



Sexual Harassment Policies, Realities, and the Prevalence of Harassment in Jordan's Public Transportation System in Amman Study

Study Report

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Executive Summary

This study investigates the prevalence and dynamics of sexual harassment in public transportation across the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM), focusing on women and vulnerable commuters, including Syrian refugees and Palestinian women without national identification. The primary objectives were to:

1. Examine the realities and prevalence of harassment in GAM's public transport system.
2. Critically analyze existing national policies and regulatory frameworks related to public transport and gender-based violence (GBV).
3. Identify institutional, policy, and enforcement gaps affecting commuter safety.
4. Benchmark Jordan's practices against regional and international best practices.
5. Provide evidence-based, feminist, and survivor-centered recommendations for advocacy, policy reform, and institutional improvements.

The study seeks to highlight how systemic, social, and institutional factors intersect to influence women's mobility, safety, and access to economic, educational, and social opportunities.

Methodology and Sample Framework

A mixed-methods approach was employed to capture both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of harassment in public transportation. A total of 503 female public transport users participated in structured surveys, representing Jordanians, Syrians, and Palestinians, with attention to proportional and purposive sampling to include vulnerable populations. Six focus group discussions (FGDs) with women, drivers, and civil society representatives were conducted, alongside 9 key informant interviews (KIIs) with national and international stakeholders, including transport authorities and NGOs.

Quantitative data captured usage patterns, socio-economic characteristics, and harassment experiences, while qualitative insights explored lived experiences, barriers, coping mechanisms, and institutional perspectives. Data quality was ensured through audio recordings, transcription, daily debriefings, and rigorous verification. Analysis disaggregated findings by age, nationality, region, and socio-economic status to highlight intersectional vulnerabilities.

Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics

The majority of respondents were Jordanian (68%), followed by Syrian (15.7%) and Palestinian women (14.5%). Most participants were aged 21–30 years, highlighting that young women are primary users of public transport. While 89.8% reported no disability, a small fraction indicated mobility challenges. Employment patterns varied markedly by nationality: 23% of Jordanians were full-time employed compared to 11% of Syrians and 16% of Palestinians, whereas unemployment among Syrians reached 41%, significantly higher than the national average of 21.3%.

Monthly incomes were concentrated in the 250–500 JOD range for 71% of respondents, illustrating that most users are low-to-moderate income earners. Public transport expenditures were substantial, with 44.7% spending 51–100 JOD per month, representing a significant portion (10–20%) of household income, particularly affecting Syrian refugees and economically vulnerable populations.

Public Transportation Usage

Women in Amman rely heavily on public transportation, with nearly half traveling daily and a third commuting 3–5 times per week. Usage patterns differ by nationality and region: Jordanians exhibit the highest daily use, while Syrians show lower daily travel but higher weekly travel. Coasters and vans dominate transport choices (90.9%), especially in the Northern region, while Amman Bus services are used primarily in the South and Central regions. Yellow taxis serve as an important last-mile solution.

Trip durations are typically short for most users, with 49% of Syrians reporting trips under one hour, reflecting residential proximity to essential services. Long-term public transport use increases with age, highlighting that older users (51+) have established routines, while younger adults depend on transport for education and work. The primary motivations for travel include low cost, availability, and accessibility, with cost sensitivity highest among Syrians and the Northern region, and accessibility concerns more pronounced among Palestinians and older users.

Prevalence and Dynamics of Harassment

Harassment in public transportation is widespread and affects women across all nationalities. 84.9% of respondents reported experiencing harassment, with Syrians slightly more exposed (56%) compared to Jordanians (50%) and Palestinians (49%). Harassment occurs most frequently on coasters and at bus stops, particularly at Zarqa bus station and in the Northern region. FGDs corroborated these findings, with women sharing personal accounts of verbal, physical, and unwanted sexual advances, often leaving them feeling unsafe and vulnerable.

The forms of harassment reported include verbal harassment (42%), unwanted staring (35%), and inappropriate physical contact (23%). Vulnerable groups include young women (19–30 years), pregnant women, and women with disabilities, while harassment occurs largely independently of clothing choices, underscoring that systemic factors rather than individual behavior drive exposure.

Women's exposure to inappropriate behavior in public transportation in Amman is high across all transport modes, but the intensity and frequency differ by type. Among coaster/van users, high proportions of women report facing multiple forms of inappropriate behavior, with 41% reporting staring and inappropriate looks and 37% reporting other forms of misconduct, indicating that psychological and visual harassment is common. Experience levels further confirm this risk, as 64% of coaster users experience harassment sometimes or frequently, while only 24% have never experienced any inappropriate behavior, showing that unsafe encounters are normalized within this mode.

For formal bus users (Amman Bus and BRT), reported inappropriate behaviors are similarly widespread, with 40% experiencing one major form of misconduct and 39% reporting staring or inappropriate looks, indicating that formalization alone has not eliminated harassment. Although physical exposure is slightly lower, safety remains a concern, as 58% of bus users have experienced harassment sometimes or

frequently, and only 11% have never experienced inappropriate behavior, suggesting that most women using buses still encounter unsafe situations.

Barriers to Safe Mobility

Women face multiple barriers in public transportation beyond harassment. Crowded vehicles (23.3%), irregular schedules (15%), poor passenger and driver behavior (11–12%), and lack of police presence (6.2%) were identified as key challenges. Women often feel forced to modify routines, avoid certain routes, or pay for private transportation due to perceived risks. Social norms and stigma further discourage reporting, while economic vulnerability and dependence on public transport limit alternatives, exacerbating gender inequalities.

Institutional Gaps and Reporting Mechanisms

Interviews with drivers, transport companies, and government stakeholders reveal a critical disconnect between policy and practice. While companies claim that drivers are trained and buses are monitored via cameras, drivers themselves reported no formal training on harassment intervention and described personally intervening in high-risk situations without guidance, sometimes placing themselves at risk.

Reporting Mechanisms

Reporting mechanisms for harassment are limited, inconsistent, and poorly publicized. Survey findings show 61% of women believe no reporting mechanisms exist, 14.7% report availability, and 24.3% are unsure. Awareness varies by age, nationality, and region, with older adults and Syrian or Palestinian respondents more aware than Jordanians or residents in Northern Amman. FGDs revealed that women rarely report harassment due to fear of stigma, low trust in authorities, and concerns for personal safety. Drivers confirmed the absence of functional mechanisms, and where cameras exist, they are often ineffective for harassment cases. Existing complaint channels via social media, designated phone numbers, or logbooks do not constitute specialized or confidential systems. Women and drivers recommend accessible, anonymous, mobile-enabled reporting platforms that protect privacy, reduce stigma, and increase reporting rates. Initiatives led by the Ministry of Transportation, Greater Amman Municipality, and the World Bank have introduced gender-sensitive infrastructure, Codes of Conduct, and executive safety plans, but implementation remains inconsistent, and awareness among commuters is low.

Perceptions of National Anti-Harassment Efforts

Most respondents perceive current national measures as inadequate: 62% consider them partially sufficient, while 22.5% deem them entirely insufficient. Awareness of harassment-related policies and laws is limited, and public campaigns are either scarce or not widely disseminated. Existing legislation largely reacts to harassment incidents rather than preventing them, and enforcement is uneven, reinforcing the need for proactive, institutionalized interventions.

Overall, based on the above-mentioned results concluded that harassment in public transport is systemic, pervasive, and normalized, affecting women across age, nationality, and socio-economic status. Women's low reporting rates reflect cultural, institutional, and structural barriers, reinforcing vulnerability and gender inequality. Moreover, economic and social dependence on public transportation amplifies risk exposure and limits alternative mobility options.

While policy initiatives exist, gaps in training, enforcement, and reporting mechanisms undermine their effectiveness. Young women (20–30 years) are particularly exposed, highlighting the need for targeted interventions for students and young professionals. International collaboration, such as World Bank initiatives, demonstrates the importance of multi-sectoral partnerships combining infrastructure, legal frameworks, training, and awareness campaigns.

Recommendations

The study's findings point to a **high prevalence of harassment in public transportation, with 84.9% of respondents experiencing verbal, staring, or physical harassment, particularly women and youth**. To address this, it is essential to implement mandatory gender-sensitivity and harassment prevention training for all public transport drivers, staff, and operators. This training should be standardized across companies and supported by technical partners such as UN Women to ensure consistency and effectiveness.

Inconsistent intervention by drivers was highlighted, with 45.7% reporting that drivers “sometimes” intervene and 31.8% “rarely” intervene during harassment incidents. To close this gap, clear operational protocols should be established, obliging drivers and transport staff to intervene when harassment occurs. These protocols must be accompanied by monitoring and accountability mechanisms to ensure adherence, involving transport companies, the Ministry of Transport, and traffic enforcement authorities.

Low reporting rates were a significant concern, with fear of stigma, lack of confidential mechanisms, and distrust in authorities preventing women from reporting harassment. To overcome these barriers, accessible and confidential reporting channels should be developed, including hotlines, mobile applications, and station-based reporting desks, with clearly defined follow-up procedures. Implementation should be led by the Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Interior, and civil society organizations focused on gender-based violence, including UN Women and Jordanian Relief and Development Foundations (JRF).

A further challenge identified is the **lack of public awareness about harassment**, women's rights, and reporting mechanisms. Targeted awareness campaigns should be launched for commuters, men, and communities, highlighting legal protections, preventive measures, and available reporting options. In parallel, education on safety, harassment prevention, and reporting should be integrated into school and university curricula, equipping students particularly women with the knowledge and confidence to respond safely to harassment. This initiative should involve the Ministry of Education, Higher Education Ministry, universities, and the Ministry of Transport.

The study also underscores **legal and policy gaps**. Current regulations do not explicitly require driver intervention and lack effective enforcement. It is recommended that national transportation and GBV policies be reviewed and revised to clearly mandate preventive measures, outline reporting obligations, and introduce sanctions for harassment. Furthermore, legal protections should be strengthened for drivers who intervene during harassment incidents, encouraging proactive safety measures while safeguarding those acting in good faith. Confidential and accessible reporting systems must also be legally supported to ensure women can safely report harassment without fear of stigma or retaliation.

Safety and accessibility concerns were particularly acute for older women and other vulnerable groups. Measures to enhance protection should include safe waiting areas, improved lighting, CCTV monitoring at stations, and designated priority seating. Implementation requires collaboration between the Ministry of Transport, municipal authorities, and transport companies.



Finally, **economic barriers** limit women’s mobility, as high transportation costs disproportionately affect low-income commuters and refugees. To promote equitable access, subsidized fares or discounted passes should be introduced for students, low-income populations, and refugees, supported by the Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Planning, municipal authorities, and NGOs.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GAM	Greater Amman Municipality
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
JW	JoWomenomics
KIIs	Key-Informative Interviews
UNTF	United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women
WB	World Bank
KII	Key Informant Interview
FGD	Focus group Discussion
LTRC	Land Transport Regulatory Authority
CCVT	Closed-Circuit Television
MoT	Ministry of Transportation

1.1 Study Background

Public transportation services in Amman have low modal share of public transport and fragmented provision. Amman's transport modal split historically shows a low share of formal public transport, with a high reliance on private cars and informal services (service taxis). This fragmentation complicates regulation and standardization of safety measures. ¹

Women use public transport differently from men, more concentrated in morning peaks, less at night, often traveling with caregiving responsibilities, and sometimes making longer or detoured journeys to avoid perceived risks. Fear of harassment is repeatedly cited as a barrier to night-time travel and broader transport use. ²

Women often forgo jobs or accept less desirable employment because of inadequate, unsafe public transport; women turn down jobs due to transport constraints. Moreover, women cite fear of harassment as a major deterrent to evening travel. These analyses link transport availability and safety directly with women's labor force participation.³ Moreover, harassment is among the top reasons women avoid public transport in Amman and that perceptions of safety drop dramatically after dark. Several studies differentiate between formal modes of bus rapid transit (BRT and large buses) and informal modes (service taxis), finding higher incidence in informal settings.⁴

Although harassment in public transportation is faced by women in public transportation and public spaces, some barriers to reporting harassment (low trust in authorities, social stigma, lack of clear complaint channels), hindered women's ability to report and share their complaints. ⁵

The negative impact of the lack of adequate transportation is likely more significant in countries with big gender gaps in the labor market. A case in point is Jordan, where 14.5% in Q1 2025⁶ of women are involved in the labor force compared to 64% for their male counterparts. According to a 2018 study, 47% of women surveyed in Jordan reported to have turned down job opportunities due to the current state of public transportation, naming availability, affordability, and sexual harassment as some of the main reasons. ⁷

In conclusion, protection risks such as violence and harassment are faced by women in public transportation in Amman are continue hindered women's ability to mobile freely outside home and practice their public, economic and political rights. Therefore, this study is designed as part of the "Arrived Safely" project, which aims to identify the scope, patterns, and drivers of violence and harassment in public transportation in Amman, Jordan, and inform evidence-based interventions that enhance the safety and agency of women and girls in public transit systems. The

¹ Jordan public transport diagnostic and recommendations, 2022, Accessed 7.12.2025, [World Bank Document](#)

² Jordan public transport diagnostic and recommendations, 2022, Accessed 7.12.2025, [World Bank Document](#)

³ Ibid

⁴ <https://tinyurl.com/fes-gender-transport>(<https://tinyurl.com/fes-gender-transport>

⁵ [Sadaqa National Framework transportation 2020](#)

⁶ https://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/DataBank/News/Unemployment/2025/unemp_Q1_en_2025.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com

⁷ [Addressing women's safety concerns in public transport in Jordan to boost their economic activity](#)

findings of this study aim to generate actionable evidence that informs gender-responsive interventions, policy dialogue, and institutional reform.

I.2 About “Arrived Safely” Project

“Arrived Safely” is a 4-year project implemented by JoWomenomics (JW) and funded by the United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women (UNTF). The overall objective of the project is that by March 2029, 2000 women and girls in Amman, two-thirds of whom are women from marginalized and lower income groups, are knowledgeable and protected against violence, harassment and sexual exploitation and abuse in public transportation, and that a safer and more inclusive public transportation environment for women in Jordan, particularly in Amman, is created. The project is expected to achieve four main outcomes:

- Women and girls who use public transportation in Amman are empowered to effectively report harassment and can navigate safe routes confidently.
- Institutional stakeholders are equipped to enforce anti-harassment practices, policies, and regulations.
- Frontline staff on anti-harassment policies are helping reduce incidents of sexual harassment within public transportation systems in Amman.
- The general public have an increased awareness and understanding of sexual harassment within public transportation and contribute to increasing safety of women.

I.3 Rational for the Study

The study is crucial as it provides evidence-based insights into the prevalence, forms, and impact of violence and harassment against women and girls in Amman’s public transportation system. It established a data-driven foundation to inform targeted interventions, measure future progress, and advocate for policy and infrastructure reforms. By capturing the voices of users, service providers, and institutions, the study helps identify systemic gaps and supports the design of safer, more inclusive mobility solutions that enhance women’s freedom of movement and economic participation. The study conducted between November and December 2025, within GAM areas, which serves as the primary implementation area of the project, Northern region (Sweileh and the University of Jordan), Central region (Bayader Wdi Al-Seer, 7th circle, 6th circle, 5th circle, old town Al-Mesdar). South region (old town and Raghadan (Al-Yadouda, Jaw, Khreibet Al-Souq, Al-Wahdat, Jabal Al-Nuzha, Jabal Al-Akhdar, Jabal Al-Marikh, Ashrafieh). Zarqa bust station, North and South Hashmi neighborhood and Sport City circle.

Objectives

The primary objective of this study is to examine the realities and prevalence of sexual harassment within Amman’s public transportation system, critically analyze existing policies, and develop actionable recommendations to prevent harassment and promote institutional reform. To achieve this, the study will assess the effectiveness of national transportation and gender-based violence (GBV) policies; investigate the prevalence, forms, and dynamics of harassment experienced by women and other vulnerable commuter groups; identify institutional and policy gaps, enforcement challenges, and stakeholder perceptions; benchmark Jordan’s experience against regional and international best practices; and generate data-driven, feminist, and survivor-centered recommendations to guide advocacy, policy action, and systemic reform.

2. Approach and Methodology

A mixed-methods design was adopted to meet the study objectives, integrating qualitative and quantitative tools to capture the complex dimensions of the issue. Quantitative data was collected through a structured survey administered to female public transport users across GAM. Qualitative data was generated through focus group discussions (FGDs) with women, drivers, and civil society representatives to obtain deeper contextual and behavioral insights. Key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with relevant stakeholders and subject-matter experts to gather institutional viewpoints and policy-level considerations.

An in-depth desk review informed the inception phase and supported the development of data collection instruments. Guided by the study objectives, the review examined national transportation and GBV-related policies, assessed their effectiveness, mapped institutional and policy gaps, identified enforcement challenges, and analyzed stakeholder positions. Jordan's policy landscape was benchmarked against regional and international best practices.

A total of 9 KIIs were conducted, focusing on stakeholder perspectives related to the prevalence and implications of the identified issues and capturing recommendations to strengthen gender mainstreaming within GAM's public transport system. Additionally, six FGDs were implemented with 54 participants to explore protection risks encountered by women in public transport and examine how such risks constrain their access to educational, economic, social, public, and political rights. A total of 503 surveys were administered to collect direct feedback from female respondents, ensuring diverse viewpoints and lived experiences were documented.

2.1 Sample Framework

The study targeted female public transport users in GAM aged 18–60. The sample aimed for proportional representation, comprising approximately 70% Jordanian women and 30% Syrian and Palestinian women without national identification documents. Eligible participants were frequent users of public transportation residing within GAM.

A combined purposive and random sampling strategy was applied. Purposive sampling was used to identify eligible women based on the inclusion criteria. Key transport hubs, bus stops, and major routes were mapped to ensure representation of diverse groups, including women without national identification. Random sampling primarily systematic random selection was implemented within the purposively identified cohort (e.g., selecting every third or fifth eligible woman) to minimize bias while maintaining operational feasibility.

In coordination with JW, the sample the total sample size is **(503) respondents** to ensure broader representation, including higher inclusion of Syrian refugees and Palestinian women without national identification.

2.2 Data Collection

Data collection was carried out systematically and ethically across nine GAM areas. All instruments including the survey, KII guides, and FGD guides were drafted in English, reviewed and validated by JW, then translated into Arabic with attention to local dialectal variations. The survey was digitized using KoBoToolbox.

A team of six female enumerators, working in pairs, conducted field implementation. Prior to deployment, the research lead facilitated comprehensive online training covering study background, scope, objectives, sampling procedures, ethical protocols, and reporting channels.

2.3 Data Quality

The research lead applied rigorous quality assurance protocols for quantitative data, including checks for completeness, consistency, and authenticity. To ensure reliability of qualitative data, the following measures were implemented:

1. Daily debriefings documented through standardized forms completed by all facilitators.
2. Audio recording of all FGDs and KIIs following informed verbal and/or written consent.
3. Full transcription and systematic documentation of all recordings in Excel for analysis.
4. Skilled facilitation by an experienced research assistant with extensive qualitative expertise.
5. Observation and technical oversight by the research lead, who directly facilitated three FGDs to monitor methodological adherence.

2.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis included comprehensive review of all submissions to ensure completeness and accuracy, removal of duplicate or invalid entries, correction of typographical and coding errors, and resolution of missing data through enumerator feedback or statistically appropriate imputation methods.

Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS and Excel, with findings disaggregated by location, age, education, employment, disability status, and nationality to capture intersectional dynamics. Patterns and correlations were examined to identify disparities in experiences of sexual harassment across GAM.

Qualitative data analysis followed a structured process: (1) organization of transcriptions, (2) initial review of the dataset, (3) coding and thematic categorization, (4) data representation, and (5) development of interpretive findings. Inductive analytical techniques were also employed.

2.5 Confidentiality and Consent

Confidentiality and data protection standards were upheld throughout the study. All information was treated as confidential, accessed exclusively by the study team, and used solely for research purposes. Participants were informed of confidentiality protocols prior to data collection. Safeguards included obtaining verbal and written consent and clearly communicating the study's objectives to all prospective participants.

3. Findings

3.1 Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics

A total of (n=503) female respondents who reported using public transportation in Amman (including Amman Bus and minibuses) during the data collection period were included in the study. Among the participants, 68% (n = 342) were Jordanian, 14.5% (n = 73) were Palestinians with national identification numbers, and 15.7% (n = 88) were Syrian respondents. All participants were female (100%).

As for respondents age groups the majority were between 21 and 30 years of age, representing 55.3% (n = 278) of the sample. Participants aged 19–20 years and 31–40 years each constituted 17.7% of the respondents (n = 89 for both groups). A smaller proportion, 7.6% (n = 38), were between 41 and 50 years

old. Simultaneously, (89.8%) of respondents reported having no disability, whereas 1.2% indicated that they have a disability.

Regarding the geographic distribution of respondents' public transportation use, 29.6% (n = 149) reported traveling through the southern region of Amman, including the Old Town and Raghadan areas. Additionally, 28.0% (n = 141) used routes associated with the Zarqa bus station. The northern region accounted for 24.5% (n = 123) of respondents, while the remaining 17.9% (n = 90) reported using transportation within the central region.

The data show major differences by nationality, Figure 1, 23% of Jordanians in the sample are full-time employees, and 11% of Syrians and 16% of Palestinians hold full-time jobs; part-time work is more common among Syrians (16%) than Jordanians (8%); most Syrians (41%) are unemployed. a much higher share than Jordanians (10%) or Palestinians (23%). Compared with official labour-market data for Department of Statistics, which reported unemployment rate (UNRATE) reached 21,3% in Q1 2025, indicating a decrease by 0,1 percentage point compared to 21,4% in Q1 202, the sample's 17.1 % unemployment rate appears lower than the national average, but the extremely elevated 41 % unemployment among Syrians markedly exceeds the national average, underscoring stark disparities in labour-market access between refugees/migrants and Jordanian citizens.⁸

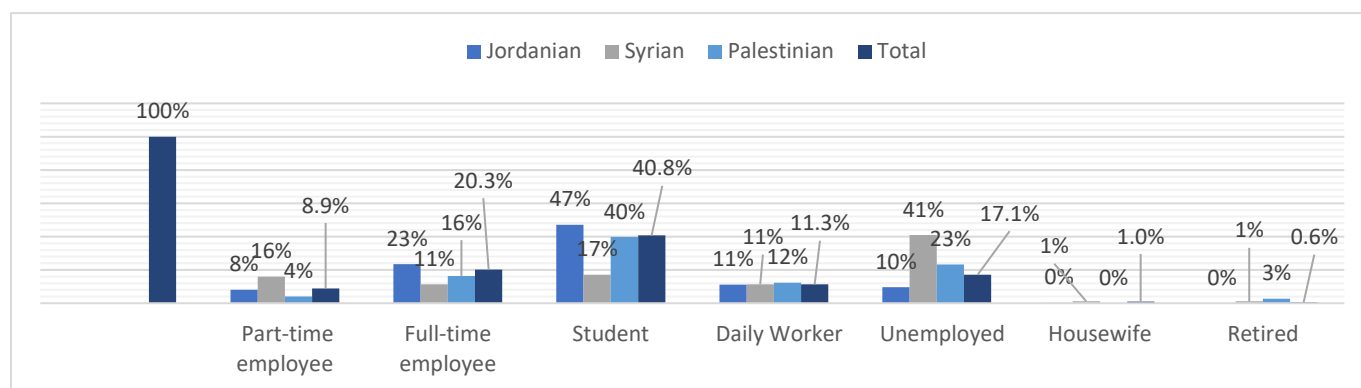


Figure 1: Employment status by gender, nationality and work category.

71.0% of respondents reported a monthly income of 250–500 JOD, with similar proportions across Jordanians 70%, Syrians 74%, and Palestinians (0%. Income distribution varies by location, with the highest concentration in the South region at 79%, and Zarqa bus station 79%, while the Northern region shows a lower share of 54%. Moderate income levels of 500–1000 JOD were reported by 17.9% overall, most prevalent in the Northern region (28%). Higher-income brackets (1000–2000 JOD) are minimal 2.2%, and the lowest-income group (<250 JOD) accounts for 8.9%, disproportionately affecting Syrians (16%) and residents of the Northern region (15%). These findings suggest that most respondents fall within low-to-moderate income categories, reflecting broader patterns of economic vulnerability in Jordanian urban and refugee populations. Figure 2.

⁸ Males' UNRATE reached 18,6% during Q1 2025, an increase by 1,2 percentage points compared to Q1 2024., Females UNRATE reached 31,2% during Q1 2025, a decrease by 3,5 percentage points compared to Q1 2024. Compared to Q4 2024, males' UNRATE increased by 0,4 percentage points and decreased among females by 1,0 percentage points. [Unemployment Rate Reached 21,3% in Q1 2025 - Department of Statistics](#). Accessed 4.12.2025.

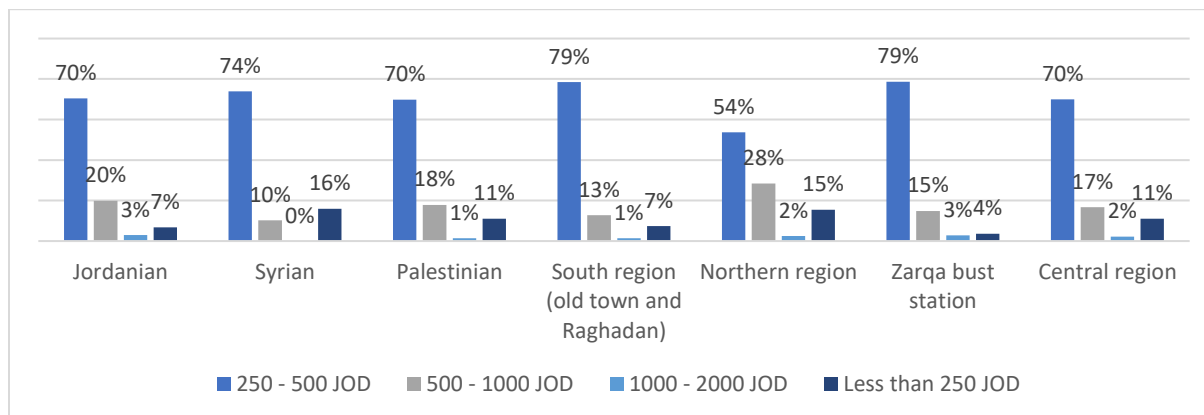
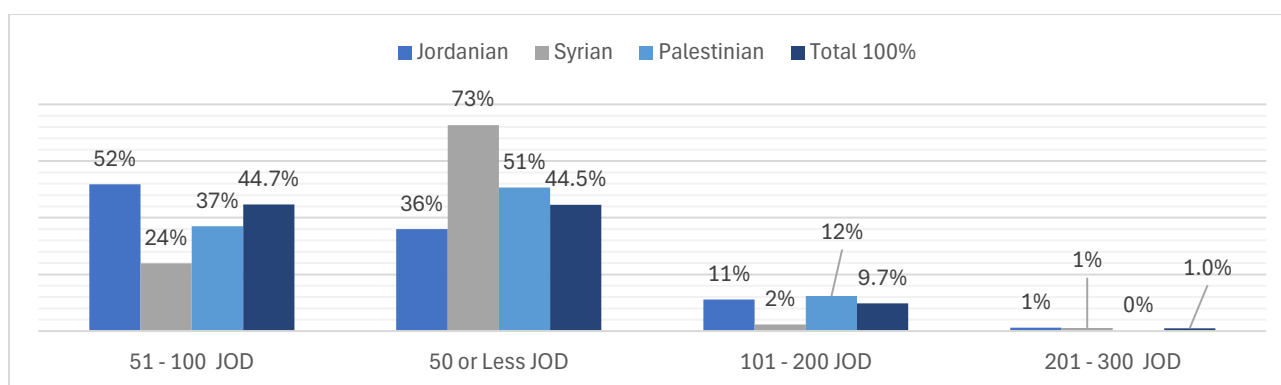


Figure 2: Monthly income and nationality.

Compared with national official numbers, about 4 % of households fall in the lowest annual income bracket (less than JOD 2,500) and the majority lie in mid-to-lower income bands (e.g., 5,000–7,500 JOD per year).⁹ The present sample’s finding that over 70 % of respondents earn 250–500 JOD per month (i.e. approx. 3,000–6,000 JOD per year) suggests a concentration in the lower-to-middle income range, broadly consistent with but slightly more compressed than national household income distribution.¹⁰

The data on monthly expenditure for public transportation indicates that respondents spend a substantial portion of their income on commuting. Overall, 44.7% of respondents spend 51–100 JOD per month, and 44.5% spend 50 JOD or less, with Jordanians reporting higher spending in the 51–100 JOD range (52%) compared to Syrians (24%) and Palestinians (37%). Small proportion report spending above 100 JOD (9.7%) or 200 JOD (1%). When considered alongside the earlier income data, which shows that over 70% of respondents earn between 250–500 JOD monthly, it becomes evident that public transportation costs constitute a significant financial burden, potentially accounting for 10–20% of total family income for many households. The burden is particularly acute for Syrian respondents, who largely earn in the lower-income brackets yet still incur notable transportation costs, highlighting both economic vulnerability and the relative high cost of mobility in urban and peri-urban areas. Figure 3.



⁹ https://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/DataBank/household/2017/G3/Table1G3_King.pd Accessed 4/12/2025.

¹⁰ JORDAN HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE AND INCOME SURVEY 2017-18 COMPLETION NOTE, World bank, <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/469111551866278210/pdf/Jordan-HEIS-201718-Completion-Note.pdf>. Accessed 4/12/2025.

Figure 3: Monthly Public Transportation Expenditure by Nationality

As for the qualitative part of the study, a total of (n=6) FGDs were conducted (n=3) with women, (n=2) with Amman bus and coaster drivers and (n=1) with the project partners organizations. Also, (n=9) KIIs were conducted part of this study.¹¹ The Table below summaries the FGDs and KIIs participants who were participated in this study:

Tool	Total KIIs	n= Male	n= Female
KIIs	7	3	10
FGDs	6	15	39
Total	13	18	49

Table 1: FGDs and KIIs participants per gender and data collection tool

The sample of drivers for “Roya Oman” buses and coasters consisted entirely of 13 male Jordanian participants, all married and employed as professional drivers. Their work experience in the transport sector varied widely, ranging from 2 to 50 years, with the majority (8 drivers) having between 15 and 25 years of experience, indicating a highly experienced workforce. Educational levels were generally moderate between high school and diploma, reflecting a predominance of secondary-level education.

As for FGDs with women, a total of (n=27) women participated in the (n=3) FGDs. Participants came from diverse national backgrounds, including 15 Jordanian women (55.6%), 8 Syrian women (29.6%), and 4 Palestinian women (14.8%). The age distribution was varied, with 9 participants aged 18–29 (33.3%), 11 aged 30–44 (40.7%), and 7 aged 45 and above (25.9%). In terms of marital status, 13 were married (48.1%), 10 single (37.0%), 3 widowed (11.1%), and 1 divorced (3.7%). Educational attainment ranged from primary education (4 participants, 14.8%), secondary education (12 participants, 44.4%), to tertiary education (11 participants, 40.7%). Regarding employment, 10 participants were employed (37.0%), 12 were homemakers (44.4%), 3 were students (11.1%), and 2 were unemployed (7.4%).

3.2 Public transportation usage

In terms of public transportation usage, the results shows that respondents use public transportation frequently, with 49.3% traveling daily and 33.6% traveling 3–5 times per week. Jordanians report the highest daily usage %55, while Syrians show lower daily use (31%) but higher weekly use (25% once or twice per week). Younger respondents (19–20 and 21–30) tend to travel daily or several times per week, whereas older groups (41–50 and 51+) report less frequent use. Zarqa bus station and the South region show the highest daily usage (83% and 55%, respectively), reflecting high dependency on public transport in these locations. Less than 5% of respondents travel occasionally or rarely or they reside near their workplace, indicating that public transportation is a critical mobility option for most users.

Type of public transportation used.

As for the type of public transportation used by the respondent, the data shows distinct patterns in transport preferences across nationalities and geographic areas. Coasters/Vans are the most widely used mode, with 90.9% of respondents selecting them. This mode dominates particularly in the Northern region (76%), indicating reliance on informal or semi-formal transit where coverage is limited.

¹¹ Annex 2: KIIs and FGDs list of participants

Buses (Amman Bus/BRT) represent the second most common option (49.1%), with the highest usage in the South region (36%) and Central region (31%) areas better served by formal bus infrastructure. Nationality differences are modest, though Syrians report slightly higher bus usage (34%).

Yellow Taxis accounts for 25% of responses, with notable use at Zarqa bus station (21%), suggesting taxis are favored where first-/last-mile connections are needed or where public transport coverage is insufficient.

As for the FGDs with women participants (n=27), most participants reported regular use of public transportation, with 16 women (59.3%) relying on buses or shared taxis for daily commuting, while 11 (40.7%) used private means or walked; this highlights the critical role of affordable and accessible transport in supporting women's mobility, access to work, education, and social services.

Time spent using public transportation

Across nationalities, the highest reported value appears among Syrian respondents, with 49% indicating their trips take *less than one hour*. In contrast, the lowest value across all nationalities is found in the category of *trips lasting more than 1:30 hours*, which ranges only between 9–11%. The relatively high share of short trips among Syrians may reflect residential concentration in areas where essential services, workplaces, and transportation nodes are located nearby.

Across age groups, the highest percentage is observed among individuals 51 years and above, with 56% reporting trips of *less than one hour*. The lowest percentage appears among those aged 31–40, where only 7% report trips lasting *more than 1:30 hours*. The prevalence of shorter trips among older adults may be linked to reduced mobility needs and greater reliance on nearby services. Meanwhile, the very low share of long trips in the 31–40 group may reflect more stable commuting patterns or better access to transportation options that help minimize travel duration.

Duration of public transportation use

The data shows that 74% of the respondents (68% Jordanian who belonged to age group (21-30) years old **use** public transportation for 1–5 years. Long-term use (more than 10 years) is notably high only in the 51+ age group (89%), suggesting that older individuals have established routines with public transportation over decades. Syrians (9%) and Palestinians (8%) show slightly higher long-term use compared to Jordanians (4%). These findings underscore the importance of having safe, affordable, and accessible public transportation, particularly for younger adults who represent the majority of medium-term users. Ensuring these services are reliable and inclusive can support continued usage and accommodate long-term riders as well.

Motivation for using public transportation.

The quantitative findings Figure 4 reveals highest values across both demographic groups and nationalities. In terms of nationality, Syrian respondents show the highest prioritization of “Low cost” at 55%, making affordability their most dominant consideration. For “Availability,” Palestinian respondents record the highest value at 21%, indicating a comparatively stronger emphasis on the presence of services. Regarding “Accessibility,” Palestinian respondents again show the highest level at 41%, suggesting that ease of access is particularly important within this group.

The overall highest values by category remain consistent: “Low cost” peaks in the Northern region (65%), “Availability” is most prominent in the South region (23%), and “Accessibility” is strongest among

respondents aged 51 and above (44%). Together, these findings highlight how cost sensitivity is most pronounced among Syrians and in the Northern region, while accessibility concerns are strongest among Palestinians and older respondents. In conclusion, these findings suggest that while public transportation is widely relied upon, affordability, availability, and accessibility remain key constraints affecting different nationalities, age groups, and regions, with implications for targeted transport policy and subsidy interventions.

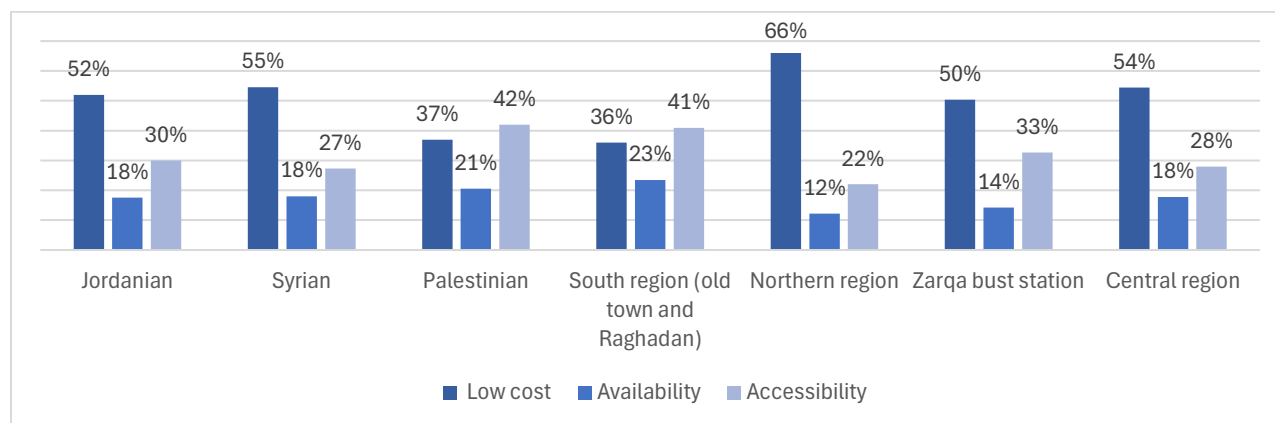


Figure 4: Analysis of respondents' priorities by age, region, and nationality.

The findings from both the FGDs and the survey are consistent, showing that women in Amman use public transportation daily, with travel times typically ranging from 30 minutes to one hour. According to the FGD with women, all 27 participants reported daily use of public transportation, with travel times ranging from 30 minutes to 1.5 hours. Public transport serves as a crucial means of mobility, enabling participants to access workplaces, universities, and local markets in Amman. This reliance highlights the importance of affordable, reliable, and accessible public transportation in supporting women's daily activities and facilitating their social and economic participation.

3.3 Prevalence of Harassment

The study result in the above section confirmed that Jordanians the highest daily usage of public transportation (Amman bus or coaster) at %55, while Syrians show lower daily use 31% but higher weekly use 25% once or twice per week). Younger respondents (19–20 and 21–30) tend to travel daily or several times per week. These findings indicate to the critical needs for safe, accessible and affordable public transportation system. On the other hand, the results revealed that in Amman, the prevalence of harassment in public transportation is notably high. Overall, 84.9% of respondents (n = 427 out of 503) reported having experienced harassment, while 15.1% indicated they had never experienced such incidents. Among nationalities, 50% of Jordanian respondents, 56% of Syrian respondents, and 49% of Palestinian respondents reported exposure to harassment.

These findings indicate that harassment in public transportation is widespread and affects a large proportion of users, cutting across nationalities. The high prevalence underscores the urgent need for targeted interventions to improve safety, regulate services, and implement gender-sensitive measures, particularly in urban centers like Amman, where public transport is a critical means of mobility for youth, women, and other vulnerable populations.

Additionally, the results show that harassment in public transportation is most prevalent on coasters, with Jordanians reporting the highest rate at 44% and the 21–30 age group experiencing 43%. Bus stops and stations also pose significant risks, particularly at the Zarqa bus station where harassment reaches 48%. Among regions, the Northern region stands out with the highest harassment on coasters at 55%, highlighting these areas and vehicles as critical hotspots for targeted safety interventions.

Areas of harassment	Nationality			Age groups			Area				Total
	Jordanian	Syrian	Palestinian	21–30	31–40	41–50	South region	Northern region	Zarqa bust station	Central region	
On coasters	44%	35%	41%	43%	39%	35%	35%	55%	40%	43%	41.8%
At bus stops or stations	39%	37%	39%	41%	36%	38%	42%	25%	48%	35%	38.4%
On Amman buses	15%	25%	18%	16%	22%	20%	21%	20%	10%	19%	17.4%

Table 2 Harassment in public transportation by Nationality, Age, and Location

As for the prevalence of harassment according to the respondents based on the transportation type, women’s exposure to inappropriate behavior in public transportation in Amman is high across all transport modes, but the intensity and frequency differ by type. Among coaster/van users, high proportions of women report facing multiple forms of inappropriate behavior, with 41% reporting staring and inappropriate looks and 37% reporting other forms of misconduct, indicating that psychological and visual harassment is common. Experience levels further confirm this risk, as 64% of coaster users experience harassment sometimes or frequently, while only 24% have never experienced any inappropriate behavior, showing that unsafe encounters are normalized within this mode.

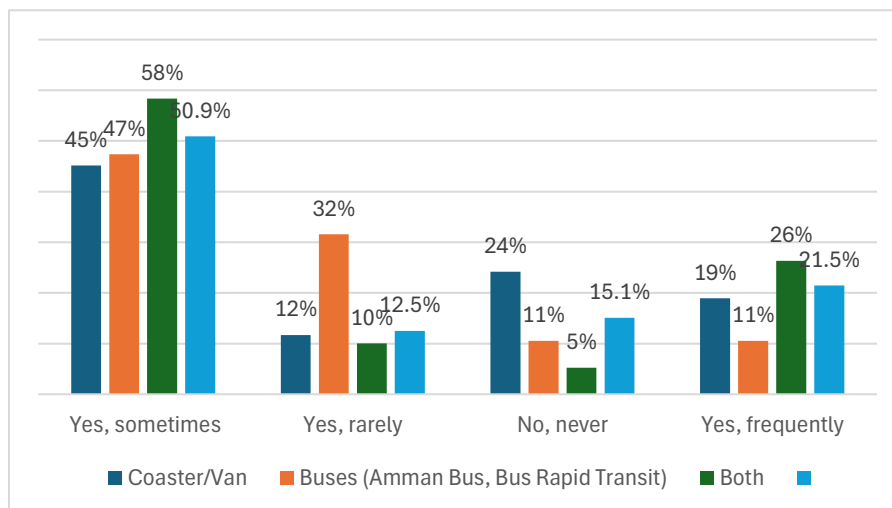


Figure 5: Have you or women like you ever experienced any inappropriate behaviours or violence while using public transportation in GAM?

For formal bus users (BRT), reported inappropriate behaviors are similarly widespread, with 40% experiencing one major form of misconduct and 39% reporting staring or inappropriate looks, indicating that formalization alone has not eliminated harassment. Although physical exposure is slightly lower, safety remains a concern, as 58% of bus users have experienced harassment sometimes or frequently, and only 11% have never experienced inappropriate behavior, suggesting that most women using buses still encounter unsafe situations.

Women who use both coasters and buses face the highest cumulative vulnerability. They report consistently high levels of inappropriate behavior, with 39% and 37% reporting major forms of misconduct, and 20% reporting physical-related issues, exceeding both single-mode groups. Most notably, this group records the highest frequent harassment rate (26%) and the lowest share of women who have never experienced harassment (5%), demonstrating that greater exposure across multiple transport systems significantly increases women’s risk of repeated and severe unsafe experiences.

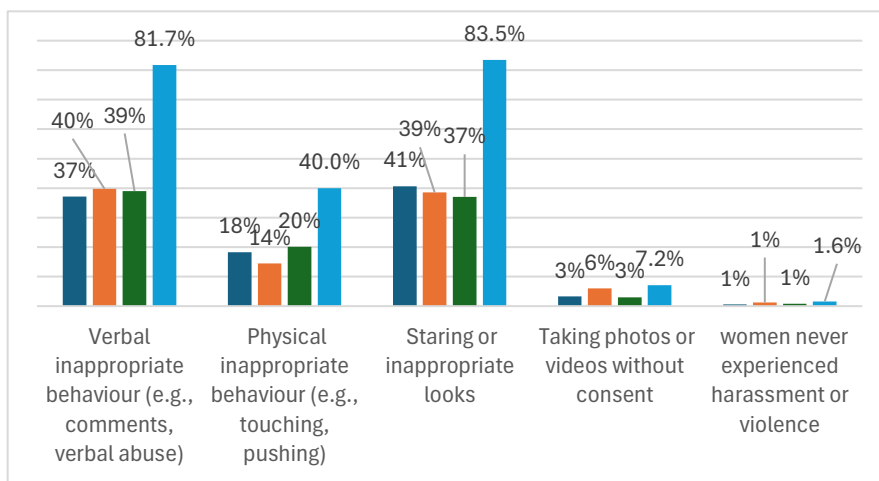


Figure 6: What kind of issues or inappropriate behaviours that may be faced by you or women like you in public transportation in GAM?

Overall, the data show that inappropriate behaviors are pervasive across all transport types, but risk is greatest among women who rely on multiple transport modes, while coasters/vans present higher vulnerability than formal buses highlighting that women’s safety challenges are systemic rather than isolated to a single transport system.

These findings are consistent with women FGD results, which showed that all 27 participants reported that they had nearly faced harassment while using public transportation in Amman. They confirmed that harassment occurred while using buses, whether from male passengers or other individuals on board. Participants shared various personal experiences as well as stories of friends who had faced harassment, particularly physical harassment.

For example, one participant from South Amman recounted, “*I was sitting next to a man, and he put his hand on my leg. I was unable to do anything because I feared the reaction of others.*” Another participant shared, “*My friend was very terrified when she told me about the harassment she faced win buses, she was sitting on the bus when someone put his hand from the back of the chair, and she could not do anything.*” A different participant mentioned, “*A friend of mine was sitting on the bus when a man standing nearby showed her his phone number, apparently to contact her later.*” Women FGD – East Amman.

‘Yesterday, I was traveling alone on a bus, and the driver spent the entire trip asking me irrelevant questions and trying to start a conversation for no reason’ Women FGD, Northern Amman

‘Two years ago, I was traveling by bus with my mother, and we were the last two passengers on board. Unfortunately, the driver took us to an unfamiliar location and behaved in a way that felt threatening. He tried to harass us through strange and uncomfortable interactions. My mother told him that she was married to a policeman and called my father, which frightened the driver. He eventually returned us to a safe location’. Women FGD, Northern Amman

Another FGD participant shared that: ‘One weekend, i was on a bus full of Egyptian laborers and was the only female passenger. At the back of the bus, one passenger behaved in a very inappropriate manner, I felt unsafe and asked the driver to stop the bus, and I left, even though I had not reached her intended station. I did not take further action out of fear that reporting the incident or raising my voice could put me or others at risk, or I would be blamed for what happened’. Women FGD, Northern Amman

Moreover, KIs with national and international agencies reported GBV and violence against women in Jordan and in public transportation Amman is available but due to the lack of reporting the number of GBV and harassment cases is not documented. Interviews with transportation companies in Amman indicated that no cases of violence or harassment against women had been reported inside their buses. The companies emphasized that all buses operate under continuous supervision, including monitoring through surveillance cameras. They also stated that drivers receive training on how to deal with harassment and violence cases, how to communicate effectively with passengers, and how to respond appropriately to incidents. In addition, the companies reported conducting regular meetings with relevant university stakeholders to address students’ feedback regarding challenges and issues related to transportation services, enabling them to respond to these concerns within the public transportation system.

However, these findings contradict the statements provided by bus drivers. The drivers reported that they had not received any formal training on how to handle cases of harassment or violence against women. Moreover, they shared real-life examples and incidents in which female passengers were harassed by male strangers. In these situations, drivers indicated that they personally intervened to support and protect the affected women. They also noted that such interventions sometimes exposed them to personal risk, as they acted without institutional guidance or formal procedures.

3.3.1 Barriers encountered by respondents in public transportation.

Moreover, the analysis of perceived barriers in public transportation from qualitative and quantitative findings reveals several notable trends across nationality, age, and geographic location. Harassment emerges as the most frequently reported barrier overall 23.4%, with the highest incidence reported at Zarqa bus station, 35%, suggesting a localized hotspot for safety concerns. Among nationalities, Jordanian respondents report harassment most frequently 25%, slightly higher than Syrians 22% and Palestinians 19%.

Crowded buses are also a prominent barrier, with an overall response rate of 23.3%. Syrian respondents identify crowding most acutely 31%, and the 41–50 age group reports the highest impact 33%, highlighting both nationality and age-related differences in perceptions of crowding. Geographically, this concern is relatively consistent across regions, though slightly elevated at Zarqa bus station 26%.

Other barriers include lack of schedule 15.0%, poor passenger and drivers behavior 12.1%, 11.2% respectively, and lack of police presence 6.2%.

FGDs comprising women, drivers, and representatives from partner organizations as well as KIs with national and international agencies confirmed that women face multiple barriers while using public transportation, particularly Amman buses and coasters. Participants highlighted challenges such as irregular

travel schedules, which limit women’s ability to arrive at work or other commitments on time, and inconsistent or arbitrary changes in transportation fees. Some drivers reportedly collect money but fail to return the correct change or criticize passengers for not choosing a different bus intended for longer routes.

Women also reported facing difficulties while waiting at bus stations, including long waiting times and exposure to verbal harassment, staring, and other inappropriate behaviors from male passengers. Unsafe driving practices by some drivers further contribute to women feeling terrified, with potential risks of accidents.

Overall, participants noted that transportation issues affect all passengers, both men and women, but women face additional challenges related to harassment and social stigma. For example, women may feel pressured to answer personal questions from drivers to avoid being denied service in the future, reinforcing a sense of vulnerability and lack of control over their travel experience.

Overall, the data shows that harassment and crowding are the most pressing barriers, with older adults and specific nationalities (Jordanian and Syrian) perceiving heightened challenges. Regional differences, especially at Zarqa bus station, further underscore localized problem areas in public transport services.

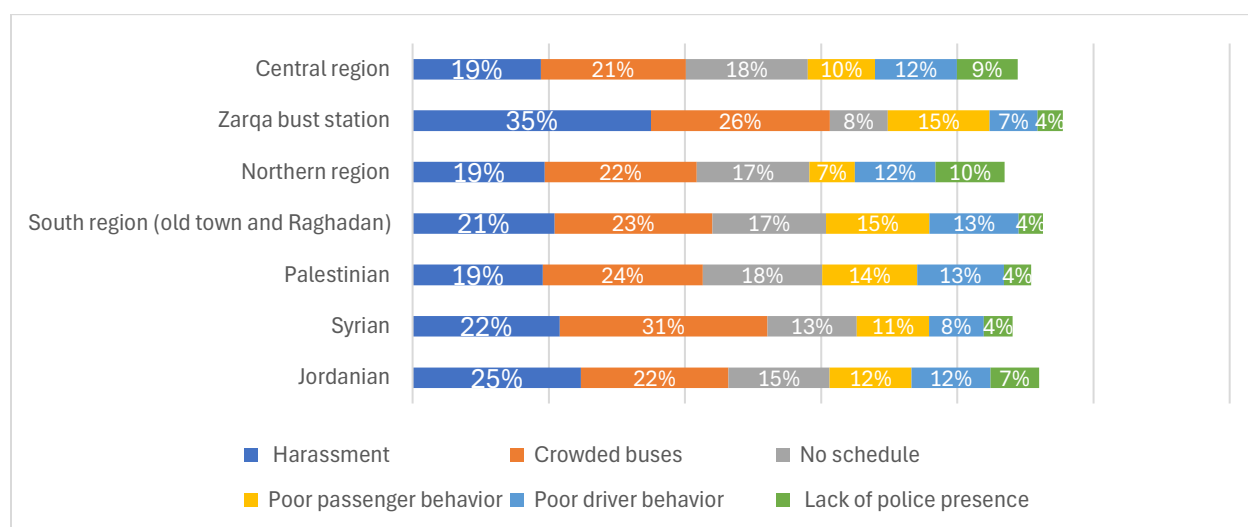


Figure 7: Harassment as the primary barrier reported by respondents across nationality and location.

3.3.2 Forms of Harassment and Inappropriate Behaviour

The results revealed that the most reported forms of harassment include verbal harassment (approximately 42%), unwanted starting 35%, and inappropriate physical contact 23%, reflecting both overt and subtle gender-based violence (GBV). Geographically, harassment incidents are reported most frequently in high-density areas such as Zarqa bus station (83% daily users) and the South region (55% daily users), which coincide with the highest public transport usage rates. Younger women (ages 19–30) report the highest exposure, particularly during peak commuting hours, with daily harassment experiences reported by 44-58% in this age group. On the other hand, 0.7% of respondents reported that women never experience harassment in public transportation, reflecting a near-universal recognition of harassment as a persistent issue. This minimal percentage underscores that the vast majority of

respondents acknowledge the prevalence of gender-based harassment highlighting the urgent need for targeted interventions addressing both preventive measures and enforcement of existing GBV and transportation policies, with particular attention to high-risk locations and vulnerable populations. Figure 6.

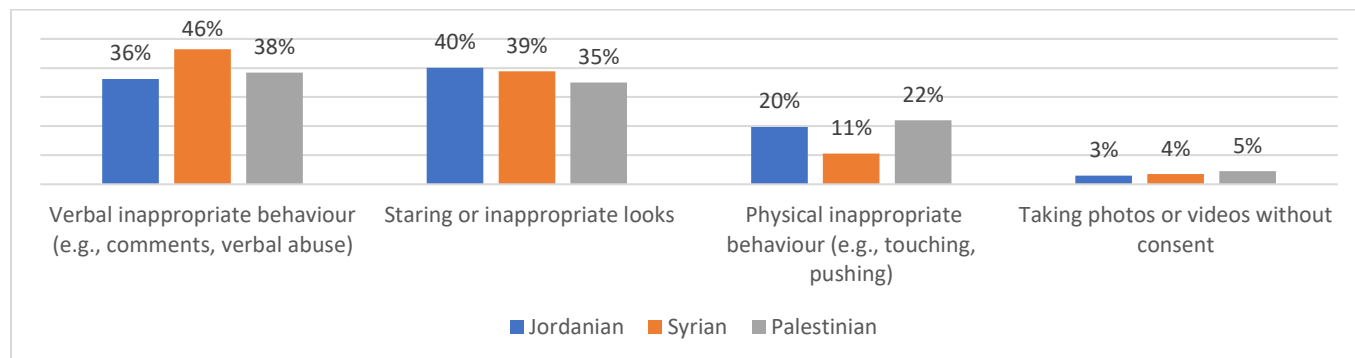


Figure 8: Reported forms of harassment by respondents, disaggregated by nationality.

FGDs with male drivers, organizations, and women all reported similar forms of harassment faced by women on public transportation. In addition to harassment, participants noted that women sometimes experience theft, particularly during heavy traffic or crowded conditions on buses. These findings highlight that women face multiple overlapping risks while using public transportation from women, drivers and partners representatives.

3.3.3 Groups Most Vulnerable to Harassment on Public Transportation

Building on the earlier section on forms of harassment, respondents were asked to identify which nationality they perceive as being most exposed to harassment while using public transportation in Amman. The findings indicate that the response “No difference based on nationality” is the single largest category (Jordanian: 80%; Syrian: 57%; Palestinian: 63%). This pattern indicates that a clear majority of respondents especially among Jordanians women perceive that nationality does not meaningfully affect the outcome or treatment measured by the survey. In practical terms, the data suggests that most respondents believe services, treatment, or outcomes are applied equally across national groups, rather than being distributed differently by nationality. These findings suggest that establishing safe and accessible public transportation system is very critical for all GAM residents regardless of their nationality.

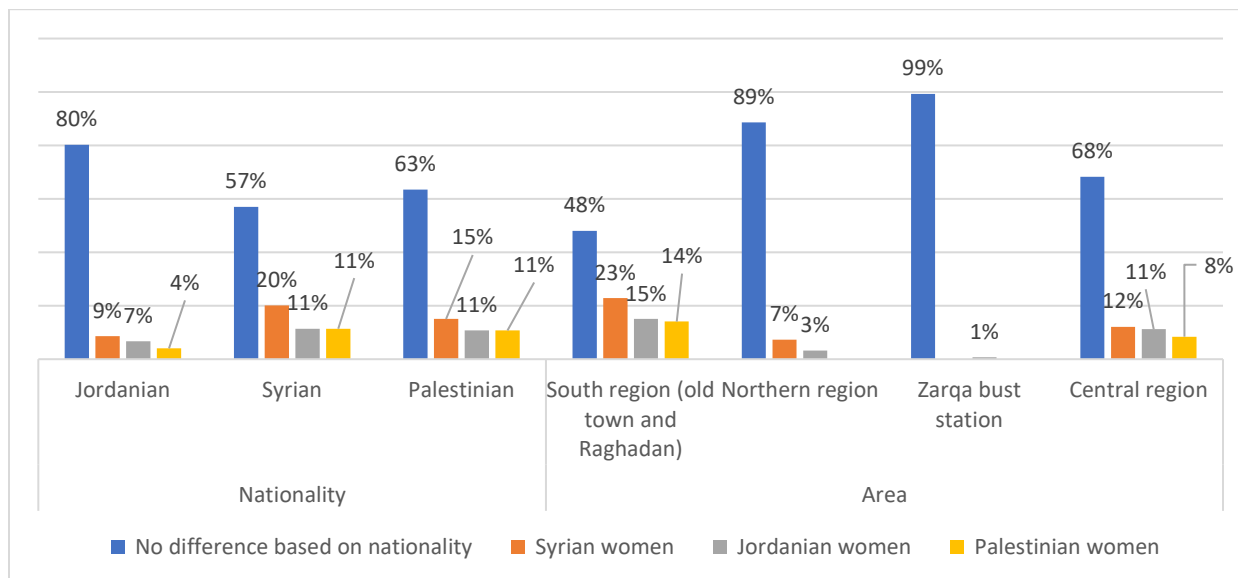


Figure 9: Perceived exposure to harassment in public transportation by community group, nationality, and location.

Simultaneously, the majority the highest in Zarqa Bus Station (99%) and the Northern Region (89%) and 48% in South Region (Old Town and Raghadan) indicating perceived equality in these areas reported ‘No differences’ suggesting more perceived nationality-based disparities. Among specific groups, Syrian women are seen as most exposed in the South Region (23%), while exposure for Jordanian and Palestinian women remains comparatively low across all areas.

The findings indicate that individuals aged 20–30 are the most exposed to harassment in public transportation, with 46% of Jordanian respondents, 41% of Palestinian respondents, and 37% of Syrian respondents reporting incidents within this age group. This trend is particularly pronounced in the Northern region, where exposure reaches 53%.

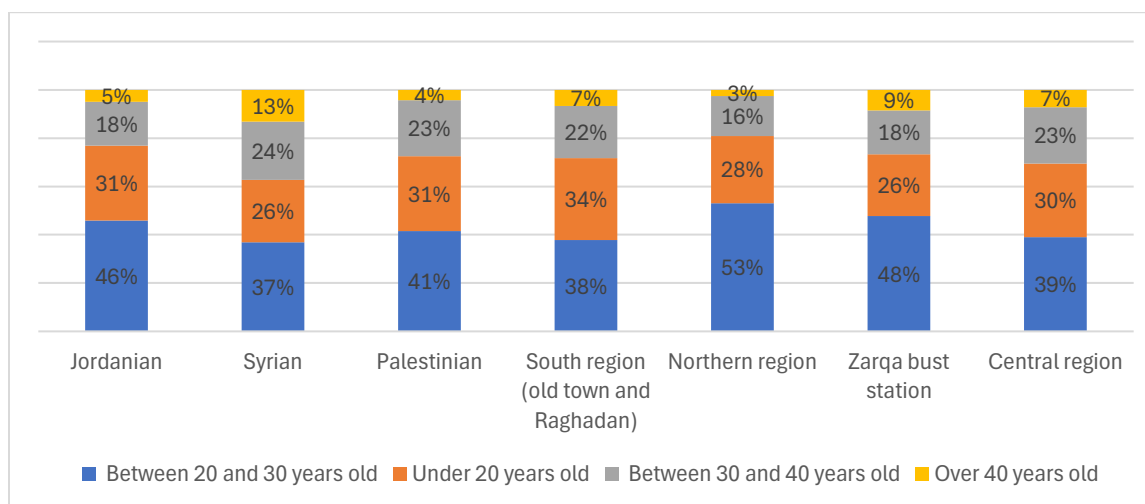


Figure 10: Young adults (20–30 Years) exhibit the highest exposure to harassment by location and nationality.

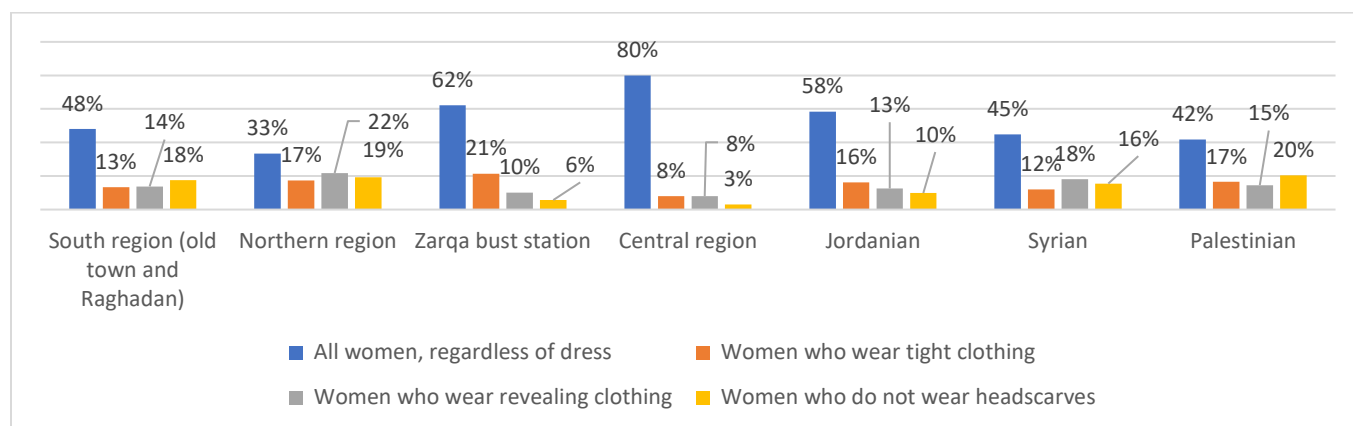
Since nearly a third of Jordan’s population is aged 16–30, the youth constitute a substantial share of society and are thus key users of public transport. UNICEF notes that young people’s transition to adulthood and their ability to access education, work or training depends heavily on mobility, yet mobility is often

constrained.¹² Meanwhile, the World Bank identifies inadequacies in public transportation limited coverage, poor reliability, fragmented operations and safety concerns which disproportionately affect youth and others without private cars.¹³ many young Jordanians, public transport is not a choice but a necessity. That structural dependence, combined with systemic gaps in service quality and safety, helps explain why young adults (20–30 years) report the highest exposure to harassment and other transit-related risks.

Women, particularly pregnant women (61.4%) and women with disabilities (49.7%), were identified as especially vulnerable, while in Amman, 39.9% of respondents perceived that all women are exposed to harassment regardless of age, nationality, or disability status. Notably, harassment was reported to occur independently of women’s clothing choices: 53.1% of respondents indicated that exposure occurs regardless of attire, while 20% associated higher vulnerability with women not wearing the hijab and 15% with women wearing revealing clothing.

Moreover, women FGD participants reported that most women generally face harassment or inappropriate behavior while using public transportation. They highlighted that the locations where harassment is most frequently experienced are bus stations and areas with a high presence of laborers, particularly from other nationalities, as well as inside the bus when they have physical interaction with passengers. Regarding the groups most exposed to harassment or inappropriate behaviors, participants noted that while all women are at risk, younger women and women from Syrian and other vulnerable nationalities are particularly targeted. These women often have limited ability to report incidents or may be unaware of existing mechanisms to protect themselves. This pattern was consistently mentioned across all FGDs.

These findings underscore that harassment in public transportation is not determined by individual behavior or dress, but by systemic issues in service provision, safety, and oversight. Overcrowding, inconsistent scheduling, insufficient monitoring, and limited gender-sensitive design create environments that disproportionately affect young adults and women, constraining their mobility and access to education, work, and social participation.¹⁴



¹² **Youth Transitions to Adulthood in Jordan-** High Aspirations, Challenging Realities. 2021. Accessed 7.12.2025 [Youth-Transitions-to-Adulthood-in-Jordan.pdf](#)

¹³ Jordan public transport diagnostic and recommendations, 2022, Accessed 7.12.2025, [World Bank Document](#)

¹⁴ Ibid

Figure 11: Relationship between women’s external appearance and exposure to harassment in public transportation by nationality and location.

3.3.4 Respondents’ reactions to harassment in public transportation and its impact on mobility and gender inequality

The data shows that across Jordanian, Syrian, and Palestinian women, the most common responses to harassment on public transport are ignoring the incident (21.3%) or moving away from the harasser (20.3%). Only a small proportion choose to report harassment to the driver or police (14.7%), confront the harasser (13.8%), or tell their family (12.8%). Seeking help from other passengers is the least common response (7.4%).

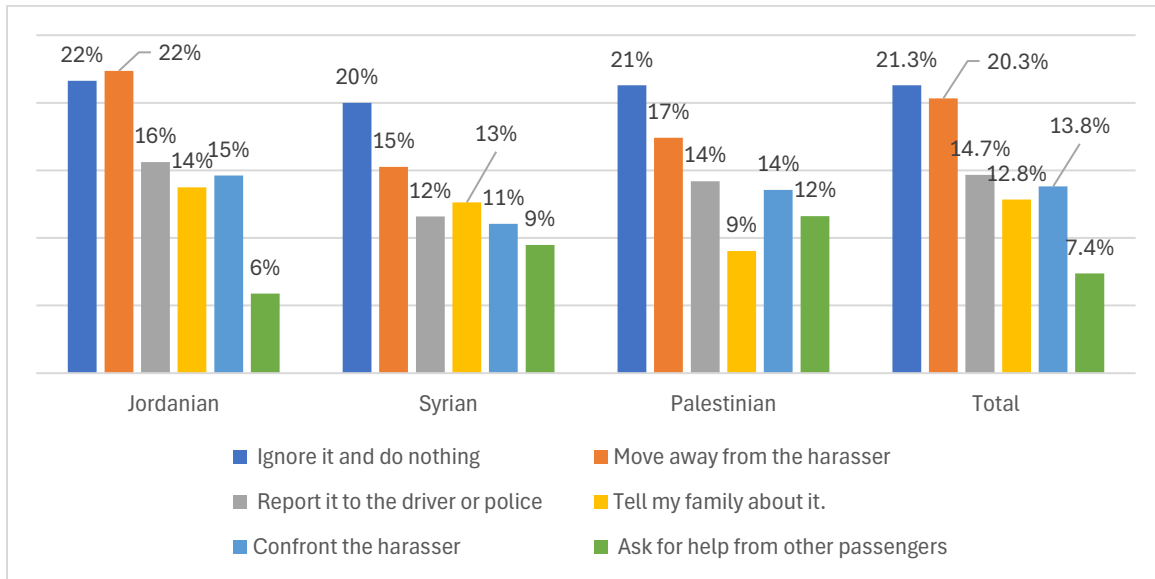


Figure 12: Respondents' responses to harassment on public transportation by nationality.

Patterns are relatively consistent across nationalities, with Syrian women showing lower rates of confrontation and reporting, and Palestinian women showing slightly higher reliance on other passengers.

‘I’m one female who experienced to verbal and physical harassment and I didn’t have the courage to talk to anyone’ Women FGD, middle Amman

According to the FGD findings, there is no accessible reporting mechanism for women to report harassment in public transportation. All FGD participants indicated that, due to the absence of a confidential channel, many women prefer not to take any action against harassers. As highlighted by the Amman bus drivers in the FGDs, women are the most vulnerable in harassment incidents and often avoid reporting to prevent potential restrictions on their mobility and to protect themselves from social stigma within their communities.

Moreover, women FGDs findings revealed that when women experienced harassment or any form of violence on public transportation, they often did not respond. This inaction was largely driven by fear of being identified, stigmatized, or blamed, as societal attitudes frequently place responsibility on the victim rather than the perpetrator. Cultural and social norms were noted as additional barriers, discouraging women from reporting incidents and often forcing them to alter their routines or bear extra burdens to avoid harassment. The anticipation of judgment, shame, or social repercussions often prevented women from defending themselves or reporting the incident.

‘I can’t tell my husband, if I told him, he would prevent me from going outside home’ Women FGD, east Amman

3.3.4.1 Impact of Harassment on Women’s Lives

Women, drivers and partners FGDs highlighted the significant negative impacts of harassment and inappropriate behavior on public transportation. They reported that such experiences often lead to feelings of fear, insecurity, and lack of power, particularly because many women feel unable to submit complaints or report incidents to relatives, parents, or husbands due to fear of being blamed. Some women described becoming so terrified that they avoid using public transportation altogether, opting instead for taxis or private transportation even though these options are more expensive because they perceive them as safer.

Participants also noted that harassment can exacerbate feelings of vulnerability and stigmatization, reinforcing a sense of powerlessness. This fear can increase their exposure to gender-based violence in other spaces, limit their mobility, and constrain their freedom compared to men. Ultimately, these experiences negatively affect women’s perceptions of their own role and diminish their opportunities to participate fully in economic, social, and public life.

KIIs with national and international agencies revealed that women faced different barriers and risk in public transportation such as lack of safety inside the minibuses and in the bus stations, verbal and physical harassment, and due to the lack of functional, *accessible and affordable reporting mechanisms, these risks are not documented. According to the KIIs, “although the national and international civil organization invested intensive efforts, training of the drivers, created the code of conduct and conducted a several awareness campaigns about the importance of safe transportation with close collaboration with Ministry of Transportation, and Land Transport Regulatory Commission and in enhancing women’s abilities to access public life such as access to education and labour market, safety in public transportation still required more improvement from at national level” KII stated.*

The findings reveal that most women respond to harassment on public transport by ignoring the incident or distancing themselves, reflecting a broader environment where harassment is normalized and reporting mechanisms are perceived as ineffective or unsafe. The low likelihood of reporting to authorities or telling family members highlights the cultural and institutional barriers women face many fears being blamed or restricted if their families interpret the incident as a threat to their honor or safety. Such reactions can result in severe limitations on women’s mobility, with families potentially preventing them from continuing their studies or employment, thereby reinforcing conservative norms that confine women to the home.

Ultimately, these patterns not only expose women to repeated GBV but also perpetuate a cycle in which restricted mobility, silence, and lack of accountability reinforce broader gender inequalities.¹⁵

3.4 Dynamics and Contributing Factors

This section examines respondents' perceptions of public transportation in Amman, focusing on their sense of safety and the factors shaping these perceptions within the city's multi-layered transit system.

Overall, respondents perceived the prevalence of harassment in public transportation to range from moderate to high. Reports of harassment were noted by 58%, 51%, and 49% of Syrian, Palestinian, and Jordanian respondents, respectively, as occurring to a large extent. Additionally, 67% of respondents from the central region and 66% from the northern region indicated that such inappropriate behaviors are common to a moderate extent. The high rates of harassment reported by respondents especially among Syrian, Palestinian, and Jordanian passengers, and across different regions are likely to undermine public confidence in transportation safety. Prior research shows that harassment on public transit often "leads students to limit their use of transit" and prompts riders to avoid certain routes, times, or even stop using transit altogether.

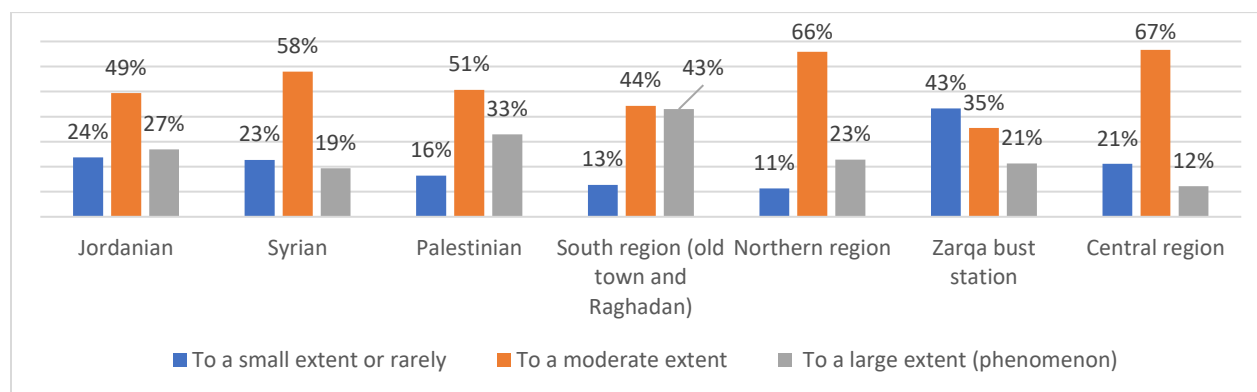


Figure 13: Respondents perceived the prevalence of harassment in public transportation.

Respondents attributed their perceptions of harassment in public transportation reported to a moderate extent by 51.1% and to a large extent by 26.3% to several key factors. Approximately 23.7% cited weak law enforcement as the primary driver, followed by 16.4% who pointed to limited public awareness and low education levels. Additionally, 15.9% identified overcrowded and unsafe transportation environments as contributing to these perceptions. These findings suggest that harassment in public transportation is not only widely perceived but also rooted in structural and systemic issues. The prominence of *weak law enforcement* indicates a lack of effective deterrents, which may allow inappropriate behaviors to persist. The emphasis on *low awareness and education* reflects broader social norms and gaps in public understanding of acceptable behavior in shared spaces. Meanwhile, the identification of *crowded and unsafe transit conditions* underscores how inadequate infrastructure can create environments where harassment is more likely to occur. Figure 11.

¹⁵ Public transport systems and safety of female commuters in low-and-middle-income countries: a systematic scoping review, 2025. Accessed 8.12.2025. [Public transport systems and safety of female commuters in low-and-middle-income countries: a systematic scoping review | BMC Women's Health](#)

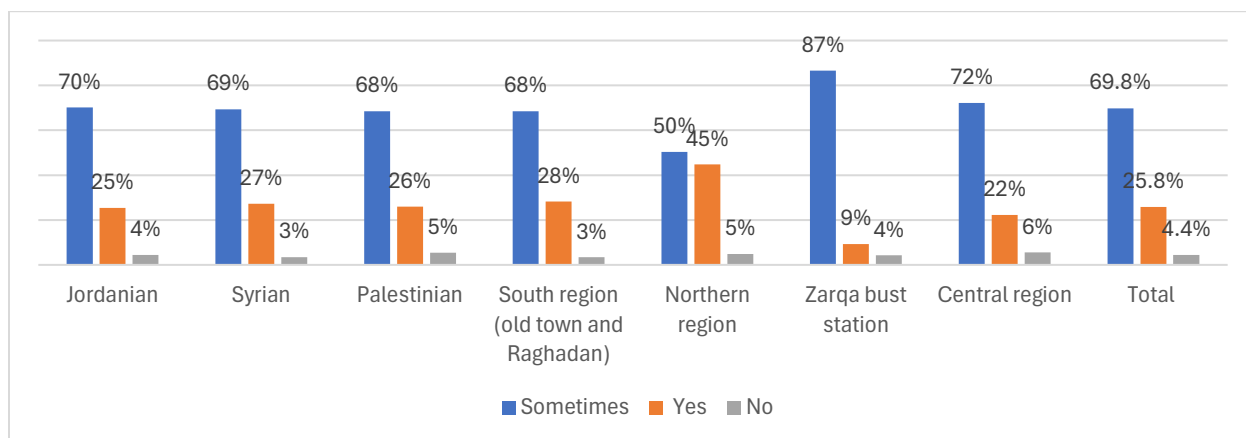


Figure 14: Prevalence of Feeling Unsafe Among Female Public Transportation Users

According to the FGD findings with women, harassment and violence on public transportation are driven by multiple social, structural, and enforcement-related factors. Participants highlighted high male unemployment and delayed marriage as contributing to inappropriate behaviors, while inadequate government oversight, insufficient cameras and monitoring, and poorly organized transportation infrastructure create environments where harassment can occur unchecked. They also noted the ineffectiveness of existing laws, limited police presence in high-risk areas, and social and cultural norms that discourage women from reporting incidents, often forcing them to alter their routines or bear additional burdens to avoid further harassment. Collectively, these factors combine to make harassment on public transportation a frequent and challenging problem for women in Amman.

‘Men often engage in inappropriate behaviors on public transportation due to a lack of religious commitment and limited job opportunities. Male feeling frustrated or hopeless about their social and economic status, some men spend their time engaging in harassment or other inappropriate actions as a reflection of their negative circumstances’. Women FGD, Middle Amman

From the perspective of FGD participants among drivers, several factors contribute to inappropriate behaviors on public transportation. They highlighted that crowded buses and heavy traffic often lead to physical interactions between passengers, which can escalate into harassment. Drivers also mentioned that access to inappropriate online content and a lack of ethical or moral awareness among some male passengers contribute to their poor behavior. For example, some young male passengers refuse to give up their seats for elderly women, demonstrating a disregard for basic courtesy.

Participants further emphasized the role of weak law enforcement. Even when laws exist to punish harassment or inappropriate behavior, they are often ineffective or poorly enforced, failing to deter offenders. Drivers stressed that activating and effectively implementing these laws is a critical area that needs attention, both as a prevention mechanism and to ensure safer public transportation for women and other vulnerable passengers.

The findings indicate that harassment on public transportation is a frequent and multifaceted problem, influenced by a combination of social, economic, structural, legal, and cultural factors, making it a persistent challenge for women in Amman.

3.4.1 Preventing harassment in public transportation responsibility.

Secondary data indicates that bus drivers are not consistently intervening when harassment occurs, which aligns with the legal reality in Jordan where drivers are not explicitly required by law to prevent harassment. Nearly half of respondents (45.7%) reported that drivers “sometimes” intervene, while a significant proportion (31.8%) said drivers “rarely” intervene, showing that passenger safety depends heavily on individual drivers rather than a systemic obligation. Only (12.3%) felt that drivers “always” take action, highlighting gaps in protection.

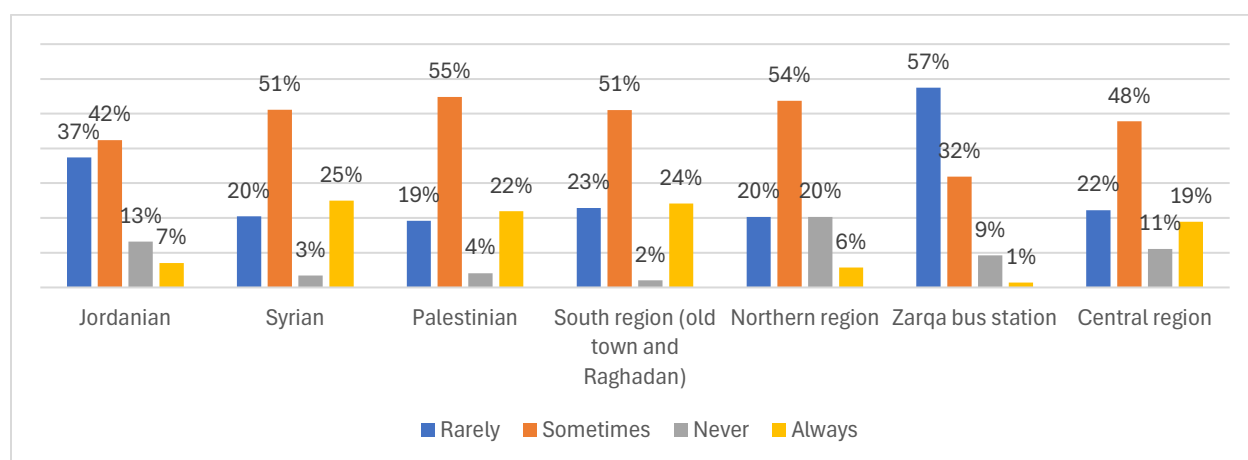


Figure 15: Bus drivers’ role in preventing harassment in public transportation by nationality and location.

It is important to note that 57% of respondents from Zarqa bus station reported that drivers ‘rarely’ intervene when harassment occurs, significantly higher than in other regions (South 23%, Northern 20%, Central 22%). This may be attributed to high passenger density, as Zarqa is a busy hub with heavy commuter traffic, making it difficult for drivers and staff to monitor and respond effectively. Additionally, the diverse passenger demographics, including a mix of age groups and nationalities, may contribute to a higher incidence of harassment and complicate intervention efforts.

The data shows respondents’ perceptions of responsibility for preventing harassment in public transportation. Government entities, including laws, policies, and enforcement, are perceived as the primary actors, with 25.2% overall highlighting their role, followed by the Land Transport Regulatory Authority’ 16.7% and the Greater Amman Municipality 12.9%. Society at large is also considered somewhat responsible 16%, while the role of drivers and transport operators is seen as relatively minor 8%, and other passengers even less so 7.2%. Women themselves are noted by 14% of respondents as playing a role in prevention, reflecting an awareness of individual vigilance.

Moreover, two FGDs were conducted with bus drivers (n=13), who reported that they have frequently witnessed or experienced inappropriate behaviors on their buses. Drivers noted that such behaviors can often be anticipated based on the passenger’s demeanor upon boarding. Interestingly, the drivers felt that preventing harassment on the bus is their responsibility. One driver shared a detailed experience.

One driver reported: *“While driving, I noticed a female passenger boarding the bus with many empty seats, but a male passenger deliberately sat next to her. Observing through the mirror that she was uncomfortable, I approached her to ask if she was okay. She confirmed she was alone and she was fine. I then asked the man to move to another seat, but the man refused. When the woman tried to move, the man physically attempted to keep her in place. I intervened, stopping the bus*

and trying to move the man. Eventually, I called the police, who came and took the male passenger out from the bus”. He continued, ‘even if this issue may put me in a risk, I will do the same in the future” Bus driver FGD, Amman bus. This case shows that the drivers lack awareness of the reporting methods as well as their role when facing harassment or any kind of violence while driving. *‘We never received any training about harassment in our work, the only guidance has from the company, is to try not to involve in any conflict with the passengers and call 911”*. Amman bus drivers FGD.

These findings underscore a critical gap in the current legal and regulatory framework. While the government is expected to set standards and enforce safety, existing Jordanian transport laws do not explicitly require drivers or operators to intervene against harassment. This legal gap contributes to inconsistent protection across regions and vehicles, as seen in high “rarely” intervention rates reported at stations such as Zarqa. The low perceived role of drivers further reflects the absence of clear mandates and enforcement mechanisms.

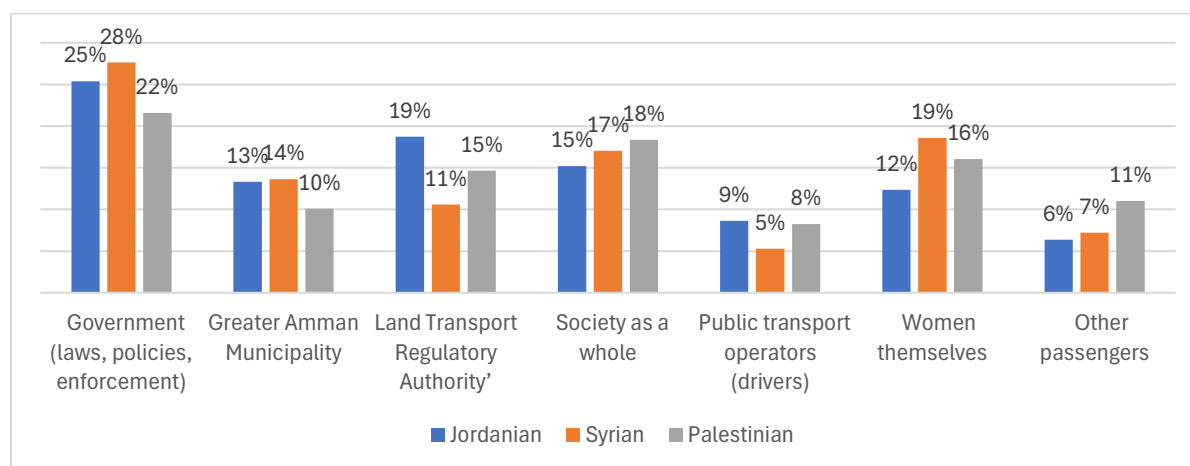


Figure 16: Government through law enforcement is the main actor in preventing harassment in public transportation according to respondents.

3.5 Respondents’ perceptions of national anti-harassment efforts in public transportation

The quantitative findings indicate that most respondents view the current measures to prevent harassment and violence in public transportation as inadequate. While 15.5% consider the existing efforts fully sufficient, 62% believe they are only somewhat adequate, and 22.5% feel they are not adequate at all. These results reflect a broad lack of confidence in the effectiveness of current policies, enforcement mechanisms, and interventions implemented by government agencies, transport authorities, and service operators.

These perceptions suggest that current laws, regulations, and operational practices are not fully addressing harassment and safety concerns, reinforcing the need for stronger legal frameworks, clearer responsibilities for drivers and staff, and more proactive enforcement measures to improve passenger safety.

Moreover, a significant proportion of respondents perceive no real improvement in women’s safety in public transportation, with 40.6% reporting no progress and 27% uncertain. This aligns with broader

challenges in Jordan, where national frameworks to address harassment and GBV while increasingly prominent often face gaps in implementation and enforcement.

At the national level, Jordan has ratified laws and policies to combat sexual harassment and GBV, including amendments to the Penal Code criminalizing harassment and the work of civil society organizations promoting safe public spaces. However, these measures are largely reactive, focusing on penalizing perpetrators rather than establishing proactive preventive systems, particularly in public transportation. The findings reflect this limitation: many respondents perceive existing efforts by government bodies, transport authorities, and operators as “not enough” (22.5%) or only “partially enough” (62%).

Regarding awareness among FGD participants, women reported that their knowledge of harassment laws and policies in public transportation is very limited. Most learned about the issue only through brochures from some organizations, and some encountered information at public health centers. Participants mentioned awareness-raising interventions implemented by organizations such as JoWomenmics, and the Arab Women Association, which conducted activities on harassment and safety in public transportation. In Sahab, they highlighted a specific initiative by the community police, in collaboration with the mayor and district management, which aimed to reduce crowding on university buses by allocating separate buses for female and male students traveling from Sahab to the University of Jordan.

However, women from East and middle Amman reported that they were unaware of any legislation regulating public transportation safety. They stated that they had never encountered transportation or harassment awareness campaigns and were only familiar with the 911 public security number as a reporting mechanism.

3.6 Reporting Mechanisms

3.6.1 Availability and effectiveness of reporting mechanism

The findings show a clear gap in awareness and availability of reporting methods for harassment in public transportation. A majority of respondents (61%) stated that no reporting mechanisms exist, while only 14.7% believed they were available, and 24.3% were unsure. The highest perceived availability was among those aged 51 and above (44% “Yes”) and Syrian respondents (33% “Yes”). In contrast, Jordanians (10% “Yes”) and residents of the Northern region (6% “Yes”) reported the lowest awareness. These patterns highlight the urgent need to improve visibility, accessibility, and communication of reporting channels across demographic groups and regions.

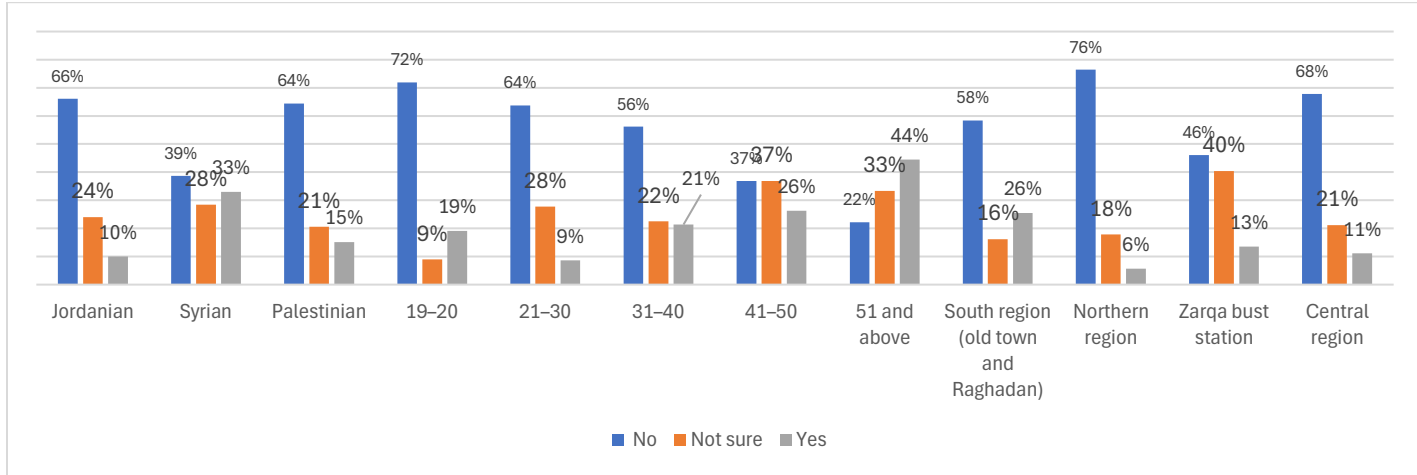


Figure 17: Respondents' perception of the clarity of procedures for handling inappropriate behaviour or violence in public transportation.

Age patterns show a similar trend. The youngest group (19–20) reported a comparatively higher belief that reporting mechanisms exist (19% “Yes”), while the 21–30 age group reported the lowest confidence (9% “Yes”). Notably, perceived availability increases with age, peaking at 44% among respondents aged 51 and above, suggesting that older adults may be more informed about formal reporting channels—or perhaps more optimistic about institutional mechanisms.

Regionally, the South region (old town and Raghadan) shows the highest percentage of respondents who believe reporting methods are available (26% “Yes”), while the Northern region reports the lowest at only 6%, indicating possible geographical inequality in service visibility or awareness campaigns. Meanwhile, regions such as the Zarqa bus station exhibit high uncertainty (40% “Not sure”), highlighting potential communication gaps in high-traffic transport hubs.

Among respondents who believe that reporting methods for harassment exist in public transportation, perceptions vary noticeably across nationalities. Palestinian respondents expressed the highest confidence, with 64% stating that reporting mechanisms exist to a large extent, followed by Syrian respondents at 55%, and Jordanians at 38%.

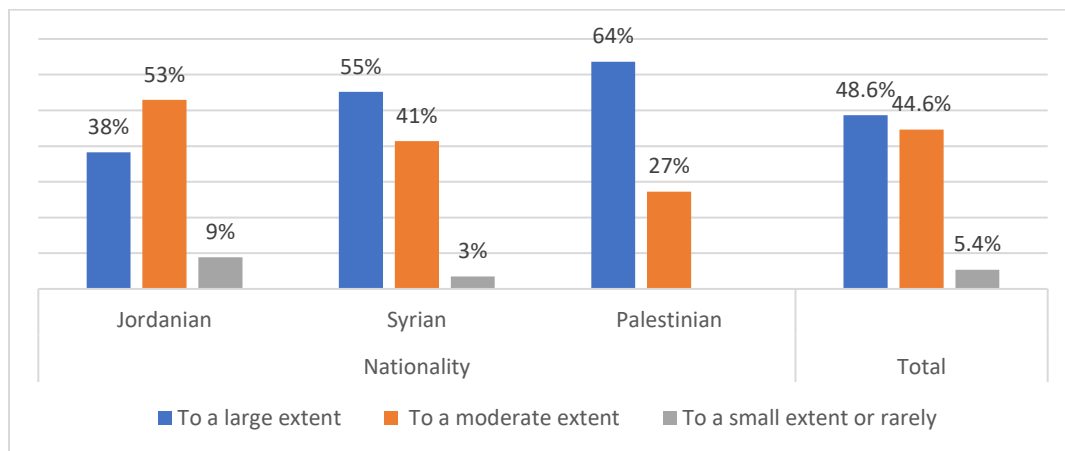


Figure 18: Respondents' perceptions of the effectiveness of procedures for addressing inappropriate behaviour in public transportation.

Moderate confidence was most common among Jordanians (53%), compared with 41% of Syrians and 27% of Palestinians. Only a small proportion felt that reporting methods exist to a small extent or rarely, with the lowest percentages among Syrians (3%), and a slightly higher level of doubt among Jordanians (9%).

Overall, women FGDs participants reported that they are unaware of any formal reporting mechanisms for harassment on public transportation. They emphasized that even if they wanted to report an incident, no clear or accessible system exists. Drivers similarly confirmed the absence of reporting mechanisms. In some cases, such as buses with rapid transit systems, cameras are installed, but these are often ineffective in investigating harassment cases.

The lack of reporting mechanisms was consistently highlighted across all FGDs, including women, drivers, and representatives from partner organizations. Participants suggested that an effective system should be accessible through platforms such as mobile applications, allow anonymous reporting, and minimize the need for women to visit police stations or engage in formal procedures. Such measures would reduce the risk of stigma, protect the safety and privacy of the complainant, and encourage more women to report incidents of harassment.

However, the relatively lower confidence among Jordanians indicates uneven awareness or accessibility of these mechanisms across groups.

Key informants with national and international agencies reported the absence of a functional and confidential reporting mechanism for cases of harassment or violence in public transportation. They confirmed that some initiatives have been introduced by the Ministry of Transport and GAM to promote accessible and affordable transportation and to establish confidential complaint and reporting mechanisms. However, these initiatives remain largely non-operational and have not yet been effectively implemented in practice. Moreover, KII with a representative from GAM indicated that existing channels for submitting complaints include social media platforms, a designated phone number for Al-Mutakamila buses, and complaint logbooks available on buses operating under the Ministry of Transport's umbrella and LTRC. However, the informant emphasized that these channels do not constitute a specialized, unified, or confidential reporting mechanism specifically designed to address cases of harassment or violence against women in public transportation. Consequently, an effective and clearly defined reporting system remains absent.

3.6.2 Respondents' experience with harassment and reporting process.

The survey results reveal that women across nationalities and regions did not report harassment or violence on public transport, with 60.2% overall choosing not to report. Reporting rates remain relatively low at 22.9%, although Palestinian women (30%) and women in the South region (40%) reported slightly more frequently. A smaller share, 16.9%, indicated they had not experienced harassment at all.

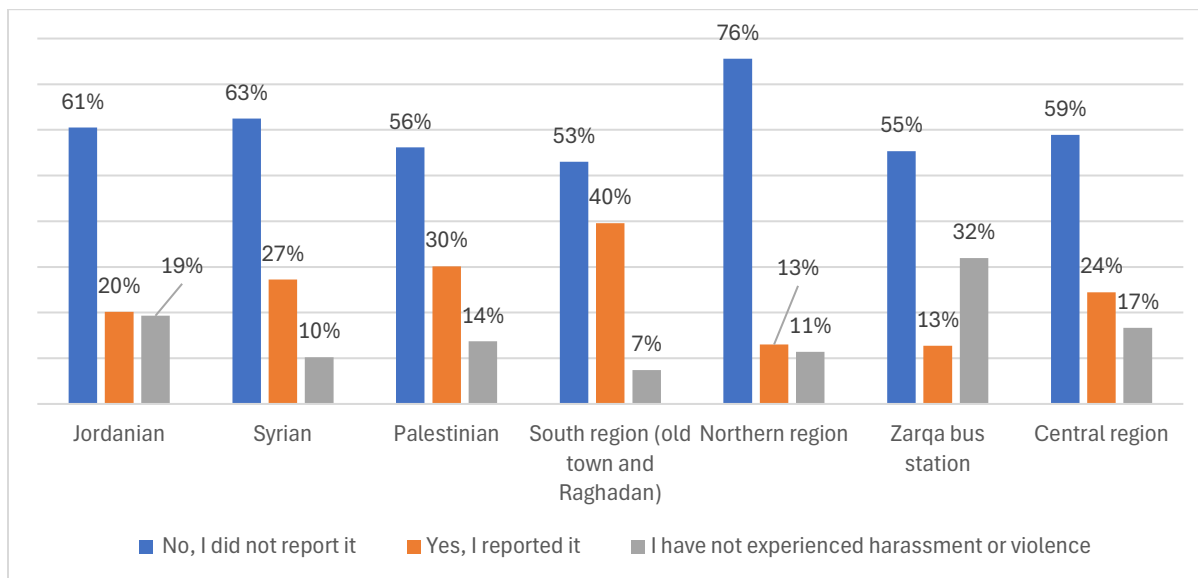


Figure 19: Reporting of harassment and violence on public transportation by nationality and region.

FGDs finding with women and organization representative revealed that harassment and inappropriate behavior on public transportation are widespread and affect women of all ages. And they also identified certain groups of women, particularly younger women and women from Syrian and other vulnerable nationalities, were identified as being at higher risk due to their limited ability to report incidents or lack of awareness of protective mechanisms. While harassment can happen regardless of a woman’s attire, some participants noted that women who do not wear the Islamic hijab may attract additional attention

Simultaneously, drivers were asked about their perspectives on prevention and reporting mechanisms, and whether these mechanisms are functional, confidential, and accessible for women and other vulnerable groups. Most drivers reported that there is no effective reporting mechanism in place, and that the only option is to go to the police. Both drivers and female FGD participants also confirmed that women rarely report incidents, preferring to remain silent to avoid stigmatization and other social consequences from their community, family, or peers. Drivers also noted a common perception among women that reporting harassment is risky **“like a glass that could break”** and that it is often safer to stay silent rather than engage with formal reporting channels.

‘ I’m a driver and father, if I saw my daughter go to the police station based on harassment or reporting incidents in public transportation I will not allow here to go outside after that? Bust coater’. Driver FGD

These findings suggest that harassment is a widespread issue, but most women remain silent, likely due to fear of stigma, lack of trust in authorities, or concerns about personal safety. The variation by region indicates that context and local environment influence reporting behavior: women in the South region are more likely to report, whereas those in the Northern region are less likely (13%). The high non-reporting rate reflects barriers that can restrict women’s mobility, reinforce feelings of vulnerability, and perpetuate cultural norms that limit women’s participation in public life.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study provides an in-depth examination of women's experiences with public transportation in Amman, highlighting demographic, socio-economic, mobility, safety, and harassment-related dimensions. The findings illustrate the complex interplay between structural, cultural, and operational factors that shape women's access to safe, reliable, and affordable transport, and underscore the urgent need for comprehensive interventions to improve mobility and gender equality.

Women in Amman rely heavily on public transport. Daily travel was reported by 49.3% of respondents, with Jordanians showing the highest daily usage (55%) and Syrians reporting lower daily use (31%) but higher weekly use. Coasters and minibuses are the most commonly used mode (90.9%), especially in the Northern region, whereas buses (Amman Bus/BRT) serve the South and Central regions, and taxis fill gaps in first- and last-mile connectivity. Travel durations are generally short, with the majority of trips lasting less than one hour, though older adults and Syrians report similar patterns, likely reflecting residential clustering near workplaces or essential services.

Survey, KIIs, and FGD data indicate that affordability, availability, and accessibility are the primary motivators for using public transportation. Syrian women prioritize low cost, Palestinians emphasize accessibility, and older adults focus on convenience. These findings suggest that targeted interventions should consider regional and demographic variations to ensure that services meet the needs of different user groups.

Interview with gender specialist revealed that World Bank has actively supported Jordan's efforts to enhance safety, accessibility, and gender sensitivity in public transportation, particularly under the Enhancing Women's Economic Participation (2024–2028) program. In collaboration with the Ministry of Transportation, and LRTC, the World Bank has helped develop training materials and a mandatory Code of Conduct for drivers, which must be read and signed prior to certification. The Bank has also supported the design and establishment of gender-sensitive bus stations adhering to international standards, and the implementation of an executive plan to improve transport safety, affordability, and accessibility, aiming to increase women's mobility and participation in education, work, and public life. These interventions reflect a comprehensive approach that combines policy, infrastructure, and capacity-building measures to reduce harassment and promote safer, more inclusive public transport.

Harassment on public transportation is widespread, with 84.9% of respondents reporting exposure. Coasters, bus stops, and stations particularly Zarqa bus station and the Northern region emerged as high-risk locations. Younger women (19–30) and vulnerable groups, including pregnant women and women with disabilities, are disproportionately affected.

Forms of harassment include verbal abuse (42%), unwanted staring (35%), and inappropriate physical contact (23%). FGDs corroborate these findings, with women recounting both personal and observed incidents ranging from unwanted attention to threatening interactions with drivers or other passengers. Such experiences create pervasive fear and insecurity, affecting daily mobility choices and reinforcing gendered constraints on public life.

The most frequently reported barriers to public transportation include harassment (23.4%) and overcrowded vehicles (23.3%), followed by irregular schedules, poor passenger and driver behavior, and limited police presence. FGDs and KIIs identified multiple contributing factors, including weak law

enforcement, limited public awareness, insufficient infrastructure, and cultural norms that discourage women from reporting incidents.

Drivers highlighted operational challenges such as crowded buses, heavy traffic, and exposure to inappropriate passenger behavior, which increase risks of harassment. Women emphasized the role of social stigma, fear of blame, and concern for personal safety, which limit their willingness to report incidents. Economic constraints, particularly for refugee women, further exacerbate vulnerability, as they often cannot afford alternative, safer transport modes.

Moreover, critical findings are the absence of effective, accessible, and confidential reporting mechanisms for harassment in public transportation. 14.7% of respondents believed reporting channels exist, while 61% stated none are available. Existing options social media, hotline numbers, and bus logbooks do not provide standardized, confidential procedures. Drivers report no formal training on handling harassment, relying on personal judgment, and company guidance is minimal.

National and international organizations acknowledge efforts to improve safety, train drivers, and promote awareness, yet these initiatives remain largely non-functional. Consequently, women often refrain from reporting harassment due to fear of stigma, lack of trust in authorities, or personal safety concerns. Regional differences in awareness are evident, with South Amman showing slightly higher perceived availability, while the Northern region, including Zarqa bus station, reflects extremely low awareness and high exposure to harassment.

Harassment significantly constrains women's mobility, with many choosing to ignore incidents, distance themselves from harassers, or avoid public transportation altogether. Such patterns reinforce gender inequalities, limiting access to education, employment, and social participation. Younger women, refugees, and women with disabilities face heightened vulnerability due to overlapping social, economic, and mobility-related challenges.

Cultural norms exacerbate these effects, as fear of stigma or blame discourages reporting and forces women to adopt alternative, often costlier travel strategies. Drivers' inconsistent intervention and limited legal obligations further compound the problem, leaving women dependent on individual actions rather than systematic protection.

Respondents identified multiple social, structural, and enforcement-related factors contributing to harassment. High male unemployment, delayed marriage, and social frustration were cited as drivers of inappropriate behavior, while inadequate government oversight, weak law enforcement, limited monitoring, and poorly organized transport infrastructure create enabling environments for harassment. Structural gaps, including overcrowding, inconsistent schedules, and fragmented service coverage, increase interactions that can escalate into harassment.

Weak enforcement and low awareness amplify these risks. Even when laws exist to penalize harassment, ineffective implementation undermines deterrence. Cultural norms, social expectations, and fear of community judgment inhibit women from reporting incidents or seeking recourse. Collectively, these factors create a systemic environment in which harassment persists, and public transportation remains unsafe for women.

Respondents perceived government entities, including law enforcement and regulatory authorities, as primarily responsible for preventing harassment, followed by societal actors. Drivers are seen as having a minor role, reflecting gaps in legal mandates and training. FGD accounts illustrate that drivers frequently

intervene at personal risk, highlighting the absence of formal protocols and the reliance on individual discretion.

The study underscores the need for clear institutional responsibilities, mandatory driver training, and enforcement mechanisms to ensure consistent protection across regions and transportation modes.

Most respondents perceive existing anti-harassment measures as inadequate, with only 15.5% considering current efforts fully sufficient. Awareness of legal frameworks and preventive measures is low, particularly among women in East and Middle Amman. While some local initiatives, such as university-specific arrangements and civil society campaigns, exist, these remain fragmented and geographically limited.

Addressing these structural, cultural, and operational gaps is critical for ensuring that public transportation is safe, inclusive, and equitable. Without coordinated interventions, harassment will continue to restrict women's mobility, reinforce gender inequalities, and limit opportunities for education, employment, and social participation.

The study confirms that public transportation is a critical lifeline for women in Amman, enabling access to work, education, and essential services. However, this reliance exists in tension with pervasive risks of harassment and systemic inadequacies. The prevalence of harassment experienced by over 84.9% of respondents reflects not only the vulnerability of women in shared spaces but also the normalization of such behavior in society. Women's avoidance of reporting due to fear of stigma, blame, or retaliation reveals how social norms and gendered expectations actively constrain mobility, reinforcing cycles of disempowerment.

Economic vulnerability compounds these challenges. Many women, particularly refugees, face high transportation costs relative to their incomes, which limits their options for safer alternatives. In this sense, mobility is not merely a logistical concern, it is a lens through which broader inequalities, including nationality, and age, manifest in daily life. Syrian women, for instance, are disproportionately exposed to harassment while simultaneously bearing heavier economic burdens, demonstrating the intersectional nature of vulnerability in urban transit systems.

A notable reflection emerging from this study is the critical gap between formal policies, institutional expectations, and on-the-ground realities. While transportation companies and authorities claim monitoring and driver training are in place, drivers' accounts reveal a lack of formal guidance, training, and procedural clarity. This mismatch reflects a systemic problem: policies exist in theory but are inconsistently implemented, leaving individual drivers to shoulder responsibility without institutional support, and women to navigate unsafe environments largely on their own.

Furthermore, the absence of functional reporting mechanisms illustrates a broader governance challenge. Even where legal frameworks exist to combat harassment, enforcement gaps and cultural barriers prevent women from accessing protective measures. The reliance on informal interventions such as drivers personally stepping in highlights both the agency of individuals and the inadequacy of systemic solutions. This duality underscores a profound insight: without coherent, accessible, and enforceable institutional mechanisms, individual efforts, however well-intentioned, cannot address structural inequalities.

Beyond structural barriers, the study reveals the subtle yet pervasive influence of cultural norms. Harassment is not simply a violation of personal space; it is socially mediated, with women often anticipating blame or judgment if they report incidents. The reluctance to report reflects a society in which

women’s mobility is indirectly through social expectations, fear of stigma, and pressure to conform to gendered norms. Addressing harassment in public transportation, therefore, requires not only infrastructure and legal interventions but also cultural change raising awareness, challenging entrenched norms, and fostering a shared sense of responsibility for public safety.

The finding that harassment is nearly universal, affecting women across nationalities, ages, and socio-economic backgrounds, suggests that the issue is systemic rather than isolated. It demonstrates that urban mobility cannot be separated from broader questions of gender justice, social inclusion, and equitable access to public spaces. Policies focused solely on penalizing perpetrators will have limited effect unless accompanied by systemic reforms, public awareness campaigns, and active engagement of communities in reshaping social norms.

Simultaneously, improving women’s mobility in Amman requires a holistic approach that addresses structural, social, and individual dimensions simultaneously. Policies must bridge the gap between legislation and enforcement, providing drivers with clear responsibilities, training, and support. Reporting mechanisms must be accessible, confidential, and trustworthy, reducing risks associated with formal complaints. Moreover, interventions must recognize intersectional vulnerabilities, addressing the specific needs of young women, women with disabilities, and refugee populations.

Investing in safer, reliable, and affordable public transportation is not only a matter of urban planning, but also a critical step toward gender equality and social inclusion. Enabling women to move freely without fear of harassment strengthens their economic participation, social engagement, and sense of agency.

Ultimately, women’s experiences in public transportation are shaped by a confluence of structural inadequacies, cultural expectations, and socio-economic vulnerabilities. Addressing these challenges requires not only technical fixes such as cameras, buses, or reporting apps but a systemic commitment to creating public spaces that are safe, equitable, and inclusive. The pervasive nature of harassment underscores that mobility is inseparable from dignity, autonomy, and empowerment. Policies and interventions that fail to consider these dimensions risk perpetuating cycles of vulnerability and inequality, whereas thoughtful, inclusive solutions can transform public transportation into a platform for social change, equity, and empowerment in Amman and beyond.

5. Recommendations

Based on the above findings from all data sources, including secondary data, the following are the main recommendations:

Findings	Practical / Programmatic Recommendation	Responsible Stakeholder
High prevalence of harassment (84.9%) (verbal, staring, physical contact), especially among women and youth.	Mandatory gender-sensitivity and harassment prevention training for all public transport drivers, staff, and operators.	Ministry of Transport, Transport Companies, UN Women (technical support)
Inconsistent intervention by drivers: 45.7% sometimes intervene, 31.8% rarely intervene.	Establish clear operational protocols obligating drivers/staff to intervene in harassment incidents, with monitoring and accountability measures.	Transport Companies, Ministry of Transport, Traffic Police
Low reporting rates due to fear of stigma, lack of confidential mechanisms, and distrust in authorities.	Develop accessible, confidential reporting channels (hotlines, mobile apps, station-based	Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Interior, NGOs focused on GBV (UN Women, JRF)

	reporting desks) with clear follow-up procedures.	
Lack of public awareness on harassment, rights, and reporting mechanisms.	Launch targeted awareness campaigns for commuters, male, and communities about harassment, legal protections, and reporting options.	Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Social Development, NGOs, Media Outlets
	Integrate safety, safe arrival, and anti-harassment education into school and university curricula. This should include awareness of harassment, preventive measures, appropriate responses, and reporting mechanisms, empowering students—especially women—to protect themselves and respond safely when facing harassment or violence in public transportation.	MOE, Higher Education Ministry, Universities and Ministry of Transport
Legal and policy gaps: existing regulations do not mandate driver intervention and lack enforcement.	Review and revise national transportation and GBV policies to explicitly mandate preventive measures, reporting, and sanctions for harassment.	Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Justice, Parliament, Legal Reform Bodies
	Strengthen the enforcement of existing harassment laws and consider introducing specific legal protections for drivers who intervene during harassment incidents. Additionally, implement confidential and accessible reporting mechanisms that allow women to safely report harassment without fear of stigma or retaliation, ensuring their privacy and encouraging effective use of the system.	
Safety and accessibility concerns among older women and vulnerable groups.	Introduce safe waiting areas, improved lighting, CCTV monitoring at stations, and priority seating for vulnerable groups.	Ministry of Transport, Municipal Authorities, Transport Companies
High cost of transportation relative to low-income commuters, limiting mobility.	Implement subsidized fares or discounted passes for students, low-income, and refugee populations.	Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Planning, NGOs, Municipal Authorities