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بهدف تضييع الوقت ,مفكر حالو محور الكون و بيقدر يعمل اللي بدو ياه :When Men Think They Are the Center of the Universe

A Qualitative Study of Perceived Causes of Sexual Harassment in a Jordanian University

By

Seema Sandhu

MPH

Global Health

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[Cari Jo Clark, ScD]

Committee Chair

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By

Seema Sandhu

B.A. Psychology

The Ohio State University

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ABSTRACT

بهدف تضييع الوقت ,مفكر حالو محور الكون و بيقدر يعمل اللي بدو ياه :When Men Think They Are the Center of the Universe

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By Seema Sandhu

Background: Sexual harassment is a phenomenon that plagues most societies. In the Middle East and North Africa, research on sexual harassment has primarily focused on Egypt and Turkey. Egypt has numerous feminist organizations seeking to eradicate sexual harassment from its society. In contrast to Egypt, there are not as many feminist organizations in Jordan that raise the issue of sexual harassment. Jordan has been experiencing cultural shifts, with more women attending university. These shifts may increase the exposure of sexual harassment for Jordanian women. This qualitative study will examine the perceived root causes of sexual harassment on a Jordanian campus by using the sociocultural theory.

Methods: Data for this study include focus group discussions (N=6) and data from a local data-collection method (FADFED) in which students responded to two questions (N=602 total responses). Guided theory was used for the analysis of data. Four steps were followed for grounded theory analysis: the development of a codebook, testing for inter-coder agreement and codebook revisions, coding of data, and conducting descriptive and comparative analysis. The music, not the dance approach was used to understand how background context influences the focal issues to help recognize underlying systems (social and cultural) that influence sexual harassment.

Results: The data indicated that patriarchy was a perceived cause of sexual harassment, with subthemes of structural power, gender roles & expectations, conservative environment, and tribalism. Sexual harassment was seen as a method for men to exercise power and control over women. Additionally, participants discussed expectations of dress. A woman who violates the norm of dressing conservatively is labeled as indecent, seen as sexually available, and men will then sexually harass her. Male participants also discussed the structural power professors hold and how this may result in them sexually harassing their female students. Alongside the power that professors hold, participants examined the power of tribes and its relation to sexual harassment.

Conclusion: Study findings identify important root causes that warrant sustained action to enhance the safety and well-being of all students. Further research is needed to establish the prevalence of sexual harassment to further guide university policy and practice.

When Men Think They Are the Center of the Universe: بهدف تضييع الوقت ,مفكر حالو محور الكون و بيقدر يعمل اللي بدو ياه

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND & RATIONALE

Sexual harassment is a problem that persists in almost all societies. The persistence of sexual harassment is problematic for women and men, although sexual harassment is normally a tool of power used against women. The existence and experiences of sexual harassment vary from country to country due to factors of culture, social norms, patriarchy, and economy (Wasti & Cortina, 2002; Peoples, 2008). These experiences are not well-documented in the Middle East and North Africa regions and regions where research has primarily been conducted include Egypt and Turkey. Here, grass-root interventions have been developed to prevent and stop sexual harassment through feminist organizations (Skalli 2014; Sakallı-Uğurlu, Salman, & Turgut, 2010). In Jordan, however, feminist organizations have not been as active in challenging sexual harassment, despite the changes in the environment, such as the increased number of women attending university (Norimine, 2015). Research about the phenomenon of sexual harassment is essential to understand the existing societal and cultural structures in Jordan that allow sexual harassment to occur.

The United Nations 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women defines gender-based violence as an act "of violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life"; sexual harassment fits into this framework of gender-based violence (Skalli, 2014). Additionally, the United Nations General Recommendation 19 defines sexual harassment as "such unwelcome sexually determined behavior as physical contact and advances, sexually colored remarks,

showing pornography and sexual demand, whether by words or actions. Such conduct can be humiliating and may constitute a health and safety problem" (Skalli, 2014).

In studies of students in settings across the globe, sexual harassment has been found to have physical, mental, and psychological health implications as well as social implications. Physical health outcomes include upset stomach, headaches, dizziness, and trouble going to sleep (Gruber & Fineran, 2007). Psychological outcomes of sexual harassment include symptoms of depression and anxiety, low self-esteem, body image issues, feeling self-conscious, fear, loss of confidence, doubt about future successful romantic relationships, and feeling unpopular, unsuccessful, or lonely (Bendixen, Daveronis, & Kennair, 2018; Conroy, 2013). Students who experienced the most severe forms of sexual harassment, such as sexual coercion, reported the development of mental health illnesses, including depression (Bendixen, Daveronis, & Kennair, 2018). Additionally, there are educational outcomes for students who are exposed to sexual harassment (Gruber & Fineran, 2007). Educational outcomes may include talking less in class, becoming truant, avoiding particular places, scoring lower on exams and assignments, and having difficulty paying attention in class (Conroy, 2013). Students who have experienced sexual harassment also reported a loss of interest in their daily activities, isolation from social networks, absenteeism, skipping or dropping classes, poor grades, and feeling upset (Gruber & Fineran, 2007). The physical, mental, and psychological health and social implications of sexual harassment are serious consequences for students who experience it and these studies reflect a clear need to prevent this issue in schools and on campuses.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Worldwide, there has been an increase in discussion about sexual harassment. The #MeToo movement has illustrated the prevalence of sexual harassment in Hollywood and other

workplaces (What We Know, 2018). In the Middle East and North Africa, women have been publicly speaking up about the various forms of sexual harassment they experience in the hopes their government will respond and amend their laws (Amar 2011; Skalli, 2014). Egypt is a notable example—the interim Egyptian president, Adly Mansour, amended a previous article in the penal code in the hopes of criminalizing sexual harassment. Although the amended law needs more revision according to women's and human rights organizations, there is an effort being made by the government to address the issue of sexual harassment (El-Rifae, 2014). The Jordanian penal code, on the other hand, does not mention sexual harassment in its penal code (Mahadeen, 2014). Research about the root causes of sexual harassment can be used to inform university-based prevention and response.

RESEARCH QUESTION

What are the social and cultural root causes of sexual harassment at a university in Jordan?

SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT

Jordan is experiencing an interesting change in its economic and academic institutions. The increasing number of women in universities in a conservative country like Jordan has introduced women to spaces they previously may not have been in, specifically spaces that include men (Norimine, 2015). Although outside the scope of this paper, local interventions targeted to students can improve the problem of sexual harassment by changing social norms and the acceptability of harassing. Findings from this study can inform these interventions by examining its root causes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment is prevalent in almost all societies, yet there has not been much research about its prevalence in Jordan. Research about sexual harassment in the Middle East and North Africa has primarily focused on Egypt and Turkey. Unlike Egypt, there are no official records or statistics about sexual harassment and the lack of research in Jordan is concerning as the lack of information hampers prevention and response (Truluck, 2016; Whitman, 2015). In 2012, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women recommended that the government of Jordan "properly address sexual harassment within a well-defined legal framework" (Truluck, 2016). Due to the lack of reporting about this issue and the increase of women pursuing higher education in Jordan, more women may be exposed to sexual harassment (Norimine, 2015). To address this gap, this study examines the perceived causes of sexual harassment among female and male university students in Jordan and whether these explanations fit into existing theoretical explanations. This thesis will use the sociocultural theory to examine current literature on causes of sexual harassment.

SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY

Sociocultural theory focuses on patriarchal culture and its relation to sexual harassment, defined by overlapping constructs including **patriarchy**, **gender roles & expectations**, and **masculinity.** This theory states that sexual harassment is a result of the power that originates from a patriarchal culture and associated gender differences in status (Welsh, 1999). Men are often socialized to be aggressive and dominant while women are often socialized to be passive and accepting (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). Therefore, the sociocultural model stresses

gender as the main predictor of sexual harassment as research indicates that women are more likely to experience harassment compared to men (Welsh, 1999).

Under this framework, men may maintain their dominance over women and use sexual harassment as a tool to uphold those power structures (Welsh, 1999). Sexual harassment may be used more frequently when changing social and economic conditions threaten their status and undermine their masculinity, examples include rising unemployment, shifts in traditional family structures (Peoples, 2008), and the emergence of women into public life (Whitman, 2015).

GENDER ROLES & EXPECTATIONS

Sexism is entrenched in traditional gender roles and in people's stereotypical understandings of traditional gender roles. Social dominance is associated with both gender roles and sexism and sexist beliefs and gender role stereotypes are likely to be promoted by individuals high in social dominance (Russell & Trigg, 2004). Additionally, there is research indicating that women who do not follow their gender roles/stereotypes are more likely to be harassed so men could maintain the power inequality (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Salman, & Turgut, 2010). Social dominance as well as gender role stereotyping play an important role in sexual harassment (Russell & Trigg, 2004).

MASCULINITY

Masculinity is another factor relevant to sexual harassment. Men high in masculinity are more likely to sexually harass women and traditional masculinity is associated with negative attitudes toward gender equity and attitudes that supported sexually harassing behaviors. Researchers have argued that sexism is not just hostility towards women but includes both positive and negative attitudes; researchers also believe that high hostility and high benevolence result in ambivalent sexism (Russell & Trigg, 2004). Hostile sexism is defined as "sexist

antipathy toward women based on an ideology of male dominance, male superiority, and a hostile form of sexuality (in which women are treated merely as sexual objects)" and benevolent sexism is "subjectively positive, though sexist, attitudes that include protectiveness toward women, positively valenced stereotypes of women (e.g., nurturance), and a desire for heterosexual intimacy" (Fiske & Glick, 1995). Additionally, women and men who are tolerant of sexual harassment are likely to hold ambivalent and hostile attitudes toward women (Russell & Trigg, 2004).

The sociocultural theory focuses on patriarchy, gender roles & expectations, and masculinity and attributes them as causes of sexual harassment. This theory, however, does not take into account cultural reasons that permit sexual harassment to occur. A country's history must be considered when discussing gender-based violence as it provides relevant background information (Peoples, 2008). A common historical feature of the Middle East and North Africa is the experience of colonization which has had lasting impacts on the treatment of women.

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA CONTEXT

After World War 1, the Ottoman Empire was defeated and European countries—specifically France, Britain, and Italy—began to colonize the Arab World. Britain occupied Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Jordan. The influence of colonialism on women's status varied; in order to understand how women were treated before, during, and after colonialism, cultural and ideological beliefs have to be examined in regard to rights and equality. According to Megahed and Lack, there are three factors that contribute to these beliefs: (1) Islamic teachings and local traditions, (2) Western, European powers perceptions of equality, and (3) the colonized country's laws and policies in response to Western pressure and their local, cultural traditions and norms (2011).

The colonizers instituted a dichotomy between public and private spheres that hindered gender equality. There was a popular view among colonizers that Arab, and by extension Muslim, countries were backward due to their veiling of women. European states also established policies and laws that favored patriarchy and marginalized women, the labor movement, and Islamic reformers and these policies and laws were upheld after independence. For example, Lebanon and Syria continued to perpetuate the patriarchal French policies after their independence (Thompson, 2003). Alongside the institutionalization of patriarchy through laws, sexual relationships were influenced by European colonization. Women's unpaid domestic labor became classified as unskilled, their land rights were denied, they could not hold public or religious power and positions, extramarital sex became outlawed, patriarchal monogamy became institutionalized, and children born out of wedlock were considered illegitimate. The institutionalization of patriarchy was essential for European colonialism (Spencer-Wood, 2016). However, it is important to note that the British colonization of Jordan only lasted for over 20 years and Al-Mahadin argues that this "does not constitute valid points of departure for situating women's plight within a colonial context" (2004).

Although the Middle East and North Africa are diverse in culture and religion, countries similar to Jordan can be examined to better understand how sexual harassment manifests. The major events in Egypt surrounding harassment alongside feminist organizations passion in creating societal and legal change make Egypt a valuable example to analyze. Additionally, thorough research has been conducted in Egypt to illustrate the prevalence of sexual harassment.

MAJOR EVENTS IN EGYPT

During the post-Ramadan celebration of Eid al-Fitr in 2006, mass sexual assaults took place in downtown Cairo that were captured by citizens that recorded, Facebooked, Tweeted, and

YouTubed the incident. The use of social media to record sexual assault against women spurred national and international attention to Egypt's sexual harassment problem (Skalli, 2014). Two years later in 2008, Nuha Rushdi filed a claim against a man who sexually assaulted her. Rushdi's case set precedent in Egyptian law, where sexual harassment was defined and distinguished from rape or debauchery (Amar, 2011).

LEGAL STRUCTURES IN EGYPT

In 2014, the interim Egyptian president Adly Mansour issued a law in the hopes of ending sexual harassment. This new law amends the previous article 306a in the penal code and criminalizes sexual harassment through words, gestures, actions and/or other means of expression. The punishment of this amendment is a minimum sentence of six months imprisonment as well as a fine of 3,000 Egyptian pounds. Another amendment to the article demands a more severe sentence for a perpetrator that is in a position of authority. Many women's and human rights organizations have doubts about this new amendment, however. A key problem they have is the definition of harassment—harassment is defined as "an offence that occurs when a man follows or stalks a woman and communicates sexual or pornographic content." This definition thus believes that harassment is contingent upon following or stalking, which are not necessary for harassment to occur. The definition also ignores the sexual harassment that men experience. Additionally, article 306A blames harassment on the sexual desires of the offender, however, there are many different reasons why harassment occurs, whether it be shaming, power assertion, and even boredom. The focus on the motivations of the offender instead of the harm done to the victim may not end sexual harassment (El-Rifae, 2014).

PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN EGYPT

The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (ECWR) conducted a survey to determine the prevalence of sexual harassment (Skalli, 2014). ECWR defines sexual harassment as "any uninvited behavior that is sexual in nature and makes women feel uncomfortable or unsafe. This includes behaviors such as calling out in an obscene or threatening way, following or stalking, fondling, and even indecent exposure, masturbation, or assault" (Ilahi, 2009). Results revealed that 83% of Egyptian women and 98% of foreign women experienced sexual harassment (Skalli, 2014). These experiences included men staring inappropriately at women's bodies, making sexually explicit comments, stalking, and inappropriate touching. 46.1% of Egyptian women and 52.3% of foreign women reported daily sexual harassment. The most common place of exposure to sexual harassment was on the streets and public transportation, with tourist destinations and foreign educational institutions being the second most common places (Shoukry, 2008).

Results from the survey addressed veiling and why men sexually harass. To debunk the myth that women get harassed because they are unveiled, it was discovered that 72.5% of women who were harassed were indeed veiled. Majority of the men who took the survey indicated they harass women to satisfy "repressed sexual desires" or because the act "makes them feel masculine"; some men also stated, "they are accustomed to harassing women since they were young." ECWR believes in order to end sexual harassment, men must be active participants involved in the awareness-raising campaigns as well as protests (Skalli, 2014).

CONTEXT & LEGAL STRUCTURES IN JORDAN

Like Egypt, Jordan can be classified as a collectivist culture in which discussions of sex are limited and considered taboo. In collectivist cultures that are male-dominated, the act of sexual violence will result in blame towards the women instead of the perpetrator. Additionally,

in cultures where sexual contact is viewed negatively unless it is between a married couple, speaking about inappropriate sexual experiences can be considered as disgraceful and disrespectful to both the woman and her family (Wasti & Cortina, 2002). However, there have been legal changes in Jordan regarding women's rights. Article 308, which was influenced by French colonial law, allowed a rapist to marry the survivor and was recently repealed. Additionally, attitudes towards honor killings are shifting, with harsher penalties for perpetrators (Matouq, 2018).

Despite these shifts, the Jordan penal code does not mention sexual harassment anywhere in its articles. Article 306 is the closest article that vaguely resembles sexual harassment—it is titled "Indecent Acts and Words" and states:

> A prison sentence for a period up to six (6) months, or a fine not exceeding twenty-five (25) Dinars, shall be imposed upon any person who exposes a boy who is less than fifteen (15) years of age, or a female, to indecent acts or words (Jordanian Penal Code No. 16 of 1960, n.d.).

The ambiguity behind "indecent" lies with the interpreter or a judge. Mahadeen argues that any proposal that acts for stricter penalties is counterproductive, especially if sexual harassment continues to be lumped under article 306 (2014). The victim usually only has their word against the perpetrator and their word is not enough in the eyes of the law, especially since the victim will be blamed for causing the harassment (Whitman, 2015). The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) was established in 1992 to support issues that affect women; JNCW is headed by Her Royal Highness Princess Basma and is classified as a semi-governmental organization that represents the Kingdom (The Jordanian National Commission for Women, n.d.). The JNCW has articulately defined sexual harassment for it to be included in the

penal code. Mahadeen argues, however, that a legal framework is only a small part of the solution, with the larger issue being gender inequality (2014).

EDUCATION IN JORDAN

In Jordan, the educational system consists of mandatory primary school (grades 1-6) and preparatory school (grades 7-10). After grade 10, there is secondary education and subsequently, higher education which includes two-year courses from community colleges or four years of university. Public schools in Jordan are segregated by gender while some private schools allow classrooms to be mixed gender (Jordan-Educational System-overview, n.d.). This segregation occurs after grade 3 and students are taught by the same sex they are (Ripley, 2017). Ten years of basic education are required for all Jordanian citizens (grades 1-10) and public schools are free (Education System in Jordan, n.d.). Universities in Jordan are mixed-gender and there is a higher enrollment of women in universities compared to men, 52% and 48% respectively (Kigotho, 2014). There has been an increased number of women pursuing and attending higher education (Norimine, 2015).

The gender segregation in public education is mandated by the government and occurs after third grade. The Ministry of Education has been deliberating about the segregation by gender and raising the age of when the segregation should occur. However, this is controversial especially among Jordanians who are conservative (Ripley, 2017). Jordanian women have been protesting to gain more rights in political institutions, and although there has been some success, notably the repeal of the law that allowed rapists to marry their victims, the environment remains conservative and patriarchal (Tahhan, 2017).

MAJOR EVENTS IN JORDAN

In 2012, at the University of Jordan, a group of students completed a project on the topic of campus harassment for a feminist theory course. The students asked women about their experiences of sexual harassment while walking on campus and the project was uploaded to YouTube where it went viral. The discourse that occurred as a result of this project was negative and Dr. Quawas, the professor of the course and the dean, was blamed for attracting attention to sexual harassment. Additionally, the president of the university blamed Dr. Quawas for trying to smear the university and its reputation. Subsequently, Dr. Quawas was removed from her position as dean (Truluck, 2016).

Two years later, in Irbid, a video was uploaded to YouTube depicting an episode of mass sexual harassment. The Jordanian government responded by announcing it would revise the legal framework, specifically "acts which contradict the customs and morals of Jordanian society." Within these acts, it was assumed harassment would be included; however, many feminists and organizations have criticized this move, believing that the definition of harassment should be based on gender inequality, and not vague ideas of modesty and morals; additionally, allowing harassment to be defined under modesty and morals would allow the government to blame harassment on the victim, instead of the perpetrator (Truluck, 2016).

PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN JORDAN

As elsewhere, existing evidence suggests that sexual harassment is a problem in Jordan. An informal poll consisting of 200 female students from six universities in Jordan revealed that 67% of them were sexually harassed. The prevalence of verbal harassment was 40%, while 30% experienced physical harassment and 4% encountered actual or attempted rape (Farha, 2016). Another study conducted in Jordan indicated that 82.3% of Jordanian and Syrian women

experienced sexual harassment (N=62). Sexual harassment occurred most frequently in the daytime to women, regardless of if they were covered or uncovered. The most common forms of sexual harassment experienced were verbal and visual harassment. Visual harassment included staring and leering to the extent that women feel uncomfortable. Physical harassment was the least common type of sexual harassment experienced by participants. The low reporting of physical sexual harassment may be due to the taboo of discussing this experience. When asked why they believed sexual harassments occurs, participants blamed the victim, the perpetrator, and society. Participants blamed the victims of sexual harassment because of the victim's dress and actions that provoked the perpetrator to sexually harass. Additionally, participants believed that women who were sexually harassed must have presented themselves as victims. The participants who shifted the blame to the perpetrator focused on the poor upbringing of the perpetrator, lack of morals and religious faith, ignorance, and psychological issues. Participants also discussed the societal conditions that they believed attributed to sexual harassment, such as gender norms, masculinity, and poor economic conditions (Truluck, 2017).

SUMMARY

The sociocultural theory has been used to examine root causes of sexual harassment, especially patriarchy, gender roles and expectations, and masculinity in perpetuating sexual harassment. Additionally, there are important contextual factors to consider when discussing sexual harassment in Jordan, such as the penal code and culture. Studies indicate that the prevalence of sexual harassment in Jordan ranges from 67% to 82% (Farha, 2016; Truluck, 2017). However, these studies have a small sample size and may not be generalizable to the Jordanian population. There is also limited data about the perceived causes of sexual harassment

in Jordan. This qualitative study will examine female and male university students' perceptions of sexual harassment to determine the perceived social and cultural causes of sexual harassment.

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This qualitative study examined perceptions about the social and cultural causes of sexual harassment among Jordanian students on a university campus. This study was a collaboration between researchers in Jordan, the King Hussein Information and Research Center, and Emory University. The data provide information on the perceptions of the perceived root causes of sexual harassment.

POPULATION & SAMPLE

According to 2011-2012 university demographics, 65% of undergraduate students are female and 35% are male. A majority of undergraduate and graduate students are Jordanian (93%) with a minority of foreigners (7%). The research team created a recruitment information flyer that peer researchers then sent out to their fellow peers. The research team also posted the flyer on student Facebook groups. In order to participate in the study, participants had to meet three inclusion criteria: 1) matriculated during the time of the study, 2) not cognitively impaired, and 3) attending classes on the main campus.

There were a total of six focus group discussions, three with female students and three with male students. Female focus groups included four students in each group while male focus groups ranged from six to eight students. Female students were primarily bachelor students in their second or third year; their majors included history, law, accounting, sociology, and architecture. One female group consisted of only master students pursuing women's studies. All male students were second- to fourth years in their bachelor's program. Their majors ranged from geology, business economics, biology, law, accounting, agriculture, business administration, rehabilitation sciences, and mechatronics engineering.

The FADFED is a participatory data collection activity that serves as an outlet for respondents to openly and honestly express their opinions about a topic (FADFED, n.d.). For the FADFED, there were a total of 315 responses to question A (What do you understand when you hear the word harassment?) and 287 responses to question B (In your opinion, what are the forms of harassment that you think exist at the university campus?) (Appendix B). Both female and male students responded to the questions (A: n=242 females, n=73 males; B: n=215 females, n=72 males). Students who participated were in their first to sixth years of university and there was a wide range of majors, from engineering to foreign languages.

RESEARCH DESIGN & PROCEDURES

Qualitative data analysis included focus group discussions with female and male students and FADFED data. The focus group discussions were stratified by gender in order to facilitate discussion about the sensitive nature of sexual harassment. The FADFED was conducted by Leaders of Tomorrow, the organization that developed this technique. The staff of Leaders of Tomorrow set up a large transparent box in an administrative building at the university and invited students to answer the two questions. Students were given colored markers that signified their gender and year at school. They wrote down their answers on cards provided and placed them in the transparent box. The data were then transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet and translated in English for subsequent analysis.

The focus group discussions were facilitated by two female team members and one male team member; female team members facilitated the female focus group discussions and the male team member facilitated the male focus group discussions. Focus group discussions began with a free-listing exercise in which participants wrote about their initial thoughts when hearing the words "sexual harassment" and "gender-based violence" on a notecard. Participants then

explained what they wrote and why they wrote it. Facilitators summarized the comments

participants made and clarified any questions the participants had. Two scenarios were presented

to all participants:

> Scenario 1: A female student is walking on campus. She is wearing tight jeans and a tight
>
> t-shirt. On her way to the lecture, a group of guys start calling her out - making comments
>
> about her body and looks. She feels uncomfortable but avoids them and continues
>
> walking. Why do you think the boys call the girl out?
>
> Scenario 2: A female student is taking a class with a professor. The professor is very
>
> helpful and always supports her. He specifically asks her to pass by his office to give her
>
> extra notes and handouts. The student always goes to his office with 2 of her friends. One
>
> time, the professor asks her to come alone. She went to his office and he starts to tell her
>
> that she has beautiful eyes, and that she reminds him of his sweetheart when he was
>
> younger. He then asks her if she is in a relationship with anyone. The student gets
>
> uncomfortable and leaves the office. Why do you think the professor acted this way?
>
> (Appendix A).

These scenarios were meant to understand how participants reacted to situations of sexual

harassment. All FGDs were conducted in Arabic and recorded verbatim with the consent of

participants. Team members transcribed the interviews in Arabic and then translated from Arabic

to English.

DATA ANALYSIS

Grounded theory was well-suited for this study due to its understanding of the cyclical

nature of qualitative data as well as the use of inductive and deductive approaches to analyze the

data (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2010). Four steps were followed for grounded theory analysis:

the development of a codebook, testing for inter-coder agreement and codebook revisions, coding of data, and conducting descriptive and comparative analysis. The research team at Emory University consisted of a principal investigator, a doctorate student, two research associates, two master's in public health students, and an undergraduate student. This research team all had experience with international research and most had experience in the Middle East and North Africa. The Emory team also met weekly to discuss and analyze the data and propose any changes to the codebook.

The team systematically read, memo-ed, and discussed themes raised in the focus group discussion transcripts. A codebook was developed which listed each concept, a label, and a definition. The codebook included inductive themes emerging from the data and deductive themes developed a priori from theoretical domains in the interview guides. Codes were devised to identify salient types of sexual harassment, phrased to be locally and cross-culturally meaningful; the language used to describe acts of sexual harassment; and the cognitive processes that may lead to response errors for these items. Researchers coded a 10% sub-sample of text segments in MAXQDA 18 and measured inter-coder agreement. There were several rounds of inter-coder reliability tests conducted in order to ensure the codebook included all necessary codes and coders agreed on the definitions of the codes.

Descriptive analysis was conducted to identify the causes of sexual harassment. We then created coding categories based on words and word strings and used content analysis to identify salient forms of sexual harassment. Additionally, we completed thick descriptions of key constructs to examine potential differences by sex.

The same process was repeated for the FADFED data analysis. To measure the inter-coder agreement, 10% of the FADFED data was analyzed by two research teams. The codebook

used for the focus group discussions was also utilized for the FADFED data, with the assumption that the codes were representative of the data. The FADFED data were coded through the software.

Thick descriptions were then created for codes to understand each issue and its nuances. To search for data, the strategy was to search by code. The codes that were relevant for analysis included explanations for sexual harassment, decent (an emic-ly derived code), victim blaming, tribalism, and perceived consent. The analysis was conducted by using comparison across deductive subgroups, specifically sex. The music, not the dance approach was used to understand how background context influences the focal issues; this approach helps recognize underlying systems (social and cultural) that influence sexual harassment which can then be used to create a framework from salient themes that are present (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2010).

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Emory University has approved this study as it meets the definition of human subjects research and served as the IRB of reference for the study. Participants verbally consented to the focus group discussions and the FADFED data collection. The research team followed the guidelines from the Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Intervention Research on Violence Against Women which were developed by the World Health Organization (World Health Organization, 2016). Additionally, referrals to services were prepared for survivors of violence if needed.

RESULTS

The focus group discussions and FADFED data provided rich data to help understand students perceptions of sexual harassment and why they believe it occurs. The major theme of the data was *patriarchy*, with subthemes of tribalism, gender roles and expectations, conservative environment, and structural power (Figure 1). These themes and their subthemes are described in a heterosexual context to best reflect the participant's perceived thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes. The following section will summarize and analyze female and male responses.
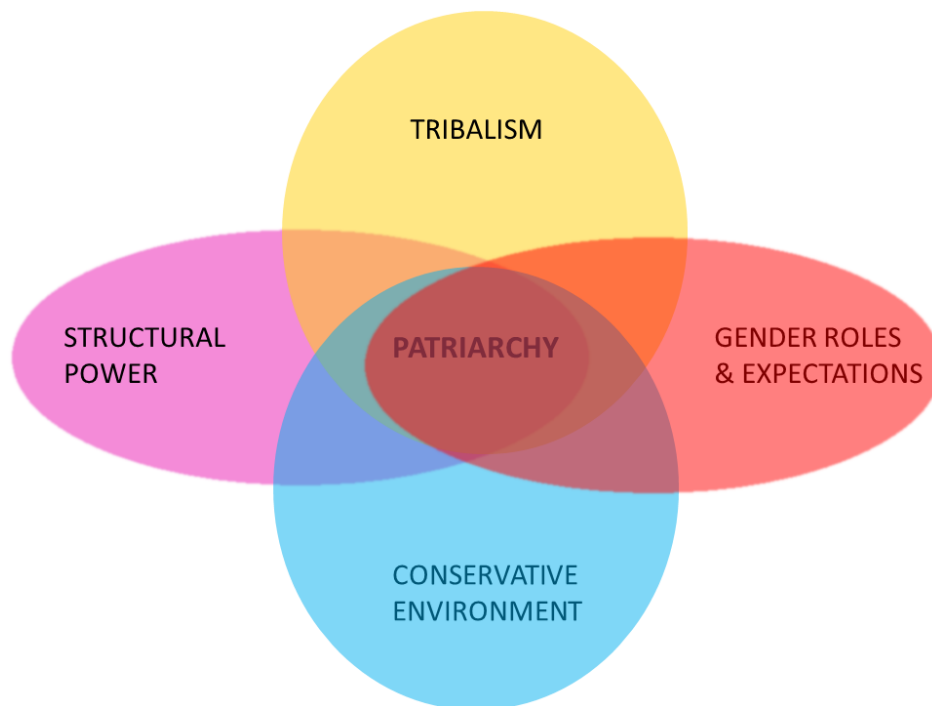

Figure 1: Flower Diagram adapted to Perceived Causes of Sexual Harassment (Original diagram in Cislaghi & Heise, 2018)

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy refers to the power associated with men which then allows for the oppression and subordination of women. Female and male participants implicitly and explicitly examined

patriarchy. A majority of participants agreed that the victims of sexual harassment are usually

females, although victims may also be male. These participants believed that women may be

perpetrators but emphasized that most cases of sexual harassment are perpetrated by men. Sexual

harassment was seen as a method for men to exercise power and control over women by a

minority of female and male participants. A minority of male participants discussed how

perpetrators may believe they are superior to the other gender and one participant stated, *"…a*

specific gender thinks they are stronger or superior to the other gender, giving them the power to

control them."

GENDER ROLES & EXPECTATIONS

   Gender roles and expectations encompass expectations of appropriate behavior for

women and men. For example, both female and male participants extensively discussed the role

of dress in perpetuating sexual harassment. While a majority of female participants believed that

dress was the reason sexual harassment occurs, a minority of male participants agreed with this

belief. There was an agreement among the majority of participants that if a woman wears tight,

attractive clothing without a hijab, it was assumed that she must not be decent. Decency alluded

to the woman's perceived sexuality. A decent woman would wear loose clothing—preferably

jilbab (a long, flowy dress worn by women) —as well as hijab to reflect her modesty and

virginity. However, a woman who violates this norm and wears tight clothing is labeled as

indecent, seen as sexually available, and men will then sexually harass her. There was an

implication from an overwhelming number of participants that women implicitly consent to

sexual harassment if they choose to wear inappropriate clothing.

   There was a minority of female participants and a majority of male participants who

believed that gender was the most important factor in sexual harassment. A male participant

explicitly stated, *"As a male perpetrator, nothing will matter to me other than the victim being a female."* Some female and male participants pointed out that the frequency and intensity of comments heard by women wearing tight, revealing clothing will differ compared to women wearing conservative clothing. A female participant stated, "*The speed of harassment will differ, if you are wearing jeans, he would have something prepared to say one kilometer away from you. If you are wearing hijab, would have something prepared to say 300 meters from you*." This participant believes that regardless of what the woman is wearing, she will be harassed, however, the perpetrator is more inclined to sexually harass an individual wearing jeans or attractive clothing compared to wearing a hijab. Female and male participants also agreed with this belief, stating that men may feel more confident in harassing a woman who wears inappropriate clothes, but men will still harass a woman with a hijab, albeit with less confidence.

There was disagreement among both groups about labeling and stereotyping women who wear or do not wear hijab. A minority of female and participants discussed how it was inappropriate to judge women and insinuate characteristics about them based on how they dress. A male participant mentioned that *"...some women are veiled and not decent"* while another male participant countered this statement with, *"It's wrong to judge them [women] as decent or not."* A female participant expressed her frustration with the topic of dress and stated, *"If she was not veiled, they would say, it's because you are not veiled. If she was veiled, they would say it's because you're not wearing jilbab. If she is wearing a jilbab, they would say, it's because you go to university. There is always an excuse to blame the girl."* Another female participant sympathized with this belief and mentioned, *"The attackers often justify their abuse by blaming the victim's wardrobe choice or behaviors and many times the society agrees with that."*

Romantic and sexual expectations refer to the expectations that heterosexual women and men have about relationships and sexuality. A minority of female and male participants mentioned sexual desire and how it can result in sexual harassment. A common theme from the data suggested that women are viewed as objects for men's sexual desire and they exist to please men. Male participants attributed this expectation to sexual frustration; they believed a majority of Jordanians—including women—are sexually frustrated and do not know how to deal with the opposite sex. In order to overcome this frustration and lust, the man will sexually harass women, possibly with the hopes the woman will respond positively. A male participant also mentioned the role of media in perpetuating sexual expectations: *"...they [the media] try to tell us that if a girl dresses this way, she must have bad intentions, so a guy is encouraged to look at this girl, whether in a sexual or romantic way, romantically so that others can be jealous of him, and sexually because he is affected by the message of the media in this regard."* Despite the discussion of sexual desire and believing that it may be a reason sexual harassment exists, male participants stated that lust does not excuse men's behavior when they sexually harass women.

STRUCTURAL POWER

In regard to the topic of structural power and sexual harassment perpetrated by professors, male participants discussed this relationship more extensively than female participants. Male participants believed male professors appreciate that the university is majority female and these demographics allow professors to take advantage of women. A male participant explained, *"Some teachers like the fact that 90% of students at the university are females, so there must be one pretty girl or so, so they give their marks based on the looks, so they tell girls to meet them at the office to look at their marks, and we all know what happens there."* Although neither female or male participants explicitly described what occurs at the professor's office, it is

inferred that sexual coercion or other forms of sexual harassment take place. Male participants also mentioned the power professors have over young female students who may be naïve and trusting of an older, well-respected figure in the university. The professor may want a sexual favor from the student and the student may think his intentions are good and that he wants a relationship. A male participant described a personal experience: *"I want to share a story that happened last semester, there are a lot of stories, if I could share everything, I just wouldn't stop. There was a teacher from one of the faculties, and my friend was taking a course with him, when I found out, we were a group of guys, I told him 'do you want an A?', he said "yes". I told him, 'Take the prettiest three girlfriends you have and just go see him.' That's it, just go and tell him I am taking this course with you. That's what he did, he took three pretty girls, decent ones, I am not saying otherwise, and told them that's what I want, to get an A, he was straightforward with them, and he did it, and he got an A."* This experience indicates that there is an understanding of the power professors have and how they react to female students; indeed, male students have figured out how to use their female peers to achieve higher grades. The structural power professors hold over their students remains unchallenged.

CONSERVATIVE ENVIRONMENT

There were many features of the environment that were attributed to sexual harassment, according to female and male participants. These features include the perpetrator's upbringing as well as sex segregation.

There was a brief discussion among female and male participants about the upbringing of men who live in different, remote areas. Male participants believed men with this type of upbringing may not understand that women and men can be friends since they were not raised in an environment that allows that. A male participant described his feelings and understanding of

these men, *"I think it makes me a little upset, when it comes to sexual matters, because students, who have different traditions, have been raised this way, so they come to the university from a certain area, and they see girls dressed a certain way, so they think that they are not decent, and start treating them that way [sexually harassing women]."* Additionally, remote areas may perpetuate sexist beliefs—a male participant explained, *"...you can see discrimination between males and females happening a lot in remote areas. Until now, I think that some people might still tell you that girls can't go to the university, neither can they study. While boys MUST go out, study, and do everything, there's no harm in males doing anything."* Another male participant mentioned, "*Their awareness [those who live in remote areas] and their understanding of healthy ways of dealing with the other sex in a mixed setting are very limited*." A minority of female participants also discussed how different environments affect the way women and men think; one participant mentioned, *"Some guys who come from different environments demand girls to have relationships with them under the name of love or start following girls everywhere and starting rumors about them in their community."* A male participant also explained the relationship between remote areas and gender-based violence: *"Females may face a form of gender-based violence if they live in certain areas, you may associate that with sexual violence, if she lives for example in a camp or something like that, and tries to enjoy some freedom, she may be subject to sexual and societal violence, and she may become an outcast…"*

Sex segregation was an important topic briefly touched upon by a minority of male participants. These participants discussed the education system in Jordan and the impact of single-sex schools. A male participant compared this issue to placing locks on a door, stating *"...a shock…the gap that happens and the restrictions. For example, when you put 70 locks on the door, everyone grows curious and they direct people's attention to it… I mean, there was*

already a gap since we were kids, it's not new." Referring to this problem as a "gender gap",

they believed it is difficult to adjust and become acclimated to a university that has women and

men due to their previous lack of interaction with each other. In order for change to happen,

participants believe the gender gap in schools must be addressed.

TRIBALISM

A minority of female and male participants examined the power of tribes and its relation

to sexual harassment. A male participant discussed how *"Some students misuse their power and*

their tribes. I know that security guards, they end up exploiting girls, sometimes some girls have

to give in, because they fear that someone may cause trouble for them, may circulate something,

may cause a scandal, or maybe he knows the security guard, maybe they will expel her, or

gossip, or anything, so they start abusing their power." However, according to a male

participant, if a woman is affiliated with a tribe, "…*nobody will come near her, or only guys*

from the same tribe, but if she doesn't [belong to a tribe], or she has no support base, they say

anything." The tribal status of the woman is an important consideration for perpetrators as well

as their own tribal status.

A small portion of female and male participants discussed the consequences a perpetrator

may experience based on their tribal position. There was a consensus among these participants

that the consequences depend on if the perpetrator belongs to a certain tribe. Female participants

discussed that if the perpetrator is from a powerful tribe, they will experience no consequences

and one female participant mentioned, *"If they are from tribes or have connections, nothing will*

happen to them and they will get back to their normal lives. Otherwise, they might do

something." Male participants held similar beliefs to their female counterparts; they believed that

students from certain tribes are aware that they can get away with serious matters due to their

tribal position and the unwillingness of security guards to get involved. Additionally, a male participant stated that perpetrators are well-known, but experience no consequences due to their tribal position. This is significant as it implies that perpetrators may continue to sexually harass due to the lack of institutional deterrents.

Male participants discussed the reactions of the tribe when they hear about the sexual harassment allegations. They believed that members of the tribe will support the perpetrator regardless of the mistakes they make. At the very least, the tribe will turn a blind eye to what is occurring but they will publicly defend him. Female participants believed that if the tribes seek to take action, they may make the perpetrator drop their courses for that semester. The tribe may talk about the matter internally and may try to correct the perpetrator's behavior, according to male participants. However, the perpetrator will continue with his behavior due to the tribe's initial support of him. The perpetrator he will not lose his tribal support and he faces no consequences. Participants stated that if the members are decent people, they will give honest advice. If they are not decent, they will allow him to continue his behavior and support him.

Shifting the conversation from perpetrators who are students, some male participants spoke about perpetrators who are professors and their lack of consequences. There was a discussion about administrative corruption regarding the tribe of the professor. A male student explained, *"We have a lot of administrative corruption, you may not take the right decision because you may fear a backlash from the teacher's tribe, now when you have a big committee, they say they want to fire him, but maybe the person taking the decision is hesitant because he doesn't want to bear the consequences, that this person will not leave him alone, so there will be corruption, and the committee members themselves may be afraid."* A few female participants

also did not believe that professors would face consequences, instead, the blame would be placed on the student.

According to female participants, there are areas in the university that are heavily populated by certain tribes. These areas are considered more conservative and tribal and participants stated more harassment occurs in this area compared to other areas on campus. There was some discordance among female participants about the reactions of witnesses based on where the act occurs. Sexual harassment that occurs in areas that are less conservative and tribal is likely to be addressed and more easily solved while more tribal areas may resort to violence; according to a female participant who stated, "*Tribes will get involved and possibly reach to fights and shooting*" while another participant believed the opposite—tribal communities would confront the issue of harassment while less tribal areas would mind their own business and not get involved. Male participants also described the physical nature of tribalism and environment, believing that tribes exist in certain areas and faculties. For example, a male participant explained, *"Even the social nature of the scientific faculties' students is different, they have less tribal intolerance and less free time than the humanities' students. They got into the university with higher GPAs and they're here to study."* Female and male participants believed there was a link between tribalism and conservatism and the two concepts seem to foster one another.

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, & CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

The goal of this thesis was to understand the perceived causes of sexual harassment in a Jordanian university. Studies in Jordan have focused on the prevalence of sexual harassment, the effects it has on the victims, and how victims define and cope with sexual harassment (Farha, 2016; Truluck, 2017). Additionally, there is a limited amount of literature about sexual harassment on Middle Eastern campuses (Hacthoun, 2017). Due to the lack of statistics about sexual harassment topic at the university, it was considered best to utilize qualitative research methods to assess the perceived severity and prevalence of the problem. This study seeks to bridge the gap in the literature by understanding the root causes of sexual harassment in the context of Jordan. To help understand the cultural and social causes of sexual harassment, the sociocultural theory was utilized for guidance. This theory focuses on patriarchy, gender roles and expectations, and masculinity.

To the author's knowledge, only a few studies have focused on the perceived causes of sexual harassment in Jordan. The perceived causes of sexual harassment focused on the victim, the perpetrator, and society. Individual factors of the victim were criticized, such as the victim's dress and actions. The perpetrator was less criticized and the actions of the perpetrator were attributed to factors outside of his control, such as his poor upbringing, lack of awareness, and lack of morals. Societal reasons that contributed to sexual harassment included gender norms, masculinity, and poor economic conditions (Truluck, 2017). Studies in Egypt indicate that the potential causes of sexual harassment include socioeconomic and political tensions, such as patriarchy and high unemployment rates (Peoples 2008; Hacthoun, 2017). According to Peoples, high unemployment rates have threatened masculinity and sexual harassment is a method to

regain masculinity by asserting power over women (2008). Although masculinity was a feature of the data, it was unrelated to the economic situation in Jordan. Factors such as patriarchy and gender norms were present throughout the data and are consistent with previous literature.

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy was a salient theme in the data and literature. Peoples described patriarchy in terms of men reaffirming their masculinity as well as men's need to display their heterosexuality (2008). Participants did not examine the role of masculinity as extensively as other dimensions of patriarchy. Although not explicitly mentioned, there seems to be a connection between men who come from conservative, remote areas in which they are not acclimated to seeing women dress freely and sexual harassment. Women wearing tight clothing threatens the status-quo in a country where women are expected to wear jilbab or loose clothing and by extension, it threatens the patriarchal systems that restrict women's choice in dress. Additionally, the expectation of women to wear certain types of clothes falls under gender roles. Therefore, when women who do not follow their expected gender role, they may experience higher rates of sexual harassment compared to women who fit into their gender role; this idea is empirically supported (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Salman, & Turgut, 2010). This may also be the reason why dress was emphasized and discussed extensively by both female and male participants, as it relates to masculinity and gender roles & expectations.

There was an extensive discussion surrounding a woman's decency being associated with her clothing. A majority of participants believed a woman who wears clothing that is deemed provocative must not be decent while a minority strongly disagreed with this statement. The implication of the label decent reflected the view that the woman must be open about her sexuality. This is seen in the data as perceived consent, the idea that a woman consents to sexual

harassment when they choose to wear clothing that is deemed inappropriate by society. Women are then treated and regarded as promiscuous objects by men; their sexuality is viewed through the lens of men's desire to sexually dominate them, reflecting Fiske and Glick's definition of hostile sexism (1995).

TRIBALISM

The power relationships in Jordan are influenced by gender, class, and tribe and Faqir argues that Jordanian society can be classified as neopatriarchal (2001). According to Donald Cole, tribes consist of "groupings of people who use the idiom of kinship to explain their solidarity, recognizing, however, that they are integrally part of a wider society and culture not based on kinship" (Alshawi & Gardner, 2013). Participants linked tribalism to holding more conservative thoughts and beliefs; additionally, those with tribal backgrounds were assumed to be more likely to perpetrate sexual harassment due to the lack of consequences they would experience as well as their conservative environment that has influenced their upbringing and views of women.

The structure of tribalism is influenced by patriarchal relationships. Tribalism can impact gender roles and norms through the effect it has on women in public and private spheres; in private spaces, tribalism can create and maintain gender roles while in the public, tribalism can affect women's abilities to participate in public activities (Pettygrove, 2006). Additionally, women must remain *mastura* (hidden, low-profile) in public and private spaces (Faqir, 2001). The policing of women was discussed by female and participants who explicitly described how there is a stigma in conservative, remote areas against women who pursue education due to the belief that they should remain in the private sphere, with little interaction in the public.

Tribalism has also resulted in high importance being linked to honor. The concept of honor and decency is an expectation that both women and men must uphold, however, the definitions of honor differ by gender. The women's honor reflects her family and "families associate their honor with the virginity of their unmarried daughters and with the chastity of the married ones" (Faqir, 2001). Men must protect their female relatives and ensure they follow their expected gender roles (Faqir, 2001). Participants mentioned on several occasions that remote areas are more likely to be tribal and the men that come from these areas are not accustomed to interacting with women. Participants also believed that people from tribal areas are more likely to sexually harass. This may be due to the idea that women who present as "indecent" are challenging the status quo. In order to lower her status, he may engage in sexual harassment as a means to punish her for her indecency. Sexual harassment then becomes a form of policing women who do not follow their gender roles based on tribal understandings of honor and gender expectations (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Salman, & Turgut, 2010). There is a significance placed on the woman's sexual reputation that women themselves police through spreading rumors about other women they label as "indecent" (Faqir, 2001). This was represented in the data; female participants conveyed disgust of women who wear inappropriate clothes and engaged in more victim-blaming compared to male participants.

LIMITATIONS

Limitations of this study include the sensitivity of the topic and the willingness for participants to discuss sexual harassment. The sensitivity of the topic affected female participants more than male participants and this can be seen in the vagueness of the responses when discussing the acts and forms sexual harassment in the focus group discussions. Although, the vagueness of responses may be due to the lack of exposure to the more severe forms of sexual

harassment. It is important to note the lack of data about sexual coercion, as it is an important dimension of sexual harassment. A delimitation was only having three focus group discussions per sex which are not enough for data to reach saturation. However, this was balanced out by the FADFED data which ranged from 70-250 responses from female and male students. Additionally, the lack of detail in the FADFED was balanced out by the focus group discussion's detail and depth of information.

The limitations of the sociocultural theory are important to examine. The theory does not take into account the evolution of gender roles based on socialization. Gender roles have expanded and changed over time and the theory fails to explain how this change affects the prevalence and perpetration of sexual harassment. Additionally, although sexual harassment is a societal problem, most men do not sexually harass. The sociocultural theory focuses on patriarchy yet does not clarify why most men do not perpetrate sexual harassment (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). This theory's focus on patriarchy is another limitation as it understands sexual harassment as a symptom of gender inequality and does not consider other factors (Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982). Additionally, it is important to note that patriarchy is not restricted to tribal communities and not all tribal communities adopt patriarchal beliefs (Lia, 2017).

REFLEXIVITY

When analyzing qualitative research, it is easy to project one's thoughts and interpretations onto the data. My own understanding of patriarchy stems from a feminist and anti-colonial lens. It was, therefore, very important for me to remain reflexive when analyzing and discussing the data so that the data could speak for itself, without my previous knowledge or personal experiences.

NEXT STEPS FOR THE UNIVERSITY

A recommendation for the university is to conduct further research to determine the true prevalence of sexual harassment on campus. The prevalence of sexual harassment can indicate the severity of the problem on the university's campus. Additionally, by understanding the perceived causes of sexual harassment, the university can target interventions to these factors to reduce the prevalence of sexual harassment. The data also discussed the structural power that professors hold and it may be relevant for the university to provide training to all professors about sexual harassment. Sexual harassment must be taken seriously, as the data indicate that most participants believe it is a problem. A female participant referred to sexual harassment as *"A social phenomenon that must be eliminated because it is spreading massively in our recent time."*

CONCLUSION

Although there are no official records or statistics about sexual harassment in Jordan, there has been a shift in Jordanian culture in which more women are enrolled in university (Norimine, 2015). This shift can be seen as a threat to patriarchal structures that force women to remain in the private sphere and believe that women should not be educated. When women violate their expected gender roles, they are more likely to be sexually harassed in order for men to reassert their power (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Salman, & Turgut, 2010). Female and male participants extensively discussed patriarchy and tribalism and these two themes are considered to be social and cultural reasons that explain why sexual harassment is perpetrated. Specifically, students recognized power structures and gender roles and expectations that permit sexual harassment to exist.

The next steps for the university include further research about the prevalence of sexual harassment as well as training for professors about this subject. The university has shown commitment to understanding sexual harassment on its campus. Additionally, it has the power to shift the narrative and acceptability of sexual harassment. By creating this change on campus to reflect student's concerns about sexual harassment., the university will provide a safer environment for all of its students.

APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK

Name	Description
Forms of Sexual Harassment - Fitzgerald 1995	
Gender Harassment	Gender harassment refers to a broad range of verbal and nonverbal behaviors not aimed at sexual cooperation but that convey insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes about women. Some examples include sexual epithets, slurs, taunts, and gestures; the display or distribution of obscene or pornographic materials; gender-based hazing; and threatening, intimidating, or hostile acts.
Sexual Coercion	Sexual coercion constitutes the canonical example of sexual harassment, that is, the extortion of sexual cooperation in return for job-related considerations. Sexual coercion is the equivalent to the legal concept of quid pro quo and includes consequences for refusing.
Unwanted Sexual Attention	Unwanted sexual attention includes a wide range of verbal and nonverbal behavior that is offensive, unwanted, and unreciprocated. Examples include attempting to discuss sex, unwanted sexual attention, staring, leering at you, attempts to establish a sexual relationship, touching in a way that made you feel uncomfortable, and attempts to stroke or fondle.
Other	Harassment items or tactics that could fall into multiple categories as described by Fitzgerald or they represent a different construct or form of sexual harassment. NOT for mentions of SH too vague to categorize (behavior must be described in some detail).
Technology	Mention of the use of technology as a mode of SH.
Prevalence of Sexual Harassment on Campus	Perceptions of the amount of sexual harassment that is perpetrated on campus against males or females (empirical expectations).
Location	The physical locations where sexual harassment takes place.
On campus	
Off campus	
Time	Any reference to times of day that SH is most likely to occur
Laws	Discussion of whether laws or rules exist to prevent or punish sexual harassment on campus or in Jordan more widely
Explanations for SH	Factors which either explain why perpetrators harass or why survivors are harassed. Can also include factors which make people less likely to harass/be harassed.
Attitudes and Beliefs	Attitudes and beliefs that make people more likely to harass
Sex	Sex of perpetrator or victim is indicated as a risk factor
Sexual Arousal	uncontrollable sexual arousal or desire is presented as an explanation for why some men perpetrate SH
Masculinity	Discussions of the link between masculinity or strict male gender norms and sexual harassment

Name	Description
Gender inequality	How lack of equality between the genders or power differential affects the perpetration of SH
Upbringing	Aspects of a person's upbringing that promote or prevent the perpetration of sexual harassment. Focused on the family or interpersonal relationships and not the wider social environment.
Religion/Morals	Discussion of religion or morals as a risk or protective factor for SH
Conservative Environment/Culture Shock	Discussion of how the attributes of conservativism (e.g., separation of the sexes, women confined to the traditional sphere) affect sexual harassment. Also includes the reaction that one feels coming into a new environment that has different social norms and behaviors around sex and sexual behavior and how this relates to SH
Dress	The ways in which a person's dress or apparel plays into how SH is perpetrated against her or how SH perpetrate against her/him is perceived.
Attractiveness of Survivor	the physical attractiveness of a woman (apart from dress) presented as an explanation for perpetration of SH
Impact of Sexual Harassment	Description of the physical, emotional, academic or other impact on survivors of sexual harassment.
Wider Impact	Impact beyond that on survivor to university or broader society
Survivor Response to Sexual Harassment	All aspects of victims responding to sexual harassment including how victims respond to SH; why they respond the way they do; and from whom they can or should seek help
Survivors immediate Responses	How the survivor responds to the harasser immediately upon being harassed. Could include active responses and nonresponses (example does nothing).
Survivors Formal Help Seeking	Descriptions of the survivor's formal help seeking behaviors or the sources from whom she/he could seek help for sexual harassment (eg: Dean's office, campus police).
Survivors Informal Help Seeking	Descriptions of the survivor's informal help seeking behaviours INCLUDING disclosure, or the sources from whom she/he could seek help or advice for sexual harassment. Generally, includes individuals such as friends.
Repercussions (and barriers) to reporting	Discussion of the potential barriers and responses to SH disclosure. Could include responses by family members, university staff, friends etc.
Rumors/reputation	Repercussion (either realized or hypothesized) includes mention of rumors or reputation.
Victim-Blaming	Reasons given for why female victims of SH are responsible for the SH they experience.
"Decent"	Mention of girls being decent or differentiating girls who are "decent" from those who are not.
Bystander	The behaviors and responses of the person or people who are physically present when sexual harassment takes place. These people are not the perpetrator or the victim

Name	Description
Connected to Survivor	The bystander is mentioned as being with the survivor.
Connected to Perpetrator	The bystander is mentioned as being with the perpetrator
Other	The bystander is mentioned without attribution to a particular party.
Sanctions	
Positive	Positive response to harasser's actions (e.g. encouraging act)
Negative	Negative response to harasser's actions (e.g. condemning act)
Lack of sanctions	Explicit mention that there are no sanctions.
Response of harasser to sanction	Actual or hypothesized response of the harasser to the sanction.
Tribalism	The aspects of tribes or tribalism that affect sexual harassment.
Wasta	Role of having beneficial connections (example escaping punishment for sexual harassment because of these connections)
Flirting Vs SH	Discussion of flirting/appropriate sexual/romantic advances May be discussed alone or juxtaposed with SH. Includes aspects of behaviors as well as the initiator of the act.
Perceived consent	Mention that the survivor consented to the treatment explicitly or implicitly.
Institutional factors	Aspects of the physical environment, or university policies and practices, that influence the occurrence or reporting of SH. Should be specific to university.

APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Introduction script: Welcome everyone. I am XXXX. I work with the Information and Research Center at the King Hussein Foundation. We work with the Center for Women's Studies and researchers at Emory University, in the U.S., on a study about sexual harassment. I will be leading the discussion today and XXX will assist me by taking notes and recording the session. If you will allow, I will take a few moments to review the project and what you are being asked to do today.

You have been asked to come together for a group discussion on sexual harassment of women. Information you and other students, administrative staff, and faculty will provide will help us to understand the nature of sexual harassment, if it happens, and if so, why and how it happens so that we might develop programs that could help. The discussion today will last about an hour and a half. If you agree, I will record the session and my colleague will take notes.

I have a list of questions that I will read from to guide a group discussion. You will be asked to work in small groups to discuss issues in more depth and we will close the group with a final activity. There are no right or wrong answers. Your thoughts on this issue are what is important. We will not be asking for personal stories in this group discussion and ask that you refrain from using a person's real name if you do mention someone. And please do not tell others outside this group what was discussed to protect your privacy and that of others in this group. Let's get started.

Introduction question: As an introduction, let us go around the group and perhaps each person could give their first name, academic level and college.

1) **Free listing exercise** [to determine the content, scope and boundaries of sexual harassment.] Let's start off by doing a free listing exercise. Here is a pen and notecard. In the next 3 minutes, please write down what comes to your mind when you think of the words sexual harassment. This can be a list of words, or phrases, or sentences. Just number your thoughts and write down whatever comes to your mind. --- Now, let's discuss as a group. Who would like to share what is on their card?

--Can someone mention something that was on their card that was not already mentioned? Others not yet mentioned?

2) **In-depth small and large group work** [to provide a deeper explanation of each of the forms]. [Write down the different utterances on large paper or on a chalk/white board keeping the various forms of SH separate from other utterances. For each form of SH mentioned, ask for a show of hands if the person had written something similar on their card. Divide the group into smaller groups of 2 to 3 persons. Each group takes one of the forms of SH and answers the following questions. The larger group reconvenes to discuss each form.

Each group will draw a map [social mapping exercise].

--Who are the victims (gender, age, covered/not covered, students/strangers/neighbors)
--Who are the perpetrators (gender, age, student/faculty-staff/stranger/neighbor/family)
--Where does it happen (campus, transport, neighborhood, public/private)
--How frequently does it happen (very frequently, sometimes, rarely)
--Who is likely to witness it happening? (friends, other students, family, faculty/staff, neighbors,)
--What is the reaction of this person(s) when they see that this happened (approve, disapprove, not care, do nothing, do something)
--Would this reaction influence whether the perpetrator did the same thing again?
--Whose opinion on the acceptability of the behavior matters to the perpetrator.
--To whom would the victim speak about the incident (no one, friends, family, faculty/staff, campus organization, off campus organization, professional such as a counselor)
--Would most people on campus be supportive of the victim seeking help?
--What is the most likely outcome for the victim from speaking about the incident?

3) For the last activity, I will ask you a question and ask that you write your answer, yes or no on the piece of paper and place it in this box. We will not read your answers out. Please be as honest as possible.

--There is a girl who is well known as a flirt on campus. One day you see a few boys calling out to the girl and asking her to go on a date. Would you approach the boys and ask them to stop? Yes or No?

Now that you have put your answers in the box, I am going to ask you to answer one more question. But this time instead of writing your answer, I would like you to vote by moving to the right of the room if your answer is yes, and to the left of your room if your answer is no.

--There is a girl on campus who frequently dresses indecently. One day you see a few boys calling out to the girl and telling her that she is beautiful. Would you approach the boys and ask them to stop? Yes or No?

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