



مركز النهضة الاستراتيجي
Renaissance Strategic Center



النهضة العربية للديمقراطية والتنمية
Arab Renaissance for Democracy & Development



Generation G
A New Generation



Report

Jan. 2026

How TFGBV Impacts the Democratic Participation of Young Women: Jordan as a Case Study

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	2
New Avenues of Participation: Digital Spaces and Democratic Participation	4
Conceptual Framework: TFGBV and the Politics of Digital Citizenship	7
Methodology	9
Findings and Analysis	10
From Online to Offline Violence: The Process of Withdrawal from Online Spaces for Young Women	10
What makes TFGBV Different in Jordan: The Concept of Shame and Social Stigma	11
Types of TFGBV	12
From the Digital to the Physical: Offline Repercussions of TFGBV	14
Physical Violence	14
Psychological Impact	16
Barriers to Addressing and Reporting TFGBV	18
Legislative and Structural Barriers	18
Sociocultural barriers	20
Conclusion: TFGBV as a Political Instrument of Exclusion	21
From Existing Measures to Future Solutions: A Comprehensive Approach	23
What has been Done so Far: Successful Initiatives to combat TFGBV	23
Bibliography	26
Annex (1): TFGBV legislative mapping – all relevant articles regarding TFGBV	28
Annex 2: Most Common Types of TFGBV according to women	32

Executive Summary

Context

In Jordan, digital spaces have become a critical avenue for democratic participation, especially for young women who often face exclusion from traditional public discourse. With youth internet usage soaring from 11.7% to 87% since 2007, social media offers a platform for political expression, community building, and access to information. However, these digital spaces have been infiltrated by patriarchal structures, giving rise to Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV), acts that use digital tools to cause physical, psychological, social, or political harm. This violence is not a minor issue; it is a pervasive threat that actively undermines the democratic potential of the internet for half the population.

Objectives

This report, based on extensive mixed-methods research by the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD), investigates how TFGBV impacts the democratic participation of young women in Jordan. It aims to:

- Examine the nature and manifestations of TFGBV in the Jordanian context.
- Identify the barriers to reporting and addressing online violence.
- Analyse the direct link between TFGBV and the suppression of young women's voices in the public sphere.

Key Findings

- **Significant Prevalence:** The scale of TFGBV in Jordan is alarming. 60.4% of women in Jordan have faced TFGBV (UN Women, 2020), and electronic violence is the third most common form of violence against women, with 63.1% of participants in a JNCW study confirming they had experienced it.
- **The "Chilling Effect" on Participation:** TFGBV directly suppresses democratic engagement. Our survey found that 77.4% of women who experience online violence respond by self-censoring, anonymizing their profiles, or withdrawing from platforms entirely to avoid further attacks.
- **Cultural Amplification:** TFGBV in Jordan is deeply intertwined with cultural norms of honor and shame. Perpetrators weaponize the fear of social stigma and family dishonour to silence women, making the digital sphere an extension of offline patriarchal control.
- **Severe Offline Consequences:** Online violence frequently leads to offline harm, including psychological trauma, public shaming, strained family

relationships, and in severe cases, physical violence or women dropping out of education and public life.

Key Recommendations

- For Government: Amend the Cybercrime Law to include clear, gender-sensitive definitions of TFGBV and establish specialized, confidential reporting units for women across all governorates.
- For Judicial & Security Bodies: Provide mandatory, gender-sensitive training for judges, lawyers, and police on handling TFGBV cases with a survivor-centered approach.
- For Civil Society: Decentralize support services beyond Amman (the capital) and provide comprehensive aid to survivors, including legal and psychosocial support.
- For Society: Launch long-term campaigns to shift social attitudes, challenge victim-blaming, and promote gender equality from a young age.

Ultimately, TFGBV is not just gendered violence, but a democratic issue. By systematically silencing women's voices in digital spaces, the modern public square actively erodes the inclusivity and equality that are foundational to a healthy democracy.

New Avenues of Participation: Digital Spaces and Democratic Participation

In Jordan, internet use among young people (18-29) has surged from 11.7% to 87% since 2007¹. This digital expansion has created new avenues for democratic participation, particularly for young women who have often been excluded from public discourse due to social and structural barriers. Young people in Jordan exhibit low levels of democratic participation, which is defined as the active involvement of individuals in decision-making processes that affect **their lives, such as voting, engaging in public debates, and influencing others**. Fewer than half of young Jordanians trust public institutions, and voter turnout among youth is significantly lower than that of older citizens². Representation in state institutions is minimal, with a 42% gap in parliamentary representation³ and the vast majority of youth express disinterest in politics⁴. While some young people engage in civic activities, such as volunteering and community action, this involvement is often individual and disconnected from organized movements or formal decision-making processes⁵.

The virtual space can serve as an alternative for young people to engage with like-minded individuals and discuss their opinions, without feeling the pressure of exposure they feel in the physical space. Moreover, traditional forms of participation have become less favourable among young people, which could be attributed to the aforementioned lack of trust in formal pathways of participation⁶. According to the 8th wave of the Arab Barometer (2023-2024), 80.4% of people aged between 18-30 spend 5 hours or more per day on social media⁷. In addition, 60% of young people use social media as their primary source of information⁸.

Studies of young people in Jordan reveal a positive link between social media use and increased political participation, democratic expression, and a stronger sense of citizenship⁹. This correlation can be attributed to greater exposure to political

¹ Arab Barometer, Data Analysis Tool. <https://www.arabbarometer.org/survey-data/data-analysis-tool/>

² OECD, *Empowering Youth and Building Trust in Jordan*, OECD Public Governance Reviews (OECD, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1787/8b14d38f-en>.

³ OECD, *Empowering Youth and Building Trust in Jordan*.

⁴ Mohammad Aburumman and Walid Alkhatib, *Youth in Jordan*, FES MENA Youth Study: Result Analysis (Freidrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2023), <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/amman/20346.pdf>.

⁵ Aburumman and Alkhatib, *Youth in Jordan*.

⁶ Marat Zagidullin et al., "Government Policies and Attitudes to Social Media Use among Users in Turkey: The Role of Awareness of Policies, Political Involvement, Online Trust, and Party Identification," *Technology in Society* 67 (November 2021): 101708, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2021.101708>.

⁷ Arab Barometer, *Arab Barometer Wave VIII*, September 2023, <https://www.arabbarometer.org/surveys/arab-barometer-wave-viii/>.

⁸ Arab Barometer, *Arab Barometer Wave VIII*.

⁹ Center for Strategic Studies, *Strengthening Civil Society Organizations in Jordan Towards Better Influencing on the Democratization Process* (2021), <https://jcscs.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Political-Participation-and-Promotion-of-Democracy-Role-of-Civil-Society-Organizations-in-Jordan-Quantitative-Report-Qararuna.pdf>; Abdelsalam M. Alodat et al., "Social Media Platforms and Political Participation: A Study of Jordanian Youth Engagement," *Social Sciences* 12, no. 7 (2023): 402, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12070402>; Othman Tahat et al., "Effect of Social Media on Political

content and the perceived security of online interaction. Furthermore, institutions, from government to civil society, use these platforms for awareness campaigns. Government agencies often use them to publicize their work and combat misinformation, while civil society groups address prominent social issues. The versatile nature of social media, hosting text, voice, and video content, also makes it an accessible and appealing medium for all.

The internet, and social media specifically, provides women with a space where they can congregate, despite time and space limitations, offering them the opportunity to discuss not only common interests but also common struggles. Historically, theorists argued that women struggled to form class consciousness due to the deeply rooted patriarchal domination within societies that leads women to struggle to assume a subjective attitude. They argued that a woman's social position was not her own but was derived from the men she was associated with, such as her father or husband, and their social class, religion, or race¹⁰.

Today, platforms like Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and X (formerly Twitter) act as virtual gathering places where women can express their subjectivity and opinions. Women from different countries, cultures, and backgrounds now connect online to share personal stories about the challenges of living in a patriarchal world.

However, the perceived haven of social media has also been infiltrated by patriarchal structures, especially since the same studies that highlighted the importance of social media to democratic and political participation also identified barriers to this participation in relation to certain identity factors, one of them being gender.

As a result, the internet creates a new type of violence that pushes women to self-censor, withdraw from online spaces, or delete their accounts, which ultimately undermines their democratic participation.

Participation of Jordanian University Youth," *Journal of the Association of Arab Universities* 45 (March 2025): 55–72, <https://doi.org/10.36024/1248-045-001-004>.

¹⁰ Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (Jonathan Cape, 1956), 18.

This type of violence is formally known as “Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV)” and is defined as:

“Any act that is committed, assisted, aggravated or amplified by the use of information communication technologies or other digital tools which results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, psychological, social, political or economic harm or other infringements of rights and freedoms.”¹¹.

In Jordan, the scale of this problem is significant. According to the Jordanian National Committee for Women (JNCW),

Electronic violence is considered the third most common form of violence after physical and psychological as 63.1% of their participants confirmed having faced online violence at least once in their lives¹².

Moreover, UN Women reported that in 2020, 60.4% of women in Jordan faced TFGBV¹³. The consequences of this violence are severe, ranging from psychological harm to the stifling of women's voices in political and social debates. Despite growing evidence, a critical gap remains in understanding the direct link between TFGBV and the suppression of women's democratic engagement in the Jordanian context.

This research, which is a part of the New Generation Project - GenG, utilizes the extensive experience of the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD) to examine the impact of Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV) on young women's democratic participation. The study employs an intentional, intersectional focus on young women, who face compounded discrimination due to their age and gender. This focus addresses a significant gap in the literature, which often fails to consider how one's social position shapes their experiences of TFGBV. Focusing on young women is critical for two reasons: their vulnerable social position and their ongoing process of socialization, which makes them more susceptible to the propagation of misogynistic hate speech and social pressure. The research will provide a comprehensive analysis of how TFGBV and offline violence converge to restrict the political involvement of young women in Jordan and answer the main research question: How does TFGBV affect young women's democratic participation? To answer this question, this research builds on an interdisciplinary conceptual framework that informs the research methodology.

¹¹ UNFPA, “What Is Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence?,” 2023, <https://www.unfpa.org/resources/brochure-what-technology-facilitated-gender-based-violence>.

¹² اللجنة الوطنية لشؤون المرأة، العنف ضد النساء في المجالين العام والسياسي في الأردن (2022). <https://shorturl.at/QNhYE>.

¹³ UN Women, *Violence Against Women in the Online Space: Insights from a Multi-Country Study in the Arab States* (2021), <https://www.unfpa.org/TFGBV>.

Conceptual Framework: TFGBV and the Politics of Digital Citizenship

Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV) represents a structural, rather than individual, form of harm. It emerges at the intersection of **patriarchal power**, **digital infrastructure**, and **democratic exclusion**, reproducing offline inequalities within the online sphere. This study conceptualizes TFGBV not merely as a violation of women's rights but as a **mechanism that restricts democratic participation** by silencing women's voices, shaping behavior through fear, and undermining trust in digital citizenship.

In this context, three key concepts underpin this study: the **chilling effect** that describes how fear of reprisal deters individuals from exercising rights such as freedom of expression¹⁴ and **digital patriarchy**, a term used to describe how technologies and online behaviours reinforce gender hierarchies¹⁵. Finally, this study links TFGBV to the broader concept of **digital citizenship**, the ability to participate meaningfully in civic and political life through online platforms¹⁶ and how TFGBV is a hindrance to achieving functional digital citizenship for all.

Key Concept: The Chilling Effect

From a legal, state-level point of view, the chilling effect is defined as: “the negative effect any state action has on natural and/or legal persons, and which results in preemptively dissuading them from exercising their rights of fulfilling their professions obligations, for fear of being subject to formal state proceedings which could lead to sanctions or informal consequences such as threats, attacks or smear campaigns”¹⁷. However, the chilling effect has started to be used not only as a description for state action, but for how some social media narratives and digital campaigns are designed to push certain groups away from participating and expressing their beliefs online. In this context, these social media narratives are distinguished by misogynistic hate speech, often sexual in nature, that preys on the **public image of the victim to “chill their active participation.”**¹⁸

The chilling effect aims to **diminish the overall visibility of women** and their influence in digital arenas where significant democratic dialogues occur. By driving women away from these spaces, TFGBV marginalizes them from

¹⁴ Frederick Schauer, “Fear, Risk and the First Amendment: Unraveling the Chilling Effect,” *College of William & Mary Law School*, 1978, <https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/facpubs/879>.

¹⁵ Yuanita Aprilandini Siregar et al., “Digital Patriarchy on Arab Women in Urban Area;,” *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Social and Political Development*, SCITEPRESS - Science and Technology Publications, 2019, 407–13, <https://doi.org/10.5220/0010035204070413>.

¹⁶ Karen Mossberger et al., *Digital Citizenship: The Internet, Society, and Participation*, 2nd ed. (MIT Press, 2010).

¹⁷ Laurent Pech, “The Concept of Chilling Effect,” Open Society European Policy Institute, 2021, <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/c8c58ad3-fd6e-4b2d-99fa-d8864355b638/the-concept-of-chilling-effect-20210322.pdf>.

¹⁸ Julie Posetti et al., *The Chilling: Global Trends in Online Violence Against Women Journalists; Research Discussion Paper*, Programme and meeting document (UNESCO, 2021), 6, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000377223>.

effective democratic participation, undermining the principles of inclusivity and equal representation that are foundational to a healthy democracy.

Key concept: Digital Patriarchy

Physical reality and digital reality are bound by a cyclical relationship where one constantly affects the other. The part where the digital affects the physical was named: digitality or digitalism which was defined as: “the processes of a machine a logic, that has not only rapidly colonized every part of the inhabited planed, but has also suffused the consciousness of almost every person within it in terms of his or her engagement with each other through networks of communication, production and consumption¹⁹”. In simpler terms: digital life affects every aspect of modern life.

Based on the concept of digitality, **digital patriarchy operates on the same level of influence** as this term is used to describe how technologies and online behaviors reinforce gender hierarchies. Online harassment, doxxing, non-consensual image sharing, reputation-based defamation, and even jokes are not isolated acts but part of a **continuum of control** that aims to discipline women who claim visibility in digital spaces. This continuum of technology-enabled violence blurs the boundaries between online and offline, showing that digital harm has material, psychological, and political consequences

Key concepts: Digital Citizenship and democratic deficit

Digital citizenship as a continuation or extension to civic citizenship is a tool that benefits democratic participation, as the internet and social media has been proven to increase civic and political engagement. Nevertheless, digital citizenship can also be stripped or silenced through threats of violence, such is the case with TFGBV.

When young women are silenced, excluded, or attacked, the consequences extend beyond individual trauma: the democratic fabric itself is weakened. The deliberate use of online misogyny to suppress participation creates what scholars call a “democratic deficit²⁰”, where not all voices can contribute equally to public discourse, meaning that not all citizens of the digital realm get the same amount, particularly, the right to freedom of expression.

This conceptual framework situates TFGBV within a continuum of gendered control, bridging feminist theory, digital sociology, and political participation studies. It underscores that combating TFGBV is not only a matter of protecting women’s safety but of **safeguarding the democratic potential of the digital sphere**.

¹⁹ Robert Hassan, *The Condition of Digitality: A Post-Modern Marxism for the Practice of Digital Life* (University of Westminster Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.16997/book44>.

²⁰ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Methodology

This study employed a mixed-methods approach, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques to ensure comprehensive data triangulation. The specific methods, sampling logic, and participant details are summarized below.

Method	Sample Size & Selection Criteria	Purpose
Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N=103 - Sampling: Non-probability, purposive sampling via ARDD's social media channels using Kobo Toolbox platform - Criteria: Target audience included anyone who ever faced TFGBV 	To gather quantitative data on the prevalence, types, and perceptions of technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV) among a broader audience.
Key Informant Interviews (KIIs): Experts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N=11 - Sampling: Purposive selection of experts - Criteria: Professionals from NGOs, CBOs, law, and journalism with direct work experience on online violence 	To obtain in-depth, expert insights into the institutional, legal, and support frameworks surrounding TFGBV.
Key Informant Interviews (KIIs): Young Leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N=5 - Sampling: Purposive selection - Criteria: Young women from universities with personal experience in activism related to TFGBV 	To understand the first-hand experiences, coping mechanisms, and perspectives of young activists directly affected by or engaged with the issue.
Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N=3 FGDs (5-7 participants each) - Sampling: Purposive selection. - Criteria: Young women aged 17-25 from diverse backgrounds (not necessarily activists). 	To explore group norms, shared experiences, and collective perceptions of online violence among young women in the general population.

Roundtable Discussion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants: A mixed group of experts (from KIIs) and young women (from interviews and FGDs). - Sampling: Purposive selection from prior research participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To present preliminary findings for validation and feedback. - To facilitate a dialogue bridging the gap between youth perceptions and expert responses to TFGBV.
-----------------------	---	--

Triangulation

A triangulated approach was central to this research design. By integrating data from surveys, individual interviews (with both experts and young leaders), focus groups, and a validating roundtable, the study cross-verifies findings from different angles. This enhances the validity, reliability, and depth of the analysis by mitigating the biases inherent in any single method.

Ethical-Considerations

Informed consent was obtained from all participants before their involvement. For the survey, consent was embedded at the start of the questionnaire. For interviews, FGDs, and the roundtable, written consent was secured. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed for all participants; all data has been anonymized in reporting, and any personally identifiable information has been removed. Special care was taken with vulnerable groups, particularly the young women sharing sensitive experiences, by ensuring a safe environment and providing access to support resources if needed.

Findings and Analysis

From Online to Offline Violence: The Process of Withdrawal from Online Spaces for Young Women

In 2020, the then Minister of Culture in Jordan, HE Dr. Basem Al-Tweise emphasized how electronic violence against women, particularly in the political sphere, poses a significant threat to the country's democracy and represents one of the most severe forms of obstructionism faced by women²¹. The democratic potential of digital spaces is profoundly limited by technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV), which often targets and suppresses women's participation.

As part of this research, which aims to examine the nature of TFGBV in the Jordanian context, identify barriers and challenges related to combating and

²¹ المملكة، "وزير الثقافة: العنف الرقمي ضد النساء تهديد للديمقراطية"، *قناة المملكة*, <https://www.almamlakatv.com//news/35539.2020>

addressing TFGBV, and develop evidence based and actionable recommendations, four themes were thoroughly examined:

- 1) Manifestations of TFGBV in the Jordanian context
- 2) Personal experiences and perspectives of young women
- 3) Challenges in reporting and addressing online violence
- 4) Impact on digital engagement and democratic participation

What makes TFGBV Different in Jordan: The Concept of Shame and Social Stigma

When analyzing the impact of TFGBV on young women's engagement in democracy, the cultural framework of honor and shame in Jordan presents a distinct challenge. These norms often emphasize a woman's role within the private sphere and a man's role as a guardian. Surveys indicate that these views are widespread. For instance, 82% of men and 54% of women believe a woman may deserve punishment to protect family honor, and 74% of men and 53% of women support male guardianship over female relatives²². Consequently, women who become more visible in public life, a key aspect of democratic participation, may face heightened risks of harassment, as their visibility can be perceived as a transgression of these established norms. One expert said: *"Many of them aren't prepared for this type of violence, so they withdraw from public life, withdraw from elections, face pressure from their community, their families saying, 'you've embarrassed us, everyone's talking about you,' etc."*

Beyond the formal definition of TFGBV, there is an additional sensibility in Jordan where TFGBV in Jordan is almost inseparable from familial structures, as social norms played a huge role in every part of the narrative. Societal stigma, honor, and reputation are not peripheral issues. Rather, they constitute the very ecosystem in which TFGBV thrives in Jordan. They act as the motivation for perpetrators, the primary fear for victims, and the largest obstacle to creating a safe and equitable digital and public sphere for women. This cyclical relationship between facing TFGBV and reporting TFGBV is sustained by these societal norms: female public figures face shaming online due to social stigma, other women see this shaming, and they private their accounts (self-censoring) or withdraw completely from social media. This is what is called "the chilling effect".

The migration of concepts such as honor and shame to the digital sphere is not a coincidence, as TFGBV is an extension of digital patriarchy, a term used to describe how technologies and online behaviors reinforce gender hierarchies. Online harassment and other types of TFGBV are not isolated acts but part of a

²² UN Women et al., *Understanding Masculinities: International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) - Jordan* (Jordan, 2022).

continuum of control that aims to discipline women who claim visibility in digital spaces. This continuum of TFGBV blurs the boundaries between online and offline, showing that digital harm has material, psychological, and political consequences.

Types of TFGBV

Women's testimonies for what they think is the most common type of TFGBV are varied, and many of them said that it is difficult to pinpoint an exact type, as they differ from one context to another. Nevertheless, **harassment** was mentioned most frequently at 15 mentions throughout all the interviews. This could be attributed to the broad nature of the term "harassment," as it could encompass many types of violence, including hate speech, defamation, impersonation, threats, and the unsolicited sending of inappropriate photos.

The second most mentioned type of TFGBV was **blackmail and extortion**, with 8 mentions throughout the interviews. The third, at 6 mentions, was defamation and the spreading of false information, a form of violence particularly relevant to women in the public eye, such as journalists, politicians, and public figures. These gender-based campaigns often have a sexualized nature, aiming to ruin a woman's reputation and discredit her work. This type of violence is becoming increasingly easy to perpetrate due to technologies capable of fabricating plausible texts, images, and videos. The unmonitored rise of generative AI, which can produce highly accurate synthetic media, further exacerbates this threat.

The fourth type, with 5 mentions, is **silencing and exclusion**. This form is not always recognized as TFGBV, yet denying women access to the internet is still a profound violence. It isolates them not only from avenues of public participation but also from the ability to seek help in cases of abuse. TFGBV thus manifests not only through active digital harm but also through the systematic exclusion of women from the digital sphere altogether. Many young women pointed out that while the internet can be dangerous, it also provides a crucial sense of solidarity with other women and easy access to information that helps them navigate the world. Being denied this access is therefore a significant deprivation. As one participant stated, *"One type of TFGBV is depriving women of access to technology. Using technology, you can easily access help, especially if you are facing domestic violence or intimate partner violence."* Another highlighted how this lack of access deprives women of *"accessing information and knowledge, even communicating with friends and living normally."*

The final prominent type, highlighted with 4 mentions, was **impersonation and digital identity theft**. This includes creating fake accounts, hacking accounts to post private information, and the theft of online business pages. One participant described how her page, which tackled women's issues, was subjected to severe cyber-attacks intended to shut it down. Moreover, any page, including businesses, suspected of being owned by a woman, becomes a target for hacking. Another

aspect is that when a page discusses sensitive women's issues, men often comment to position themselves as the primary source of knowledge, actively working to discredit the information provided. One participant, who worked on a campaign to educate women about sexual and reproductive health, noted that men would comment on the page to brag about their sexual experiences because they assumed the admin responding to questions was a woman. Thus, women who wanted to ask questions preferred messaging the page privately to avoid harassment.

The data further reveals that TFGBV intensifies in specific contexts, with **electoral violence** being a prime example. This intersectional phenomenon subjects female parliamentarians and candidates to a disproportionate level of gender-targeted attacks. Their political campaigns and qualifications are often sidelined while they face rampant personal attacks that weaponize harmful stereotypes, frequently disguised as jokes, and reinforce an expectation of their failure from the outset²³.

Quantitative data from the Women's Empowerment Unit of the Independent Election Commission underscores this gendered nature: 77% of violent posts against women during elections were made by men. The content of these attacks was primarily defamation (41.1%), followed by questioning women's credibility (31.1%) and bullying their appearance (17.4%)²⁴. The Unit formally defines electoral violence as a form of political violence, specifically "any physical or moral act or omission by which a person aims to deprive or hinder a woman from exercising a right or freedom stipulated in the Election Law." This violence manifests in physical, verbal, and economic forms, as well as through electronic means that target a woman's privacy and reputation.

"It's more brutal than other forms of violence. Now, someone might disagree with me, but I'll tell you it's more brutal because it affects her family, it affects her entire surroundings, physical violence is clearer and more measured. As for the consequences of electronic violence, it sometimes leads to the destruction of homes and leads to other violence built on it to defend them. In other words, its consequences are very serious."

The head of the women's empowerment unit, Samar Tarawneh

Another facet of this violence, highlighted by participants, is the active silencing of women in political discourse. As one participant shared, *"For example, when I share my opinion about a candidate, I would get comments saying: 'you are not the one*

زهور غرابية، "دراسة نوعية جديدة تكشف أبعاد العنف الانتخابي الرقمي ضد المرشحات في الانتخابات النيابية الأردنية 2024"، جمعية معهد تضامن النساء 2024، <https://www.sigi-jordan.org/article/dr-s-noa>.

الهيئة المستقلة للانتخاب، الانتخابات النيابية 2024 - التقرير التفصيلي (2024)، 66، <https://www.iec.jo/sites/default/files/Report/FinalReport2024.pdf>.

deciding; the men in our tribe are the ones who decide.” This tactic directly undermines women's democratic participation by dismissing their voices.

Tarawneh highlighted the inherent difficulty in differentiating between culturally nuanced "jokes" and legally actionable violence. She explained that while certain language may be objectively inappropriate, the specific cultural context and the recipient's own reception of the comment can complicate its formal classification. Despite falling beyond the scope of legal prosecution, such language profoundly normalizes the casual belittlement of women in politics and shapes public perception of their rightful place in the democratic process.

The repetition of phrases like “go back to the kitchen,” even when deemed “harmless,” works to normalize these ideas in the collective consciousness. This aligns with what Hodson et al. (2010)²⁵ term “cavalier humour beliefs,” a mindset that legitimizes prejudicial myths under the guise of uncritical, nonchalant humour. Such content is also more likely to fly under the radar of social media platforms when gift-wrapped as a joke or a meme.



Figure 1: The truth is that your place is in the kitchen and that's it – this image was on a post about activist Hala Ahed

Ultimately, the pervasive claim that online violence is “just words on a screen” is what allows it to thrive. When cavalier jokes telling women to “go back to the kitchen” or suggesting they are unfit for politics because of “hormones” are repeated enough, they cease to be confined to the digital realm and begin to have tangible offline repercussions.

From the Digital to the Physical: Offline Repercussions of TFGBV

Offline repercussions of online violence do not stop at discriminatory rhetoric, as there were many accounts where the situation escalates to physical violence. Specifically, **35% of the survey respondents said that online abuse led to offline consequences, such as stress, strained relationships, or public shaming.**

Physical Violence

This translation from digital to physical harm is a recurring theme. In conservative communities, reputational damage from online harassment can trigger honour-based violence, and blackmail involving intimate photos can lead directly to physical harm from family members. As one source starkly put it, *“If a woman has her images shared online against her will, she might come home to find her father*

²⁵ Gordon Hodson et al., “A Joke Is Just a Joke (except When It Isn’t): Cavalier Humor Beliefs Facilitate the Expression of Group Dominance Motives,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 99, no. 4 (2010): 660–82, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019627>.

has learned about it, potentially leading to domestic violence." This is not an isolated fear but a recognized pattern where the digital violation is compounded by real-world retribution.

The toll is also deeply personal and psychological, eroding a woman's place in society. The constant threat of harassment forces a painful retreat from public life. Many women experience a "lack of trust in people," becoming isolated and introverted to protect themselves. This withdrawal has a devastating impact on their education and civic engagement. As one observer noted, *"I have dealt with a lot of women and girls who stopped volunteering because men perceive volunteering as an opportunity to get girls' numbers and start harassing them."* Similarly, academic futures are cut short, as *"women who get harassed often would have a drop in their grades and it would sometimes lead to them dropping out for their 'protection.'"* Faced with these challenging choices, many women make the rational, yet heartbreaking, calculation summed up in one woman's resignation: *"I thought about how my participation might harm my family and decided it wasn't worth it."*

Ultimately, a woman's ability to withstand this storm depends heavily on her support system. A lawyer with resources and legal awareness can, as in one case, not only bring a harasser to justice but force a tribal mediation that turns the tables. However, women lacking that support are often left isolated and are, forced to "just block the harasser" out of fear and a lack of alternatives. The violence does not happen in a vacuum; it ripples outwards, subjecting the entire family to stigma and jeopardizing their standing in the community. The online attack becomes an offline crisis, proving that, for women, the digital world is not a separate reality, but a dangerous extension of the pressures and perils they navigate every day.

Offline repercussions of online violence are often interconnected with societal backlash against the woman or girl for facing online violence in the first place, due to the culture of victim-blaming. As seen in (Figure 1), many types of TFGVBV target a woman or girl's reputation in her community, using sensitive images to ensure that the blackmail or extortion does maximum damage.

One young activist and journalist stressed that most femicide crimes often start with online threats. The perpetrator may see that no one held them accountable for this behavior because people do not take digital harassment as seriously. Then, they push a little bit further until it becomes offline violence, which can reach the level of rape or murder. The victims are often subjected to a public trial as they are blamed for being killed or raped due to a deeply rooted culture of victim-blaming²⁶.

²⁶ Roa'a Abu Nada, "The Narrative of Blaming Victims: Public Trials of Femicide Victims," Features, *Jordan News*, July 3, 2022, <https://www.jordannews.jo/Section-106/Features/The-narrative-of-blaming-victims-Public-trials-of-femicide-victims-18816>.

Psychological Impact

Online violence inflicts severe and lasting damage on the mental health of women and girls, creating a critical offline consequence that extends far beyond the digital screen. Our survey data (Figures 2&3) confirms a direct link between online abuse and subsequent mental health crises, a situation that is significantly exacerbated when survivors feel they have no support system to help them cope.

This profound psychological toll is echoed across multiple sources. Focus group participants detailed how such violence leads to depression, social withdrawal, isolation, and even disordered eating. Corroborating this, The Jordanian Network to Combat Digital Violence Against Female Journalists found that female journalists commonly suffer from restlessness and sleep disorders following online attacks. The scale of this crisis is further quantified by UN Women, which reports that in the Arab States, 35% of women who experienced online violence felt "sad/depressed," and an equal percentage "lost trust in the people around them." A deeply alarming 12% also reported having suicidal thoughts²⁷.

²⁷ UN Women, *Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence*.

Figure 2: Testimonies from Survivors (Survey)

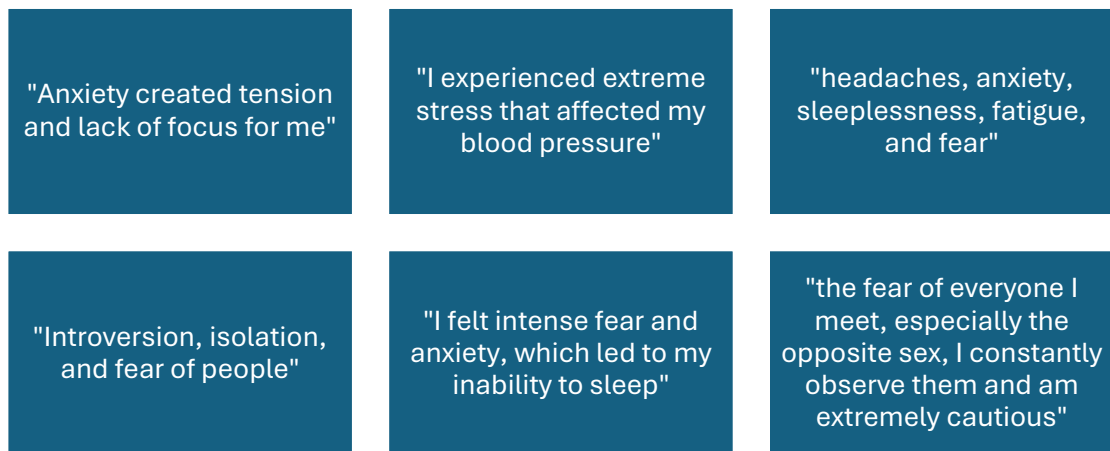
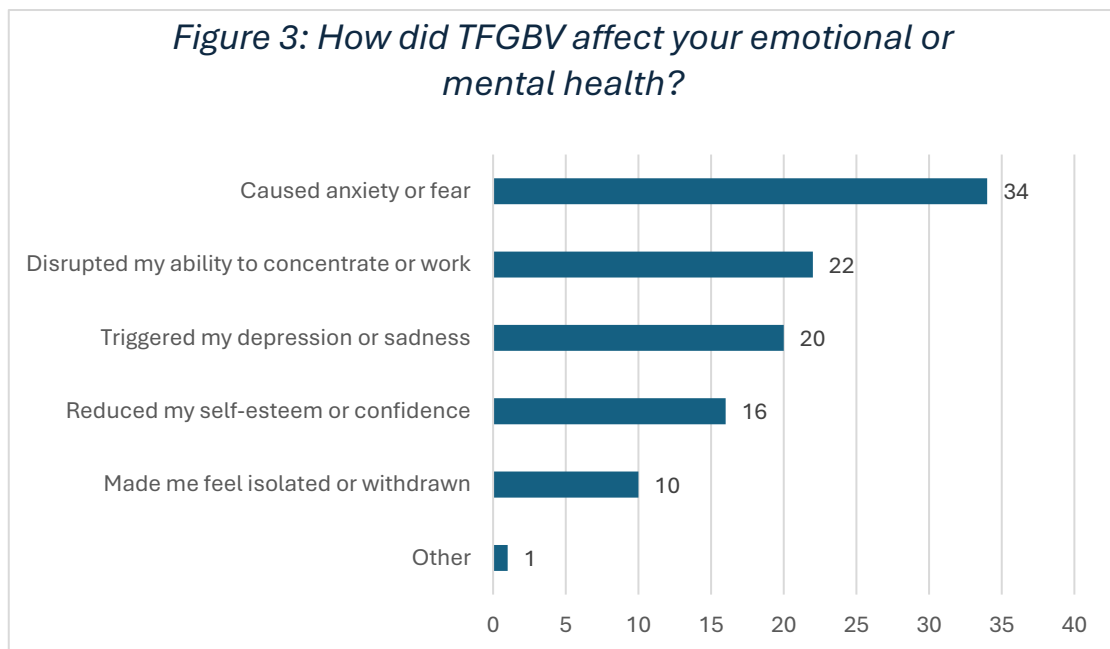


Figure 3: How did TFGBV affect your emotional or mental health?



Story box:

A minor named Malak was being blackmailed by a man twice her age. **Her strict father and paternal relatives made it hard to intervene.** Although the Family Protection Department promised confidentiality, they requested a guardian, forcing her mother, who left home without her father's permission, to accompany her. The father was also summoned against Malak's wishes, but since he was at work, the uncle was called, escalating tensions. The mother faced social stigma for going to a police station, and both she and Malak faced backlash. Malak was kept under state protection due to her extended family's reaction. Later, her father defended her after discovering her **suicide attempt**, but the family likely responded with punishment through rejection or contempt, showing offline consequences long after initial criticism.

Barriers to Addressing and Reporting TFGBV

Our survey found that 77.4% of women did not report the online violence they experienced. Critically, among the 22.6% who did report it, **half were left completely unsure if any action was ever taken.** Only 9.7% confirmed action was taken, while 40.3% said nothing was done. Through follow-up interviews, we investigated this lack of reporting and uncertainty, identifying two key barrier categories: **legislative/structural** and **sociocultural**.

Legislative and Structural Barriers

In 2008, the Public Security Directorate in Jordan, following the Royal will, established the Cybercrime Department under the Criminal Investigation Department²⁸. According to the Cybercrime unit, online crime is:

- a. Any act criminalized by law that constitutes an assault on material and/or moral conditions resulting directly or indirectly from the intervention of information technology.
- b. Any act or omission using a technological means that is punishable by law.

The cybercrime unit has been an essential actor in combating online violence. According to their 2022 statistical report, cybercrimes increased sixfold since 2015. The unit has demonstrated their critical effectiveness by actively combating a wide spectrum of digital threats by addressing thousands of cases, including 3,769 instances of defamation and slander, 3,466 online threats, 2,118 cyber fraud attempts, and 1,285 cyber-extortion cases. Furthermore, the unit targeted severe crimes that threatened community peace, handling approximately 133 cases of

²⁸ [PSD WEBSITE](#) – the Unit was developed and renamed “Combating Cybercrime unit” in 2015, but it is still publicly recognized as “the cybercrime unit”

online child abuse and 113 cases related to hate speech and incitement, showcasing its dedicated effort to pursue complex and harmful criminal activity²⁹.

Jordanian law contains a strong legal framework beyond cybercrime laws that work to protect women in online spaces, including the Telecommunication law (13) of 1995³⁰, Online Transactions Law (15) of 2015³¹, the Penal Code (16) of 1960³², and many other laws that intersect with digital violence (check annex 1)

Despite the legalities and the cybercrime unit's efforts, women and girls remain hesitant to report online abuse.

Our research identifies several key areas within the reporting infrastructure that present challenges for women seeking help, pointing to opportunities for strengthening the system. A primary area for development is the capacity-building of front-line personnel. While there are dedicated officers to report cybercrimes to, interviews suggest that enhanced, standardized training on handling gender-based violence could improve victim support. The presence of female officers was also highlighted as a key factor in making reporting spaces more comfortable for women. While there are female officers at the unit, it is not stressed on the unit's website or mandate.

The process to report an incident is also hindered by a lack of public awareness and procedural clarity. Many women are unaware of the specific services provided by the cybercrime unit or the steps involved in filing a report. This is compounded by an unclear referral pathway between different entities, such as the cybercrime unit and family protection departments. As one participant explained, *"There is no unified mechanism or an umbrella that you can tell women if they want to report, these are the steps."* This ambiguity can be particularly challenging for young women and those without access to legal counsel. While confidentiality protocols are in place, participants praised the Police sector's performance in ensuring consistent application of these protocols remains a priority to maintain trust.

"The police sector is providing some women privacy when it comes to these crimes, which is amazing," a participant

The legislative framework itself presents interpretive challenges. The current cybercrime law offers a broad foundation for addressing online offenses. However, its application to the specific nature of gender-based online violence could be strengthened. Key terms within the law are open to interpretation, which can lead to uncertainty for both victims and practitioners.

²⁹ 2023 "مديرية الأمن العام، وحدة مكافحة الجرائم الإلكترونية في الأمن العام تنشر إحصائيتها السنوية للعام 2022"، 2023 <https://2cm.es/1amba>.

³⁰ [Telecommunication law](#)

³¹ [Online Transactions Law](#)

³² [Penal Code](#)

This subjectivity creates significant legal ambiguity. For example, the law mentions severe bullying and defamation, but what qualifies? If someone sends a private message calling a person names, is that defamation of character? This question is crucial, as most women reported that the abuse was delivered via private message (47%), not through public comments or targeted campaigns. The legal definition of defamation stresses the word "publication,"³³ as its basis is publicity. Similarly, character assassination involves slandering a person to destroy public confidence in them, again stressing the public aspect.

This ambiguity extends to other forms of heavily debated online violence. It is unrealistic to assume someone could be prosecuted for saying "go back to the kitchen" or for objectifying jokes. This type of violence lacks an immediate impact, and the gradual normalization of subjugation, objectification, and infantilization is not seen as a serious issue. If women's issues are not taken seriously offline, they are unlikely to be taken seriously when an anonymous troll³⁴ says them behind a screen. As one participant pondered, *"I feel the procedures are still unclear. How is an abuser who exists online held accountable? What happens to them? How are they punished?"* Clarifying these definitions and procedures would provide greater legal certainty.

Finally, support services face practical constraints. The limited number of lawyers specializing in cybercrime, coupled with the inaccessibility of security centres for women in remote areas and court-related costs, can create significant obstacles. Streamlining these pathways and investing in specialized legal aid and remote reporting options would help ensure that all women, regardless of location or economic means, can seek justice effectively. The overall sentiment suggests a need to build on the existing framework. As one participant summarized, *"The problem is not the law; the problem is the application mechanism,"* indicating that focused improvements in implementation could significantly enhance outcomes for women.

Sociocultural barriers

A fundamental barrier is the widespread normalization of online abuse and a lack of awareness that it constitutes a crime. *"Many women do not know they are being subjected to TFGVB; they normalize the abuse,"* which is compounded by a pervasive lack of trust, as *"girls often do not report abuse due to a lack of trust in their parents or the system."* The issue is further exacerbated for those outside urban centres, where *"awareness and help are centered in Amman, leaving many remote areas underserved."*

³³ Legal Information Institute, "Defamation," Cornell Law School, accessed October 1, 2025, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/defamation>.

³⁴ Trolling is Internet slang for a person who intentionally tries to instigate conflict, hostility, or arguments in an online social community. Platforms targeted by trolls can include the comment sections of YouTube, forums, or chat rooms. [Source](#)

The fear of family involvement and societal backlash is a powerful deterrent to reporting. A recurring theme among young women was the desire to keep their families unaware, with one asking, *"What should I do? I do not want my family to be involved, especially since honor crimes are common here in Jordan."* This fear is rooted in the reality that a victim's ability to seek justice is often contingent on having "a supportive and understanding family." Without this, the prevailing social shame takes over, as there is still stigma surrounding girls who go to the police station or file complaints. Families often pressure victims to remain silent, saying *"don't expose us, just delete the comment,"* or questioning *"why did you post your picture in the first place?"* This societal pressure, which shifts blame to the victim, makes the decision to file a complaint *"neither easy nor straightforward."*

Perpetrators strategically exploit these patriarchal norms. They prey on the fear of reputational damage by threatening to share private images or chats. This demonstrates that online violence is an extension of offline violence, with digital platforms providing unlimited access for public humiliation. The case of public figure Nadia Al-Zoubi, who faced a hate campaign based merely on the implication of a scandal, illustrates this dynamic³⁵. While she had the platform to fight back, most young women lack the same social and financial capital, leaving them vulnerable.

This culture of silence can have severe, escalating consequences. As one expert noted, *"a girl or woman telling her family she is abused online, and they pressure her to not report, is an advanced step. Most of the time... the woman doesn't even tell her family."* This isolation allows crimes to escalate from blackmail into more severe offenses like theft or trafficking. Even for adults, the fear persists, with one participant sharing, *"as an adult you have the resources... but still you are afraid to speak up... sometimes it is fear of disappointment that they don't want to see from their parents."* Finally, the reporting process itself can be influenced by social stigma, as those speaking on sensitive issues like violence against women often find *"there is not always support when reporting abusers."*

Conclusion: TFGBV as a Political Instrument of Exclusion

When asked how they changed their use of online platforms after facing online violence, 77.4% of our respondents adopted alternative tactics that involved anonymizing their online persona, such as deleting profile pictures, using pseudonyms, or changing privacy settings. The remaining respondents withdrew, either partially by avoiding certain platforms or completely by deleting their accounts. Analytically, these coping mechanisms represent a severe curtailment

³⁵ العربي الجديد، "مذبحة أردنية ترد على محاولات تشويه سمعتها بحملة #مَش_رح_تُكسرنِي"، سوشال ميديا، 2022، <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/>, <https://short-url.org/1gtF3>.

of digital citizenship and political agency. Digital citizenship entails the right to participate fully and safely in the online public sphere, yet these strategies force women into a compromised presence. By anonymizing themselves, they are not exercising a right but managing a threat, effectively being pushed from public participation into semi-private or obscured existence. This directly undermines their political agency, their capacity to act and speak as political beings in digital spaces.

The data reveals that this is not a simple choice but a manifestation of the "chilling effect," where women pre-emptively limit their expression to avoid violence. As one participant starkly illustrated: *"I used to post about human rights and girls' education. Now I keep my account private and only share food pictures."* This shift from political commentary to apolitical content is a direct suppression of self-expression and a loss to public discourse. Many respondents described a gradual process of being silenced, diminishing their voices and shrinking their digital presence to avoid stalking, harassment, and shaming.

Furthermore, this chilling effect operates not only through direct experience but also through observation. Young women witness the orchestrated hate campaigns and violent comments directed at other women who voice their opinions or simply exist online. It is therefore a rational calculation for them to self-censor *before* engaging in political discourse as a pre-emptive measure to protect themselves. This demonstrates that the impact of Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV) on democratic participation is both direct and vicarious, profoundly impacting younger women who are heavy users of these platforms.

In sum, TFGBV silences not only individuals but whole generations of potential women leaders. By systematically dismantling women's sense of safety and belonging online, it erodes the very foundations of their digital citizenship and curtails their political agency before it can be fully realized, creating a democratic deficit with long-term consequences.

Story Box: Hala Ahed

Jordanian lawyer and human rights defender Hala Ahed was subjected to a fierce online harassment campaign after inviting women to a series of sessions on learning about feminism. Critics widely accused her of promoting "Western feminism," which they equated with heresy and atheism, and charged her with attempting to distort Islam by calling for the reinterpretation of some Quranic texts. The attacks escalated to the extreme of accusing her of apostasy and spread severe defamation and assassination of character. The harassment further included accusations that she was an "agent of foreign funding," with some calls for her to be put on trial and stripped of her Jordanian citizenship, illustrating the intense backlash she faced for her perceived controversial stances.

From Existing Measures to Future Solutions: A Comprehensive Approach

What has been Done so Far: Successful Initiatives to combat TFGBV.

On the governmental level, the **Independent Election Commission** is developing a pioneering platform named **E-monitor+**³⁶ to monitor gender-based and electoral violence targeting female candidates. While still in its early stages, the potential of such a tool is vast. If invested in, the platform could become a cornerstone for safeguarding women for future elections or even be adapted across other state protection institutions.

In addition to the independent election commission, the cybercrime unit has made significant efforts not only in helping victims of online violence but also raise awareness about preventive measures that everyone can follow to avoid falling for extortion, scams, and violence.

As for civil society, they also developed their own tools for detecting hate speech, for instance Jordan Open-Source Association (JOSA) have developed a tool called **"Nuha"** which is an open-source AI-enabled tool to assist researcher in discovering online gender-based hate speech in the Jordanian dialect. On a less technical level, JOSA published a comprehensive glossary for terms related to TFGBV translated to Arabic³⁷ which could assist in making knowledge more accessible to non-

³⁶ الهيئة المستقلة للانتخاب، الانتخابات النيابية 2024 - التقرير التفصيلي.

³⁷ <https://josa.ngo/publications/66>

English speakers and help women to realize whether they are targets of harassment or not.

As for victim support, a network of support exists. The **Amaali App** provides direct assistance, while organizations like **Takatoat** offer something equally vital: safe spaces and solidarity for survivors, even if they cannot provide psychosocial or legal support. Organizations like ARDD and the Justice Center for Legal Aid provide legal aid *pro bono* to support women.

Despite the tremendous efforts from various entities around the kingdom, there is still room for improvement to ensure that women and girls are safe in the online sphere.

Recommendations to Enhance the already Established Ecosystem.

For the Government & Legislature:

1. **Amend the Cybercrime Law:** Make it gender-sensitive by incorporating clear legal definitions for Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV), including non-consensual image sharing.
2. **Establish Specialized Units:** Create a dedicated, confidential cybercrime unit for women across all governorates and a national, toll-free hotline for reporting TFGBV.
3. **Launch Nationwide Awareness Campaigns:** Use media to publicly inform all citizens, especially in remote areas, about their rights, how to report TFGBV, and the confidentiality of the process.
4. **Ensure Inter-Unit Cooperation:** Mandate clear coordination protocols between the Cyber Crime Unit, Family Protection Unit, and Human Trafficking Unit.

For Judicial & Security Bodies:

6. **Build Capacity of Legal Authorities:** Provide mandatory, gender-sensitive training for judges, lawyers, and police officers on how to identify, investigate, and handle TFGBV cases with a survivor-centered approach.

For Educational Institutions:

7. **Integrate Human Rights & Digital Safety:** Make courses on human rights, digital safety, and cybercrimes obligatory in universities.
8. **Raise Awareness on Campus:** Conduct mandatory awareness campaigns for students and staff on digital safety, reporting mechanisms, and women's empowerment.

For Civil Society & NGOs:

10. **Decentralize Awareness Efforts:** Expand outreach and support services beyond Amman to remote villages and governorates.
11. **Provide Comprehensive Support:** Offer survivors legal aid, psychosocial support, and therapy.
12. **Develop Specific Action Plans:** Create and implement targeted action plans to tackle TFGBV.

For Digital Platforms (e.g., Meta):

13. **Improve Reporting & Moderation:** Create more transparent, accessible, and effective reporting mechanisms for victims.
14. **Enhance Prevention Tools:** Develop better verification processes, increase monitoring, and implement features to prevent repeat offenders and anonymize gender to reduce bias.
15. **Proactively Protect Users:** Apply advanced monitoring tools (like those used for content moderation in other areas) to proactively detect and prevent TFGBV.

For Society & Families:

16. **Shift Social Attitudes:** Launch long-term campaigns targeting families and communities to change harmful gender norms, challenge the culture of shaming victims, and promote equality from a young age.
17. **Leverage Media for Change:** Use TV shows and series to model positive behaviours and de-stigmatize reporting violence.

Bibliography

- Abu Nada, Roa'a. "The Narrative of Blaming Victims: Public Trials of Femicide Victims." Features. *Jordan News*, July 3, 2022. <https://www.jordannews.jo/Section-106/Features/The-narrative-of-blaming-victims-Public-trials-of-femicide-victims-18816>.
- Aburumman, Mohammad, and Walid Alkhatib. *Youth in Jordan*. FES MENA Youth Study: Result Analysis. Freidrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2023. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/amman/20346.pdf>.
- Alodat, Abdelsalam M., Lamis F. Al-Qora'n, and Muwafaq Abu Hamoud. "Social Media Platforms and Political Participation: A Study of Jordanian Youth Engagement." *Social Sciences* 12, no. 7 (2023): 402. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12070402>.
- Arab Barometer. *Arab Barometer Wave VIII*. September 2023. <https://www.arabbarometer.org/surveys/arab-barometer-wave-viii/>.
- Center for Strategic Studies. *Strengthening Civil Society Organizations in Jordan Towards Better Influencing on the Democratization Process*. 2021. <https://jcass.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Political-Participation-and-Promotion-of-Democracy-Role-of-Civil-Society-Organizations-in-Jordan-Quantitative-Report-Qararuna.pdf>.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. Jonathan Cape, 1956.
- Hassan, Robert. *The Condition of Digitality: A Post-Modern Marxism for the Practice of Digital Life*. University of Westminster Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.16997/book44>.
- Hodson, Gordon, Jonathan Rush, and Cara C. MacInnis. "A Joke Is Just a Joke (except When It Isn't): Cavalier Humor Beliefs Facilitate the Expression of Group Dominance Motives." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 99, no. 4 (2010): 660–82. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019627>.
- Legal Information Institute. "Defamation." Cornell Law School. Accessed October 1, 2025. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/defamation>.
- Mossberger, Karen, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Ramona S. McNeal. *Digital Citizenship: The Internet, Society, and Participation*. 2nd ed. MIT Press, 2010.
- Norris, Pippa. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- OECD. *Empowering Youth and Building Trust in Jordan*. OECD Public Governance Reviews. OECD, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1787/8b14d38f-en>.
- Pech, Laurent. "The Concept of Chilling Effect." Open Society European Policy Institute, 2021. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/c8c58ad3-fd6e-4b2d-99fa-d8864355b638/the-concept-of-chilling-effect-20210322.pdf>.
- Posetti, Julie, Nabeelah Shabbir, Diana Maynard, Kalina Bontcheva, and Nermine Aboulez. *The Chilling: Global Trends in Online Violence Against Women Journalists; Research Discussion Paper*. Programme and meeting document. UNESCO, 2021. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000377223>.
- Schauer, Frederick. "Fear, Risk and the First Amendment: Unraveling the Chilling Effect." *College of William & Mary Law School*, 1978. <https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/facpubs/879>.
- Siregar, Yuanita Aprilandini, Ubaidillah Badun, and Francisia Saveria Sika Ery Seda. "Digital Patriarchy on Arab Women in Urban Area." *Proceedings of the 3rd International*

Conference on Social and Political Development, SCITEPRESS - Science and Technology Publications, 2019, 407–13. <https://doi.org/10.5220/0010035204070413>.

Tahat, Othman, Tayseer Falahat, Amer Ahmad, Amjad Safori, and Abd Allah Al-Jalabneh. "Effect of Social Media on Political Participation of Jordanian University Youth." *Journal of the Association of Arab Universities* 45 (March 2025): 55–72. <https://doi.org/10.36024/1248-045-001-004>.

UN Women. *Violence Against Women in the Online Space: Insights from a Multi-Country Study in the Arab States*. 2021. <https://www.unfpa.org/TFGBV>.

UN Women, Center for Strategic Studies, and Information and Research Center at King Hussein Foundation. *Understanding Masculinities: International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) - Jordan*. Jordan, 2022.

UNFPA. "What Is Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence?" 2023. <https://www.unfpa.org/resources/brochure-what-technology-facilitated-gender-based-violence>.

Zagidullin, Marat, Nergis Aziz, and Sanat Kozhakhmet. "Government Policies and Attitudes to Social Media Use among Users in Turkey: The Role of Awareness of Policies, Political Involvement, Online Trust, and Party Identification." *Technology in Society* 67 (November 2021): 101708. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2021.101708>.

العربي الجديد. "مذبحة أردنية ترد على محاولات تشويه سمعتها بحملة #مش_رح_تُكسرني." "سوشال ميديا <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/>, 2022. <https://short-url.org/1gtF3>.

اللجنة الوطنية لشؤون المرأة. *العنف ضد النساء في المجالين العام والسياسي في الأردن*. 2022. <https://shorturl.at/QNhYE>.

المملكة. "وزير الثقافة: العنف الرقمي ضد النساء يهدد الديمقراطية." *قناة المملكة*, 2020. <https://www.almamlakatv.com/news/35539>.

الهيئة المستقلة للانتخاب. *الانتخابات النيابية 2024 - التقرير التفصيلي*. 2024. <https://www.iec.jo/sites/default/files/Report/FinalReport2024.pdf>.

غرايبة, زهور. "دراسة نوعية جديدة تكشف أبعاد العنف الانتخابي الرقمي ضد المرشحات في الانتخابات النيابية الأردنية 2024." *جمعية معهد تضامن النساء الأردني*, 2024. <https://www.sigi-jordan.org/article/dr-s-noa>.

مديرية الأمن العام. "وحدة مكافحة الجرائم الإلكترونية في الأمن العام تنشر إحصائيتها السنوية للعام 2022." 2023. <https://2cm.es/1amba>.

Annex (1): TFGBV legislative mapping – all relevant articles regarding TFGBV

Crime	Law	Article	Description
Unauthorized Access	Cybercrime law	3/A	“Whoever intentionally accesses a website, information network, information system, or information technology means or any part thereof by any means without authorization or in violation or excess of an authorization shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not less than one week and no more than three months, or by a fine of not less than (300) three hundred dinars and no more than (600) six hundred Dinars, or both penalties”
	Cybercrime law	3/B	“Where the access stipulated in paragraph (a) of this Article is for the purpose of cancelling, deleting, destroying, disclosing, posting, re-posting, damaging, blocking, altering, changing, transferring, or copying data or information, or breaching the confidentiality of data, or encoding, stopping, or disabling the operation of an information network, information system, information technology, or any part thereof, the perpetrator shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not less than three months and no more than one year and a fine of not less than (600) six hundred Dinars and no more than (3000) three thousand Dinars. The penalty shall be imprisonment for a period not less than one year and no more than three years, and a fine of not less than (3000) three thousand Dinars and no more than (15000) fifteen thousand Dinars if he achieves the result.”
	Cybercrime law	3/C	“Whoever intentionally accesses a website to change, cancel, destroy, or alter its contents, or occupy, encrypt, stop, or enable it, or assumes its identity or the identity of its owner, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not less than three months and a fine of not less than (600) six hundred Dinars and no more than (3000) three thousand Dinars.”
	Cybercrime law	4/A	“Whoever enters or accesses without permission or in violation of or exceeds the permit to an information network,

			information technology, information system, or any part thereof belonging to ministries, government departments, public official institutions, public, security, financial, or banking institutions, or companies owned or contributed by any of these entities or critical infrastructure and has access to data or information not available to the public and affects the national security, foreign relations of the Kingdom, public safety or the national economy shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not less than six months and no more than three years and a fine of no less than (2500) two thousand five hundred Dinars and no more than (25000) twenty-five thousand Dinars."
Falsification and fabrication	Cybercrime law	5/A	"Whoever creates an account, page, group, channel, or similar on social media platforms and falsely attributes the same to a natural or legal person shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of no less than three months or a fine of no less than (1500) one thousand five hundred Dinars and no more than (15000) fifteen thousand Dinars, or both penalties."
	Cybercrime law	5/B	"Whoever fabricates, creates, or designs a program, application, website, e-mail, or the like and falsely attributes the same to a natural or legal person shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of no less than six months and a fine of no less than (9000) nine thousand Dinars and no more than (15000) fifteen thousand Dinars".
Dissemination, production, and promotion of pornographic content	Cybercrime law	13/A	"Whoever sends, publishes, prepares, produces, saves, processes, displays, prints, buys, sells, transmits, or promotes pornographic activities or works using an information network, information technology, information system, or website, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of no less than six months or a fine of no less than (3000) three thousand Dinars and no more than (6000) six thousand Dinars."
	Cybercrime law	13/B	"The actions stipulated in paragraph (1) of Paragraph (a) of this Article shall be punishable by imprisonment for a period of no less than one year or a fine of no less than (6000) six thousand Dinars and no more

			than (30000) thirty thousand Dinars if this content is sexually stimulating images, recordings, drawings, or others of sexual organs, real or virtual sexual acts, or simulated sexual acts of a juvenile under eighteen years of age, or if the content is related to a person with a mental illness or a disability.”
digital facilitation of prostitution and exploitation, especially targeting vulnerable individuals.	Cybercrime law	14/A	“Whoever uses an information network, information technology, information system, or establishes a website to facilitate, promote, incite, assist, or exhort prostitution and debauchery, or seduce another person, or expose public morals, shall be punished with imprisonment for a period of no less than six months and a fine of no less than (9000) nine thousand Dinars and no more than (15000) fifteen thousand Dinars.”
Dissemination of fake news, instigation of hate, and defamation	Cybercrime law	15	“Whoever intentionally sends, resends, or publishes data or information through an information network, information technology, information system, website, or social media platforms that include fake news targeting national security and community peace, or defames, slanders, or contempt, shall be imprisoned for a period of not less than three months or a fine of not less than (5000) five thousand Dinars and no more than (20000) twenty thousand Dinars, or both penalties.”
	Cybercrime law	16	“Whoever unjustly spreads, ascribes, or attributes to a person, or contributes to it through an information network, information technology, information system, website, or social media platforms, acts that would assassinate his character shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of no less than three months or a fine of no less than (5000) five thousand Dinars and no more than (20000) twenty thousand Dinars, or both penalties.”
	Cybercrime law	17	“Whoever intentionally uses an information network, information technology, information system, website, or social media platform to spread what is likely to stir up racist or sedition, targets social peace, incites hatred, calls for or justifies violence, or insults religions, shall be punished by imprisonment from one year to three years

			or a fine of no less than (5000) five thousand Dinars and no more than (20000) twenty thousand Dinars, or both penalties.”
	Penal code	188	<p>1. Defamation is the imputation of a certain matter to a person, even if it was done with doubt, which might negatively affect his or her honour, and dignity and expose him/her to the hate and scorn of society, regardless of whether such matter is punishable by law or not.</p> <p>2. Insult: assaulting the dignity and honour of another person or his or her reputation, even if it was done with doubt, without accusing him or her of a specific matter.</p> <p>3. If the name of the victim was not mentioned when the crimes of defamation and insult were committed, or if the accusation was ambiguous, but there was evidence that leaves no doubt in linking the matter to the victim, the perpetrator of the defamation or insult shall be considered as if he or she mentioned the name of the victim.</p>
Violation of private telecommunication	Jordanian Telecommunications Law	56	“Telephone calls and private Telecommunications shall be considered confidential matters which may not be violated, under legal liability”.

Annex 2: Most Common Types of TFGBV according to women

