

PREPARATION:

Phenix Center for Economics & Informatics Studies Labor Watch Jordan Program

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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.



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.



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Introduction



The Phenix Center for Economic and Informatics Studies, through its "Labor Watch Jordan" program launched in the second half of 2009; monitors and tracks developments and activities in the Jordanian labor market at both the policy and practice levels. It also observes labor movements and transformations occurring on the ground. Among the reports prepared by the Labor Watch team is the annual report on labor

This report aims to provide an economic and social analytical reading of all labor protests that took place in Jordan during the year 2023. All labor protests that occurred during this period were documented and monitored through direct communication with the protest organizers to gather detailed information. Additionally, the report analyzes media coverage conducted by Jordanian news outlets. The scope of labor protests covered in this report includes all forms and scales of labor protest actions, such as sit-ins, strikes, threats of protest, and others.

Context

Workers in Jordan continue to face numerous challenges in the labor market. Unemployment rates have risen by approximately eight percentage points over the past decade from around 13% in 2013 to 21.4% in the fourth quarter of 2024. Poverty rates, according to the latest figures, reached 24.1% in the first quarter of 2022. Furthermore, nearly half of the labor force in Jordan remains outside the coverage of social security, and working conditions have deteriorated across many sectors.

Several indicators, including those presented in this report, clearly show that the majority of workers in Jordan whether in the formal or informal sectors suffer from difficult and undignified working conditions. These include a lack of job opportunities, low wages, job insecurity, absence of social protections such as social security and health insurance, and widespread violations of labor and human rights.

Based on unemployment and poverty indicators, along with the findings of this report, it can be said that the core of the labor protest crisis reflects a broader economic, social, and political crisis in Jordan. The cumulative economic and social policies developed and implemented by successive governments covering labor, wages, taxation, and social protection have deepened social inequality and economic disparity. These policies have clearly been biased against the interests of workers in Jordan, which explains the significant legislative restrictions faced by the labor and union movements. They also reflect the government's gradual retreat from its social responsibilities.

According to the Economic Priorities Program announced by the government at the end of 2021, the direction of policy was clearly aimed at promoting economic growth at the expense of social protections, and encouraging investment by weakening labor policies and conditions. Consequently, the government introduced several amendments to the Labor Law in recent years. While a few of these amendments were reform-oriented and aimed at upholding fundamental labor rights, many were regressive, rolling back achievements previously secured in the Labor Law over past decades. These changes undermined key principles of decent work and social protection, distorted one of the kingdom's most important laws, and weakened labor conditions.

Many of these amendments were fragmented and diminished the rights of private-sector workers, violating Jordan's international obligations under various treaties and International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions it had previously ratified.

Last year, the government reopened both the Labor Law and the Social Security Law for further amendments. Although some proposed changes particularly to the Labor Lawwere positive, such as extending maternity leave to 90 days, introducing bereavement leave, and expanding protections for working women by prohibiting dismissal during pregnancy, other proposed amendments were negative. If enacted, they would further erode standards of decent work. For example, one amendment would allow employers facing economic or technical challenges to terminate up to 15% of their workforce once per year without consulting the Ministry of Labor. This could lead to a surge in job terminations in the private sector and exacerbate already high unemployment rates.

Another proposed amendment would remove the court's authority to intervene in cases where a labor union representative is dismissed for engaging in union activities. Instead, the worker would only have the right to claim compensation for damages incurred. This would further weaken the already fragile role of unions in defending workers' rights and interests.

These imbalances and challenges, combined with weak enforcement of labor legislation, often push workers to engage in protest actions such as sitins and strikes in an effort to make their voices heard and claim their labor and human rights as stipulated in Jordanian labor laws. Understanding the direction of labor and social movements in Jordan requires a close examination of the frameworks that govern these actions, as they determine the scope and limitations of activism.

According to social science literature, social protest is a collective effort aimed at changing the nature of stable social relations within a given society. A social movement is a collective endeavor to establish a new system of life, driven by dissatisfaction with the prevailing order and a desire to create a new model. For such movements to survive and succeed, they must include key elements such as continuity, conscious organization, and change.

Thereasons and circumstances that lead to protest vary, but protests are often resorted to after the failure or breakdown of collective bargaining as a means to achieve workers' demands, or due to the absence of channels for dialogue and negotiation with management and/or employers. Labor protest movements cannot be studied in isolation from broader social movements, as they are considered an integral part of them. Many schools of thought in social movement theory view economic factors as the primary driver of social mobilization. The intensification and escalation of labor protests often give rise to broader social movements.

The importance of preparing this report stems from the Labor Watch team's belief that labor protests are among the most significant indicators of economic and social crises especially within the labor market and that they accurately reflect the nature of relationships among the key stakeholders in labor relations: workers, employers, and the government.

Terminology and Concepts Within the Context of the Report

A method used by a group of workers (organized or unorganized), a labor union, or even a single worker to object to a current situation **Labor Protest** that harms their interests or to demand rights they do not enjoy. Labor protests typically take the form of sit-ins, strikes, threats, or marches. A form of protest against specific policies, decisions, or actions that negatively affect the interests of the participants. It involves Sit-In standing or gathering around the premises of the entity responsible for those policies. Protesters often raise slogans during sit-ins to attract public and media attention. A type of protest characterized by the collective cessation of work Strike by employees. Its purpose is to pressure the employer to improve working conditions or meet specific demands related to labor rights. A protest tactic in which a group of workers announces their intention to carry out a sit-in, strike, or march on a specified date. Threat of Protest This is done to pressure the employer or relevant authority to meet their demands. Such threats are usually issued in the form of a press statement directed at the employer and the media. Considered a form of protest, this involves an individual threatening to physically harm themselves in order to draw attention to their Threat of Self-Harm situation and pressure the responsible authority to meet their demands.

Numerical Indicators

The year 2024 witnessed a 42.6% decrease in the number of labor protests compared to 2023, with 51 protests recorded in 2024 versus 162 protests in 2023. This decline can be attributed—alongside a general downward trend in labor protests over the past decade (2013–2024) to several key factors. Most notably, the lack of seriousness from the government and the majority of employers in responding to workers' demands. In fact, only the demands of 8 protests were met out of the total labor protests in 2024. This has led many workers to refrain from protesting, feeling that their demands would not be addressed, coupled with fear of being dismissed from their jobs.

Additional contributing factors include pressure exerted on protesting workers and attempts to entice them with promises of meeting their demands, encouraging them to withdraw from labor actions. Government interventions also played a role, with many protests especially those by teachers and unemployed individuals being forcibly dispersed.

Moreover, the Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip, which began on October 7, 2023 and continues to this day, has led to a noticeable decline in labor protests demanding workers' rights. Large segments of the workforce who had been staging near-weekly protests such as teachers,

transport drivers, and retired phosphate workers suspended all protest activities due to shifts in public sentiment among Jordanians in response to the genocide being carried out against Palestinians in Gaza.

Despite the significant drop in labor protests last year, and their overall decline in recent years, the phenomenon of labor protests considered a form of broader social protest remains clearly visible. These protests reflect the depth of the economic and social crisis facing Jordan, marked by low wage levels and a stagnant minimum wage, alongside continuous increases in the prices of most goods and services. This has led to deteriorating economic conditions for the vast majority of citizens.

Additional issues include the suspension or delay of salary payments for many employees, and the lack of access for large segments of workers to basic labor rights guaranteed by Jordanian labor legislation. These rights include regulated working hours, annual and sick leave, official holidays, occupational health and safety standards, access to social insurance provided by the Social Security Corporation, and adequate health insurance among other elements of decent work conditions.

Table 1: presents the number of labor protests from the years 2011 to 2024

Year	Number of Protests
2011	828
2012	901
2013	890
2014	474
2015	236
2016	288
2017	229
2018	203
2019	266
2020	145
2021	225
2022	162
2023	89
2024	51

Figure 1: Distribution of Labor Protests from 2011 to 2024



Reasons for Labor Protests

The reasons behind labor protests in 2024 varied, including demands for wage payment or increases, multiple demands or benefits (more than one demand per protest), objections to laws, regulations, procedures, and decisions, calls for job opportunities, protests against dismissal from work, and other motivations that led workers to take action in pursuit of their labor rights.

Data indicates that the top priority for wageearning workers in Jordan during 2024 was protesting for wage payment or increases. This category ranked first, accounting for 18 labor protests, or 35.3% of the total. Most of these protests were carried out by:

- Employees of the Greater Amman Municipality, objecting to a decision to separate bonuses and allowances from their total salary, fearing the impact on their living conditions and retirement benefits.
- Workers at a support services company, protesting delays in receiving their monthly wages.
- Employees at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University, demanding the payment of their end-ofservice entitlements.

The second most common reason was protesting against laws, regulations, decisions, and procedures that harmed workers, with 15 labor protests representing 29.4% of the total. Most of these were organized by retirees from the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company, objecting to insurance company measures that weakened their health coverage. These measures included:

- Canceling coverage for many chronic disease treatments at pharmacies.
- Removing approval for numerous doctors.
- Creating obstacles for retirees seeking authorization for hospital or lab visits.

In third place were protests against dismissal from work, totaling 7 protests or 13.7% of the total. Most involved workers responsible for reading electricity meters and delivering bills, who protested the sudden termination of their contracts due to the government's rollout of the smart meter project.

Fourth were multi-demand protests, with 4 protests making up 7.8% of the total. These were primarily led by smart transport app drivers, demanding:

- An extension of the operational age limit for vehicles used in smart transport apps from 7 to 10 years.
- A cap of 15% on the commission deducted by companies.
- Enforcement of the Land Transport Regulatory Commission's laws and regulations on appbased transport companies, including fare compliance and permit quotas.

Fifth were protests driven by conflicting interests with other entities, demanding social protections such as social security, health insurance, occupational safety standards, and a suitable work environment. These accounted for 3 protests, or 5.9% of the total.

Finally, in last place were protests demanding job opportunities and employment stabilization, each with 2 protests, representing 3.9% of the total. Notably, no labor protests were recorded in 2024 related to union reform or the establishment of new unions.

Table 2: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Reason

Reasons for Protests	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Wages	33.1%	25.0%	53.2%	38.4%	30.5%	24.8%	24.4%	43.8%	39.3%	35.3%
Protesting Laws, Regulations, Procedures, and Decisions	22.0%	11.0%	12.7%	21.2%	19.2%	23.4%	16.4%	16%	23.6%	29.4%
Protesting Dismissal from Work	12.7%	13.0%	9.2%	6.4%	28.9%	11.0%	14.7%	16.7%	23.6%	13.7%
Multiple Demands (Benefits)	3.0%	1.0%	1.7%	1.0%	1.5%	0.0%	7.6%	4.3%	1.1%	7.8%
Demanding Job Opportunities	14.4%	30.0%	14.0%	22.7%	12.8%	2.8%	7.1%	8.6%	3.4%	3.9%
Demanding Employment Stabilization	1.3%			0.5%			4.0%	0.6%	1.1%	3.9%
Demanding Reform of Existing Unions or the Establishment of New Unions	7.2%	10.0%	9.2%	4.9%	6.4%	4.8%	2.2%	3.1%	1.1%	
Other*	6.4%	10.0%	0.0%	4.9%	0.8%	4.1%	23.6%	6.8%	6.7%	5.9%

Other): Includes demands for health insurance, occupational safety and health standards, suitable work environments, and conflicts of interest with other entities, etc.

Table 2: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Reason



Types of Labor Protests

For the purposes of this report, labor protests have been categorized into the following types: sit-ins, strikes, threats of protest actions, acts of self-harm, threats of self-harm, protest marches, and finally, digital storms—considered a form of protest in the modern context.

In 2024, sit-ins ranked first, accounting for 47.1% of all labor protests, with a total of 24 protests. Most of these were carried out by:

- Workers responsible for reading electricity meters and delivering bills, protesting the sudden termination of their contracts.
- Employees of the Greater Amman Municipality, objecting to the decision to separate bonuses and allowances from their total salary.
- Retirees from the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company, protesting the weakening of their health insurance coverage.
- Drivers working for smart transport apps.

Coming in second were threats of protest actions, representing 37.3% of the total, with 19 protests, most of which were organized by phosphate company retirees.

Strikes ranked third, making up 13.7% of the total, with 7 protests, primarily involving workers at a support services company protesting delays in receiving their monthly wages.

In last place were threats of self-harm, accounting for 2.0% of the total, with only one protest recorded. This involved a municipal employee in Irbid who threatened to harm himself in protest against a new bonus system.

No protest marches or digital storms were recorded in 2024.

Table 3: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Type of Protest.

Type of Protest	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Sit-In	54.2%	56.0%	66.4%	62.6%	69.2%	62.1%	54.2%	61.1%	37.1%	47.1%
Threat	9.7%	14.0%	9.2%	10.8%	14.7%	11.7%	23.6%	13.6%	47.2%	37.3%
Strike	26.7%	25.0%	19.2%	22.7%	9.8%	7.6%	16.0%	14.8%	5.6%	13.7%
March						15.9%	4.4%	6.2%	2.2%	
Threat of Self-Harm	9.3%	5.0%	5.2%	3.9%	5.3%	2.8%	1.8%	1.9%	2.2%	2.0%
Digital Storm								2.5%	5.6%	

Labor Protests by Employment Sector

In 2024, workers in the private sector carried out a total of 20 labor protests, representing 39.2% of all recorded protests. Meanwhile, public sector employees staged 18 protests, accounting for 35.3%. Retirees organized 11 protests, making up 21.6%, and only 2 protests were carried out by unemployed individuals, representing 3.9% of the total.

No joint protests between the public and private sectors were recorded in 2024, nor were there any protests by employees of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). It is notable that the proportion of labor protests in both the public and private sectors declined in 2024 compared to previous years. This decline is not due to improved working conditions—which continue to deteriorate—but rather stems from workers' fear of being dismissed if they engage in protest actions. Additional factors include pressure and inducements offered to protesting workers, such as promises to meet their demands, aimed at persuading them to withdraw from labor protests. The weak role of labor unions in organizing lawful protests for their members also contributed to the decline.

Moreover, the ongoing Israeli aggression against the Gaza Strip has hindered the execution of further labor protests—whether in the private sector, public sector, or among the unemployed. As mentioned earlier in the report, many labor groups have scaled back their protest activities in solidarity with the Palestinian people in Gaza.

Table 4: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Employment Sector

Employment Sector	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Private Sector	47.9%	64.0%	56.3%	50.2%	33.5%	43.4%	53.3%	38.9%	34.8%	39.2%
Public Sector	41.1%	23.0%	34.5%	31.5%	36.1%	44.1%	25.8%	24.7%	25.8%	35.3%
Unemployed Individuals	11.0%	13.0%	9.2%	5.9%	28.2%	12.4%	12.9%	17.3%	22.5%	3.9%
Public and Private Sectors (Joint Protests)				8.9%			4.0%	3.1%		
Retirees								15.4%	16.9%	21.6%
UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East)				3.4%			4.0%	0.6%		

Actors Behind Labor Protests

For the fourteenth consecutive year, the majority of labor protests have been carried out by worker groups that lack formal union representation. In 2024, these groups accounted for 54.9% of all labor protests, totaling 28 protests. Retirees ranked second, organizing 11 protests (representing 21.6%), followed by labor unions and their committees—both official and independent—which staged 10 protests (19.6%). At the bottom of the list were unemployed individuals, who carried out only 2 protests, making up 3.9% of the total.

No protests were recorded in 2024 by professional associations or by employees of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). These figures are detailed in Table 5, which compares the data with previous years.

Category of Protest Organizers	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Workers Outside Any Union Framework	62.3%	60.0%	72.5%	42.4%	50.8%	59.3%	40.0%	43.2%	33.7%	54.9%
Labor Unions and Their Committees	17.4%	22.0%	10.5%	31.0%	6.1%	3.4%	32.9%	11.7%	12.4%	19.6%
Unemployed Individuals	12.7%	13.0%	9.2%	6.4%	28.2%	11.0%	13.3%	17.3%	22.5%	3.9%
Professional Associations	7.6%	5.0%	6.5%	20.2%	14.9%	23.4%	9.8%	11.7%	14.6%	
Retirees								15.4%	16.9%	21.6%
UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East)							4.0%	0.6%		

Table 5: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Organizing Group

Key Observations and Analysis

- Persistent Lack of Union Representation Most labor protests in recent years have been led by worker groups without union frameworks—or by groups that have bypassed their unions in favor of self-organized bodies advocating for their rights and demands.
- Weak Dialogue Channels This trend highlights the absence or weakness of formal dialogue and negotiation mechanisms between workers and employers. The lack of effective communication contributes to the rise in protest activity.
- Impact of Weak Labor Unions The continued absence of strong, active labor unions in Jordan has significantly weakened working conditions and undermined social dialogue and collective bargaining. As a result, many labor sectors

- resort to protests as their primary means of expressing grievances.
- Correlation with Decent Work Conditions Sectors that enjoy decent working conditions tend to have strong union representation. Workers in these sectors typically do not resort to protests, as they have access to negotiation channels and the experience needed to improve their conditions through dialogue.
- Barriers to Unionization The vast majority of wage earners—especially in the public sector and much of the private sector—are denied the right to unionize due to restrictive legislation. Additionally, many officially recognized unions lack democratic practices, excluding hundreds of thousands of workers from membership. This, combined with the unions' limited effectiveness in defending members' interests, has led to low rates of union affiliation.

Labor Protests by Economic Sector

Labor protests in 2024 were distributed across various economic sectors to varying degrees. The retiree sector ranked first, accounting for 21.6% of total labor protests, with 11 protests. It was followed by the municipal sector, which represented 17.6% with 9 protests. In third place came the energy sector, with 8 protests making up 15.7% of the total.

In fourth place, both the transport and services sectors were tied, each contributing 13.7% with 7 protests apiece.

The education sector ranked fifth, accounting for 9.8% of the total with 5 protests. In sixth place were unemployed individuals, responsible for 2 protests, representing 3.9%.

Finally, the health and industrial sectors were tied for last place, each contributing 2.0% with 1 protest.

Table 6: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Economic Sector

Economic Sector	Number of Protests	Percentage
Retirees	11	21.6%
Municipalities	9	17.6%
Energy Sector	8	15.7%
Transport Sector	7	13.7%
Services Sector	7	13.7%
Education Sector	5	9.8%
Unemployed Individuals Sector	2	3.9%
Health Sector	1	2.0%
Industrial Sector	1	2.0%
Total	51	100.0%

Geographic Distribution of Labor Protests

In 2024, the capital city of Amman ranked first in terms of the number of labor protests, with 35 protests, representing 68.6% of the total. It was followed by Irbid Governorate, which recorded 6 protests, accounting for 11.8%. In third place came Balqa Governorate, with 3 protests making up 7.8% of the total.

In fourth place were protests that occurred across multiple governorates, totaling 2 protests and representing 3.9%.

The lowest-ranking governorates were Ma'an, Madaba, Karak, and Ajloun, each recording 1 protest, equivalent to 2.0% per governorate. Meanwhile, no labor protests were recorded in the governorates

Table 7: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Governorate

Governorate	Number of Protests	Percentage
Amman	35	68.6%
Irbid	6	11.8%
Balqa	4	7.8%
Cross-Governorate	2	3.9%
Ma'an	1	2.0%
Madaba	1	2.0%
Karak	1	2.0%
Ajloun	1	2.0%
Total	51	100.0%

Monthly Distribution of Labor Protests

In terms of monthly distribution, October ranked first in 2024 with 12 labor protests, accounting for 23.5% of the total. It was followed by February, which recorded 10 protests representing 19.6%.

May came in third with 6 protests (11.8%). In fourth place were March and November, each with 5 protests, making up 9.8% respectively.

July ranked fifth with 3 protests (5.9%), while January, April, and August shared sixth place, each recording 2 protests (3.9%).

June came in last with only 1 protest, representing 2.0%, and September saw no recorded labor protests.

Table 8: Relative Distribution of Labor Protests by Month (2024)

Month	Number of Protests	Percentage
January	2	3.9%
February	10	19.6%
March	5	9.8%
April	2	3.9%
May	6	11.8%
June	1	2.0%
July	3	5.9%
August	2	3.9%
September	0	0.0%
October	12	23.5%
November	5	9.8%
December	3	5.9%
Total	51	100.0%

Duration of Labor Protests

The duration of labor protests carried out in 2024 varied depending on the organizers, their demands, and how those demands were addressed. Protest lengths ranged from one day to 42 days.

The longest protest of the year was organized by truck drivers, who staged a 42-day sit-in in response to being barred from transporting phosphate from the Al-Hasa area in Tafileh and Al-Abyad in Karak to the Port of Agaba.

The second-longest protest was a 14-day strike by workers at a support services company, protesting delays in receiving their monthly wages.

- One-day protests accounted for 52.9% of the total, with 27 protests.
- Protests lasting two to three days made up 5.9%, with 3 protests.
- Protests lasting six to fifteen days and those lasting more than 25 days each represented 2.0%, with 1 protest in each category.

Table 9: Distribution of Labor Protests by Duration (2024)

Protests Duration	Number of Protests	Percentages
One Day	27	52.9%
2-3 Days	3	5.9%
4-5 Days	0	0.0%
6-15 Days	1	2.0%
16-25 Days	0	0.0%
More Than 25 Days	1	2.0%
Threat Only (No Action)	19	37.3%
Total	51	100.0%

Reasons Behind the One-Day Labor Protests

Most of the labor protests that lasted only one day were halted for several reasons. Among the key factors was the intent to give employers and government authorities an opportunity to review and consider the demands raised by the protesting workers. Additionally, the majority of these protests were spontaneous and unplanned, often triggered by a specific action or decision that provoked immediate reaction from the workers.

Number of Participants in Labor Protests

The number of participants in labor protests during 2024 varied depending on the nature of the protest and the organizing groups.

- Protests involving 1 to 100 participants accounted for 27.5%, with a total of 14 protests.
- The largest share came from protests with 101 to 500 participants, representing 45.1%, or 23 protests.
- Only 2.0% of protests involved 501 to 1000 participants, with 1 protest in this category.
- Meanwhile, protests with more than 1000 participants made up 25.5%, totaling 13 labor protests.

Table 10: Distribution of Labor Protests by Number of Participants (2024)

Number of Participants	Number of Protests	Percentage
1-100	14	27.5%
101 - 500	23	45.1%
501 - 1000	1	2.0%
More than 1000	13	25.5%
Total	51	100.0%

Fulfillment of Labor Demands

Data from 2024 indicates that the majority of labor protests did not result in the fulfillment of workers' demands. Specifically:

- 80.4% of protests—41 in total—saw no response from company management or government authorities.
- Only 15.7% of protests—8 in total—resulted in full satisfaction of the protesters' demands.
- A single protest (2.0%) by employees of the Greater Amman Municipality led to partial fulfillment of demands.
- Another protest (2.0%) lacked sufficient information to determine whether the demands were met fully, partially, or not at all.

Table 11: Distribution of Labor Protests by Demand Fulfillment (2024)

Fulfillment Status	Number of Protests	Percentage
Demands Not Fulfilled	41	80.4%
Demands Fully Fulfilled	8	15.7%
Information Not Available	1	2.0%
Demands Partially Fulfilled	1	2.0%
Total	89	100.0%

Key Factors Behind Low Fulfillment Rates

Several structural and political challenges contributed to the high rate of unmet demands:

- Government and private sector resistance to labor demands, aiming to prevent the expansion of protest movements.
- Limited experience among workers in organizing effective protests and engaging in collective bargaining.
- Weak labor unions with low effectiveness and limited community organizing skills among workers in Jordan.

Legal and Institutional Barriers

The diminished role of labor unions and workers' reluctance to engage with them stem from restrictive labor laws:

- Constraints on the right to collective bargaining.
- Broad powers granted to the Minister of Labor to dissolve unions for violations.
- Occupational classifications that limit which workers can form unions.
- A ban on union pluralism, restricting diversity in labor representation.

Moreover, many labor sectors in Jordan continue to face serious obstacles in union formation and organization. This is exacerbated by the country's non-ratification of ILO Convention No. 87, which guarantees the right to form unions and freedom of association. The Minister of Labor also retains absolute authority under Article 98 of the Jordanian Labor Law to determine which professions are eligible to form unions.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The report reveals that although labor protests in 2024 continued at lower levels compared to previous years, their frequency still reflects fundamental imbalances in labor relations and ongoing tensions in Jordan's labor market.

These protests underscore the depth of the economic and social crisis facing Jordan, marked by:

- Declining indicators of decent work.
- Persistently low and unequal wages.
- Rising costs of essential goods and services.
- Mounting pressure on various economic sectors and their workers, largely due to unjust economic policies.

Jordan's labor market continues to suffer from significant gaps in the implementation of decent work standards and fundamental labor rights, across legislation, policy, and practice. This is evident in:

- The national economy's inability to generate sufficient decent job opportunities
- Weak social protection systems
- Limited ability of workers to exercise their rights to unionization, collective bargaining, and social dialogue on policies affecting all production stakeholders

Key Recommendations

- 1. Implement decent work principles and fundamental labor rights for all wage earners in Jordan, across all sectors.
- 2. Amend labor law provisions to allow all wage earners to freely form their own unions, eliminate monopolistic representation by existing unions, and align legislation with the Jordanian Constitution and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights ratified by Jordan.
- 3. Revise civil service and public sector HR regulations to enable public sector workers to form unions freely, in line with constitutional amendments (2011) and Constitutional Court ruling No. 6 (2013), and to allow for collective bargaining with government entities.
- 4. Continue raising wage levels to match living costs by linking them to annual inflation rates.
- 5. Develop affordable insurance tools for self-employed workers without employers, expanding social coverage.

- Reform labor dispute laws and resolution mechanisms, which have failed to deliver fair outcomes, and adopt new techniques aligned with ILO Convention No. 98 on the right to organize and collective bargaining.
- 7. Enhance labor inspection effectiveness by increasing the Ministry of Labor's budget, enabling more inspectors and better training.
- 8. Strengthen enforcement of labor legislation to curb violations and ensure decent working conditions.

- 9. Reassess tax policies, particularly indirect taxes that have weakened purchasing power and slowed economic growth, and move toward reducing general sales tax.
- 10. Invest in vocational training by increasing funding for technical and vocational education institutions and aligning university programs with labor market needs.
- 11. Promote productive projects that generate real job opportunities, especially for unemployed youth.



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