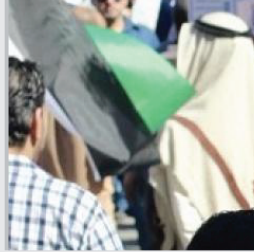


REPORT

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# REPORT Labor Protests in Jordan 2022



PREPARED BY:

Phenix Center for Economics & Informatics Studies  
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In Cooperation with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

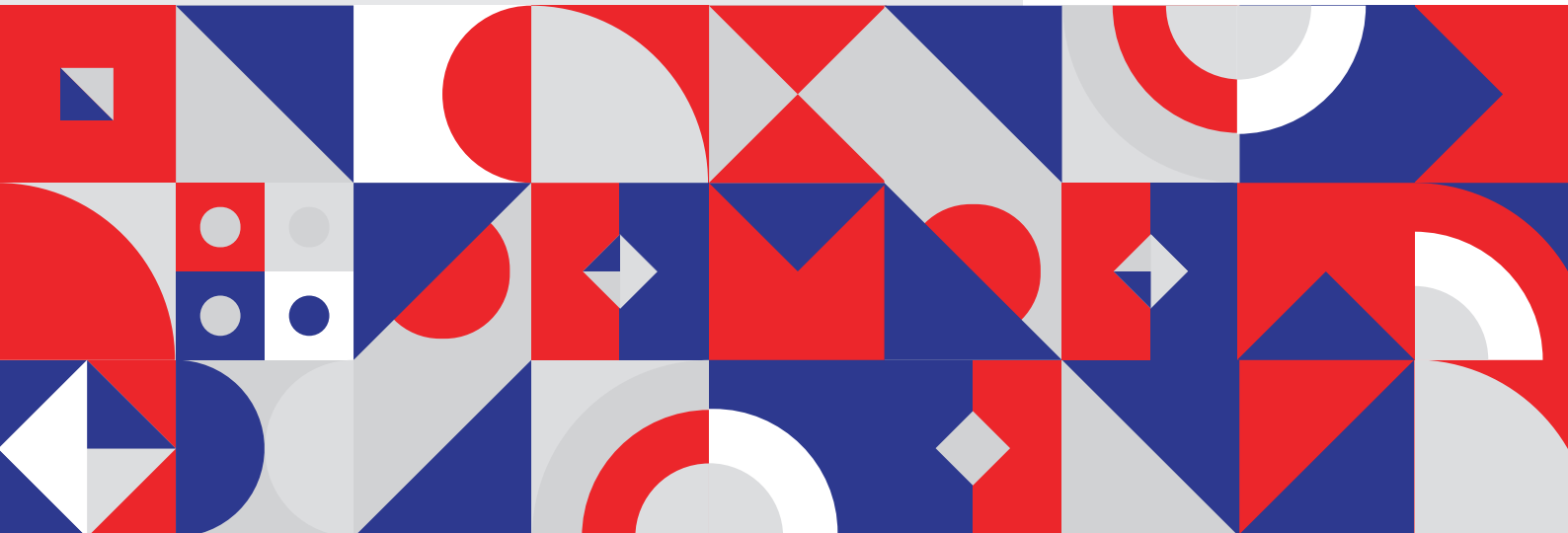
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المركز العمالي الأردني  
Jordan Labor Watch



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للدراستات الاقتصادية والمعلوماتية  
ECONOMIC & INFORMATICS STUDIES

### Phenix Center for Economics & Informatics Studies

The Phenix Center for Economic & Informatics Studies is a nongovernmental organization dedicated to independent policy research and measuring public opinions on impactful current and emerging issues in areas of economics, society, and its legislative environment in Jordan. The Center was founded in Amman, Jordan in 2003 under the registration number 142203. It works to promote a sustainable developmental paradigm in Jordan, rooted in human rights and the principles of democratic governance by focusing on reforming the labor policies, lifting of restrictions on freedom of association, and strengthening of social protection policies. The Center specializes in promoting inclusivity in development processes. It compiles databases of relevant actors and stakeholders, develops research, studies, papers and reports, conducts conferences and advocacy campaigns, and empowers several actors to take part in steering development through capacity building.



### Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Is a German non-profit political foundation based on the principles of social democracy. FES was founded in 1925, it promotes international cooperation, education and research in Germany and abroad. The foundation opened its office in Amman in 1986 to support and enhance efforts of civil society organizations to become accepted partners of public bodies, enhancing further political dialogue between decision-makers from Jordan, Iraq, Germany and the region, and strengthening the participation of youth in the political process.



### Jordan Labor Watch

Jordan Labor Watch contributes to improving work conditions for all workers in Jordan in accordance with international labor standards. This is done through developing studies and reports covering various aspects of labor issues related to workers, uncovering violations and abuses to which workers are exposed in the work place. The program provides a comprehensive database covering various indicators related to the labor market, trade unions, labor organizations, laws and regulations, as well as governing performance. Furthermore, the program strives to present alternative policies that tackle challenges facing the Arabian and Jordanian labor market as well as conducting training programs that support upgrading skills and capabilities of advocates in the labor movement.



**Disclaimer:** Phenix Center for Economic and Informatics Studies and Friedrich-EbertStiftung are not responsible for the statements of workers and union officials cited in this report.

## Contents

06	Introduction
09	Terminology and concepts
10	Numerical indicators
11	Reasons Behind Labor Protests
14	Types of Labor Protests
15	Labor Protests According to Work Sector
17	The participants in labor protests
19	Labor Protests According to the Economic Sector
20	Geographical Distribution of Labor Protests
21	The Monthly Distribution of Workers' Protests
22	Labor protests duration
23	Distribution of Workers' Protests According to the Number of Participants
24	Distribution of Workers' Protests According to the Fulfillment of Demands
25	Conclusion
25	Recommendations

## Preface

Labor Protests in Jordan 2022

Phenix Center for Economic & Informatics Studies, within the framework of “Jordanian Labor Watch”, observes and monitors labor market’s events and activities in Jordan regarding labor policies and practices in addition to major labor market transformations.

## Report Objective

The objective of this report is to provide a social and economic analysis for all labor protests which occurred during 2022. Phenix Center conducted all monitoring and documentation through direct communication with the protestors to collect as many details as possible, as well as analyzing

the press coverage made by the Jordanian social media. All of the labor protesting methods regardless of their form or size are included in this report such as threatening of protests, sit-ins, marches, etc.



# Introduction

Unemployment rates  
rose more than  
ten percent  
during the past decade



Workers in Jordan are still facing various challenges from the labor market. Unemployment has risen by %10 during the last decade, reaching %12.6 in 2013 and then continuing up to %21.9 in the first quarter of this year. Poverty rates have also increased concurrently with unemployment rates. According to the latest figures collected, poverty rates within Jordan reached %24.1 during the first quarter of last year.

Working conditions in Jordan have also deteriorated. Many indicators clearly show that the majority of workers in Jordan suffer from indecent or difficult working conditions including a lack of working opportunities, low salaries, as well as a lack of job security and social protection.

**%12.6**

Unemployment rate in 2013

**%21.9**

Unemployment rate in the  
first quarter of 2023



Persistent poverty, unemployment, and difficult working conditions have created unstable social and economic conditions in Jordan, and the labor protests are the political fallout of these crises. Government attempts to relieve these problems have not been effective. According to the Economic priority plan issued by the current government at the end of 2021, the goals and starting points of these policies prioritized economic growth and investment at the expense of social security and weaker labor policies. There still exist enormous legal restrictions to trade unions, a weak tax system, and low wages.

All of these factors have not only produce social disparity and inequality, but also shift social responsibility from the government to workers. Weakening labor policies have also occurred in Jordan's legislation of labor rights. For instance, article (59) of Jordan's Social Security Law has been adjusted so that private sector businesses are allowed to decrease the percentage of monthly subscriptions rates for retirement, disability, and death insurance by a percentage limited to %50 for insured Jordanians younger than 30 years who haven't subscribed to social security before, and according to a law issued for this purpose, they have to be fully insured once they reach the age 30.

Another paragraph was added to the same article that includes workers in agricultural holdings under work-related injury and maternity insurance until a decision is issued by the Council of Ministers to include them in all insurances

based on the council's recommendation. This decision will specify the start date for its implementation, and they have not been included in all protections.

As for the Labor Law, one of the most prominent recent amendments was made to Article (10) of the original law. This amendment allows the Ministry of Labor, instead of granting licenses for the establishment of private offices to employ Jordanians, to contract with any entity inside or outside the kingdom for this purpose. It also permits the licensing of specialized companies in a specific field that employ Jordanian workers and contract with employers to provide them with these workers. There are also intermediary companies whose purpose is to employ Jordanians both within and outside the kingdom. This amendment will harm decent working conditions because there have been lately many instances where major businesses use outside companies for "business improvements" or "support" with the aim of reducing expenses and deprive their laborers from social security, incentives, bonuses, and other benefits that ensures them with a decent life, this will incentivize further labor violations and illegal acts across many sectors.



Additionally, these legal changes included pressuring labor trade unions to backtrack on a previous decision by the Tripartite Committee for Labor Affairs to automatically raise the minimum wages according to the announced inflation rates given by the General Statistics Department. As a result of these imbalances and challenges, workers often find themselves resorting to protest measures such as strikes and sit-ins in an attempt to voice their concerns and secure their labor and human rights, as outlined by Jordanian labor legislation. Understanding the direction of labor and social movements in Jordan requires a thorough examination of the frameworks that govern these movements. These frameworks determine the extent to which the space for action can be expanded or constrained.

Social protest, according to the literature of social sciences, involves a collective effort aimed at changing the nature of stable social relationships within a specific society. Social movements are collective endeavors targeting the establishment of a new way of life, and they are grounded in a sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo. . The fundamental elements necessary for their sustainability and success, which encompass persistence, conscious organization, and change, need to be present.

The reasons and circumstances that lead to labor protests vary, but they typically respond to failures or breakdowns in collective negotiations as a means to achieve workers' demands, or due to the absence of channels for dialogue and negotiation with management and/or employers. Furthermore, it's not possible to study labor protest movements separately from social movements. Labor protest movements are considered a part of social movements, and many schools of thought within social movements view the economic factor as the primary driver for the emergence of social activism. As labor protest movements intensify and grow in magnitude, they give rise to more social movements.

The significance of preparing this report is rooted in the conviction of the «Labor Observatory» team that labor protests constitute one of the most crucial indicators of economic and social crises, particularly within the labor market. They accurately reflect the nature of prevailing relationships among various stakeholders in labor relations, encompassing workers, employers, and the government.



# The terminology and concepts within the context of the report

## Labor protest:

It is a method followed by a group of workers (organized or unorganized), a labor union, or an individual worker, to object to a current situation that harms their interests or to demand rights they do not possess. Labor protests typically take the form of a sit-in, strike, threat, or March.

## Sit-in:

It is a form of protest against a specific policy, decisions, or actions that harm the interests of the participants of the sit-in. This is achieved by standing within the vicinity of the entity implementing such policies. Often, banners and slogans are raised during sit-ins to attract attention and media coverage to their cause.

## Strike:

It is also a form of protest where workers collectively stop working with the goal of pressuring the employer to improve working conditions or to meet specific demands related to their labor rights.

## March:

It involves a group of workers walking on foot from a gathering point to a specific destination. Often, chants and slogans advocating for their demands are raised during the march.

## Protest Threat:

It is a form of protest where a group of workers threatens to carry out a sit-in, strike, or march and specifies the execution date. This is done to pressure the employer or responsible entity to meet their demands. Typically, the threat is conveyed through a press statement directed at the employer and the media.

## Self-harm threats:

It is considered a form of protest where an individual threatens to harm themselves physically in order to draw attention to their cause and exert pressure on the responsible party to meet their demands.

## Digital Storm:

This is a relatively modern form of protest. In the context of the report, it refers to the agreement of a group of workers, a labor union, or civil society organizations to collectively launch slogans and hashtags related to their demands on social media platforms, at a specific time. The goal is to reach as many people as possible and draw attention to their demands and cause.

# Numerical indicators

2022 witnessed a decrease in labor protests by a %28 less than 2021, as it reached 162 protests in 2022 against having 225 protests in 2021

Despite this noticeable decrease in the number of protests, in addition to their original decline over the previous years, the phenomenon of labor protests remains clearly evident.

The continued decrease in the number of labor protests over the past decade (2022-2013) can be attributed to several reasons, but the primary reason is the lack of seriousness from the government and the majority of employers in addressing workers' demands. Out of the total labor protests, only 18 demands were fulfilled, which led many workers to refrain from initiating protests due to a sense of their demands not being met. And the fear of job termination, as workers are often hesitant to participate in protests due to concerns about potential consequences for their employment. These factors have contributed to the decline in labor protests during this period.

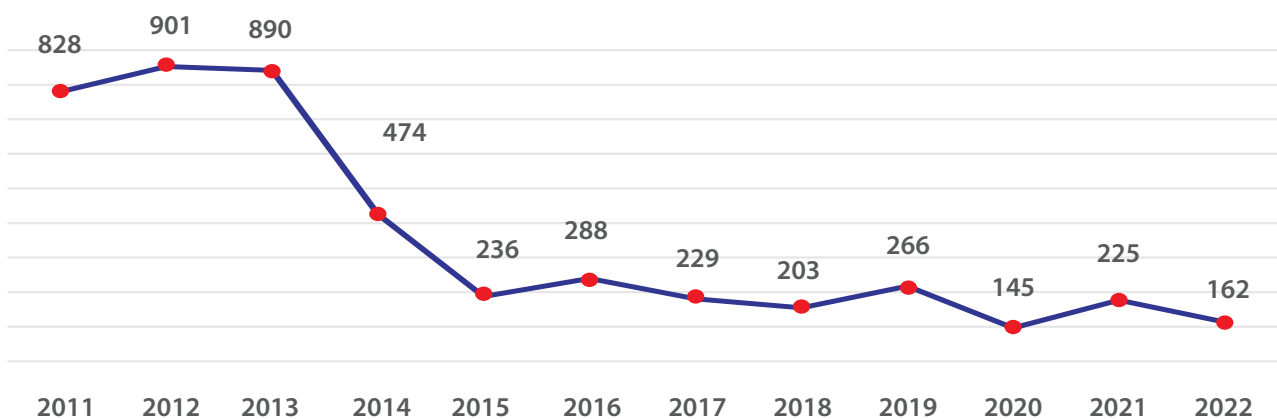
In addition to these factors, there is also pressure applied to some protesting workers, tempting them with promises to fulfill their demands in order to persuade them to withdraw from labor

protests. Government pressures have also led to the dispersal of many protests, especially those of teachers and unemployed individuals.

These protests arise as an expression of the deep economic and social crisis facing Jordan, where wage levels remain stagnant despite consecutive increases in the prices of most goods and services. This has resulted in a decline in the economic conditions of citizens.

Additionally, there are other factors that are evident in the declining work conditions for the majority of male and female workers. These factors include a tangible reduction in wage rates and their minimum thresholds, as well as the suspension or delayed payment of salaries for numerous employees. A considerable portion of them do not enjoy the basic labor rights mandated by Jordan's labor legislation. These rights include stipulations regarding work hours, annual leave, sick leave, public holidays, availability of occupational health and safety measures, and access to social security benefits provided by the General Social Security Corporation. There is also a lack of proper healthcare benefits and other decent working conditions.

Figure number (1) illustrates the numbers of labor protests from the years 2011 to 2022.



# Reasons behind Labor protests

The reasons for labor protests have varied, including demanding wage and allowance increases, as well as the distribution of allowances, improving incentives and benefits for workers, protesting against systems and laws, advocating for job opportunities, protesting against dismissals, and other reasons that have driven workers to carry out protests to assert their labor rights.

The numbers indicate that the priorities of wage workers in Jordan have focused on protesting against systems, laws, as well as decisions and actions that have caused harm to the workers. This reason ranked top with (71) protests, accounting for (43.8) percent of the total protests. Most of these protests were by retirees from the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company, protesting against the insurance company's measures that undermined their health insurance. This included the cancellation of the approval for various treatments in pharmacies, such as treatments for chronic diseases, and the approval of many doctors. Obstacles were placed in front of retirees when seeking approvals during visits to hospitals or medical laboratories.



Teachers also protested against decisions of transfer to reserves and early retirement, affecting 120 male and female teachers, suspending them from work, and the «arbitrary» transfers that affected dozens of teachers across provinces. Their union remained closed despite six months having passed since the decision to suspend the union's work, issued by the Prosecutor General of Amman in 2020, which lasted for two years.

Similarly, drivers in the public transportation sector were distributed among (yellow taxi drivers, service drivers, public bus drivers, and drivers of the «Careem» application).

The majority of the protests by public transportation drivers were triggered by a government decision in late November of last year. This decision involved raising the price of diesel (solar) by 35 fils, increasing the prices of gasoline (octane 90) by 10 fils, and gasoline (octane 95) by 15 fils. Private transportation vehicles encroached on the public transportation sector's operations.

On the other hand, the protests by «Careem» application drivers were fueled by the company's non-compliance with the pricing set by the Land Transport Regulatory Commission, which included a 20 percent increase on the yellow taxi meter. The company had decided to reduce drivers' trip prices by 20 percent, while the regulatory body failed to take substantial action to address these violations, effectively ignoring them.

Following that, demands for job opportunities emerged, comprising (27) protests, accounting for (16.7) percent of the total protests. Most of these demands were raised by unemployed individuals. Additionally, demands for wage increases and bonuses, or their disbursement, ranked third with (26) protests, making up (16) percent of the total protests. These demands were distributed among employees of the Jordanian-Syrian Land Transport Company (JOSYCO), protesting the delayed payment of their salaries for over 40 months. Furthermore, public transportation drivers in the capital city of Amman protested against the non-disbursement of fuel subsidies to them.

Nursing staff (both participating and assisting nurses) working in hospitals and health centers under the Ministry of Health protested the failure to raise their technical allowance to (135) percent, similar to the legal nurses and midwives.

The fourth most common form of protest was protests with multiple demands (more than one goal for a single protest). There were a total of (14) protests with multiple goals making up (8.6) percent of all labor protests. The majority of these protests were led by smart transportation application drivers protesting against the measures and policies of the application

companies, the Land Transport Regulatory Commission, and the Ministry of Transport. Application companies deduct a high percentage, around (30) percent, from the drivers' earnings per trip. Additionally, the drivers demanded an extension of the operational work duration to 10 years instead of 7 which would allow them to repay their accumulated debts.

Protests for job stability were the fifth most common form of protest comprising (7) protests and accounting for (4.3) percent of all total protests.

Meanwhile, protests against dismissals from work accounted for (5) protests, representing (3.1) percent, thus ranking in the sixth position.

On the other hand, there was only one protest with a percentage of (0.6) percent, occupying the last position. This protest was related to demands for reforming existing unions or establishing new ones. This specific protest was initiated by the Anti-Violence and Harassment Alliance (a coalition of civil society organizations and labor unions). Their aim was to advocate for the freedom to form labor unions.

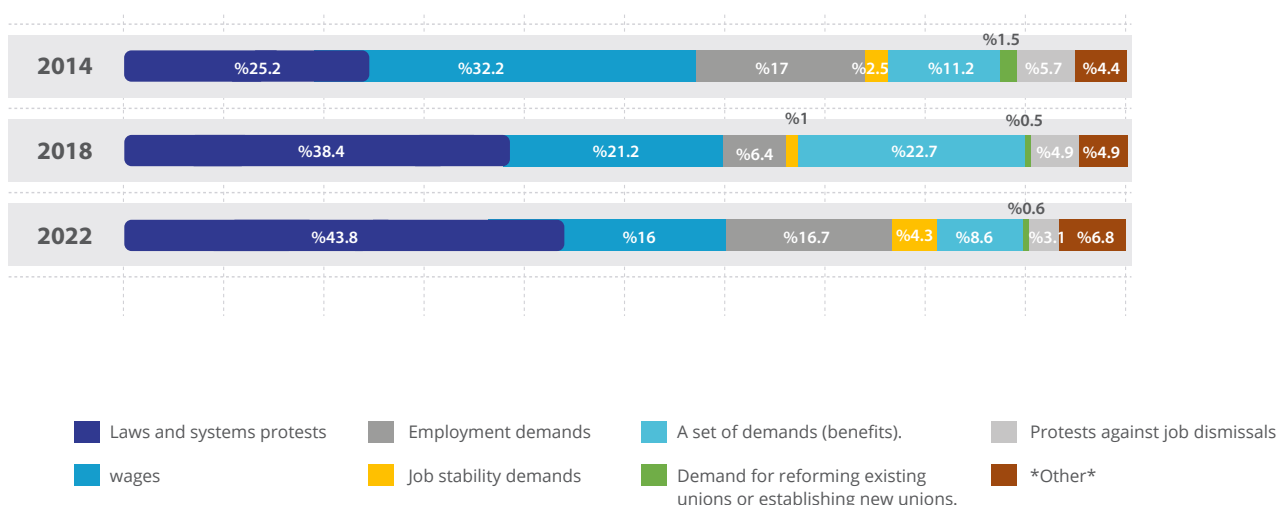
Table number (1) illustrates these indicators.

Table Number (1): Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to Protest Reasons

Protests reasons	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014
Laws and systems protests	%43.8	%24.4	%24.8	%30.5	%38.4	%53.2	%25.0	%33.1	%25.2
wages	%16	%16.4	%23.4	%19.2	%21.2	%12.7	%11.0	%22.0	%32.2
Employment demands	%16.7	%14.7	%11.0	%28.9	%6.4	%9.2	%13.0	%12.7	%17.0
Job stability demands	%4.3	%7.6	%0.0	%1.5	%1.0	%1.7	%1.0	%3.0	%2.5
A set of demands (benefits)	%8.6	%7.1	%2.8	%12.8	%22.7	%14.0	%30.0	%14.4	11.2.%
Demand for reforming existing unions or establishing new unions	%0.6	%4.0	--	--	%0.5	--	--	%1.3	%1.5
Protests against job dismissals	%3.1	%2.2	%4.8	%6.4	%4.9	%9.2	%10.0	%7.2	%5.7
*Other*	%6.8	%23.6	%4.1	%0.8	%4.9	%0.0	%10.0	%6.4	%4.4

\*(Others): Included providing health insurance, occupational health and safety conditions, providing a suitable work environment, and conflicts of interest between workers and other parties... etc.

Figure Number (2): Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to Protest Causes (%)



# Types of Labor Protests

Regarding the types of labor protests, they have been categorized, for the purposes of this report, into sit-ins, work stoppages, threats of protest actions, self-harm threats, protest marches, and finally, Digital storms, as they are considered various forms or means of protest.

The percentage of sit-ins in the year 2022 reached (61.1) percent, consisting of (99) labor sit-ins. Most of these were distributed among retirees of the Jordan Phosphate Mining Company, smart transportation application drivers, teachers, and unemployed individuals. Following that, work stoppages ranked second with a percentage of (14.8) percent, comprising (24) strikes. Most of these were carried out by public transportation drivers and smart transportation application drivers.

Ranked third were threats of protest actions, accounting for (13.6) percent, comprising

(22) protests. Most of these were distributed among public transportation drivers, smart transportation application drivers, and teachers. In the fourth position were protest marches with a percentage of (6.2) percent, totaling (10) marches. The majority of these were carried out by unemployed individuals. In the fifth position were Digital storms (protest-related) with a percentage of (2.5) percent, comprising (4) storms. These were distributed among the «Stand with the Teacher» campaign and the Anti-Violence and Harassment Alliance, as well as the Teachers' Syndicate.

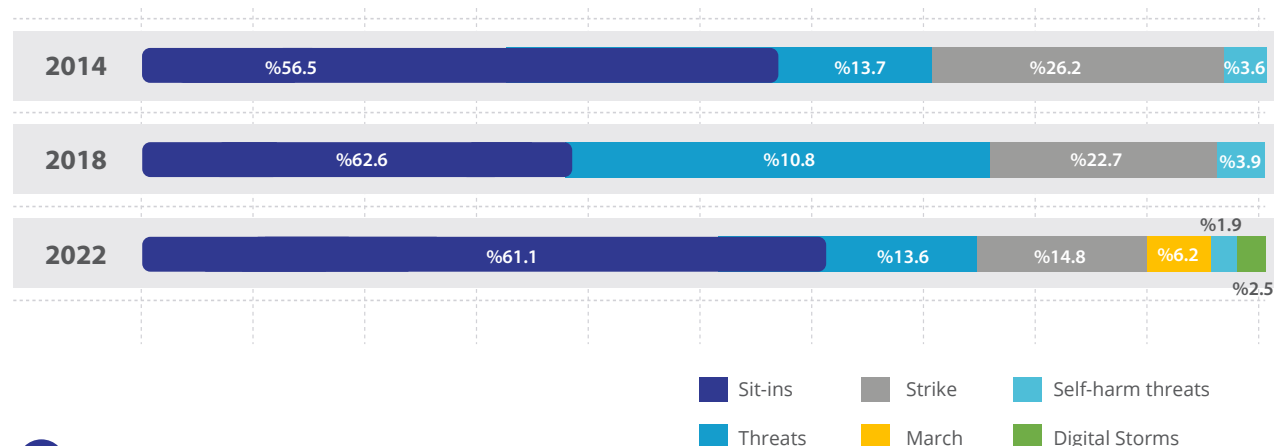
In the last position, threats of self-harm accounted for (1.9) percent, totaling (3) threats. Two of these were by unemployed individuals in the governorates of Ma'daba and Ma'an, and one was by employees of the Jordanian-Syrian Land Transport Company.

Table Number (2) illustrates these indicators

Table Number (2): Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to Protest Type.

Protest type	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014
Sit-ins	%61.1	%54.2	%62.1	%69.2	%62.6	%66.4	%56.0	%54.2	%56.5
threats	%13.6	%23.6	%11.7	%14.7	%10.8	%9.2	%14.0	%9.7	%13.7
strike	%14.8	%16.0	%7.6	%9.8	%22.7	%19.2	%25.0	%26.7	%26.2
March	%6.2	%4.4	%15.9	--	--	--	--	--	--
Self-harm threats	%1.9	%1.8	%2.8	%5.3	%3.9	%5.2	%5.0	%9.3	%3.6
Digital Storms	%2.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Figure Number (3): Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to Protest Type.



# Labor Protests According to Work Sector

Workers in the public sector carried out a total of (40) labor protests during the year 2022, accounting for (24.7) percent of the total protests. On the other hand, workers in the private sector executed (63) protests, comprising (38.9) percent, while (28) protests were conducted by the unemployed individuals, accounting for (17.3) percent. Additionally, (5) joint labor protests were conducted between the public and private sectors, making up (3.1) percent, and (25) protests were carried out by retirees, representing (15.4) percent. Workers at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) executed one protest, accounting for (0.6) percent.

It's notable that the percentage of labor protests in the public sector has continued to decrease over the past few years. In the year 2020, it amounted to (44.1) percent, in 2021 it was (25.8) percent, and in 2022 it reached (24.7) percent. This trend can be interpreted for several reasons, including the annual decline in the momentum of labor protests and the relatively «somewhat» suitable working environment in the public sector. This environment involves providing social protections such as social security and health insurance for all permanent employees, as well as not encroaching on other labor rights like leaves, working hours, wages, and more.



The demands of the protesters in the public sector were primarily centered around salary increases, bonuses, promotions, job stability, and opposition to dismissals. Additionally, there were protests against measures taken against numerous teachers, particularly in the provinces, involving their arbitrary transfer to other schools due to their union activities.

Simultaneously, there has been a decrease in the rate of labor protests in the private sector compared to previous years. This decline is not attributed to improved working conditions but rather to a continuous deterioration of these conditions. The cause lies in the fear among workers in various sectors of being terminated if they engage in any protests. This fear has been exploited by exerting pressure on protesting employees and tempting them with promises to address their demands, in order to dissuade them from participating in labor protests. The government's pressures have also played a role in quelling several of these protests.

It's important to note that various working conditions in the private sector have been consistently deteriorating. Notably, wages have remained at low levels in contrast to the consecutive increases in the prices of most goods and services. The social protection system for both male and female workers continues to be weak. Furthermore, the empowerment of all workers to exercise their right to unionize and engage in collective bargaining remains elusive. Paragraph (d) of Article (98) of the Labor Law stipulates that "the Minister, through the unions' register, categorizes the sectors and economic activities in which unions can be established, ensuring that no industry or economic activity has more than one union representing it".

Likewise, there is a slight increase in the proportion of labor protests carried out by the unemployed compared to the past two years. This increase can be attributed to the persistently high unemployment rates compared to historical unemployment rates in Jordan and the rates prevalent in most countries worldwide. This signifies the government's lack of seriousness in addressing the genuine underlying causes of unemployment and finding solutions.

Foremost among these causes is the government's policies that have distorted the post-basic and secondary education system. The educational hierarchy has become inverted, in contrast to the majority of countries worldwide,

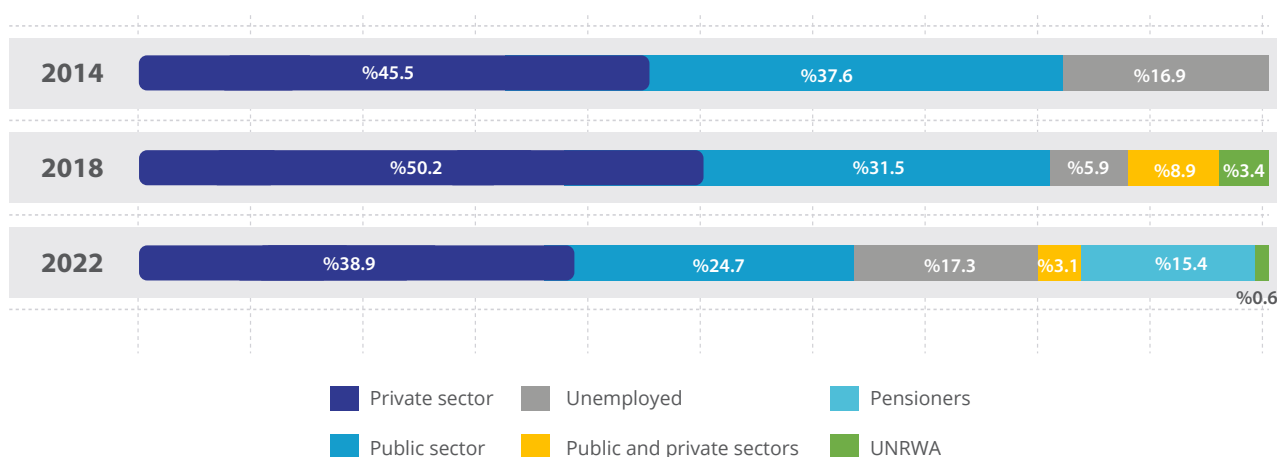
with an emphasis on expanding higher education at the expense of intermediate, technical, and vocational education. Additionally, the deterioration of working conditions in the private sector continues, particularly in terms of wage levels. This collective set of factors has contributed to the ongoing issue of unemployment.

As highlighted during the year 2022, protests were carried out by retirees, with a significant portion of them originating from the Phosphate Mining Company. These protests were in response to the weakening of their healthcare coverage. The implications of these protests are depicted in Table No. 3, which illustrates the relative distribution of labor protests based on the sector of employment.

Table No. 3: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to the Sector of Employment

Work sector	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014
Private sector	%38.9	%53.3	%43.4	%33.5	%50.2	%56.3	%64.0	%47.9	%45.5
Public sector	%24.7	%25.8	%44.1	%36.1	%31.5	%34.5	%23.0	%41.1	%37.6
Unemployed	%17.3	%12.9	%12.4	%28.2	%5.9	%9.2	%13.0	%11.0	%16.9
Public and private sectors	%3.1	%4.0	--	--	%8.9	--	--	--	--
Pensioners	%15.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
UNRWA	%0.6	%4.0	--	--	%3.4	--	--	--	--

Table No. 4: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to the Sector of Employment





## The participants in labor protests

The proportion of protests carried out by unorganized labor segments and categories remains low for the second consecutive year. In 2022, this percentage reached %43.2 of the total protests, accounting for 70 labor protests. In the previous year, 2021, the percentage was at %40. However, in 2020, it was higher, reaching %59.3, while in 2019 it was %89. Similar patterns were observed in preceding years as well.

This phenomenon can be attributed to several reasons, the most prominent of which is the heightened fear among many of these labor segments about the potential loss of their jobs. This is especially pertinent due to the significantly elevated unemployment rates, which makes finding alternative employment challenging. Additionally, consecutive increases in the prices of goods and services have rendered them more inclined to safeguard their current positions, thereby abstaining from resorting to protest actions.

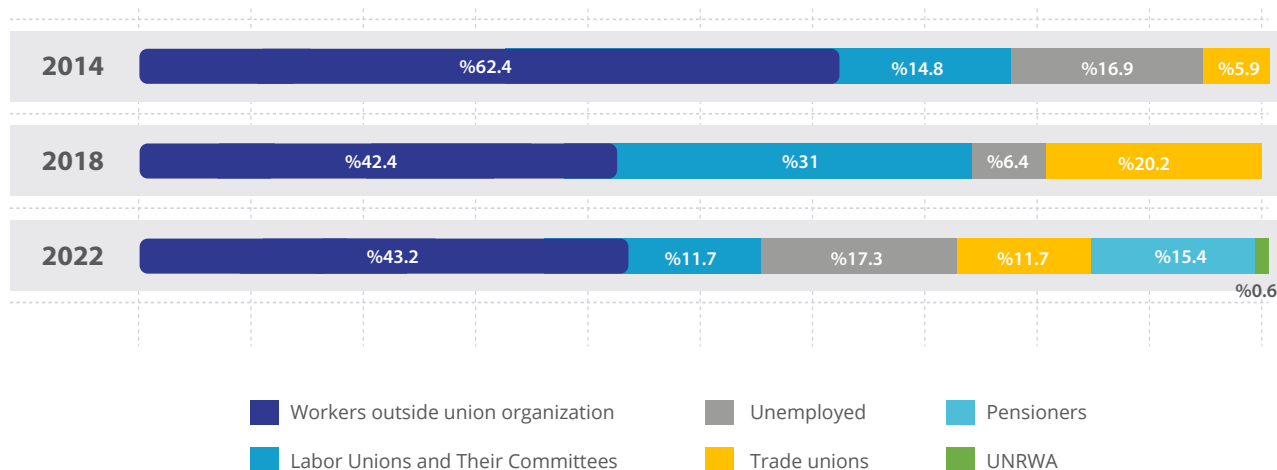
Despite these factors, the majority of labor protests, for the twelfth consecutive year, continued to be carried out by labor segments that lack a union framework to organize them. Meanwhile, the percentage of protests executed by the unemployed in 2022 amounted to %17.3 of the total labor protests, comprising 28 protests. Following this, at the same percentage, were protests orchestrated by official and independent labor unions and their committees, along with professional unions, collectively reaching %11.7, with 19 protests for both categories.

Subsequently, retiree-led protests constituted %15.4 of the total, encompassing 25 protests. Lastly, protests conducted by employees of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) accounted for %0.6 with a solitary protest. Table No. 4 outlines these indicators.

Table No. 4: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to the Category Initiating the Protest

The protesting category	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014
Workers outside union organization	%43.2	%40.0	%59.3	%50.8	%42.4	%72.5	%60.0	%62.3	%62.4
Labor Unions and Their Committees	%11.7	%32.9	%3.4	%6.1	%31.0	%10.5	%22.0	%17.4	%14.8
Unemployed	%17.3	%13.3	%11.0	%28.2	%6.4	%9.2	%13.0	%12.7	%16.9
Trade unions	%11.7	%9.8	%23.4	%14.9	%20.2	%6.5	%5.0	%7.6	%5.9
Pensioners	%15.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
UNRWA	%0.6	%4.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table No. 5: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to the Category Initiating the Protest



It's noteworthy that the majority of labor protests in previous years were carried out by labor segments that lacked union frameworks to organize them. Alternatively, some protests were orchestrated by labor segments that had surpassed traditional union structures and replaced them with self-organized entities to advocate for their interests and demands.

This highlights the weakness and absence of effective dialogue and negotiation channels between workers of various segments on one hand, and management and employers on the other. This lack contributes to an increase in the number of labor protests. Consequently, this compels us to continue contemplating the significant impact of the absence of active labor union organizations in weakening working conditions in Jordan. It also undermines methods of social dialogue and collective bargaining, thus pushing wide sections of the labor force towards protest actions.

Similarly, the labor sectors in Jordan that enjoy decent working conditions are those in which workers have the right to unionize and don't resort to labor protests. This is due to their access to dialogue and negotiation channels, as well as the experience that enables them to achieve their demands and improve their working conditions without resorting to protests.

Naturally, the vast majority of wage workers are not entitled to unionize. The total number of workers with union representation doesn't exceed 5%. The remaining workers lack the right to organize themselves into unions, such as those in the public sector and the majority of private sector workers who are deprived of this right by legislation. Additionally, the absence of democratic practices in most recognized labor unions further denies hundreds of thousands of workers the possibility of joining. Moreover, there's a lack of enthusiasm among workers to become members of labor unions.

# Labor Protests According to the Economic Sector

The labor protests that occurred in the year 2022 were distributed across various economic sectors to varying degrees. Protests by workers in the transportation sector constituted %27.8 of the total labor protests, with a total of 45 protests. This sector claimed the highest percentage of protests. Following closely was the «unemployed» sector, accounting for %17.3 with 28 protests.

Tied for the third position were the education and retirees' sectors, each representing %15.4 with 25 protests for each sector. Subsequently, in the fourth position, the services sector accounted for %5.6, encompassing 9 protests. In the fifth position, the healthcare sector accounted for %4.3, comprising 7 protests.

Following that, in the sixth position, the industry sector constituted %3.7, with 6 protests. The media sector ranked seventh with %2.5, involving 4 protests. Tied for the eighth position were the trade and energy sectors, each representing %1.9 with 3 protests for each sector.

Next in the ninth position were the agriculture, tourism, and water sectors, all with an equal proportion of protests at %1.2, amounting to 1 protest each. Finally, in the last position, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) sector accounted for %0.6, encompassing a single protest. Table No. 6 outlines these indicators.

Table No. 5: These Indicators Illustrate the Proportions of Labor Protests According to the Economic Sector.

Table No. 5: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to the Economic Sector

Economical sector	Number of protests	Percentage
Transportation sector	45	%27.8
Service sector	9	%5.6
Education sector	25	%15.4
The unemployed	28	%17.3
Manufacturing industries sector	6	%3.7
Trading sector	3	%1.9
Health sector	7	%4.3
UNRWA	1	%0.6
Water sector	2	%1.2
Energy Sector	3	%1.9
Agriculture sector	2	%1.2
Tourism sector	2	%1.2
Media sector	4	%2.5
Pensioners	25	%15.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>%100</b>

# Geographical Distribution of Labor Protests

The capital, Amman, took the lead in the number of labor protests conducted in the year 2022, accounting for 80 labor protests and %49.4 of the total protests. Following closely were the protests that occurred in multiple governorates (cross-governorate), totaling 25 protests and representing %15.4. In the third position were the protests in the Ma'an Governorate, amounting to 13 protests and comprising %8.0.

The fourth position was claimed by the Tafilah Governorate, with 12 protests and %7.4.

In the fifth position, the Madaba Governorate recorded 9 protests, constituting %5.6. The Karak Governorate followed with 7 protests, representing %4.3. The seventh position was occupied by the Aqaba Governorate, with 6 protests and %3.7. In the eighth position, the Irbid and Jerash Governorates shared the same number of protests, with 4 each and %2.5 each. Finally, the Mafraq Governorate was in the last position with only 2 protests and %1.2. Table No. 6 outlines these indicators.

Table No. 6: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests According to the Governorate

Governorate	Number of protests	Percentage
Amman	80	%49.4
Multiple governorates	25	%15.4
Ma'an	13	%8.0
Al-Tafilah	12	%7.4
Ma'dabah	9	%5.6
Karak	7	%4.3
Aqaba	6	%3.7
Irbid	4	%2.5
Jarash	4	%2.5
Mafraq	2	%1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>%100</b>

# The Monthly Distribution of Workers' Protests

Regarding the distribution of protests according to months, the month of June took the first place with a total of (28) labor protests, constituting (17.3) percent of the total protests. Most of these protests were led by members of the Jordanian Teachers' Union and unemployed individuals.

Following that, the months of February and September each had (18) protests, accounting for (11.1) percent of the protests for each month.

In the third place, the months of October and December each had (17) protests, making up (10.5) percent of the protests for each month.

In the fourth place, the month of November had (15) protests, making up (9.3) percent, followed by the month of August with (12) protests and (7.4) percent. The sixth place was occupied by the month of May with (9) protests and (5.6) percent, followed by the month of January with (8) protests and (4.9) percent.

In the eighth place, the month of April had a total of (7) protests, accounting for (4.3) percent. In the last place, the month of March had a total of (6) protests, constituting (3.7) percent. Table number (7) illustrates these indicators.

Table number (7): Relative Distribution of Workers' Protests According to Months.

The Month	Number of protests	Percentage
January	8	%4.9
February	18	%11.1
March	6	%3.7
April	7	%4.3
May	9	%5.6
June	28	%17.3
July	7	%4.3
August	12	%7.4
September	18	%11.1
October	17	%10.5
November	15	%9.3
December	17	%10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>%100</b>

## Labor protests duration

The number of days for workers' protests varied during the year 2022 based on the organizers, their demands, and the approach taken to address them. The duration of these protests ranged from one day to over 25 days. The longest sit-ins during this year were in support of the unemployed individuals. The protest in Al-Tafilah Governorate lasted for 190 consecutive days, followed by the protest in Al-Jafr town in Ma'an Governorate, which continued for 144 consecutive days. Additionally, the protest in Dhiban town in Madaba extended for 116 consecutive days. Following those, the protest in Fiq area in Karak lasted for 94 days, and the protest in Madaba city continued for 80 days.

Finally, the protest in Hay Al-Tafaileh in the capital Amman lasted for 71 consecutive days.

Furthermore, there were protests by other labor groups that extended for more than 25 days. For instance, employees of the General Secretariat at the National Center for Human Rights conducted a strike that lasted for 77 consecutive days. This protest was in response to decisions regarding transfers issued by the President of the Center's Board of Trustees, which the employees objected to, deeming them as «contrary to the established regulations governing the Center's operations.»

Similarly, employees of the Jordanian-Syrian Company for Land Transport staged a protest due to the non-payment of their salaries for over 40 months.

The majority of protests that lasted for only one day were halted for various reasons. These included providing business owners and government administrations with the opportunity to review the demands of the protesting workers. Additionally, most labor protests often occurred spontaneously without prior planning, as they were triggered by specific actions.

The percentage of protests that lasted for only one day amounted to (63.6) percent, totaling (103) protests. Meanwhile, the percentage of protests that lasted for two to three days was (4.9) percent, comprising (8) protests. For protests lasting from four to five days, the percentage was (3.1) percent, with (5) protests. The percentage of protests that lasted from six to fifteen days was (4.3) percent, accounting for (7) protests. As for protests that continued for sixteen to twenty-five days, their percentage was (1.9) percent, involving (3) protests. Lastly, the percentage of protests that extended beyond twenty-five days was (6.8) percent, with (11) protests.

Table number (8): Distribution of Workers' Protests According to Duration.

Duration	Number of protests	Percentage
One day	103	%63.6
2-3 days	8	%4.9
4-5 days	5	%3.1
6-15 days	7	%4.3
16-25 days	3	%1.9
More than 25 days	11	%6.8
Threats	25	%15.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>%100</b>

## Distribution of Workers' Protests According to the Number of Participants

The participation numbers in labor protests varied based on the nature of the protest and its organizers. Labor protests that involved (100-1) participants accounted for (64.8) percent, totaling (105) protests. Additionally, the percentage of protests with participant numbers ranging from (500-101) was (23.5) percent, involving (38) protests.

Similarly, the percentage of protests with participants ranging from (1000-501) was (1.2) percent, comprising only two protests. On the other hand, the percentage of protests with more than (1000) participants was (10.5) percent, totaling (17) protests. This significant participation can be attributed to the fact that most of these protests were conducted across multiple governorates simultaneously for each protest.

Table number (9): Distribution of Workers' Protests According to the Number of Participants

Number of protestors	Number of protests	Percentage
1-100	105	%64.8
101-500	38	%23.5
501-1000	2	%1.2
More than 1000	17	%10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>%100</b>



## Distribution of Workers' Protests According to the Fulfillment of Demands.

The figures indicate that the majority of labor protests in the year 2022 did not result in the fulfillment of the protesters' demands. In fact, (84.0) percent of the total labor protests, accounting for (136) protests, saw no response from company and government administrations. On the other hand, the percentage of protests that successfully achieved all of their demands was (11.1) percent, involving only (18) protests.

Regarding protests in which only some of the demands were met, their percentage was (2.5) percent, totaling only (4) protests. These included employees of the electricity company, workers at the Aqaba Ports Corporation, third-category employees at the Ministry of Education, and tourist guides. Additionally, there remain (4) protests, accounting for (2.5) percent, for which the «Jordanian Labor Observatory» team lacks information to confirm or deny the complete or partial fulfillment of their demands.

Table number (10): Distribution of Workers' Protests According to the Fulfillment of Demands.

Demands Fulfillment	Number of protests	Percentage
Demands weren't fulfilled	136	%84.0
Demands were fulfilled	18	%11.1
No information available	4	%2.5
Demands were partially fulfilled	4	%2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>%100.0</b>

The main reason for the high percentage of demands not being met in labor protests can be attributed to the clear stance of the government and the private sector in not responding to the demands of labor protests to prevent their expansion. Additionally, a lack of sufficient experience in executing labor protests and the collective bargaining mechanisms and tools is prevalent among the majority of protesting workers. This is due to the weak state of labor unions, their limited effectiveness, and the inadequate organizational skills within the working community in Jordan.

The weakness of labor unions and the reluctance of most workers to resort to them are attributed to the restrictions imposed by labor laws. These restrictions relate to collective bargaining rights, the authority given to the Minister of Labor to

dissolve any labor union committing violations, and the classification of professions eligible to form unions. Furthermore, the absence of pluralism in union representation also plays a role.

Indeed, many segments of the workforce in Jordan continue to face clear challenges in forming and organizing labor unions, particularly due to the Kingdom's lack of ratification of International Labour Organization Convention No. 87, which pertains to freedom of association and the right to organize. Furthermore, the absolute authority granted to the Minister of Labor in classifying industries and professions eligible for forming and organizing unions, as stipulated in Article 98 of the Jordanian Labor Law, adds to these complexities.



# Conclusion

The report underscores that despite the continued labor protests at levels lower than those witnessed in the past decade, the numbers still reflect fundamental imbalances in labor relations. These imbalances consequently mirror tensions within the Jordanian labor market. These protests serve as expressions of the depth of the economic and social crisis facing Jordan. This crisis is characterized by indicators of decent work deteriorating, ongoing declines and disparities in wage levels, and pressures faced by numerous economic sectors and their employees. These pressures stem from the implementation of inequitable economic policies.

The labor market in Jordan continues to grapple with significant gaps in implementing standards of decent work and fundamental principles and rights at work across various dimensions and indicators. These gaps encompass legislative, policy, and practice-related aspects. This is evident in the inability of the national economy to provide sufficient decent employment opportunities. Furthermore, the social protection system for workers remains weak, and not all workers are empowered to exercise their rights in terms of union organization, collective bargaining, and promoting social dialogue concerning policies that affect the interests of various production stakeholders.

**Based on the foregoing, the report recommends the following:**

1. The necessity to apply principles and standards of decent work, as well as fundamental principles and rights at work, across all aspects, to all wage-earning workers in Jordan.
2. The need to amend the provisions of the Labor Law related to the formation of labor unions and to allow all wage-earning workers in Jordan to freely establish their unions. This includes ending the monopoly on representing workers by existing labor unions that lack the basic tenets of democratic work and do not permit the renewal of their leadership. The law should align with the Jordanian constitution and harmonize the establishment of labor unions with the provisions of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which Jordan has ratified and published in the official gazette.
3. The necessity to amend the provisions of the Civil Service System to allow public sector workers to freely establish their unions, ensuring their rights as stipulated in the constitutional amendments of 2011 and the Constitutional Court's Interpretation Decision No. 6 of 2013. This decision granted public sector workers the right to form their own unions and should align with the provisions of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which Jordan has ratified and published in the official gazette. Such amendments should also enable collective bargaining between government administrations and workers. It is unreasonable to treat public sector labor protests merely as absences from work deserving of punishment.

4. A reconsideration of wage policies is crucial, moving towards increasing wages in proportion to the cost of living in Jordan. It is unreasonable for wages to remain stagnant despite the consecutive price increases.
5. A necessity to amend the provisions of the Labor Law related to the concept of labor disputes and mechanisms for resolving labor disputes. These mechanisms have proven to be profoundly ineffective in finding fair solutions to escalating labor disputes. It is now imperative to adopt new mechanisms and techniques for resolving labor disputes, aligned with the provisions of the International Labour Organization Convention No. 98 concerning the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining.
6. Increasing the effectiveness of labor inspection processes conducted by the Ministry of Labor is essential to ensure the implementation of labor law provisions. This requires allocating additional funds to the Ministry of Labor within the general budget, allowing the ministry to hire more inspectors and enhance their inspection capabilities. It's important not to consider the idea of abolishing the ministry, as such a step could exacerbate violations against workers' rights. The consequences of such a move would be disastrous for all stakeholders in the labor market - whether workers, employers, or unions.
7. Developing systems for enforcing labor legislation is crucial to curbing the violations that currently occur and empowering both male and female workers to enjoy decent working conditions.
8. Emphasizing the establishment of productive projects that generate genuine employment opportunities, particularly for unemployed individuals, especially the youth.



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