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"Honor" crimes have been reported on in the media since the end of the 20th century, non-governmental organizations, the press and human rights groups have contributed to highlighting these crimes affecting almost exclusively women. Very closely linked to the defense of women's rights, honor killings have been reported and highlighted in Jordan by the journalist Rana Husseini.¹

The definition of an honor killing is difficult to establish, as the allegations of violation of "honor" against the victim of these crimes are not always clear. However, there are certain conditions for defining a femicide as such: "when a male family member or relative kills a woman perceived as having disobeyed her family by having a relationship with a man that is deemed inappropriate. The perpetrators claim their actions restore their family's respect in the community". Victims of honor killings usually are alleged to have engaged in "sexually immoral" actions, ranging from openly conversing with men who are not related to them to having sex outside of marriage (including being victims of rape or sexual assault). However, a woman can be targeted for murder for a variety of other reasons, including refusing to enter into an arranged marriage or seeking a divorce or separation (even from an abusive husband). The mere suspicion that a woman has acted in a manner that could damage her family's name may trigger an attack; these assumptions are generally based on men's feelings and perceptions rather than on objective truth.²

There are 5,000 documented cases of honor killings annually worldwide of which about 15 to 20 cases annually occur in Jordan. These figures could be far from revealing the true extent of the phenomenon as it is difficult to count them. These crimes can take the appearance of an accident, they can be made to look like suicide, disappearance or simply be considered as simple murder. Also, these figures obscure the women who were victims of these crimes but who survived.

¹ Husseini's coverage of and dedication to ending this unjustified practice against women helped raise national awareness and a public outcry on a topic that is traditionally considered taboo. She is the author of "Murder in the name of honour: the true story of one woman's heroic fight against an unbelievable crime".

² Definition from an article called "Honor killings" written by J. Douglas Dailey in Encyclopedia Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/topic/honor-killing
Because of their violence and atrocity, honor killings have quickly become the "showcase" of violence against women and their eradication has become central to the fight against gender inequality. Addressing honor killings also means placing them in a broader context of discrimination against women. Feminicide and the use of honor as justification are the most extreme representations of the violence women suffer.

This study will therefore start from honor killings and attempt to sketch the life experiences of Jordanian women. We will study their legal position, the sources of this violence as well as the dynamics of civil society towards them.

Honor crimes in Jordanian legislation

The phenomenon of honor killing is the revelation of a deep disagreement between the individual and society. It is defined in a paradoxical way because the criminal acts in order not to be rejected by society and to be recognized by a certain society through his act. This is how this crime is received with compassion by public opinion, and how the family as a whole generally supports the criminal's act perpetrated against a woman from the same family. Without constituting a category in its own right, the crime of honor enjoys legal recognition in Jordanian law, which requires a legal-social analysis.

Jordanian law does not recognize the term "honor killing", however, it does recognize the article 340 relating to murder in flagrante delicto of adultery, under the term "excuse in the case of murder". However, the term "honor killing" has been imposed by custom and by the tradition of Jordanian society to make crimes committed in the name of honor lawful. Honor killings naturally fall under the category of crimes against persons in Jordanian law, as a crime of murder, but they also fall under the heading of mitigating excuses in cases of murder. Two articles of the Jordanian Penal Code do indeed provide for two excuses: articles 98 and 340.

Article 98 provides a mitigating excuse in the case of "extreme fury": "A mitigating excuse is given to a perpetrator who acts under the influence of violent anger provoked by an unjust and
sufficiently serious action of the victim⁴. Article 340, for its part, provides for a mitigating excuse in the following case: *"Benefits from a mitigating excuse a person who has caught his wife or one of his ascendants, descendants or sisters in the act of adultery or in an unlawful bed and killed her on the spot, with her co-perpetrator or killed them together or injured or assaulted them in such a way as to cause death or injury or permanent disability"*. The law clearly discriminates against women, as it applies only to men who catch their wives committing adultery. Article 98 is one which is applied more frequently in the case of honor crimes.

It is these articles that, as we will see in a later section, are the subject of controversy in Jordanian civil society. Woman activists and Human Rights organizations call to amend these articles to end the justification of extreme acts of violence against women. These articles can be invoked to give murderers the benefit of substantial sentence reductions. Indeed, these articles reduce the murderer's sentence to only 6 months imprisonment. Article 98 of Jordan’s penal code was amended in 2017 and now states that the “fit of fury” defense does not apply to perpetrators of crimes “against women” who now cannot receive mitigated sentences. But the provision leaves a loophole, however, under article 340 through which judges continued to impose mitigated sentences⁵. Even if article 340 has also been amended to be in line with the Jordanian Constitution, which affirms equality between men and women. The amendments to this article do not prevent it from being used to reduce a sentence for honor killings, but now allow it to be used for crimes committed by women: *"The wife who surprises her husband in the act of adultery or in an illegitimate bed in their home and murders him or his lover or both of them immediate or assaulted him or both of them and the assault resulted in death or injury or harm or permanent disfiguration, she shall benefit from the same excuse"*.⁶

Finally, article 99 of the Jordanian Penal Code can also be used by the court to reduce a sentence if family members of victims did not support prosecutions of their male family members. Indeed, article 99 allows judges to reduce a prison sentence by half if they consider that there are "mitigating factors" to the crime. There is no definition of "mitigating factors" and therefore this article is sometimes used in the case of honor killings by the Court⁷.

3 Translation of the article from the Jordanian Penal Law by Mr. Mohammed Bara Abu Anzeh in his doctoral thesis "The Honor Crime in the Jordanian Penal Law"
4 Ibid.
7 Ibid. p.19
The Jordanian judicial system is divided into three parts, a civil court, a specialized court and an Islamic court. Honor killings are tried under criminal law in the civil court. Jordanian criminal law was established through the influence and combination of the Napoleonic Code (19th century French law) and Ottoman law. Muslim law today in Jordan only covers family law and inheritance law. It is therefore not a question of Islamic religious heritage in these articles, which depend on the civil court, but on the contrary of a heritage of European and Ottoman law. In fact, Islam and honor killings had been assimilated for years but there is no legal bond in the Jordanian legislation.

Overview of the reasons for the crimes

There are, of course, many sources of such violence. They have been studied under various aspects; sociological, psychological, legal, cultural, anthropological and even economical. Indeed, the crime of honor, which is thus overwhelmingly the murder of a woman accused of having sullied her family honor by a member of her family in order to restore that honor, is the "visible tip of an iceberg" that relies on a set of societal factors. These factors form the basis of a patriarchal system that engenders, reproduces, justifies and accepts violence against women. It is therefore a set of micro-violences that lead to the ultimate femicide, and its justification by the restoration of family - or tribal - honor that has been violated by a woman, demonstrates a gender imbalance in the responsibility for maintaining honor.

There seem to be two types of honor that come into play in traditional Arab societies, the sharat and the 'ird. The sharat refers to the honor of the family unit or tribe with regard to moral conduct, and can increase or decrease. Although a family may lose honor for demonstrating inadequate moral conduct, it can regain it through acts of exemplary behavior. The 'ird, refers to the purity or chastity of the woman and can only decrease. Moreover, the 'ird prevails over the sharat, so that a woman's misconduct dishonors her entire family or tribe. The honor of the family, which society agrees can be recovered, is finally restored with the death of the woman, whose honor once is lost is gone forever. This definition of honor reflects a great gender imbalance in the responsibility for maintaining family honor. The individual behavior of women could only damage family or tribal honor. Bearing this considerable burden of

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maintaining or losing honor, women become de facto the first victims in cases of supposed or actual dishonor. Even though today the interpretation and application of traditional honor has softened, chastity is still important for a woman in Jordan.

Traditional family honor, which attests to a family's social status, can be of particular importance in the case of a household with a low economic status or belonging to a rural life. Indeed, Jordan is a country in which unemployment and poverty are rampant. Low income is not unrelated to a strong attachment to family and tribal honor. In the absence of being able to enjoy a high economic status, allowing family or tribal honor to be raised through charity, religious donations or important hospitality, family or tribal units tend to be more strongly attached to female honor, the 'ird. The EPACH study found that honor killings take place most often in rural areas and poor neighborhoods of the capital and in Zarqa, particularly in Palestinian camps. Also the proximity of ties and the smaller social framework in the countryside than in the city favors a more radical reaction to dishonor for fear of being stigmatized and that this would impact on the family or even the whole tribe.

It is therefore indisputable that honor crimes are aggravated by difficult political and national circumstances, such as wars, revolutions or national conflicts. Although Jordan is not currently at war itself, some of these borders are still at war or have recently been at war, and the Jordanian or displaced population living in Jordan is inevitably affected. Jordan has only been an independent state since 1946. Its borders are recent, and its population is the result of various historical and geographical legacies. With the creation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan comes the construction of a national identity. If the population is 98% Arab and 97% Muslim, it is therefore quite natural that Islam has imposed itself as a pillar in the construction of Jordanian identity, and with it the tribal heritage of the Bedouin populations of present-day Jordan.

Today, it is common to observe in Jordan a confusion between ancestral Arab and pre-Islamic tribal traditions and religious customs. Many murderers judged for committing a crime of honor claim the legitimacy of their act in the eyes of Islam or the Shari'a and sometimes in the name of a national custom and a Jordanian identity that is falsely historical. The question of Islam's position on honor killings has therefore been studied and much debated. Finally, in an article dating from 1 December 2016, the Jordan Times published a fatwa - a religious opinion

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9 Data from: https://medium.com/the-voice/honor-crimes-in-jordan-a5a004f1eb1f
10 Data from: https://countrymeters.info/fr/Jordan
11 Information collected in the doctoral thesis "The Honor Crime in the Jordanian Penal Law" by Mr. Mohammed Bara Abu Anzeh. p.51.e.48
given by a mufti, a man who is a specialist in Islamic law, which can relate to the whole of daily life - issued by the Mufti at the Iftaa Department and Director of the Public Relations and Cooperation Hassan Abu Arqoub. It states that: “Islam cherishes life and forbids the killing of any human being without a legal justification” and he added that in case of adultery: “Islam’s position is clear. There has to be four witnesses who must all testify to the same occurrence in details and if they do not, then they will be punished” stating that to date no incidents have occurred “in Islam whereby four witnesses came forward to testify to an adultery case between married - or at least one married - people because it is almost impossible”\(^\text{12}\). In the end this fatwa stipulates that it is strictly against Sharia for anyone to kill his female relative claiming family honor. However, in public opinion the justification of a crime of honor is still largely associated with Islamic laws.

A discriminatory Personal Status law

Although women are nominally granted equality under Jordan’s constitution, some laws directly violate this guarantee by denying women full legal competence. Multiple provisions in the penal, civil, and family law codes subject Jordanian women to an inferior standing before the law despite the existence of these constitutional guarantees. The existence of these discriminatory laws increases Jordanian women’s risk for violence.

Under the personal status law, women do not enjoy equal rights in marriage and divorce. In the case of a unilateral divorce, the wife is obliged to reimburse the dowry she received from her ex-husband, however no financial compensation is expected in the opposite case. The guardian’s consent to marriage is required for a first marriage, also a male guardian is required for an unmarried woman under the age of 40 (whether divorced, widowed, or single). There are weak codified protections for women under guardianship. Jordan’s Personal Status Code also remains discriminatory against women in terms of child custody - Jordanian women lose custody of their children if they remarry a man who is not part of their family\(^\text{13}\); inheritance and nationality. In fact, Article 9 of Jordan’s nationality law does not allow Jordanian women married to non-Jordanian spouses to pass on their nationality to their spouse and children.

\(^{12}\) To read the full article: [http://jordantimes.com/news/local/honour-crimes-anti-islamic-fatwa](http://jordantimes.com/news/local/honour-crimes-anti-islamic-fatwa)

\(^{13}\) Data from the UNESCWA Report: “[Jordan Gender Justice and the Law](https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rbas/doc/Gender%20Justice/English/Full%20reports/Jordan%20Country%20Assessment%20-%20English.pdf)"
which leads the children of this relations to undergo various discriminations within the country due to their non-nationality.

Legally, the status of Jordanian women remains in many respects’ inferior to that of men. The various women’s movements for gender equality within the country demand equality of rights and with it an end to the legitimization of the violence they suffer. Women’s unequal rights in the family domain make them more vulnerable to violence. The legal difficulties of divorcing a husband or separating from a violent father or male guardian too often silenced them. Although Jordanian law condemns honor killings and feminicide generally, unequal rights in the private sphere perpetuate the idea that women should not escape or disobey men.

Due to the lack of legal and institutional means to ensure the protection of Jordanian women victims of domestic violence, the justice system, which is lenient towards men who have committed an honor killing or an attempt, locks up women survivors who have been victims. Under the Jordan Crime Prevention Law authorities are allowed to imprison women indefinitely, who have been threatened with death. An article of Human Rights Watch denounces this procedure called “protective custody”. Government officials frequently send women threatened with honor crimes to prison “for their own safety.” Once a woman is incarcerated, government officials will not permit her to leave prison until a male family member claims that he will guarantee her safety”\(^\text{14}\). Some of them have spent decades in prison and do not wish to come out while the man who threatens them is still alive. Some who have left prison after a man relative has ensured their protection have been murdered on the particular day they have been released. In 2018, the Ministry for Social Development opened a shelter for women whose lives are at risk so that they do not have to be incarcerated. As a result, some imprisoned women were transferred to this shelter. Women activists are still fighting for the abolition of the law that allows women threatened with death by their families to be imprisoned in the first place\(^\text{15}\).


\(^\text{15}\) Information collected in a video realized by DW News, “Can Jordan put an end to honor killings?”: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32Fm0XeybEM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32Fm0XeybEM)
Political stakes of the debate on honor killings

The media coverage of honor killings perpetrated in Jordan since the end of the twentieth century and its resumption at the international level based on the violation of human rights that they constitute, have made a question on the place of Jordanian women a political tool. Rana Husseini was the first journalist to regularly research honor crimes in 1994\textsuperscript{16}. She wrote in 1993 in the Jordan Times about a heinous murder that happened in the name of honor. Back then, people turned a blind eye on this critical issue because they considered it a family matter that no one should interfere with. Her struggle was to shed light on these crimes, to reveal their discriminatory nature towards women and, above all, to make it a societal issue and not just a family issue. Through the Jordan Times, she never stopped reporting these murders so that Jordanian society could no longer turn a blind eye to these injustices. She is indirectly credited for bringing the issue to the attention of King Hussein, who condemned violence against women in his November 1997 address to Parliament.

Basel Burgan, an Amman businessman, and Rana Husseini start translating their positions into activism. The resulting \textit{Campaign to Eliminate So-Called Crimes of Honor} began by word of mouth. Husseini and Burgan contacted friends, like Asma Khader, a prominent human rights activist and lawyer. Soon a core group of 11 committed activists took this ideological combat in charge relying on as many as 300 friends and family. The core group decided to gather signatures on a petition, addressed to Parliament and King Abdallah II, against Article 340 of the Jordanian penal code. On August 23, 1999, they fanned out over Amman with leaflets and petitions. The campaigners had collected 13,955 signatures against Article 340. The signatories were people from all walks of life. This national petition, which asked signatories to provide their names, dates of birth and identification numbers, was the first in Jordanian history. The signature campaign, accompanied by lectures and newspaper ads, was aimed at breaking the silence on honor killings, forcing the Jordanian public - and politicians - to address the issue. The strategy was to bring their concerns to the national stage, but more importantly, to make it resonate on an international level. The group was not registered and was therefore technically illegal. Also, the campaign was criticized by other activists who were working against honor killings even before this coalition, including the Jordanian Women's Union. The Union's strategy, like that of other women's and human rights groups working on the issue, was to raise awareness at the grassroots and among NGOs on a step-by-step basis. The clash of strategies caused friction for the new campaign. Beyond that, activists, even

\textsuperscript{16} Refer to annotation no.1
those sympathetic to the cause, expressed fears that the campaign would be short-lived and sensational - in Jordan and, more importantly, abroad. Activists argued that such a sensitive issue required a more low-key approach that would not put tribal leaders, in particular, on the defensive.

In response to "bad publicity" for the king and his country in the Western media and thus limiting the arrival of international investment and aid, in 1999 King Abdullah decided to reform the laws that discriminated against women. The Ministry of Justice therefore proposed in a hasty draft amendment to abolish Article 340 in favour of the introduction of tougher punishments for adulterers, murderers of female relatives who were victims of rape, molestation or abduction, and rapists. The cabinet approved the law but it was rejected several times by the lower house - the only elected political power in Jordan - composed of tribal leaders and conservative Islamists. The House of Representatives argued that abolishing Article 340 would be an invitation to the obscenity of women and with it the moral corruption of Jordanian society as a whole.

The opposition of the deputies to this amendment also stems from their general mistrust of the West. Many MPs argued that the amendment came from international pressure from outside Jordanian society. Indeed, some parliamentarians claimed that it was Western contempt for a "retarded and ignorant" Jordanian society that had pushed them to speak out on this issue. The Campaign to Eliminate So-Called Crimes of Honor was accused such as the Palace of being an agent of foreign influence, saying that they supported the US by imposing: “an American lifestyle on the world and causing changes to the social system". These accusations have been reinforced by the fact that the 11 most important activists of the Campaign represent an image of westernization and privileges in Jordan. Most come from wealthy backgrounds, have studied or worked abroad, and often use English to express, even within their activism. Their social position has also allowed them to enjoy royal protection - even though the group is not properly registered with the government - and support for their petition from important figures in Jordan.

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17 Parliamentary objections to the cancellation of Article 340 must be understood in the context of Jordan’s electoral laws and the consequent composition of the parliament. Jordan’s electoral laws, implemented beginning in 1993, instituted a one-person, one-vote system that forced voters to choose between tribal loyalties and other political leanings (tribal ties won out) and adjusted the electoral districts so that they disproportionately favored traditionally tribal areas, the backbone of monarchical support, as well as rural areas and small towns.

18 Refer to the "Honor killings in the Jordanian legislation" part

19 Quote from an article written by Janine A. Clark, "Honor Crimes and the international spotlight on Jordan" in the Middle East Report 229 (Winter 2003)

20 Ibid.
However, the struggle for the abolition of Article 340 cannot be reduced solely to a fight between a “westernized” and progressive king, pushed by a Jordanian elite and backward Islamists. Lawyers and human rights activists in Jordan have made constructive remarks about the political infatuation with the article and have agreed on some points with deputies. They argue that a conviction for adultery should continue to be available as a reduced sentence, and in such a situation the adulterers are not innocent either\textsuperscript{21}. Also, as mentioned in a previous section\textsuperscript{22}, in the case of honor killings, the article invoked to reduce a sentence is more like articles 98 and 97. It is mainly in these articles, according to them, that the threat to women is found. The government probably focused on article 340 because they thought it was easier to abolish since it has no Islamic basis. However, the over-representation of conservative deputies\textsuperscript{23}, and thus the propensity to oppose the abolition of this article, stems from a government strategy. Indeed, Kings Hussein and Abdullah tacitly granted parliamentarians greater decision-making power over the country’s social and cultural issues in exchange for their cooperation in foreign and economic policy, which are more important in terms of sovereignty. The government’s eagerness to have this article abolished under pressure from foreign media and powers, as well as the accusations of westernization by Campaign activists, have resulted in a certain manner in making the national issue of solving honor killings a little more taboo and too tied to political positions, while at the same time bringing to the forefront a gendered discrimination that has become too blatant.

A social gap in Jordanian women activism

As we began to see in the previous section, within women's rights activism there are differences in the methods and strategies employed between different social categories. Very often it is women from the more affluent social bangs and assimilated to a Western-oriented class, who are the most heard and publicized on women's rights issues. Their activism does not always take into consideration the specificities of women from more precarious backgrounds. Indeed, contrary to the relief of some more vulnerable women, struggles led by upper-middle class feminist movements can sometimes obscure a very different reality of

\textsuperscript{21} In fact, adultery can be punished by up to 3 years in prison.
\textsuperscript{22} Refer to “Honor crimes in Jordanian legislation”
\textsuperscript{23} Refer to annotation no 15
poorer women. A coalition of 100 organizations, including SIGI\textsuperscript{24}, was formed to abolish Article 308 of the Jordanian Penal Code\textsuperscript{25}. This article is known to allow rapists to escape punishment if they married their victims. In August 2017, the coalition obtained the abolition of the controversial Article 308 from the House of Representatives. As we have begun to see above, the abolition was made possible by a huge media campaign launched by women and human rights activists and this time related by Arabic-speaking newspaper. And, perhaps the most effective touch, was to sit for hours on the balconies of the parliament awaiting the decision. The support of the current King, who want the amendment of the penal system and gender equality which is part of the royal vision of making Jordan a Civil State and enhancing the Rule of Law has also play a role\textsuperscript{26}.

A seemingly huge victory for women's rights in Jordan, but one that removes for some women an underestimated means of protection against gender-based violence. Indeed, opponents to the abolition of the article claimed that the article was capable of solving "rapes without coercion". The wording of "rape without coercion" may seem strange, but it must be understood in the Jordanian legal context. The Jordanian legal definition of a rapist is as follows: "Any person who forces, tricks, seduces or threatens a female, (other than his wife) into sexual intercourse"\textsuperscript{27}. This definition of a rapist differs from that of Western countries in the terms "tricks and seduces" and obscure marital rapes. Since all sex outside of marriage is illegal in Jordan, the definition of female sexual consent is ignored. Women are either tricked or seduced.

As "much of the premarital sex happens as youth experiment with sex, or between young adults, when a young man cannot afford his lover's dowry or the cost of marriage"\textsuperscript{28}. In such cases the article helped couples who engage in premarital sex escape social stigma and legal persecution. For poorer women it too, “emancipated” women by forcing their parents to marry them to lovers of whom their parents otherwise wouldn’t approve because they cannot afford their dowries. The article also regulates situations in which young women are tricked into

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\textsuperscript{24} Sisterhood is Global Institute - Jordan

\textsuperscript{25} Clause 1 of article 308 of the Jordanian Penal Code stipulates: “If a valid marriage is concluded between the perpetrator of one of the crimes provided in this chapter and the victim, the prosecution shall be discontinued, and the execution of any sentence rendered against the perpetrator shall be stayed.” Jordan Penal Code, Article 308, Clauses 1 & 2. The chapter referred to in this article regulates crimes including rape, sexual assault, sex with a minor, and sex through means of trickery and deception.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{27} Translation of the Article 291:1 of the Jordanian Penal Code

\textsuperscript{28} Quote from the article "Repealing Jordan's Rape Article 308" written by Ibtessam Al-Atiyat
having sex under the promise of marriage. In such cases sex is consensual but conditioned on future marriage. Often, women who engage in such sexual acts fall victim to broken promises. The article allows these women to force men, who tricked them, to follow through on their promise, as marriage regarding to Jordanian laws and customs is still an important way to protect women from being threatened due to misconduct. It also can save their lives, because as we saw it, sex out of marriage is still a reason for women to be killed in order to cleanse their family's honor. Therefore, in view of the impossibility for women who have had children outside of marriage to transmit to them their nationality and a legal status that protects them, access to marriage - following a rape, or simply a sexual relationship in an "unlawful bed" - remains the best way to protect their children. That's why opponents of abolition demanded the law amended to distinguish between consensual and forced sex and retain the marriage provision.

The abolition of Article 308 did not take into account the means that the poor use to resist socio-economic inequalities. Most of the beneficiaries of this law came from the lower classes of society. These classes have limited education and financial means. In exchange for the possibility of restoring their honor, these families agree to marry their daughters, as they cannot afford other alternatives such as abortion or restoration of the hymen. The emphasis on the law, regardless of socio-economic disparities, also ignores why such sexual relations take place in the first place. The national census reveals a steady decline in marriage rates in Jordan since 2012\(^29\). This decline can be attributed to the high cost of marriage (dowry among other expenses) and the high youth unemployment rate (18.5 percent in 2017)\(^30\). The difference in socio-economic status between the Coalition and women who are directly affected by the law better explains the different positions on repeal. In other words, it is not a difference between the liberal and conservative groups, but between the differences in women's wealth.

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Conclusion

Honor killings have been at the forefront in Jordan since the end of the 20th century. Their media coverage has allowed for the evolution and debate of the place of women in Jordanian society. The issue of honor killings has indeed become part of a broader debate, mixing national identity, the weight of foreign political powers, the cleavage of society, royal political strategy and women’s experience. As a starting point for the Jordanian legislation, we looked at Jordanian society and women’s activism. Although strongly linked to the laws of a country, the struggle for women's rights cannot be summed up in them. It must be anchored in a broader socio-political context. Therefore, a change in laws in favor of gender equality cannot be satisfactory if it is not followed by an evolution in socio-cultural practices. Legislative changes must be accompanied by a national debate on the place accorded to women and, above all, must consider their demands in the plurality of their situations. Women's activism must be national and specific to Jordan. It must take into account Jordanian specificities; an international feminism would cause more harm to the cause of women than it would help. Indeed, international pressure to change the place of women in Jordan, as well as the modification of Jordanian activist agendas through grants alone for actions in line with the agendas of Western NGOs, only reinforces the existing mistrust within the country. Finally, the struggle for gender equality goes hand in hand with the democratization of the political apparatus. A fair electoral system, a political weight of civil society and media freedom would only be beneficial in achieving gender equality. It must therefore be anchored in a movement for global equality: economic, social and tribal.

Anzeh, Mohammed Bara Abu. s. d. « Le crime d’honneur en droit pénal jordanien », 421.


