at the mosque (meaning, when talking about polygamy, they are good at extracting arguments from the Koran and hadith and showing that polygamy is part of the Shari'a/command. It is as if polygamy is the law that must be implemented. No.4, the expression used is a metaphor in the form of a contrasting zaffron beard. The zaffron plant is known by the Arab community as a red medicinal plant used to arouse passion. Speakers describe a person who practices polygamy as being symbolized by the owner of a zaffron beard to provide a solution for men who have a high sex drive and as a solution for old maids to get a husband.

The fifth research data has shown that the man lied (كذب كذب كذب الرجال). The swearing expression here involves the sense of sight to describe people who practice polygamy. The metaphor is that "dusty" eyes mean unable to see the truth. He fills his eyes with dust or dirt. For God's sake, if only we were polygamous, he couldn't have passionate sexual intercourse. From this expression, the human eye organ is placed as a symbol to express resistance to polygamy. Netizens use male pronouns to show opposition to domination and patriarchal traditions. The word *kadzib* is expressed three times to represent a sense of protest.

The sixth research data shows the expression of satire directed at the second, third, and fourth wives. They are likened to the remains of a wolf hunting taken by dogs (the ex-husband of the first wife is used by the second wife). The seventh research data shows resistance by providing other alternatives, namely the, divorce is better when compared to marrying for the second time. In the eighth data, the expression of resistance is addressed to the second wife, that second marriage is considered bad, even considered to violate religious norms with the expression: ( خله يروح وياخذ ذنوب ونهايته نار

(جهنم).

Expressions of psychological suffering, financial burdens, and the moral education of children from polygamous wives show the factors that cause resistance to polygamy. Terms indicating factors of polygamy resistance are shown in Table 2 below:

**Table 2**. Expressions of polygamy resistance factors

| No. | Resistance Speech | Coding |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | هو مشكلة فعلا / لكن في الوقت الراهن فيه مشاكل اكبر / مشكلة الاسكان / مشكلة الغلاء و الايجارات / مشاكل سلوكية و اخلاقية و ابناء بحاجة لتربية / اسألوا انفسكم اذا تزوج وين بيسكنها و اشلون يدفع ايجار ؟؟ و اشلون يبصرف اذا هو يا الله مترقع يصرف على واحدة / <br><br> I mean, you are discussing, and it is really a problem / but at present, there are more significant issues / the housing problem / the problem of high prices and rents / behavioral and moral issues, and children in need of education / ask yourselves if he gets married, where does he live and how does he pay rent?? And how will he spend if he, O God, is patched up, spending on one? (rmywsf84) | بعض يتناقشوا و <br> Resistance by showing the problems caused by polygamy <br> -Polygamy causes social problems |
| 2. | ابوي من خذ الثانية ما عاد نشوفه الا بالسنة حسنه وصار ما يطيقنا ولا يسأل عنا وهالوضع عايشينه من عشرين سنه مع انه امي على ذمته بس صابره عشان عيالها <br><br> My father, who took the second, we no longer see him except with a good year, and he became unable to bear us, and he does not ask about us, and this | من بعد الزواج <br> Psychosocial: Children are ignored |

situation we have been living with for twenty years, although my mother is on his terms, but he is patient for the sake of her children (jsramshb)

| 3. | رب العزة والجلال امر بالتعداد واكن وضح انه ان لم يستطيع فواحده<br><br>ولكن حالياً تنشوة صورة التعداد لان بعض الرجال يهدمون البيت.<br><br>الاول وينون بيت ثاني يهدمون عشرين سنك بساهل لارضاء<br><br>رغباتهم بزواج بمن تصغرهم عمر. والبعض يتزوج ويطلق ويتزوج<br><br>ويطلق ويجعل الدين شماعة يعلق عليها رغباته الحيوانية فبهذا تشوهة<br><br>صورة التعداد واصبح الطلاق في ازدياد والمشكلة اذا كان هناك<br><br>اطفال هذا ماراه بكثرة عندنا<br><br>The Lord of glory and majesty commanded the census but made it clear that if he could not, then one. But now the image of the census is distorted because some men demolish the first house and build a second house, demolishing twenty years of age to satisfy their desires to marry someone younger than them. With this, the census image is distorted, and divorce is rising. The problem is if there are children. This is what I see in abundance here. (ss_rt13) | Problems arise: divorces increased |

The expression in the first data shows the rejection of polygamy law, illustrating the financial burden incurred for a living, where the wives live, educational problems, and children's behavior. The expression in the second data shows resistance to polygamy by telling the bitter experience caused by his father's polygamy. The symbol of resistance here is to show the psychological impact of the child in the form of disappointment with the father. It implies that there is no harmony in the family after polygamy.

The expression in the third data shows the rejection of polygamy because there are many deviations in the reality of polygamous people. As a result of this abuse, there was a breakdown of the household that had been fostered for a long time. It is described that polygamy is currently only to satisfy lust which is shown by marrying a woman younger than her previous wife. As a result of polygamy, it adds to the problems of social life as

indicated by the increasing divorce rate. The consequences of this divorce impact children's education and behavior.

This paper finds two typologies in netizens' expressions of resistance to polygamy. First, speeches against men as polygamous actors by using satire, threats of proverbs/parables and interpretations of polygamy verses. Second, an expression of resistance by showing the consequences of polygamy both financially, psychologically and socially, in the form of; inequality, divorce, social problems, place of residence, child behavior and morals.

This paper finds that the expression of resistance occurs, firstly, due to a misinterpretation of the concept of justice in the polygamy verse. Resistance shows a misinterpretation of surah An-Nisa 4; netizens tend to use istifham sentence patterns to show doubts about the realization of justice and equality in polygamous life. Second, due to the treatment of inequality and justice between wives, the speech patterns used are expressions of satire towards polygamous husbands and second, third, and fourth wives with animal parables, eyes covered with dust, and the choice of divorce. Third, because of the impacts and problems caused by polygamy, the expression used is the problem of the adequacy of shared assets, education/behavior, and child morals.

The expression resistance used tends to show resistance to men, implying resistance to the strong patriarchal traditions in the traditions of Arab society. If we borrow Scott's classification, even though this resistance is classified as closed resistance, social movements through social media, although carried out secretly, can achieve greater results than open resistance. The media is a form of symbolic and semiotic power because of its role in shaping reality in people's minds (Djonov, Emilia, and Theo Van Leeuwen. 2017). This opinion follows Harlow's research on social media and social movements on Facebook. Harlow found that social networking sites were used to mobilize online activities that moved offline. Analysis of social media content also provides insight into how users use its interactive elements. Users 'liking' or responding to comments helps generate debate and creates a sense of community, and collective identity, which increases the likelihood of users participating offline (Harlow 2012).

The description above shows that expressions of resistance on social media have accelerated Arab women's voice messages implying resistance to polygamy. Expressions

of resistance to polygamy that are posted repeatedly will become public discourse. This discourse on polygamy resistance which affects the public will gradually undermine the dominance of patriarchal culture in the social life of Arab society. The expert's explanation confirms that the language of expression of resistance is a form of eroding the power of patriarchal culture in the traditions of Arab society/as a form of women's defense against the domination of patriarchal culture. (Tailassane, Roumaissaa 2019).

This paper differs from previous research, which sees resistance as resistance to power and politics in Arab society. But it does not explain the impact behind the expression of resistance. This article shows that the expressions used in social media, which come from various cultures and backgrounds, have caused one language to mix with another without boundaries, influencing and being influenced by each other. The more expressive language will survive on social media used by users.

## Conclusion

The analysis of resistance manifestations has found two important things. First, resistance is not only motivated by the psychological reactions of Arab netizens who express their objection to polygamy but is also impacted by the opposition of other netizens from various cultural backgrounds. Second, this research offers a new perspective on the language of resistance on social media in Arabic, which until now has primarily been used to express opposition to politics and authority.

This research is restricted to analyzing how Arab netizens expressed resistance in the comments section of hashtags; as a result, the findings cannot be used as a guide to explain how Arab society has voiced opposition in the media on a more general level. Due to these limitations, it is necessary to carry out further research on the form of resistance that can be formulated more precisely.

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