My Name is Salma and I am a Victim of Honor Crimes:
(Re) conceptualizing Honor Killing and Stigma against Women

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines honor killings through applying Goffman's theory of stigma when a sample of 207 students of a public university in Jordan attended a literary work performed on stage. The study follows an interdisciplinary method by examining the social interaction between the audience ('normals' from Goffman's point of view) and Salma— the stigmatized character in Fadia Faqir's My Name is Salma, and her family. One of the significant findings of the study is that a high level of students' perception towards justifying Salma's sin, after considering and analyzing her conditions, believes that she doesn't deserve to be murdered in the name of honor.

Keywords: Honor killing; stigma; Erving Goffman; Jordan; Fadia Faqir; My Name is Salma.

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

There are many stories that recount the tragedies of honor crimes in Jordan, which are often victimized by girls bringing social stigma to the female family. Honor crimes are as contradictory as they are in the manifestation of the killing of the human spirit, which is often practiced by families and tribes without a legal reservation to achieve social honor, or to refute the fallacies surrounding the doubts and attitudes of the dishonored families. This raises a number of questions about the nature of the social systems that have failed to spread the awareness of the huge impact of such violent practices on the individual as well as the society, and about the penal laws that the society has established to protect victims yet failed and continue to neglect to prevent or restrain the violent practices conducted by the victim's family. In Arab and Muslim societies in general, the value of honor is paramount and is deeply entrenched. This value is so important that many people consider what is committed in the name of honor as a defense of honor and the family's only salvation to escape social stigma. In this important body of work, the idea of social stigma is questioned and investigated. Erving Goffman (1963) defined stigma as "an attribute that extensively discredits an individual, reducing him or her from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (p.3). Consequently, since stigma is practiced and attributed by individuals who live in a society, we could refer to it as social stigma because it conceptualizes the perception, the behavior and attitude of the ordinary individuals who discriminate themselves from the stigmatized ones.

The perpetrators of honor crimes hate to be stigmatized when a female member of the family conducts a dishonorable behavior. They feel obligated immediately to conduct a violent action that help wipe out the stigma and shame that will haunt the family name. Thus, it is convincingly noticed that these two phenomena continue to be justified in the social, national, tribal and poor educational dimensions without being referenced to the religious and legal ones. It may be the case for stigmatized families, therefore, that honor killing is the only way to wipe tribal and familial stigma.

Importance of the Study

Thus, this research paper explores the issue of honor killing through addressing the theory of Erving Goffman's stigma. Many reasons can be advanced for why this study is important. The research presented is the first interdisciplinary study in Jordan universities that combines two academic disciplines—English Literature and Sociology. On the other hand, the study attempts to question and frame the responses and reactions of the audience's perception of two social phenomena — honor killing and social stigma— when these phenomena are clearly presented in a literary work performed on stage. The focus here is on the inconsistency between the pre-constructed ideology of the individuals about honor killing and their actual reaction towards such crimes conducted against women when they—the audience— happen to know the multifaceted angles that lead a woman to dishonor her family[*]. Thus, one of the most effective ideas the study brings into question is the students' perception of the issue of honor crimes through displaying their way of thinking. As it will be reflected in the survey and the analysis, the way of thinking was put in two categories: open-minded way of thinking and close-minded way of thinking. The former is viewed as the individual's personal attitude toward social or traditional viewpoints that are incompatible with "conventional social norms" (Wilson, Ottati, Price (2017), 47). On the other hand, a close-minded person is "characterized by an overt confirmatory bias" towards the cultural and traditional codes (Wilson, Ottati, Price 2017, 47).

Honor Killing: Present Yet Absent:

Women in patriarchal societies still encounter oppression and suppression in different forms—overt and/or covert—because of the social mechanism that evoke male dominance over women. In recent times, due to the awareness of women's rights conducted by many NGOs and women institutions, female researchers began to tackle issues that were considered taboos and preferred to be covered and hidden in order not to shake the stability of the patriarchal societies. For example, female researchers in Jordan highlighted the issue of female sexual harassments in Jordan universities which is considered a very crucial yet a sensitive topic to be addressed[**].

Honor killing is the violent behavior that leads to the killing of a female member of the family when she happens to commit a scandalous act bringing shame, dishonor and stigma to the family name (Abu-Odeh, 2000; Faqir, 2001; Oberwittler & Kasselt, 2012). These acts are mostly perpetrated by male members of the family although some women, as Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) claimed, "are also known to have been tacitly or actively involved" (p. 405). The acts and/or the consequences of premarital sex such as pregnancy out of wedlock are considered dishonorable acts. A member of the dishonored family, usually the father or the brother, murders the female member engaged in adultery or other shameful acts by shooting, slaughtering, or burying her alive (Abu-Odeh, 2000; Kiener 2011).

Idealized code of honor is a legacy in Arab Muslim societies which are signified by being merely patriarchal. Members of these societies—male and female alike— believe very strongly in this traditional code which espouses family honor and decency with feminine purity and virginity. It is believed, though, that a man doesn't denigrate or dishonor his family even if he is involved in an illegal relationship with a woman and/or if he becomes a perpetrator of

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[*] In Fadia Faqir's My Name is Salma, Salma is deceived by the son of chief tribe who promised to marry her. She was pregnant and consequently is encouraged by her mother and teacher to escape to save her life. The story background of a dishonored woman like Salma and how she is fooled by a man of authority might give good reasons to the audience to sympathize with her cause if not to re-think and even re-question the already established cultural norms of always blaming the woman for dishonoring her family name. Dorjee, Baig, Ting-Toomy (2012), for example, indicated that honor killing "should be examined from a multilevel, situational perspective in order to understand the entangled webs and the macro-micro real-life contexts with more depth and breadth" (2).

[**] For further information about female sexual harassments in Jordan Universities, please refer the research paper entitled:"Sexual Harassments in Universities: Reasons and Consequences" conducted by Hanaa AlNabilsi, Lubna AlAdayleh and Assem AlBakar.

honor killing. Therefore, in most cases these men escape punishment despite the fact that there is a huge consensus among activists and members of civil society that a man involved in this illegal relationship with a woman must be punished if not killed as well. Men, in these cases, are protected by the institutionalization of male dominant societies and by the country's legal system.

Most honor crimes legitimized in the contemporary world are recorded in countries related to the Muslim World. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees reported that "during 2010 there were 960 honor killing in Pakistan alone" while in Syria, activists claimed that "200 women die in honor killings annually" (Kiener 2011, p. 186). Aso Kamal, a human rights activist working with Doaa Network Against Violence stated that " in Iraq, more than 12,000 women died in honor killings between 1991 and 2007" (Kiener 2011, P. 186). However, in Turkey, it was reported that the number of murdered women "had jumped from 66 in 2002 to 953 in just the first seven months of 2009" (Kiener 2011, P. 186). Meanwhile, according to a published report for Sisterhood is Global Institute in Jordan, the number of honor crimes has increased to reach 53% in 2016 compared to 2015 (SIGI, 2016).

On the other hand, Honour Based Violence Awareness Network (HBVAN) has presented a study where historical record on honor killing found in Europe and western societies, such as Canada and North America, is "almost entirely associated with immigrant populations where such acts are seen as the survival of tribal and patriarchal values from their countries of origin, although these may be exacerbated by the experiences of translocation and social exclusion". Thus, in Western cultures, honor killing as a traditional legalized act is reinforced by the dictates of ethnicity, tradition, patriarchal views and religion[*] of minorities and immigrants. Other domestic violence, crimes or killings committed by non-immigrants in Western societies are not classified as honor killing but as femicide (Chesler, 2012). Yet, Recep Doğan (2011) claims that honor killing is not confined to "Muslim communities":

The British Home Office statistics suggest that each year about 12 honor killing cases occur across several different UK communities, including Sikh, Christian, and Muslim. The 2002 and 2003 reports of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women, and other available data also show that honor killing is not restricted to the Muslim communities. For instance, in Upper Egypt, it was found that Coptic families (Egyptian Christian) were statistically as likely as Muslim families to commit such crimes. Similarly, it is reported that honor killing takes place in the Palestinian Christian community in Palestine. Chakravarti reports that in India "a Hindu woman who had a relationship with a Muslim man, was dragged out of her house, stripped and killed, and then left on the street as an example to all other women of the punishment to be inflicted on women who transgressed the boundaries of communities". Honor killing even took place among the Yazidis who live primarily in communities in northern Iraq and who are often mistakenly regarded as devil-worshippers by many Muslims and Christians. As can be seen, published data do not support the assumption that honor killing is a "Muslim phenomenon" (p. 427)

There is evidence that the issue of honor killing, broadly speaking, is a present yet an absent phenomenon in Middle East Cultures and specifically in Jordan. The discussion of honor killing is pursued in novels, movies, soap operas, newspaper articles, local stories transmitted orally, or in the calls of activists and non-profit organizations interested in women conditions. On the other hand, accredited official studies are still largely absent if not neglected and are being

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[*] Islam doesn't legalize honor killing to be conducted by male representatives against their adulterous sisters, daughters or wives. In the Quran, it is stated that Islam as a legislation has established a punishment towards who commit adultery from both sexes. "The adulteress and the adulterer (or the fornicatress and the fornicator) — flog each one of them with a hundred stripes. And let not pity for the twain take hold of you in executing the judgment of Allah, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day. And let a party of the believers witness their punishment" Surat Al-Nur (24:3).

replaced by unofficial statistics conducted by foreign institutes or non-profit organizations. Fadia Faqir gives a good explanation to the absence of official studies on honor crimes in Jordan:

A primary obstacle faced by any researcher of this subject, however, is the inadequate documentation of such practices within the conservative neopatriarchal Jordanian society, where gender, class, clan, ethnicity and power are key determinants of privilege and status. (Intrafamily, p. 67)

Similarly, Anna C. Korteweg (2013) examines researched data on honor killing and finds out that "the prevalence of honor killing and honor-related violence is very difficult to gauge" (p. 184). Furthermore, Rana Husseini, a Jordanian journalist and the author of *Murder in the Name of Honor* (2009), asserts that "statistics are hard to pin down because 'many honor killings are passed off as suicides, accidents and disappearances" (as cited in Kiener 2011, p. 187). Faqir investigates judicial records of late 1990s that labeled honor crimes as either disappearance or suicide:

The sum total of honor killings can never be established, …, A number of studies estimate a dark figure, which could be partially accounted for by the number of female suicides provoked or engineered to cover up an honor killing or the number of disappearances. In 1992 alone 16 suicides were recorded, with a further 268 attempted suicides. In 1997 the number of suicides had risen to 27. The head of the FPU stated that many reported suicides among women were in fact crimes of honor where 'the victims were forced to commit suicide'. Another possible explanation for the dark figure is that some killings never get reported or are registered or mislabeled as other types of crimes" (Intrafamily, p 69).

To maintain Husseini and Faqir's claims, the criminal statistical report of the year 2015 related to the Jordanian Public Security Directorate does not include honor crimes among the reported crimes in Jordan[*]. To the contrary, it seems that honor crimes are embedded in crimes against persons, public morals and ethics, and/or other crimes (Public Security Directorate 2015, P. 28).

By the same token, posted on al-Jazeera website, researchers from the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge University surveyed 850 teenage school students in the capital, Amman, and gave an account of the adolescents' support of such attitude in which the researchers have found that "almost half of boys and one in five girls interviewed […] believe that killing a daughter, sister or wife who has "dishonored" or shamed the family, is justified" (Aljazeerah). There is another unofficial report on honor killing in Jordan published in Al-Monitor's Website: A political newspaper issued in Beirut. The article discusses loopholes that halt justice for victims of honor crimes in Jordan. As mentioned earlier," Sisterhood is Global Institute" (SIGI) is a non-profit NGO that supports women's movement and rights. The institute pioneered the calls to stop honor killing in Jordan and has recently issued statistics about violent and honor crimes practiced against women in Jordan. SIGI relied on local online news sources that posted crimes against women for the past years[**].

Adapting Goffman's Theory of Stigma on Honor Killing

According to Meriam Webster, stigma is simply defined a set of negative and often unfair beliefs that a society or group of people have about something. In other words, stigma is also defined as a mark of disgrace. The term stigma has been analyzed and theorized in the work of Erving Goffman's *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Goffman's pioneering contribution on the concept of stigma is found important in sociology as well as in other fields

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[*] See Whitman, Elizabeth. "Loophole halts justice for honor killing victims in Jordan. "AlMonitor. May 9, 2014.
http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/05/honor-killings-jordan-surge.html.
[**] For more information and discussion on honor killings see "Honor Killing." Sisterhood is Global Institute (SIGI).
https://archive.org/search.php?query=subject%3A%22Honor+killing%22.

"including medicine, health science, criminology, and psychology" (Bos, Pryor, Reeder, Stutterheim 2013). He presents a bunch of acute definitions on stigma. Historically, Goffman (1963) traces stigma as an attitude back to the Greeks whose authorities created signs designed on the bodies of "blemished" people—slaves, criminals, or traitors— that should be avoided by untainted people (p. 1). Nowadays, stigma is an "attribute" that refers to a disgraceful act or behavior rather than to the physical disorder. At first, Goffman (1963) describes the attribute when a person "is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" as stigma (p. 3). Stigma is sometimes referred to as "a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap" and "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1963, p. 3); Goffman, later, states that, "a stigma... is really a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype" (p. 4). The status of the tainted person is obtained by social interaction (Goffman, 1963, p. 13). Thus, the social context interferes to accredit such imputations on the individual when he/she happens to deviate from the social norms and when there is an encounter—conversational, physical, and behavioral—between the *normals* and the stigmatized (social interaction).

As discussed in his book, Goffman assigns three types of stigma: The physical deformities, blemishes of individual character, and tribal stigma (p. 4). This research will investigate the last two types of stigma. The second and the third types of stigma have nothing to do with flaws in the body but with the stigmatized individual's beliefs and attitudes. The flaws in the character of the stigmatized may be perceived as "weak will, domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty, these being inferred from a known record of, for example, mental disorder, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, and radical political behavior" (Goffman, 1963, p. 4). Sin may be added to this category if it is overt and is derived from a known record by the noramals. Tribal stigma, on the other hand, "can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family" (Goffman, 1963, p. 4). Tribal stigma may include race, ethnicity, religion and nation in which the individual is being prejudiced according to the beliefs of his parents. Sin, committed by a female member of a family, might also be related to tribal stigma where the whole family becomes dishonored and stigmatized by that sin.

Hypotheses

The present study therefore is an attempt to take an interdisciplinary method by examining the social interaction between the audiences whom we may consider in Goffman's point of view as *normals*[*] and Salma— the stigmatized main character in Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma*—her family, and the issue of honor killing thematized in Faqir's novel. A number of Jordanian undergraduate students of English Literature at a public university in Jordan registered at World Literature course in which they have studied Faqir's *My Name is Salma* and were overwhelmed with the issue of honor killing and the fate of the stigmatized protagonist. Later, they decided to adapt the novel for the stage in order to highlight their beliefs about the wrongfulness of the culture's endorsement of honor killing. The researchers determined to examine the audience's' perspective of the issue of honor killing and their attitude as *normals* towards the stigmatized protagonist.

Summary of the Play

Since this paper focuses on a play adapted from a novel written by Fadia Faqir— a Jordanian British novelist— and performed by Jordanian students where the issue of honor killing looms large in the novel and the play, it's handy to give a summary of this novel/play. Salma, the titular protagonist of the novel/play is a Muslim Bedouin shepherdess from an unknown country and tribe in the Levant. She is seduced by the young Levantine son of chief tribe and is indulged in an illegal relationship with him. After getting pregnant out of wedlock and with the help of her mother and teacher, Salma

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[*] Goffman identifies normals as opposite to the blemished or morally polluted persons.

is imprisoned in the protective custody 'Islahiya'[*] to be protected from being killed by her brother who is seeking to wipe the stigma (sharaf)[**] Salma has brought to her family's name. Her daughter is taken from her immediately after birth and Salma is left torn between becoming a victim of honor killing and finding a new identity. With the help of a Lebanese nun, Salma manages to escape to England and resides in Exeter where she suffers exile and racial stigma along with shame, guilt, and self-derogation for many years. Seeking a new life, Salma has to work and study English. She marries her English professor, John, and has a beautiful baby son. In lieu of enjoying her new life and identity as Sally Asher, Salma, however, fails to forget her past and decides to go back to her country to see her daughter. Salma meets her mother after a long separation and the mother informs her that Hamdan—Salma's brother—has killed her daughter, Leila, four months ago as an attempt to wipe out the family's humiliation and indignity. When Salma goes to see her daughter's grave, Hamdan kills her and thus she, also, becomes a victim of honor killing.

Operational Definitions

Stigma: is also defined from the authors perspective as a mark of disgrace

Honor Killing: Honor killing is the violent behavior that causes the killing of a female member of the family when commits an act bringing shame, dishonor and stigma to the family name.

Research Questions

There are two research questions for this study:

1-What is the level of perception of students of a public university in Jordan towards Honor Crimes after attending "My Name is Salma"?

2-Is there a statistically significant relationship/ difference in the level of perception of the students toward "Honor Crimes" based on?

a) Gender and b) Place of Residence?

Methods

Design:

This study utilizes a non-experimental, cross-sectional survey design. This design allows for exploratory and descriptive research, and allows reasonable inferences to be made about processes and queries if interest[***]. Moreover, since the study is an interdisciplinary research between English Literature (Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma* and Sociology (Goffman's theory of Stigma), the researchers will involve literary analysis of the audience's perception to the issue of honor killing along with the statistical analysis of the questionnaire presented in this study.

Subjects:

The units of analysis in this study are individuals. The targeted populations for the study are the students of a Public University in Jordan from all levels and majors. For further detailed analysis of the 'targeted population, please read the 'Respondents Demographic Characteristics' section.

Sampling Procedures:

A purposive sampling method was used for the proposed study. This sampling strategy deliberately targets individuals

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[*] "Islahiya" is the Arabic common name to refer to an imprisonment used to protect mostly women, teenagers, and children from harm and abuse.

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[***] This study follows the construction of research method found in Allen Rubin and Earl Babbie, Research methods for social Work, Thomson Brooks/Cole, 2008.

with specific characteristics and provides the most reasonable and accessible manner for obtaining appropriate study subjects. The sample for the proposed study consists of students of a Public University in Jordan who attended live performance of Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma* performed twice in different locations at the university and all the actors were Jordanian undergraduate students of English Literature registered at World Literature course at the University. The researchers administered a paper-and-pencil questionnaire to 207 university students who attended the play and the questionnaire was written in both English and Arabic to provide a good understanding of the statements in the survey, to avoid inaccuracy in responding to the survey, and to meet the purposes of the research since it is conducted in English. The researchers obtained permission for conducting this study from The Dean of Art and Scientific Research and Graduate Studies Deanship. The survey was administered after the end of the play.

Instrumentation and Key Study Variables:

The data collection instrument for this study is 'My name is Salma' play / The Audience survey. It is a combination of demographic items, and items that measure the levels of students' perspectives toward honor crimes and stigma after watching the play. A literary analysis of audience's reception of the issue of honor crime will be pursued at the end of the study since the study highly depends on a literary work that tackles the issue of honor crime and to highlight the dilemma and the inconsistency found among the audience while trying to comprehend such a phenomenon in Jordanian culture.

Levels of Perspectives toward Honor Crimes:

The key dependent variable for this study is Levels of perspectives toward honor crimes. It is measured by use of a designed survey by the two researchers to identify the differences in the levels of students' perspectives toward honor crimes after watching ' My Name is Salma.' The 19 items on scale describe examples of situations which students may agree or disagree with. Each respondent was asked to rate their perspectives about each item on a 5-point scale. The numbers from represent varying degrees of perspectives:

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1 = Strongly agree 2 = Agree 3 =Neutral 4 = disagree 5= Strongly disagree.

Demographic Variables

There are 9 items that collect participant demographic data, including age, major; gender, year of study at the university, college, place of residence, nationality, classification of faith, description of the way of thinking. The demographic variables are used in this study to assess the impact of specific variables as possible predictors or correlates of the students' perspectives toward honor crimes after watching 'My Name is Salma'. It is highly significant to provide definitions of important operational terms found in the survey to enrich the course of the study. As mentioned earlier, stigma, according to Goffman (1963), is "an attribute that extensively discredits an individual, reducing him or her from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (p. 3) and since stigma is practiced and attributed by individuals who live in a society, stigma becomes a social process and behavior conceptualized by 'normals' who discriminate themselves from the stigmatized individual(s). The survey also presents the term 'open-minded' and 'close-minded' person when describing the students' way of thinking. Here, the former is viewed as the individual's personal attitude toward social or traditional viewpoints that are incompatible with "conventional social norms" (Wilson, Ottati, Price (2017), 47). On the other hand, a close-minded person is "characterized by an overt confirmatory bias" towards the cultural and traditional codes (Wilson, Ottati, Price 2017, 47).

Data Analysis:

Data is analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences), version 20). The researchers have used frequency distributions to assess demographic characteristics of the sample and ascertain response patterns. Additional analyses includes measures of central tendency and dispersion, correlation analyses, T-test and literary analysis to identify and assess the most influential predictor variables for levels of perspectives among the sample.

Results

Respondents Demographic Characteristics:

In terms of respondent demographic characteristics, over half of the respondents (56%) were females, and almost 44% were males. Their ages ranged from 18-29 years; the largest group category (43.5%) was 21-23 years old, followed by 18-20 years old (31.9%). The smallest group consisted of 27-29 year old, who represented 10.6 % of the sample. Most of the respondents were in their second year of study at the university (41.1%), followed by 23.7 % in the first year, 13.0% in the sixth grade, and (3.9%) in their fifth year or above at the university.

Most of the sample (48.8%) is in the sociology department, followed by students from the English department (42%). The remaining respondents were from different departments representing only (9.2%) from other departments in the university. (78.3 %) were from human colleges and the rest (21.7%) came from scientific colleges. Almost 90% of the respondents indicated that they have Jordanian nationality, and the rest about (10%) have different nationalities.

Over half of the respondents (50.2%) live in the city, followed by (41.5%) of them live in villages and the least of them (8.3%) indicated that they live in the camps.

In terms of classification of faith, (34.3%) identified their way of thinking as liberal, followed by (29.5 %) for both who identified their way of thinking as traditional and others who identified it as religious based on traditions and norms. The least percentage of the respondents identified their faith as religious based on religion with percentage of (6.8%).

Regarding the description of the way of thinking, the vast majority of the respondents (86.5%) described their way of thinking as open minded, while the rest (13.5%) described their way of thinking as close- minded (see table 1) .

Table (1)

Participant's Demographic Characteristics Profile

Characteristic	Classification	Frequency	Percent (%)
Age	18-20	66	%31.9
	21-23	90	%43.5
	24-26	29	%14.0
	27-29	22	%10.6
	Total	**207**	**%100.0**
Major	Sociology	101	%48.8
	English Language	87	%42.0
	Accounting	1	%0.5
	Finance	1	%0.5
	Counseling	1	%0.5
	French language	2	%1.0
	Industrial engineering	1	%0.5
	General management	1	%0.5
	Mathematics	4	%1.9

	Primary Education	2	%1.0
	Pre- school education	1	%0.5
	Arabic language	1	%0.5
	Geography	1	%0.5
	Biology	1	%0.5
	Medicine	1	%0.5
	Computer science	1	%0.5
	Total	**207**	**%100**
Sex	Male	91	%44
	Female	116	%56
	Total	**207**	**%100**
Year of Study	First	49	%23.7
	Second	85	%41.1
	Third	43	%20.8
	Fourth	8	%3.9
	Fifth and more	0	0
	Total	207	%100
College Type	Scientific	45	%21.7
	Human	162	%78.3
	Total	**207**	**%100**
Nationality	Jordanian	186	%89.9
	Non- Jordanian	21	%10.1
	Total	**207**	**%100**
Place of Residency	City	104	%50.2
	Village	86	%41.5
	Camp	17	%8.3
	Total	**207**	**%100**
Classification Of Faith	Traditional	61	%29.5
	Liberal	71	%34.3
	Religious based on traditions and norms	61	%29.5
	Religious based on religion	14	%6.8
	Total	**207**	**%100**
Description of the Way of thinking	Open – minded	179	%86.5
	Close – minded	28	%13.5
	Total	**207**	**%100**

First Research Question: "What is the level of perception of the students towards "Honor Crimes" after watching "My Name is Salma""?

In order to answer this question, the mean scores and standard deviation were used to identify the level of the participant's perspectives toward "Honor Crimes". Table (2) shows that.

Table (2)

Students' perspectives toward "honor killing" Scale Items Ranking, Item Mean Scores, Standard Deviation and Level

Item Ranking	Item number	The Item	Item Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Level
1	11	I sympathize with Salma's daughter.	3.4106	1.65772	**High**
2	16	Salma should have stayed in England and never return to her country because she will certainly face death even after a while.	3.3367	1.47042	**High**
3	14	Hamdan as a man is protected by patriarchal society and thus escapes penalty.	2.8923	1.65768	**Medium**
4	12	I sympathize with Salma	2.7198	1.40690	**Medium**
5	1	Salma is a victim of her social reality	2.7053	1.53759	**Medium**
6	2	Salma deviates from her social and traditions norms.	2.6957	1.53759	**Medium**
7	19	"Honor killing" is a form of violence against women	2.5534	1.55377	**Medium**
8	13	The authority Hamdan acquires as a son of chief tribe protects him from being killing or punished by society.	2.5072	1.61266	**Medium**
9	18	The attitude of Salma's mother toward her daughter's blemished act can be described as ignorance.	2.4493	1.27564	**Medium**
10	10	The stigma imposed on Salma's family by society has totally ended by Salam's death.	2.3865	1.27539	**Medium**
11	4	Slama deserves to be killed	2.3575	1.40655	**Medium**
12	17	Salma's mother shares with Salma her sin	2.3382	1.31579	**Medium**
13	15	Salma didn't suffer in England because she was free from her social constraints.	2.3430	1.43860	**Medium**
14	3	Salma is the one who dishonored herself because she committed adultery.	2.3140	1.57127	**Medium**
15	7	Mahmoud is a killer regardless of the reason behind his act and he should get strict punishment.	2.2126	1.51793	**Medium**
16	9	Stigma will follow Salam's family even after she was killed by her brother	2.1546	1.44654	**Medium**
17	8	Hamdan should be punished because he is responsible for what happened to Salma.	2.1014	1.53419	**Medium**
18	6	Mahmoud is a hero because he cleansed the shame that followed his family's name.	1.7718	1.11372	**Medium**
19	5	Salma's daughter deserves to be killed.	1.2362	1.00358	**Low**
Total			**2.4522**	**1.50807**	**Medium**

The previous table showed that the items mean scores ranged between (1.2362-3.4106) whereas item 11, which stated that "I sympathize with Salma's daughter", came in the first rank with a mean score of 3.4106 and high level. Item 16, then, follows which stated that "Salma should have stayed in England and not return to her country because she will certainly face death even after a while" with mean scores of 3.3367. On the other hand, item 5—" Salma's daughter

deserves to be killed" –came in the least rank with a mean scores of 1.2362 and low level. Regarding the whole scale the total mean scores was 2.4522 with a medium level.

Second research question: "Is there a statistically significant relationship/ difference in the level of perception of the students towards "Honor Crimes" based on (gender a and b) place of residence?"

In order to answer this question the mean scores and standard deviations to the students' attitude towards "Honor Crimes" after watching" My name is Salma" is based on the students' gender. And to find the statistical differences between mean scores T-test was used and the following table shows that:

Table 3

The effect of students' gender and place of residency on their

Perspectives toward Honor Crimes after watching the play of "My Name is Salma".

Variable	Classification	N	Mean Scores	Standard Deviation	T	Df	Sig (2-tailed)
Gender	**Male**	**91**	**2.5814**	.45225	45.122	206	.000
	Female	**116**	**2.3509**	.54716			
Place of Residence	**City**	**104**	2.4672	.52819	35.501	206	.000
	Village	**86**	2.5228	.44847			
	Camp	**17**	2.0031	.46538			

The table above shows the following results:

1- There is a significant difference ($\alpha = 0.05$) based on the effect of gender on the levels of university students' perspectives toward honor crimes and these differences were with the preference to females respondents in the sample.

2- There is a significant difference ($\alpha = 0.05$) based on the effect of place of residence on the levels of university students' perspectives toward honor crimes and these differences were with the preference to village residents respondents in the sample.

Discussion

As mentioned earlier, a systematic research documentation of honor killings in the Arab and Muslim World is still absent although this controversial issue is evidently present. To the authors' best knowledge, this study is the first to follow an interdisciplinary method between English Literature and sociology to measure perspectives and attitudes towards honor killings and honor (*ird*) stigma amongst a sample of 207 university students at a public university in Jordan.

To reiterate the argument of this study, the researchers examine the issue of honor killings through applying Goffman's theory of stigma and through giving a literary analysis of the students' perception of this phenomenon after attending a play titled 'My Name is Salma'. The play is an adaptation of Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma*. The analyses were conducted based on the composition of two questions targeting the issue of honor crimes in 'My Name is Salma' and relating these questions to Goffman's theory of Stigma: A first question of analyses was conducted to reveal the level of perception of the students towards honor crimes after attending 'My Name is Salma.' The analyses yielded by this study provides convincing evidence that a considerable part of the respondents sympathized with Salma—the blemished protagonist in the play—and strongly agreed that she should have stayed in England and never return to her country. In a related study, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) surveyed 856 school students in private schools in Amman, Jordan and their

results indicated that "a considerable part of the respondents considered it acceptable to kill a sister, wife, or daughter who has dishonored the family" (p. 413). It is worth noting that the findings of the present study yielded different results found in Eisner and Ghuneim's (2013) study. This may be due to the assumption that adolescents are emotionally biased to their cultural context because they are still dependent and inexperienced. They seemingly reiterate their familial and tribal influence so that they continue to retain their social acceptance and belonging. University students, on the other hand, may present traits of rebellion to their traditional norms and desire to construct new found freedoms amongst them as a way to push social boundaries aside. Also the researchers might argue that since university students attended a play that addressed the issue of honor killing; those students are more likely to obtain the capacity to introspect and recognize the reasons and conditions that led the stigmatized protagonist to deviate from the cultural norms based on a related experience they have personally got engaged to.

It can be argued that adults recognized as *normals* from Goffman's point of view might feel motivated to support Salma—the blemished character— and sympathize with her when she becomes a victim of honor crimes. Goffman (1963) states that

When normals and stigmatized do in fact enter one another's immediate presence, especially when they then attempt to sustain a joint conversational encounter, there occurs one of the primal scenes of sociology; for, in many cases, these moments will be the ones when the causes and effects of stigma must be directly confronted by both sides (p. 13).

What happens when the audience (normals) confronts such a norm violator like Salma after they closely perceive and understand the conditions behind her vice? What and how are they compelled to respond? There may appear a reciprocal commitment between the *normals* (University Students) and the stigmatized character in the play where she might ask the normals to consider the conditions that led her to dishonor her family's name; and in return the normals might not believe that the supporting consensus on the cultural phenomenon of honor killing was doing a good job to the blemished female member, her family, and her community as well.

Although there is insufficient research on people's response and attitudes towards the victims of honor crimes after they, the normals, consider the conditions and circumstances that led these victims to violate from the traditional norms, the results in this study seem to validate the view that the attitudes of the normals participating in this study towards the stigmatized woman might be at odds with the "complete consensus that any infraction upon the ird [honor] of a woman destroys the honor of the men in her family" (A Sociological Analysis of Crimes of Honor: Examining the Effects of Higher Education on the Concepts of Honor and Notions of Gender Equality in Jordan Alex Miller SIT Study Abroad) and with honor crimes practiced on women as well.

Although Leila, Salma's daughter, didn't appear as a major character in the play, there has been a determined condemnation amongst the students for murdering Leila in the name of restoring Salma's family's honor. The data shows a high level of perception among students who sympathized with Salma's daughter and condemned her murder. The available evidence seems to suggest that the normals' disapproval of honor crimes conducted on female members who happen to have a blood relationship with the norm violator is conclusive. Familial or tribal stigma wouldn't be wiped out after the death of, for example, the daughter of the blemished woman. In addition, as the analysis reveals, the students' level of perception of the issue that stigma will follow Salma's family even after the murder of Salma and her daughter is medium. This suggests that there is no definite or complete consensus that the reputation and the honor of the family will be restored after the murder of the female(s) involved.

The second question of the analyses reveals if there is a statically significant relationship/difference in the level of perception of university students towards honor crime based on their gender and/or place of residence. Female students

were nearly twice as likely as male students to find Salma and her daughter victims of honor crime. However, in Eisner and Ghuneim's (2013) study, an ample support of honor crimes is prevalent among male teenagers: "boys were about twice as likely as girls to find honor killings acceptable. Within a country that is considered to be modern by Middle Eastern standards this represents a high portion of some supportive attitudes to honor killing" (p. 413). The results in this study may correspond to the ones found in Eisner and Ghuneim's (2013) when it comes to the fact that teenage and adult male students are more likely to support honor crimes since they represent the patriarchal base of their society. Similarly, Haj- Yahya (2005) claims that "it might therefore be that the effects of cultural and economic modernization have resulted in some degree of emancipation amongst young women, while boys are more likely to retain a patriarchal world-view and adopt attitudes that support their masculinity and dominance in a traditional society" (p.551). The researchers might support the claim and add that upon confronting the infringed woman, the male students oscillate between reiterating the established patriarchal power set upon them by their society and applying the reciprocal commitment mentioned in the analyses of the first question.

A close look at the data indicates that the place of residence plays an integral role in measuring the level of perception of university students towards the issue of honor killing. Based on the results, the researchers can make the assertion that supporting honor crimes is more prevalent amongst students who reside in villages. Their support may happen due to the assumption that villages are the haven of the socially and culturally constructed power of patriarchy.

Taken together the findings in this study, the researchers notice that there is one important factor that should not be ignored on the statistical results: The Medium level that appears on the results. This level can be analyzed through following three stages: The first stage has to do with undergraduates' attitude towards the issue of honor killing and this attitude is represented in students' response to the survey's statement that 'Honor killing is a form of violence against women'. Since the level of the result is medium, the finding may suggest that gender, place of residence, the classification of faith, and the description of the way of thinking interfere in determining the level of this result. And since the level is medium, there may appear students who look at honor killing as a form of violence practiced upon women or they might perceive it as a justifiable way to cleanse the family's dishonored name. In these both results, the woman involved in this violent act may be seen as the emblem of honor and shame and by this she might be always confined, publicly and privately, and must follow the dictated familial and social codes imposed upon her.

On the other hand, the second stage analyzed Salma's condition as a norm violator and the attitude of the university students toward her blemished act. The six statements found in the survey address the following: 'I sympathize with Salma', 'Salma was a victim of her social reality', 'Salma deviated from her social and traditional norms', 'Salma deserves to be killed', 'Salma didn't suffer in England because she was free from her social constraints', 'Salma is the one who dishonored herself because she committed adultery.' The level of this result is medium to each and every statement. The implication of these results might indicate that after the normals (Students of a public university in Jordan) have considered and recognized the backgrounds of Salma's social and cultural constructs, her condition as an inferior girl in a tribal society, her unawareness of the blemished act she has conducted, the love story between her and Hamdan, as well as Hamdan's status quo as the son of chief tribe and as a representative of the patriarchal power, they might come to the conclusion that Salma was a victim of her social reality. A naive 16-year-old girl who falls in love with the son of chief tribe and believes his promises of marrying her is more likely to commit adultery in order to retain this love relationship. It may be suggested that the normals are aware of the facts that led Salma to commit such a sinful act for they might relate Salma's story to similar stories they have personally experienced or lived. It is worth noting that again the previously mentioned factors of gender, place of residence, the classification of faith, and the description of the way of

thinking play an integral role in determining the normals' attitude towards Salma.

The final stage reveals the normals' level of perception towards the patriarchal codes. This can be analyzed in two sub stages: the first one examines whether Hamdan, the son of chief tribe, enjoys an authoritative status and thus escapes punishment although he is responsible for what happens to Salma. The level of this result is medium which might indicate that most of the students are still confined to their patriarchal power base where honor and shame are not epitomized in men but rather in women. And since Hamdan is the son of chief tribe, he twice enjoys an authoritative power because of his status quo and because of his gender. The last sub stage reveals students' attitude towards the stigma that follows Salma's family after she has dishonored her family's name. The statements used in the survey are the following: 'The stigma tarnishing Salma's family has totally ended by Salma's death', 'Stigma will keep following Salma's family even after she was killed by her brother, Mahmoud', 'Mahmoud is a killer regardless of the reason behind his act and he should get strict punishment', 'Mahmoud is a hero because he cleansed the shame that followed his Family.' The level of these results is medium. These findings suggest that the normals will definitely continue to stigmatize the dishonored family even if honor crime is conducted against the culpable woman involved. Moral justifications are only given to the stigmatized blemished woman after recognizing her conditions; yet, stigma will still follow her family.

Conclusion

The following conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the attitude of undergraduate students toward the issue of honor killing and the stigma that follows the dishonored family still lacks a significant effect on changing the dictated patriarchal, cultural and traditional codes. Patriarchal authority and dominance will continue to find justifications to male perpetrators whether they were the reason behind dishonoring the female chastity or they were the conductors of honor crimes. However, the study reveals a high level of students' perception towards justifying Salma's sin since they believe that she doesn't deserve to be murdered in the name of honor. A large portion of students believe that Salma should have stayed in England and never come back to be murdered. Students' awareness towards the blemished woman's escape of her social and tribal punishments suggest that a high number of university students are willing to support women's rights to live and enjoy their freedom especially after considering the causes that led them to commit such sinful acts. In other words, if a woman's flow is morally justifiable, normals might condemn cultural and social codes that call for punishing her.

Furthermore, the researchers found that the normals' attitudes towards the stigmatized family will continue to prevail since nothing, even murdering the woman involved, may cleanse the family's name. Therefore, stigma doesn't target the culpable woman who manages to escape her country; to the contrary, stigma will continue to target her family's name.

The researchers have acknowledged some crucial limitations that affected the study findings and interpretations. The researchers were incapable of spreading the survey across academic disciplines in Jordan universities since the survey highly depended on university students' perception of honor crime after watching 'My Name is Salma.' It was difficult to perform the play on stage on some Jordanian public universities due to some technical and logistic problems (permissions from our university and other universities were hard to get, theaters were not adequately prepared, students who performed the play were reluctant to perform the play outside their university levels especially female actors). Thus, one of the first-hand limitations acknowledged in this study is that the results of this study are not statistically significant and do not indicate that university students in Jordan public university are more likely to share their attitude and perception towards honor killing. Furthermore, this study only relied heavily on the Goffman's sociological theory of stigma although other effective sociological theories can be of use to discuss and analyze university students' perception of the

examined phenomenon. Yet, the theory of stigma was chosen by the researchers because it was more compatible with the issue of honor killing especially when it happens to allude to the (dis)honor of family reputation and the fate of the stigmatized victim. Likewise, novels tackling the issue of honor killing and written by Jordanian authors are rare if not hard to find. Novels about honor killing share the same fate of studies about this phenomenon. The researchers have acknowledged that there is a dearth of studies about honor crimes in Jordan which significantly affected the results and the findings in this study.

The initially stated overarching aim of this research was to follow an interdisciplinary methods that examine the social interaction between the students of a public university in Jordan—also referred to as 'normals'—and Salma, the dishonored character, and her family in Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma*. While recognizing the limitations of our analysis, the researchers believe that the medium level that appeared on the results—honor killing is a form of violence against women—should not be ignored. Thus, it is highly recommended that this study, as an interdisciplinary method, should be conducted on almost all academic disciplines in Jordan public universities in all governorates and regions. It is also desirable to include other relevant sociological theories beside Goffman's theory of stigma to enrich the findings of the study. The researchers also encourage Jordanian authors and researchers to tackle the issue of honor killing for its political and social important sites in Jordanian culture.

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"اسمي سلمى" وأنا ضحية جرائم الشرف:
(إعادة) تصور جرائم الشرف والوصمة الاجتماعية ضد المرأة

آيه عكاوي، آيات نشوان *

ملخص

يعنى هذا البحث بتغير مفهوم جرائم الشرف من خلال تطبيق نظرية جوفمان "الوصمة الأجتماعية" من خلال تحليل عينة دراسة التي شملت على 207 طالبا في إحدى الجامعات الحكومية بالأردن الذين قاموا بحضور عمل مسرحي مأخوذ عن رواية أدبية مكتوبة باللغة الانجليزية ويتطرق لموضوع جرائم الشرف. وتتبع الدراسة طريقة متعددة التخصصات من خلال دراسة التفاعل الاجتماعي بين الجمهور ('الأفراد الطبيعيين' من وجهة نظر جوفمان) وسلمى – الشخصية الرئيسة الموسومة بالعار في رواية الكاتبة الأردنية البريطانية فاديا فقير "اسمي سلمى"، وعائلتها. ومن أهم النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة ظهور مستوى عال من تصور الطلاب نحو تبرير خطيئة سلمى،خاصة بعد النظر في ظروفها وما أدى بها الى الخطيئة وتحليل أفعالها، وبذلك تعتقد هذه العينة أن سلمى لا تستحق أن تقتل باسم الشرف.

الكلمات الدالة: جرائم الشرف، الوصمة الأجتماعية، ارفنج جوفمان، الأردن، فاديا فقير، "اسمي سلمى".

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