

Legend of the locked doors: The sexualization of archaeological site workers in the Middle East

Allison Mickel 

Department of Sociology & Anthropology,
Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA, USA

Correspondence

Allison Mickel, Department of Sociology &
Anthropology, Lehigh University, Bethlehem,
PA, USA.

Email: ajm717@lehigh.edu

Funding information

Fulbright Association; National Endowment
for the Humanities; The American Center Of
Research; The Biblical Archaeology Society

Abstract

Sexual violence in fieldwork contexts is an urgent and pervasive problem. In archaeology, much discussion is currently ongoing regarding how to change fieldwork policies and climate in order to end sexual violence in the field. In this context, I examine a legend that circulates among the Bedul Bedouin community in Petra about an American archaeologist who locked women students inside their bedroom at night in order to protect them from endangering themselves by going out at night. While I cannot corroborate the story with former students on the project, studying the contemporary life of this legend can teach us about the confrontations of race, gender, and sexuality that occur on archaeological sites in the Middle East and elsewhere. Examined in the context of research on Muslim masculinities and the myth of Arab men's hypersexuality, I use this legend to argue that our approaches to ending sexual violence in archaeology and other fieldwork disciplines should avoid reifying Orientalist and racial stereotypes if these approaches are going to be effective in making our fields safer.

KEYWORDS

archaeology, fieldwork, Jordan, masculinity, sexuality

Resumen

La violencia sexual en el trabajo de campo es un problema urgente y generalizado. En la arqueología, actualmente mucha discusión se lleva a cabo respecto a cómo cambiar las políticas de trabajo de campo y el ambiente a fin de terminar la violencia sexual en el campo. En este contexto, examino una leyenda que circula entre la comunidad de los beduinos Bedul en Petra acerca de un arqueólogo americano que encerraba con llave a las estudiantes dentro de sus cuartos en la noche, con el fin de protegerlas de ponerse en peligro ellas mismas al salir durante la noche. Mientras no puedo corroborar la historia con antiguas estudiantes en el proyecto, estudiar la vida contemporánea de esta leyenda puede enseñarnos acerca de las confrontaciones de raza, género y sexualidad que ocurre en los sitios arqueológicos en el Oriente Medio y en otros lugares. Examinada en el contexto de la investigación sobre masculinidades musulmanas y el mito de la hipersexualidad de los hombres árabes, uso esta leyenda para argumentar que nuestras aproximaciones para terminar la violencia sexual en la arqueología y en otras disciplinas con trabajo de campo debe evitar la reificación de los estereotipos orientalistas y raciales si estas aproximaciones van a ser efectivas en hacer nuestras disciplinas más seguras. [*arqueología, trabajo de campo, masculinidad, sexualidad, Jordania*]

يُعد العنف الجنسي في سياقات العمل الميداني مشكلةً ملحةً ومتفشية. ويشهد علم الآثار حالياً العديد من النقاشات حول كيفية تغيير سياسات العمل الميداني ومناخه بما يضع نهاية للعنف الجنسي في هذا المجال. وفي هذا السياق، أتناول خرافة لدى مجتمع بدو البترول في البتراء حول عالم آثار أمريكي حبس طالبات داخل غرفة نومهن ليلاً لحمايةهن مما قد يتعرضن له من خطر إذا خرجن في جنح الليل، ورغم عجزني عن توثيق القصة من طالبات سابقات في المشروع، قد تتعلم من دراسة الحالة الراهنة لهذه الخرافة شيئاً عن مواجهات تنطوي على العرق، والنوع الاجتماعي، والسلوك الجنسي تشهدها المواقع الأثرية في الشرق الأوسط وأماكن أخرى. وفي إطار تناولي لهذه الخرافة في سياق بحثي في الذكورية الإسلامية وأسطورة شبق الرجال العرب، استخدمها -أي الخرافة- لأدلل على أن ما تتبعه من مقاربات لإنهاء العنف الجنسي في مجال علم الآثار وتخصصات العمل الميداني الأخرى يجب أن تتجنب إعادة إنتاج الصور النمطية الاستشراقية والعرقية إذا أردنا لهذه المقاربات أن تجعل عملنا الميداني أكثر أمناً

There is a legend told among Bedul Bedouins in Petra, Jordan, about a foreign archaeologist who locked the female students on his project inside their room at night. He wanted to protect them; if the door was left unlocked, they might be tempted in the night to meet the Bedouin *shebab* (young men) hired to work on the archaeological site with them during the day. When Bedul individuals tell this story, though, the protagonists are the young women who found ways to slip out. More heroic, even, are the Bedouin domestic staff at the dig house who would unlock the doors for the absconding students and lock them back in when they returned.

In 2014, as I conducted oral history interviews with members of the Bedouin community about archaeological work in Petra, I felt at first that this legend kept getting in the way. It came up in almost every interview, no matter what questions I asked. The story didn't—at first—feel relevant to my research questions, which concerned local inhabitants' expertise about archaeological remains and methods. And I didn't even believe the story was true. After all, I heard it first as an urban legend from friends of friends who claimed to have witnessed the unlocking. In titillating tones and with campfires in their eyes, men mimed the turning of the lock, clicking their tongues to signal its finality, then revealed with mirth how the girls would be freed by someone—the son of Awad, maybe, or was it Suleiman's mother?

After a few months of hearing the legend, I met the matriarch of the house rented by the project director in the legend. She told me the same story—but in her telling, she was the one who unlocked the door and kept the students' secret. Later, I interviewed a man who worked as a cook for the excavation. Sitting in his front yard, surrounded by his friends and brothers, he, too, took credit for the unlocking. On yet another occasion, I was introduced to a woman who did laundry for the project. She was elderly and frail. She spoke in soft, stilted sentences, and while she recalled few details from her time as the project launderer, she claimed unmistakably that she had unlocked and relocked the women's bedroom door. Over the course of a year of interviews, three separate people identified themselves as the protagonist in this narrative.

It felt like a demand to stop dismissing the legend. And when I finally did, I recognized how the story's narrators were using folklore to protest their experiences with normative archaeological practice and the formulations of gender, sexuality, and race that arise during archaeological excavation. The legend illuminates and resists how foreign-led excavations in the Middle East produce the archaeological site as a carnal space and frame locally hired site workers as sexually dangerous.

In the Middle East, the archaeological site brings together generalized romantic conceptions of fieldwork with a particular Orientalist eroticization. Performances of masculinity encouraged and embedded in excavation practice meet stereotypes of Muslim masculinities. Archaeological fieldwork is unmistakably physical, sensory, and embodied—while also, in the case of foreign-led excavations abroad, a cross-cultural encounter. All of these pressures, traditions, and demands coalesce on archaeological excavations in the Middle East, contributing to how the locally hired laborer is constructed as libidinous and predatory.

In Petra, it becomes possible to loosen this enmeshment in order to learn about how this relation is shaped in place. I can unknot the legacies that accompany me to the field—the decades of polarized discussion on sexuality in archaeological and ethnographic fieldwork. I can tease apart the feeling of a desiring body from the pressure to act as an objective researcher from the fear of becoming the target of sexual violence. And in this place, too, tattered tropes about Jordanian, Bedouin, and Muslim men as lustful, abusive, and unrestrained haunt the air but fail to materialize. Those ghosts are crowded out by devoted husbands bragging about their wives, rushing home from the excavation site to cuddle their daughters. There is no space for these myths of Muslim masculinity to manifest where I sit among a group of women at their family picnic. The women make bawdy jokes, their laughter growing rowdier as the jokes involve more clever and more explicit wordplay, until they quiet down to offer one another sober advice on how to solicit more sexual satisfaction from their husbands.

Even though I can't find the stereotype of Arab hypersexuality in substance in Petra, it shows up as a shadow. It lurks in the background in the legend of the locked doors, and it is invoked each time I am warned not to accept any social invitations from Bedouin men. By teasing apart the factors that conjure this shadow in archaeological field practice, I hope to reveal the unintended consequences of the sexualization of the site worker on the archaeological site. This shadow can be seductive, inadvertently making the taboo tempting. Ultimately, the sort of sexualization of the site worker that I describe here counteracts efforts to implement effective policies and procedures for reducing sexual violence in the field

by playing into oppressive tropes of white feminine fragility and Muslim monstrosity rather than using evidence-based approaches to preventing sexual violence. Gender, sexuality, race, colonialism, and epistemology are all, always, bound together on the Middle Eastern archaeological site; in what follows, I trace the ramifications of this entwinement.

SEXUALITIES AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN FIELDWORK

Erotic and sexual relations remain largely absent in many otherwise reflexive accounts of fieldwork, despite decades of discussion showing the ethnographic significance of erotic subjectivity (Bell, Caplan, and Karim 1993; Kulick and Wilson 2003; Newton 1993). Cupples (2002, 383) has even described the field as “a landscape of desire,” pointing out that researchers do not leave lusting behind while they are in the field; they both desire and are desired while conducting fieldwork. There are a few exceptions, of course, where fieldwork accounts discuss sexuality. Famously, Malinowski’s (1967) diary reveals him as a desiring ethnographer, albeit one fighting against “impure” fantasies and sometimes failing. Rabinow (1977, 63) tells about a one-night stand he had with a Moroccan woman—in his words, “the best single day I was to spend in Morocco.” These encounters read as fantasy, erasing the power imbalances and possible infractions of consent embedded within them.

Women have tended to write about their sexual encounters less frequently—though of course there are examples, like the pseudonymous Manda Cesara (1982), who discusses her romantic and sexual relationship with an informant named Douglas and the insights to which this relationship led. More recently, researchers like Diprose, Thomas, and Rushton (2013) and Kaspar and Landolt (2016) have vividly portrayed their own flirtatious and sexual encounters during the fieldwork process. These authors link these sexual experiences to knowledge-making in fieldwork, with Kaspar and Landolt (2016, 108) saying, “even apparently innocuous sexualisations have a considerable effect on the way gender and sexuality are negotiated during the research encounter, and thus on the collection of data.” Walby (2010) and Jackman (2010) argue that for queer scholars in particular, the concept of objective, de-sexualized ethnographic fieldwork is even more of a fantasy. Jackman (2010, 120) critiques the presumption that fieldwork demands “muted sexuality” as its “point of origin” and highlights Lewin and Leap’s (1996) *Out in the Field* and Blackwood’s (1998) “Tombois in West Sumatra” as examples of literature that resist that demand. These texts illustrate how romantic entanglements and erotic dynamics can enrich the complexity of one’s research encounters and interpretations.

On the one hand, then, consensual eroticism needs further consideration when discussing methods and epistemology in fieldwork. Separately, an expanding number of scholars have written on the prevalence of sexual violence in fieldwork. Some women, like Eva Moreno (1995; writing under a pseudonym) and Mahmood (2008) relate their experiences of victimization and survivorship through sexual assault and rape (see also Berry et al. 2017; Ross 2015). Rather than seeing these as isolated incidents, discussions over the last few years have increasingly characterized these accounts as rare glimpses into a widespread reality for fieldworkers. Indeed, the Survey of Academic Field Experiences (SAFE), reporting on fieldworkers’ experiences across 32 disciplines, revealed that 64 percent of survey respondents had experienced sexual harassment and 21.7 percent had experienced sexual assault in the field (Clancy et al. 2014, 4).

Archaeologists have begun taking account of the ubiquity of sexual violence in the field, with a number of surveys finding that the majority of respondents have experienced unwanted sexual remarks or contact (Meyers et al. 2018; Muckle 2014; Radde 2018; VanDerwarker et al. 2018; Voss 2021b). Voss (2021b, 245) states that “archaeologists experience harassment and assault at epidemic rates.” Across studies, women are disproportionately overrepresented as the targets of sexual assault and harassment in the field.

Some feminist archaeologists have linked this prevalence to the culture of much archaeological fieldwork. Voss (2021b, 250) argues that “the fight against harassment in archaeology has deep roots stretching back to the founding of the discipline.” Moser (2007, 259) says that archaeology’s disciplinary culture “expresses a gender regime that valorizes everything connected with the active (and actively) heterosexual male, or perhaps more specifically, everything connected with a certain type of masculinity.” Tomášková (2007, 264) remarks that archaeology’s fieldwork practices have so far “eluded feminist influences.”

Recent work points to specific practices that can create hostile environments on archaeological projects. Cobb and Croucher (2016) note, in particular, the emphasis on drinking in the evenings, which is common on many excavations (see also Porter 2010), as well as mixed-gender sleeping arrangements on excavations. (At the same time, it is worth noting that gender-segregated sleeping arrangements often serve to reinforce heteronormativity and the gender binary, assuming same-sex spaces are asexual spaces, and creating unsafety for trans and nonbinary team members.) Nelson et al. (2017) note that at many fieldsites, researchers behave as if what happens in the field stays in the field—that there is a strict divide between the field and one’s home. These practices and sentiments contribute to the culture of performative informality during archaeological fieldwork that Leighton (2020) highlights. Leighton maintains that this culture permits harassment and violence and ultimately underpins the attrition of women and other underrepresented groups from archaeology.

Of course, over the past few decades there have been important movements fighting against this exclusionary culture, pushing to protect women (Fulkerson and Tushingam 2019; Nelson, Nelson, and Wylie 1994; Overholtzer and Jalbert 2021), people of color (Blakey 2020; Brunache et al. 2021; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Flewellen et al. 2021; Nicholas 2016), queer researchers (Rutecki and Blackmore 2016), disabled archaeologists (Clarke and Phillips 2012; Kajda, Michalik, and Kobiałka 2015; Phillips et al. 2012), and members of other marginalized communities (Heath-Stout and Hannigan 2020; MacDonald and Kolhatkar 2021). These movements have had clear effects, creating advocacy and affinity spaces

like the Society of Black Archaeologists and the Disabled Archaeologists Network. In the United States, more women than men have completed their PhDs in archaeology every year since 1992 (Speakman et al. 2018),¹ and archaeology in Europe broadly exhibits gender parity (Lazar et al. 2014). But activism remains necessary because of the persistence of harmful, heteronormative, and white hegemonic excavation culture.²

There exists, therefore, an expansive literature on sexuality, harm, and gender-based violence in fieldwork. Much of this analysis and advice postdates the conclusion of the archaeological project at the heart of the legend of the locked doors. But members of the Bedul community continue to retell the legend because archaeological excavations will always be shaped by relations of gender, sexuality, and power. The legend remains relevant—to archaeologists coming to work in Petra and to members of the Bedouin community who might become involved in a project. In order to understand the lesson of the legend of the locked doors, I examine these themes as they were lived and experienced.

REGARDING BODIES AND INTIMACIES ON A DIG IN PETRA

In discussing the particulars of the project at the center of the legend, I do not want to convey the impression that the dynamics on this project are idiosyncratic or uniquely sexually charged. On the contrary, I hope that fieldworkers reading this piece recognize aspects of it in their own experience. I know I have. On nearly every archaeological project I have participated in, I have been explicitly warned against inviting sexual attack from local community members. Meanwhile, the cultures of these same projects have often perpetuated an overemphasis on sensuality and (hetero)sexuality through jokes, parties, and sometimes simply the intimacy of living and working so closely together.

A word on anonymity: I struggled with whether and how to possibly hide the identity of the project director named in the legend. I refer to the legend of the locked doors as just that—a legend—because I do not and cannot know if it is true. In fact, I spoke to several student members who participated in the project at different times, and they said they did not recall this happening in the way the legend described. As such, I do not want to be misunderstood as sharing gossip as fact or attacking anyone's character.

Investigating the legend, however, led me to a number of details and published materials that would necessarily reveal which project I would be discussing. I could no longer, practically, discuss this story without making clear its context. Furthermore, as Schmerler and Steffen (2018) suggest, anonymity in discussions of sexual violence is often used to depersonalize accounts, delegitimize victims' stories, and fail to hold accountable systems and structures. Stories that could have happened anywhere, at any time, make it feel less urgent to address the threat of sexual violence. Still, I have changed the names of all Bedouin interviewees and student project members involved in Philip Hammond's long-running American Expedition to Petra (AEP), which ran from 1961 to 2005. I interviewed approximately 150 former excavation workers from the project, hired from the local Bedouin and *fellahin*³ communities living around Petra. They were the ones who told me the legend of the locked doors.

I focused on this project due to its long duration and its extensive and rich body of documentation and because the AEP was set up similarly to other projects in Petra, in Jordan, and in the Middle East region. Archaeological work has been ongoing in Petra since the 1920s, with numerous excavations led by foreigners and Jordanians uncovering buildings, monuments, and archaeological assemblages throughout the region. Most foreign archaeologists who have worked in Petra and the broader Middle East have hired members of the communities inhabiting the area (predominantly men) to carry out the physical labor of the project, as well as frequently renting local accommodations and hiring additional community members (mostly women) for domestic work (Mickel 2021).

Over the 44 years of the AEP, I estimate that Hammond hired more than 300 different Jordanian individuals from nearby communities. These were mostly men, though many were boys, some as young as nine years old. There was also a small group of women who worked for the project by washing pottery, doing laundry, cooking, and cleaning the camp. The 20–40 boys and men Hammond hired each season primarily worked on-site, operating the picks, wheelbarrows, and sieves, as well as carting soil away in *goofahs* (rubber buckets). Most local laborers only worked for a few seasons—or even just a single summer—but some returned to the project year after year. The project, for instance, only changed foremen once over the decades. The former site workers who told me the legend of the locked doors had worked on the project in years spanning the lifetime of this long-running project, from the 1970s to the 2000s.

Meanwhile, Hammond brought colleagues, graduate students, and undergraduates from outside Jordan to supervise and work on the excavation—usually between 12 and 20 each season. These individuals came mostly from the University of Utah, where Hammond was a faculty member, but also included scholars from other universities and some unaffiliated volunteers. According to the site workers I interviewed, many of the foreign team members were Mormon—which is difficult to verify but plausible, given the number of team members from both the University of Utah and Brigham Young University. While Hammond did not publish comprehensive yearly team lists, the notebooks used for recording by site supervisors provide a partial picture of who those supervisors were. They were predominantly American, and almost all white, with only a few exceptions. Most were graduate students. Men outnumbered women by a 3:2 ratio. The makeup of the foreign team overall was probably similar to that of the site supervisors, as all foreign team members were recruited through the same channels, though the students who weren't supervising would be younger on average than the supervisors. The women in the legend of the locked doors would have been mostly in their mid-20s, with the youngest being 18 or 19 and the oldest in their thirties.

The relationships between site workers and foreign teams involve cultural exchange, labor politics, and, fundamentally, interactions of bodies. Archaeological excavation is physical work, and it often entails digging in close proximity to others. Project directors manage the arrangement of

bodies on a site by assigning particular individuals to specific locations, determining who will work near to one another and the tasks in which they will be engaged. Archaeological project directors also organize meals for the team, determining when, what, and how much will be available for team members to eat. Project management in archaeology necessitates decision-making about the physical needs and sensory experiences—as well as the on-site placement—of human bodies.

Excavation directors are not alone in noticing and considering the appearance and performance of the bodies around them. When I asked former site workers what they remembered about the AEP, many of them began by describing Hammond physically. They referenced his stature and how he visibly transformed as he aged. I heard multiple times about his war wounds; numerous former site workers described his body as scarred and “filled with lead.” Bodies are illuminated by the physical demands and activities of an archaeological excavation.

On the AEP, Hammond directed students and research staff to wear khaki uniforms (Hammond 1976, 4).⁴ While the AEP is similar in many ways to other contemporaneous excavations, this practice does stand out as distinctive; even Hammond’s colleagues have described the uniform requirement as unique and memorable (Chadwick 2009). Still, this policy indicates how an archaeological project director supervises, manages, and commands the bodies of those on an excavation. Indeed, many archaeological projects have regulations about what types of shoes, trousers, and sleeves that excavators are allowed to wear. These decisions may be justified for safety reasons, to protect from injuries and the sun. In fact, when I asked former site workers why Hammond instituted the khaki uniforms, they explained that this clothing—in addition to hiding dirt and stains—would protect the students from snakes and scorpions.

But dress codes, in archaeology and elsewhere, also speak to expectations of professionalism and modesty. Hammond, himself a veteran of World War II, ran his excavation like a military unit. Colleagues who visited his excavations told me that the students had ranks, which were marked on their uniforms, and responded to drill commands (i.e., “attention!” and “at ease”). His site handbook requires that “the director is to be followed, not led, anywhere” and he “has precedence at dinner seating/serving” (Hammond 1976, 5; emphasis in original). The uniforms that AEP students wore reflected the culture of the excavation and the definition of appropriate conduct in this context. Likewise, dress codes that require excavators to cover shoulders, knees, or chests—in addition to encouraging safe behavior—suggest expectations around desire and restraint.

Even through the strictest policies on dress, fieldworkers continue to desire and be desired. Many of the site workers I interviewed wistfully recalled falling in love with some of the American students. One man, Hamdan,⁵ remembered one woman in particular who would come to his father’s shop after digging ended for the day to drink Pepsi and relax. He told me the story of how she taught him grammatical tenses in English and demonstrated: “Take, took, taken! Shake, shook, shaken!” He laughed, recalling how she was always dancing, how she would share her headphones with him—putting one side to his ear and one to hers so they could both hear the music. He remembered, too, her uniform, and also that she was very pretty. Hamdan, though, was too shy to act on his feelings at the time.

Others were less cautious. “Lots of Bedouins fall in love with students from excavations,” one man told me casually, going on to describe the wedding of a Bedouin man and a German student who had met on a different excavation in Petra. I even interviewed two men who had met their own ex-wives on archaeological projects. Many interviewees told me the story of one American student on the AEP excavation who fell in love with one of the Bedouin site workers and ultimately married him, celebrating the wedding across three nights with *mansaf*⁶ and dancing in Amman. The couple lived in Amman for a while and had two children together before they divorced and she moved back to the United States.

Hammond’s own wife, Lin, was “his companion in exploration and excavation at Petra,” according to Chadwick’s (2009) memoriam of Hammond. She accompanied him to the field on many seasons, and both site workers and Hammond’s former students report that Hammond brought others to the field with whom he had romantic relationships before his marriage to Lin. This was not necessarily a common practice; most married team members left their spouses at home. I can only find one other person—a PhD student at the time—who appears to have brought their spouse on the AEP. Still, site workers who worked on the project in the 1970s and 1980s remembered other romantic relationships between foreign team members, especially students. Importantly, then, “dig romances” on the AEP were not only between Bedouin site workers and American students; American project members, including Hammond himself, experienced attraction and intimacy with one another.

But while some types of romantic and sexual connection were permitted on the AEP, others were not. With a team made up of practicing Muslims and presumed Mormons, on a project in southern Jordan starting in the 1970s, queer relationships were never a topic for open conversation. Although homosexuality was decriminalized in Jordan in 1952, most Jordanians today still do not view homosexuality as moral or acceptable, and it was not long ago that the same was true of the United States (BBC News 2019; Bowman 2020). This is not to say that queer attraction or relationships never blossomed on the AEP, but any queer relationships were discreet enough (and perhaps remain taboo enough) that none of the Jordanian or American alumni of the project I interviewed ever alluded to queer romance as a possibility.

Other sexual interactions were explicitly forbidden in writing, codified in the site handbook outlining rules and expectations for excavation participants, which was used each year. Section A10 is the section concerning sex, and it says “None publicly (i.e., hotel etc). None which will embarrass AEP. None with stupidity!” It also says “None with nationals,” specifically prohibiting sexual contact with Jordanians—Bedouin or fellahin—but leaving open the possibility of smart, seemly, private sex with fellow non-Jordanians (Hammond 1976, 5; emphasis in original).

On the AEP—as on other archaeological excavations in Petra and elsewhere—bodies sweated, sunburned, and sifted. Meanwhile, the project director imposed rules and restrictions on the bodies of the Jordanian and foreign team members meant to protect them as well as the integrity of the project. Despite all of these controls, however—and perhaps in part because of them—bodies desired as they dug, and romances sparked between team members.

Understanding this helps to unlock some aspects of the legend of the locked doors and the sneaking students. The locked doors would be another mode of controlling the movement and placement of bodies. The attempt to restrict sexuality is nothing new, either on the AEP or in archaeology more generally. Still unclear, though, is why the story says that only the women were locked in—and why the hero of the story, when told by Bedouin today, is the person who unlocks the door to let the women out and keeps their secret. To understand all of this, it is necessary to examine the history of how Arab and Muslim masculinity has been understood and constructed through European and American media and scholarship. The legend of the locked doors does not take place in a vacuum; it emerges out of long and intersecting histories of Orientalism, race, and sexuality.

THE THREAT OF MUSLIM MASCULINITY

In advocating for a more reflexive approach to the erotics of academic fieldwork, Cupples (2002, 384) recognizes that when white researchers from wealthy nations conduct fieldwork in the so-called Third World, these researchers may inadvertently be influenced by “the myth of third world sexual liberalism” in which (post)colonial subjects and populations of the Global South are seen as shameless and insatiable (see also Stoler 1995). Scholarship on Orientalism and sexuality traces such a through line in Euro-American literature, media, and scholarship, which has framed Muslim and Arab men⁷ as hypersexual and even predatory. In Arjana’s (2015, 3) words, “sexual imagery has been an integral part of Western discourse about Muslims from the beginning,” depicting Muslims as “aggressive, overly sexual, and violent.” Arjana finds this imagery in colonial travelers’ accounts describing Muslim men’s massive penises, in stories of the Prophet Muhammed’s tireless sexual energy, in Hollywood films with sheikhs who kidnap and rape, and in contemporary news treatments of members of al-Qaeda and the Taliban. It is this image that drove European sex tourism to the Middle East during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—to witness and experience this thrillingly brutal sexual environment for themselves (Massad 2008, 11–12). Even today, many European women travel to the Sinai in response to marketing literature depicting Bedouin men as sexually available and hypermasculine (Jacobs 2009).

Anxieties around Muslim and Arab masculinities take on a particular shape when it comes to Bedouins in Jordan. When the region became a British protectorate in 1921, the British administration became concerned with “civilizing the ‘wild’ Bedouins” (Massad 2001, 147). British officer Lieutenant-General Sir John Bagot Glubb was tasked with creating the Desert Patrol, a military division made up of Bedouins, and a project that was as much about taming the Bedouins as it was about creating a model for Jordanian masculinity. As Massad states,

Glubb’s project entailed molding the Bedouin’s body and mind into something new. The new Bedouin came to possess a new epistemology. But equally important was his possession of a new body, which Glubb trained, fed, treated, educated, and dressed. This new military man was to become the icon and the symbol of the emergent Jordanian nation. His body was to become the national body. (117)

Glubb designed uniforms to embody this national masculinity, and in recruiting Bedouins to join the service, emphasized how much attention they would receive from women once they enlisted (120). The specter of Arab hypermasculinity informed British colonial policy such that the administration created an entire military apparatus to subdue the threat, thereby affirming the archetype.

Since the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan’s independence in 1946, the concept of Muslim hypermasculinity has been wrapped into the project of state creation. Massad argues that the Jordanian government used the army to curate and uplift a vision of nationalist masculinity, which had effects on even the most quotidian details of everyday life—down to the way that men speak. Concurrent with an expansion of the army’s role in Jordanian life and popular culture, Jordanian men began pronouncing the letter *qaf* as “ga,” rather than the glottal stop used by urban women. The production of an independently Jordanian national masculine ideal continued to frame the archetypical Bedouin man as the paradigm.

Hughes’s (2017) contemporary ethnographic research further demonstrates the ways in which myths about Muslim men’s unchecked masculinity is reincarnated within Jordan. He offers an account of trainings offered by the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Chastity Society to help Muslim men work to “tame specific forms of excessive masculinity” (268). In a training he describes, a doctor tells a story of a man from the Jordan Valley who tried to consummate his marriage and accidentally killed his newlywed with the force by which he entered her (274). The training Hughes attended was meant to help men practice virtuous restraint and avoid an accident like this.

While potent masculinity is in many instances embraced by Jordanian and Arab men, foreigners continue to revivify the caricature of the Muslim monster as well. An account on Instagram called *shakira_the_donkey* has over 900 posts and nearly 11,000 followers. The account is run by the European ex-girlfriend of a Bedouin man from Petra. Each post warns potential women tourists about the Bedouin men (Figure 1). Sometimes accompanied with men’s full names and photographs, the account tells women that Bedouin men only want them for sex and money and breaks down the steps by which the men attract, and ultimately either scam or sexually assault, foreign women visiting Petra. *Shakira_the_donkey* calls men in Petra “practiced seducers,” describes their “kohl-rimmed eyes,” and reminds followers that “it’s sex they want”—breathing new life into centuries-old tropes about Muslim men’s appetites and their appeal. At the same time that these posts warn women about the dangers of the Bedouin in Petra, they romanticize that danger, portraying the Bedouin as irresistibly beguiling. The exaggeration of Arab, Muslim, and especially Bedouin manliness

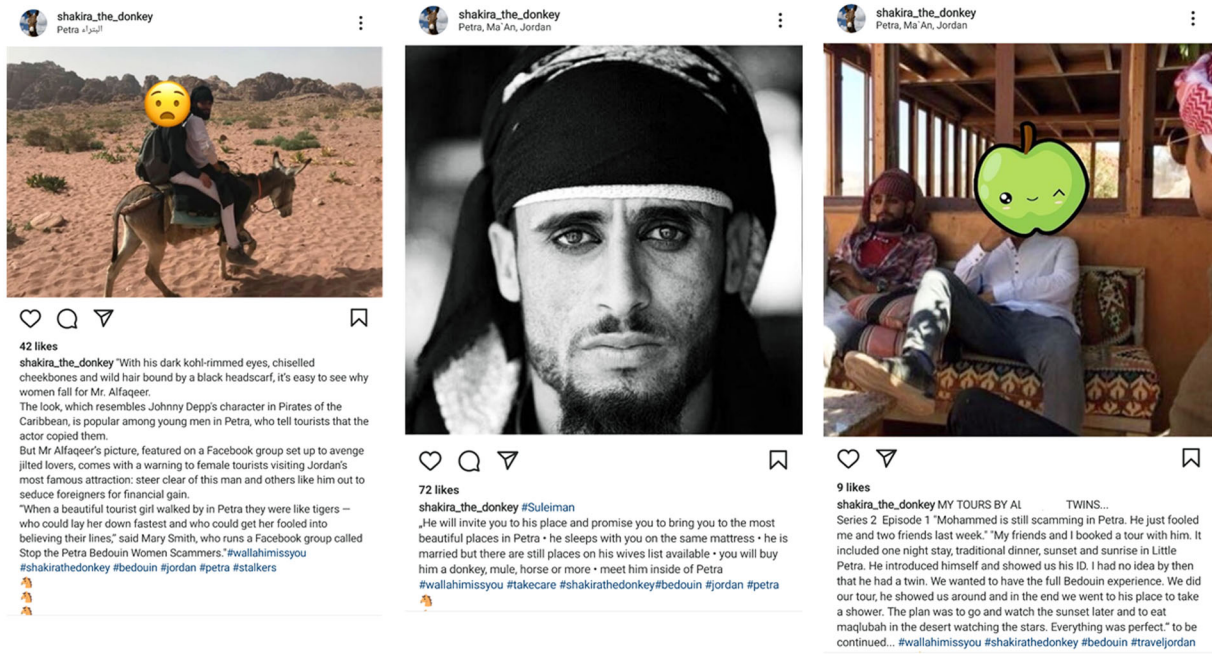


FIGURE 1 Screenshots from the shakira_the_donkey Instagram account, which warn European and American women travelers about “romance scams” in Petra, using seductive language to describe the Bedouin men. [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

continues into the present; it is not simply the province of colonial history. Anxieties about the Orient and white womanhood are sustained through art and literature, scholarship, state-making, and now social media.

The men I met during my research would almost certainly object to any implication that they are less than masculine; I do not mean to suggest this, either. In reality, masculinities are complex and multifaceted in the Middle East, as they are everywhere. Ethnographic and sociological work on Muslim, Arab, and Jordanian gender has tended to center on women, but studies focusing on men have illustrated the multidimensionality of Muslim masculinities. Alsawalqa, Alrawashdeh, and Hasan's (2021) recent survey asked respondents to evaluate the degree to which they agreed with elements of the “Man Box,” a collection of hypermasculine stereotypes. Only 40.4 percent of respondents agreed with the statement that “A ‘real man’ would never say no to sex,” and even fewer—30.5 percent—believed that “A ‘real man’ should have as many sexual partners as he can” (5).

In Hughes's (2017, 277) account of the Chastity Society training, the same doctor who told the story of the man who killed his bride through forceful intercourse also reminded attendees to “Give [your wife] her right. She is your partner in all things—even sexual matters. One way or the other it's important she's happy.” Inhorn's (2012) ethnography of Arab men in couples seeking fertility treatments similarly illustrates that

Many men do not want to be perceived as domineering patriarchs; they do not view fatherhood as the be-all and end-all of masculinity; they value conjugal intimacy and privacy, sometimes at the expense of larger familial commitments; and they often adore their wives as friends and lovers. (2)

Inhorn demonstrates how persisting myths of Arab men as dangerously, voraciously lustful make them seem uninterested in women's sexual well-being and incapable of romantic love, when in fact they are neither. Inhorn advocates for greater empirical evidence about the different attitudes toward love, marriage, and sex that Arab and Muslim men possess. Adely's and Nasser El-Dine's studies of Jordanians' views on romance offer examples of more nuanced analysis, showing how young urbanite men—and women—emphasize *insijam* (compatibility) in choosing a marriage partner (Adely 2016) and how caring actions are central to masculine expressions of love for young Ammani men (Nasser El-Dine 2018).

Empirical, in-depth studies of Muslim men's sexuality have tended to examine urban communities. Al-Shdayfat and Green (2012) recount their difficulties in administering a questionnaire to young Jordanian Bedouins about their attitudes toward sex within and outside of marriage. While they remind that “Islam is generally positive about sex, viewing it as a source of pleasure for both partners,” it remains taboo in Jordan to have open conversations about sexual behaviors and attitudes in mixed-gender groups, particularly in more rural, conservative communities (102). As a result, al-Shdayfat and Green could not get permission to administer the questionnaire. Gay and queer sexuality in Jordan can be even more difficult to study, given the power and prevalence of homophobic discourse in the country, which invokes moral, religious, legal, scientific, and public health motivations for limiting queer rights and banning queer expression (El-Sharif 2017; Mahadeen 2021). When 93 percent of Jordanians still believe

that society should not accept homosexuality, queer love and sex remain difficult to study or even discuss in many settings within Jordan (BBC News 2019).⁸

With this in mind, it is impossible to say for certain what each Bedouin site worker on the AEP thought or felt about sexuality. In my interviews, the topic mostly came up coyly, through soft remembrances of flirtatious could-have-beens or otherwise in staunch denial that they would have ever touched any of the women on the project. Surely, the men working on the project over the years held a multitude of—shifting—perspectives, as would have the foreign participants in the project. Still, the myth of Muslim hypermasculinity remains ubiquitous and powerful. Understanding this suggests why the women's bedroom at the AEP was locked at night and why the unlocker is set up to be the hero of the story.

UNLOCKING THE DOOR

Local archaeological site workers in the Middle East have typically been hired for their physical capabilities—their strength and their stamina. The excavation relies on their ability to move large stones and transport sizeable volumes of soil. This is a long-standing dynamic in the discipline (Mickel 2021). The infrequent mentions of site workers in archaeological memoirs, excavation reports, and field manuals tend to acknowledge their physical prowess. Much, moreover, has been written about the perceived divide between the manual versus analytical activities of archaeological excavation, despite the intellectual demands of deciding where and how to dig and the manual activities associated with identifying and assessing artifacts (Berggren and Hodder 2003; Lucas 2001; Schlanger 2010; Shanks and McGuire 1996). Indeed, as I have discussed elsewhere, site workers in Petra have even suffered repercussions for transgressing this boundary and asserting their intellectual contributions to the research process (Mickel 2021).

These site workers are thus sorted into the imagined bodily and physical category of what makes up an excavation—an arena already fraught with the romantic mystique of fieldwork. Strong bodies become sexualized bodies. Locally hired site workers are recruited to be physical, to be strong, to strain and to sweat. They are hired to embody qualities traditionally associated with masculinity, but not a white masculinity. Rather, their role on the project exists within the framework of a masculinity that has been contorted, flattened, and inflated by Orientalist scholars, artists, and colonial administrators. Through travel memoirs and paintings, in films and in policy, Arab and Muslim men have been depicted and treated as wildly, uncontrollably licentious—as well as ruggedly irresistible to women.

As I have stated, I do not know if young women were actually locked in their bedrooms on the AEP or on any other project. While I could find many Bedouin individuals who claimed to have themselves unlocked the door, I could not find any alumnae of the AEP who would confirm they were locked in. In fact, three of the American women who had participated in the AEP laughed when I brought the story up to them. “We would never have allowed that to happen,” one woman told me, before going on to admit that she had been a bit older—in her early thirties—when she was on the project, and perhaps younger participants would not have felt comfortable protesting. All of the women I spoke to left open the possibility that the bedroom door was locked in years other than the ones they were on the AEP, acknowledging that it wasn't completely unthinkable given the strict policies and expectations on the project, especially those governing women's comportment. Still, it is significant that the women who are the very subjects of the story resist the specific ways in which it makes them passive victims, locked inside a bedroom and waiting to be freed. They derided the idea that they would have “allowed” themselves to be trapped like this, that decisions about their bodies and their free movement would have been entirely in the hands of others.

Examining this story—as a story—is not very instructive about actual practices used on excavations to manage risk and reduce violence. It tells nothing about whether or not site workers were interested in the women on the field project, or vice versa, and says even less about whether such protection was necessary or effective. But whether or not the story is accurate, it has a vibrant life in the contemporary community of Petra. Former site workers and their family members and friends told me this story over and over again, smiling as they reached the twist where a Bedouin hired to take care of the dig house let the women out of the room at night, then locked them back in when they returned.

Even as exaggeration or myth, the act of retelling the story is itself a mode of resistance. It pushes back against stereotypes about Muslim men, and indeed about Muslim communities in general; a crucial part of the story's wink is the protagonist locking the women back in their bedroom, thereby keeping their secret. This is not the act of someone bound by extreme conservatism or sexual repression. The unlocker understands young people's desires for friendship, even flirtation or romantic connection. It is worth noting that two of the women who took responsibility for having unlocked the doors were grandmothers—*sittat*⁹ in every sense of the word. These women, dressed in black *abaya*,¹⁰ with hands creased after years of holding, dressing, and comforting children, might be assumed—because of their age, their religion, or their dress—to hold conservative or even judgmental views about the women sneaking out at night. In telling me this story, they challenged any such easy assumption about their views on sexuality.

At the same time, in claiming agency for some, the story erases the agency of others. Not only are the women inside the bedroom rendered passive victims, but queer identities do not even figure into the storyscape of this narrative. The legend of the locked doors presumes only heterosexual attraction—only women who were interested in meeting Bedouin men, and vice versa. Besides this, the story does little to challenge the idea that

Arab and Bedouin men are exceptionally desirable; it only unsettles the perception that these men are exceptionally dangerous. After all, it is not the white male students that the women are supposedly sneaking out of their bedroom to meet.

But the legend is just that—a legend—and not a historical investigation. The power dynamics rewritten in the story imagine some liberatory possibilities but not others: the white women are freed, but not by their own doing; the Bedouin men may be attractive and even hypermasculine, but not monstrous; romance and desire spring up, but only if heteronormative and rather chaste. The story, after all, speaks to expectations and ideals about gender and sexuality within the Bedouin community as much as it challenges Orientalist stereotypes. The Bedouin narrators do not exist in a power-neutral space where the only erasure or marginalization is introduced from the outside, and the subject positions produced through the retelling of the story are not a simple dyad of colonized versus oppressor. The legend of the locked doors reifies some rules and tropes of race, gender, and sexuality as much as it defies others.

CONCLUSION

In writing this piece, I do not want to imply that sexual violence is never carried out by members of the host communities in the places archaeologists work. On the contrary, I can still hear the conference room echoes of an especially horrifying account shared anonymously in the #MeToo in Archaeology session organized at the 2019 SAA annual meeting. In the story, the narrator related graphically their experience of sexual violence. Their attacker was a member of the local community where their project took place. In the SAFE survey, around 25 percent of women who experienced sexual assault said that the perpetrator was a local community member (though the majority of sexual violence was carried out by supervisors and peers; Clancy et al. 2014, 6).

Instead, I hope to contribute to ongoing discussions about how to end sexual violence, full stop, in archaeology. These efforts are not served by continuing to play into long-running racial and ethnic stereotypes about the essential character of some people. Not students, not women—no one, in fact—is made safer when policies for reducing harm are made on the basis of colonial and Orientalist tropes, whether that policy is a locked door or a strongly worded warning.

I also have not written this piece to single out one particular project. On the contrary, my own experience in Middle Eastern archaeology speaks to the ongoing reconstitution of this threat. Foreign project directors in the region (usually white, usually men) have told me firmly that I need to be careful living and speaking with Bedouins and to avoid accidentally suggesting I have an interest in a Bedouin man. Yet, these same project leaders have encouraged me to engage in romantic or sexual relationships with American men on the team—my peers, or even the leaders themselves. The same individuals, then, seem to consider some heterosexual relationships appropriate or even desirable while also imagining that a relationship with a Bedouin man would be based on misunderstanding or even violence.

Furthermore, warnings made on the basis of Bedouins' unbridled sexuality and hypermasculinity do not have their intended effect. Not only do they perpetuate harmful and long-standing stereotypes, but such characterizations cast Arab men as alluring in their danger, a tempting threat. After all, the "sheikh romance" genre, in which (usually) white women are kidnapped into a harem, continues to grow in popularity within the United States (Jarmakani 2015). This genre of media generates titillation from the fantasy of being taken by and then taming an Arab man. The peril is also the pleasure. Archaeological practice can perpetuate this trope through the everyday management of fieldwork. Women excavators who are banned, barred, or berated for getting too close to Arab men may be hearing the need for caution, but the stereotype of Arab danger is historically entwined with the excitement of a forbidden desert romance. Such racialized warnings and policies do harm all around.

Some warnings and policies designed to protect against sexual violence very much have a place in archaeological fieldwork. As stories of assault and harassment continue to proliferate, it is clear that action is urgently needed. In Nelson et al.'s (2017) study, interviewees linked their experiences of misconduct in the field to team cultures of ambiguous rules and consequences. Nelson et al. state with no uncertainty that "fieldsites ought to be accorded the same considerations and expectations of professional conduct as other workspaces" (711). This sentiment is echoed by Leighton's (2020) critique of performative informality in archaeology. Leighton points out how even seemingly positive cultures of fun and friendship, particularly on fieldsites, can serve to mask inequity as well as outright abuse. Leighton rightly refers to archaeology as a "profession," evoking tension with the unprofessional atmosphere of many archaeological research spaces (453). Muckle (2014) offers specific strategies for combating sexual harassment and assault in field schools (including careful participant selection, instituting zero-tolerance policies for harassment and assault, and creating multiple clear avenues for reporting offenders), and in the wake of the #MeToo movement, a range of authors have created comprehensive, evidence-based guides to concrete actions for protecting members of field projects from violence and misconduct (Colaninno et al. 2020; Fieldwork Initiative 2022; Hanes and Walters, n.d.; Meyers et al. 2018; Voss 2021a). Examples of effective policies include having clear codes of conduct with understandable and easily navigable processes for reporting and adjudication. Equally important is to build reporting and accountability around trauma-informed care for survivors, prioritizing the well-being and safety of those who are most vulnerable. The excellent work cited here makes clear that sexual violence is not in any way a necessary evil associated with doing fieldwork; on the contrary, there are systems and procedures that can effect a safer archaeology.

I join such calls for increased professionalization and transparency in archaeology. Critiques of the permissiveness that has characterized so much fieldwork understand that some kinds of romantic and sexual relationships within archaeology have always been considered morally appropriate,

even desirable. Others, however, have been decried in ways that draw on dangerous and demeaning stereotypes about particular communities. A safer archaeology will not come from reifying racialized moral categories predicated on the vulnerability of white femininity and the danger of Muslim hypermasculinity. Safety, inclusivity, and equity will instead require a careful consideration of the role of power, race, and gender in archaeology and the cultures that we perpetuate in our research spaces.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Funding for the fieldwork presented in this piece was provided through generous grants from the US Fulbright Program, the Stanford Archaeology Center, the Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies at Stanford University, and the Biblical Archaeology Society. I wrote and re-wrote and re-thought and re-wrote the words on these pages over the course of many years, most recently while the recipient of a national fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities as well as a fellowship from the American Center of Research. I presented a preliminary version of this analysis at the 2018 Gender and Rural Lives Symposium, hosted by the Lehigh University-United Nations Partnership and the Lehigh University Center for Gender Equity. In addition, ADVANCE and the Humanities Lab at Lehigh University provided space and time for writing and revising. I am grateful for the support offered by these many campus organizations, but also recognize that the opportunities that I have enjoyed are only possible because Lehigh University occupies the traditional, ancestral, and stolen land of Lenni Lenape people.

This paper was greatly improved by reviewers and colleagues—anonymous and otherwise—who provided advice and support on the piece at various stages. Thank you so much to Barb Voss, Eda Pepi, Megan Steffen, Melissa Scott, Morgen Chalmiers, and Angela Bell who all listened and offered necessary wisdom to make this manuscript more nuanced, thoughtful, and ethical. I am grateful as well to the three anonymous reviewers who pushed this piece to become, necessarily, more intersectional in its analysis. I hope they recognize their essential contributions on these pages. Any shortcomings, of course, remain my own.

Lastly, this paper would not have been possible without the people who have interceded and kept me safe at numerous points in my own archaeological career—those who listened, who believed, who warned, who offered hiding places, who paid to get me out, who offered their own testimony. Thank you, Starling Carter, Jon Irons, Morag Kersel, Elaine and Steve Mickel, Jenna Morton, Neil Norman, Elizabeth Osinga, Maria Elena Ronza, Cam Wesson, Betsy Wirtz. The only reason I have hope for a safer archaeology is because of all you have shown me about the ways we can and should show up for each other. I can envision an archaeology centered on care and protection because of what you have done for me.

ORCID

Allison Mickel  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3218-8939>

NOTES

- ¹In general, it is my citation practice to not cite known abusers. In this case, this large, coauthored study remains essential for tracking the demographics of our discipline, and the coauthors' work deserves recognition, so I have chosen to retain the citation. However, particularly given this paper's interest in advocating for greater precision in naming perpetrators of violence, it is essential to note that Robert ("Jeff") Speakman was banned from the Society for American Anthropology 2020 annual meeting as well as suspended from the University of Georgia campus following his violation of a temporary protective order filed by a Georgia graduate with whom he had had an intimate relationship.
- ²Women remain underrepresented in archaeology when it comes to academic hiring (Speakman et al. 2018), higher-paid subfields (Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; VanDerwarker et al. 2018), grant submissions (Goldstein et al. 2017), publications (Bardolph 2014; Heath-Stout 2020; Tushingham, Fulkerson, and Hill 2017), conference presentations (Bardolph and VanDerwarker 2016), and citations (Beaudry and White 1994; Hutson 2002).
- ³Literally meaning "farmer," but often used today to refer to families who historically farmed, much like "Bedouin" refers to communities who were historically nomadic pastoralists, even if they are not today.
- ⁴While the 1976 site handbook is cited here to give a specific page number, the text of the handbook was copied verbatim year to year into the 1980s. I could not find the 1990s site handbooks and so cannot confirm that this text remained through those years.
- ⁵The names of all site workers and AEP students have been changed.
- ⁶A dish made mainly of rice, meat, and yogurt, served at celebrations and other special occasions.
- ⁷While Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern are not interchangeable terms, Orientalist and popular portrayals of the men of all of these groups rarely distinguish between them (Shaheen 2014), characterizing these groups as broadly having the same unrestrained libido.
- ⁸But see El Feki (2019), who points to "green shoots of openness and tolerance" in Jordan and the broader Middle East, and Odgaard (2021) for an example of rich ethnography of queer Jordanian daily life.
- ⁹Translates to "woman" or "lady," but also, in some dialects of Arabic, as "grandmother."
- ¹⁰Full-length dresses, traditionally black in color.

REFERENCES CITED

- Adely, Fida. 2016. "A Different Kind of Love: Compatibility (Insijam) and Marriage in Jordan." *The Arab Studies Journal* 24(2): 102–27.
- Al-Shdayfat, Noha, and Gill Green. 2012. "Reflections on Sex Research among Young Bedouin in Jordan: Risks and Limitations." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 14(1): 101–11.
- Alsawalqa, Rula Odeh, Maissa Nasr Alrawashdeh, and Shahedul Hasan. 2021. "Understanding the Man Box: The Link between Gender Socialization and Domestic Violence in Jordan." *Heliyon* 7(10): e08264.
- Arjana, Sophia Rose. 2015. *Muslims in the Western Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bardolph, Dana. 2014. "A Critical Evaluation of Recent Gendered Publishing Trends in American Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 79(3): 522–40.
- Bardolph, Dana, and Amber VanDerwarker. 2016. "Sociopolitics in Southeastern Archaeology: The Role of Gender in Scholarly Authorship." *Southeastern Archaeology* 35(3): 175–93.
- BBC News. 2019. "The Arab World in Seven Charts: Are Arabs Turning Their Backs on Religion?" BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48703377>.
- Beaudry, Mary, and Jacquelyn White. 1994. "Cowgirls with the Blues? A Study of Women's Publication and the Citation of Women's Work in Historical Archaeology." In *Women in Archaeology*, edited by Cheryl Claassen, 138–58. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bell, Diane, Pat Caplan, and Wazir Jahan Karim, eds. 1993. *Gendered Fields: Women, Men and Ethnography*. London: Routledge.
- Berggren, Åsa, and Ian Hodder. 2003. "Social Practice, Method, and Some Problems of Field Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 68(3): 421–34.
- Berry, Maya, Claudia Chávez Argüelles, Shanya Cordis, Sarah Ihmoud, and Elizabeth Velásquez Estrada. 2017. "Toward a Fugitive Anthropology: Gender, Race, and Violence in the Field." *Cultural Anthropology* 32(4): 537–65.
- Blackwood, Evelyn. 1998. "Tombois in West Sumatra: Constructing Masculinity and Erotic Desire." *Cultural Anthropology* 13(4): 491–521.
- Blakey, Michael. 2020. "Archaeology under the Blinding Light of Race." *Current Anthropology* 61(S22): S183–97.
- Bowman, Karlyn. 2020. "The March of Public Opinion on LGBT Identity and Issues." *Forbes*, July 28. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bowmanmarsico/2020/07/28/the-march-of-public-opinion-on-lgbt-identity-and-issues/?sh=2477d852b099>.
- Brunache, Peggy, Benjamina Efuá Dadzie, Karen Goodlett, Laura Hampden, Amal Khreisheh, Chioma Vivian Ngonadi, Danika Parikh, and Jeannette Plummer Sires. 2021. "Contemporary Archaeology and Anti-Racism: A Manifesto from the European Society of Black and Allied Archaeologists." *European Journal of Archaeology* 24(3): 294–98.
- Cesara, Manda. 1982. *Reflections of a Woman Anthropologist: No Hiding Place*. New York: Academic Press.
- Chadwick, Jeffrey. 2009. "In Memoriam: Philip Hammond." *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 52:19–21.
- Clancy, Kathryn, Robin Nelson, Julienne Rutherford, and Katie Hinde. 2014. "Survey of Academic Field Experiences (SAFE): Trainees Report Harassment and Assault." *PloS One* 9(7): e102172.
- Clarke, Amanda, and Tim Phillips. 2012. "Archaeology for All? Inclusive Policies for Field Schools." In *Global Perspectives on Archaeological Field Schools: Constructions of Knowledge and Experience*, edited by Harold Mytum, 41–59. New York: Springer.
- Cobb, Hannah, and Karina Croucher. 2016. "Personal, Political, Pedagogic: Challenging the Binary Bind in Archaeological Teaching, Learning and Fieldwork." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23(3): 949–69.
- Colaninno, Carol, Shawn Lambert, Emily Beahm, and Carl Drexler. 2020. "Creating and Supporting a Harassment- and Assault-Free Field School." *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 8(2): 111–22.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip, Thomas Ferguson, Dorothy Lippert, Randall McGuire, George Nicholas, Joe Watkins, and Larry Zimmerman. 2010. "The Premise and Promise of Indigenous Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 75(2): 228–38.
- Cupples, Julie. 2002. "The Field as a Landscape of Desire: Sex and Sexuality in Geographical Fieldwork." *Area* 34(4): 382–90.
- Diprose, Gradon, Amanda Thomas, and Renee Rushton. 2013. "Desiring More: Complicating Understandings of Sexuality in Research Processes." *Area* 45(3): 292–98.
- El Feki, Shereen. 2019. "Talking about Sex no Longer so Taboo in the Arab World." BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48926282>.
- El-Sharif, Ahmad. 2017. "Addressing the Question of Homophobia in Jordanian Public Discourse." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature* 6(1): 47–65.
- Fieldwork Initiative. 2022. "The FIEST Training." Fieldwork Initiative website. <http://fieldworkinitiative.org/the-fiest-training/>.
- Flewellen, Ayana Omilade, Justin Dunnivant, Alicia Odewale, Alexandra Jones, Tsione Wolde-Michael, Zoë Crossland, and Maria Franklin. 2021. "'The Future of Archaeology Is Antiracist': Archaeology in the Time of Black Lives Matter." *American Antiquity* 86(2): 224–43.
- Fulkerson, Tiffany, and Shannon Tushingham. 2019. "Who Dominates the Discourses of the Past? Gender, Occupational Affiliation, and Multivocality in North American Archaeology Publishing." *American Antiquity* 84(3): 379–99.
- Goldstein, Lynne, Barbara Mills, Sarah Herr, Jo Burkholder, Leslie Aiello, and Christopher Thornton. 2017. *Society for American Archaeology Task Force on Gender Disparities in Archaeological Grant Submissions*. Washington, DC: Society for American Archaeology.
- Hammond, Philip. 1976. "American Expedition to Petra Excavation Handbook." Unpublished manual.
- Hanes, Amy, and Holly Walters. n.d. "A Long Journey Home: Supporting Students in the Field." MeToo Anthro. <https://metooanthro.files.wordpress.com/2018/10/supporting-students-in-the-field-seminar.docx>.
- Heath-Stout, Laura. 2020. "Who Writes about Archaeology? An Intersectional Study of Authorship in Archaeological Journals." *American Antiquity* 85(3): 407–26.
- Heath-Stout, Laura, and Elizabeth Hannigan. 2020. "Affording Archaeology: How Field School Costs Promote Exclusivity." *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 8(2): 123–33.
- Hughes, Geoffrey. 2017. "The Chastity Society: Disciplining Muslim Men." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 23(2): 267–84.
- Hutson, Scott. 2002. "Gendered Citation Practices in American Antiquity and Other Archaeology Journals." *American Antiquity* 67(2): 331–42.
- Inhorn, Marcia. 2012. *The New Arab Man*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jackman, Michael Connors. 2010. "The Trouble with Fieldwork: Queering Methodologies." In *Queer Methods and Methodologies: Intersecting Queer Theories and Social Science Research*, edited by Kath Browne and Catherine Nash, 113–28. London: Routledge.
- Jacobs, Jessica. 2009. "Have Sex Will Travel: Romantic 'Sex Tourism' and Women Negotiating Modernity in the Sinai." *Gender, Place & Culture* 16(1): 43–61.
- Jarmakani, Amira. 2015. *An Imperialist Love Story: Desert Romances and the War on Terror*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kajda, Kornelia, Tomasz Michalik, and Dawid Kobiałka. 2015. "Heritage for All—A Contribution to the Inclusion of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Archaeology: A Polish Perspective." *Current Swedish Archaeology* 23(1): 131–56.
- Kaspar, Heidi, and Sara Landolt. 2016. "Flirting in the Field: Shifting Positionalities and Power Relations in Innocuous Sexualisations of Research Encounters." *Gender, Place & Culture* 23(1): 107–19.
- Kulick, Don, and Margaret Wilson, eds. 2003. *Taboo: Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*. London: Routledge.
- Lazar, Irena, Tina Kompare, Heleen van Londen, and Tine Schenk. 2014. "The Archaeologist of the Future Is Likely to be a Woman: Age and Gender Patterns in European Archaeology." *Archaeologies* 10(3): 257–80.

- Leighton, Mary. 2020. "Myths of Meritocracy, Friendship, and Fun Work: Class and Gender in North American Academic Communities." *American Anthropologist* 122(3): 444–58.
- Lewin, Ellen, and William Leap, eds. 1996. *Out in the Field: Reflections of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lucas, Gavin. 2001. *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork: Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice*. London: Routledge.
- MacDonald, Ian, and Manek Kolhatkar. 2021. "An Experimental Organization of Precarious Professionals: The Two-Step Unionization of Québec Archaeologists." *Labour/Le Travail* 88(1): 27–51.
- Mahadeen, Ebtihal. 2021. "Queer Counterpublics and LGBTQ Pop-Activism in Jordan." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48(1): 78–93.
- Mahmood, Cynthia. 2008. "Anthropology from the Bones: A Memoir of Fieldwork, Survival, and Commitment." *Anthropology and Humanism* 33(1-2): 1–11.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1967. *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*. London: Routledge.
- Massad, Joseph. 2001. *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Massad, Joseph. 2008. *Desiring Arabs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meyers, Maureen, Elizabeth Horton, Edmond Boudreaux, Stephen Carmody, Alice Wright, and Victoria Dekle. 2018. "The Context and Consequences of Sexual Harassment in Southeastern Archaeology." *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 6(4): 275–87.
- Mickel, Allison. 2021. *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent: A History of Local Archaeological Knowledge and Labor*. Louisville: University Press of Colorado.
- Moreno, Eva. 1995. "Rape in the Field." In *Taboo: Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, edited by Don Kulick and Margaret Wilson, 219–50. London: Routledge.
- Moser, Stephanie. 2007. "On Disciplinary Culture: Archaeology as Fieldwork and Its Gendered Associations." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14(3): 235–63.
- Muckle, Robert. 2014. "On Sexual Harassment and Abuse in Archaeology." *SAA Archaeological Record* 14(5): 32–33.
- Nasser, El-Dine, S. (2018). "Love, Materiality, and Masculinity in Jordan." *Men and Masculinities*, 21(3): 423–442. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x17748174>
- Nelson, Margaret Cecile, Sarah Nelson, and Alison Wylie. 1994. *Equity Issues for Women in Archeology*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Nelson, Robin, Julienne Rutherford, Katie Hinde, and Kathryn Clancy. 2017. "Signaling Safety: Characterizing Fieldwork Experiences and Their Implications for Career Trajectories." *American Anthropologist* 119(4): 710–22.
- Newton, Esther. 1993. "My Best Informant's Dress: The Erotic Equation in Fieldwork." *Cultural Anthropology* 8(1): 3–23.
- Nicholas, George. 2016. *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*. New York: Routledge.
- Odgaard, Marie Rask Bjerre. 2021. "Contagious Heartaches: Relational Selfhood and Queer Care in Amman, Jordan." *Contemporary Islam* 15:187–99.
- Overholtzer, Lisa, and Catherine Jalbert. 2021. "A 'Leaky' Pipeline and Chilly Climate in Archaeology in Canada." *American Antiquity* 86(2): 261–82.
- Phillips, Tim, Roberta Gilchrist, Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman. 2012. "Inclusive, Accessible Archaeology: Enabling Persons with Disabilities." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, edited by Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman, 673–93. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Porter, Benjamin. 2010. "Dry Dig: Ethics and Alcohol in Middle Eastern Archaeological Practice." *The SAA Archaeological Record* 10(5): 7–11.
- Rabinow, Paul. 1977. *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Radde, Hugh. 2018. "Sexual Harassment among California Archaeologists: Results of the Gender Equity and Sexual Harassment Survey." *California Archaeology* 10(2): 231–55.
- Ross, Karen. 2015. "'No Sir, She Was Not a Fool in the Field': Gendered Risks and Sexual Violence in Immersed Cross-Cultural Fieldwork." *The Professional Geographer* 67(2): 180–6.
- Rutecki, Dawn, and Chelsea Blackmore. 2016. "Towards an Inclusive Queer Archaeology." *SAA Archaeological Record* 16:9–39.
- Schlanger, Nathan. 2010. "Manual and Intellectual Labour in Archaeology: Past and Present in Human Resource Management." In *Unquiet Past: Risk Society, Lived Cultural Heritage, Re-Designing Reflexivity*, edited by Stephanie Koerner and Ian Russell, 161–71. London: Routledge.
- Schmerler, Gil, and Megan Steffen. 2018. "The Disavowal of Henrietta Schmerler." *Anthropology News* 59(3): e73–78.
- Shaheen, Jack. 2014. *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. Third edition. Northampton: Olive Branch Press.
- Shanks, Michael, and Randall McGuire. 1996. "The Craft of Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 61(1): 75–88.
- Speakman, Robert, Carla Hadden, Matthew Colvin, Justin Cramb, K. C. Jones, Travis Jones, Corbin Kling, Isabelle Lulewicz, Katharine Napora, and Katherine Reinberger. 2018. "Choosing a Path to the Ancient World in a Modern Market: The Reality of Faculty Jobs in Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 83(1): 1–12.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Tomášková, Silvia. 2007. "Mapping a Future: Archaeology, Feminism, and Scientific Practice." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14(3): 264–84.
- Tushingam, Shannon, Tiffany Fulkerson, and Katheryn Hill. 2017. "The Peer Review Gap: A Longitudinal Case Study of Gendered Publishing and Occupational Patterns in a Female-Rich Discipline, Western North America (1974–2016)." *PloS One* 12(11): e0188403.
- VanDerwarker, Amber, Kaitlin Brown, Toni Gonzalez, and Hugh Radde. 2018. "The UCSB Gender Equity Project: Taking Stock of Mentorship, Equity, and Harassment in California Archaeology through Qualitative Survey Data." *California Archaeology* 10(2): 131–58.
- Voss, Barbara. 2021a. "Disrupting Cultures of Harassment in Archaeology: Social-Environmental and Trauma-Informed Approaches to Disciplinary Transformation." *American Antiquity* 86(3): 447–64.
- Voss, Barbara. 2021b. "Documenting Cultures of Harassment in Archaeology: A Review and Analysis of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Studies." *American Antiquity* 86(2): 244–60.
- Walby, Kevin. 2010. "Interviews as Encounters: Issues of Sexuality and Reflexivity When Men Interview Men about Commercial Same Sex Relations." *Qualitative Research* 10(6): 639–57.

How to cite this article: Mickel, Allison. 2023. "Legend of the locked doors: The sexualization of archaeological site workers in the Middle East." *American Anthropologist* 125: 77–88. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13802>