The Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign

Eight years of struggle: Have the power dynamics shifted?

Second case study (April 2015 – August 2023)

2023

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Rama Sabanekh
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Contents

Abbreviations

GFJTU	General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions
MOL	Ministry of Labour
MOF	Ministry of Finance
SSC	Social Security Corporation
NCPE	National Committee for Pay Equity
ILO	International Labour Organization
JNCW	The Jordanian National Commission For Women

Introduction: Perspective as a political choice

This study analyses the endeavours of the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign, focusing on the human rights predicaments faced by female teachers within the private educational sector, and situating this within the expansive framework of Jordan's labour and political milieu. The objective is to furnish a comprehensive scholarly work that fosters a dialogue amongst various, intersecting viewpoints and data, thus melding theoretical constructs with palpable fieldwork. The study explores the dynamics of political affiliations, labour rights, unionisation, organised labour, and societal evolution, all in tandem.

The study poses a pivotal question: To what extent has this campaign, in the eight years since its inception, effected alterations in the reality confronting these female teachers in the private domain? In addressing this query, the study contextualises change and juxtaposes it against the campaign's accomplishments, strategies, and manoeuvres.

Employing qualitative and narrative methodologies, grounded in the humanities' scholarly instruments, this study is predicated on field research (encompassing interviews with 23 distinct individuals, either individually or in small focus groups, with responses collated through questionnaires)[1], alongside an examination of written and published scholarly and media sources. Furthermore, it scrutinises the campaign's rhetoric, perceptions of its participants and adversaries, as well as the broader public sentiment within its sphere. It is imperative to note that outcomes based on quantitative analyses, such as graphs and percentages, fall outside this study's purview and could be the subject of subsequent inquiries.

This study acts as an extension of the initial case study[2] released in 2017, augmenting three previous studies[3] on the campaign's activities, experiences, tactics, and its foundational approach to societal transformation. One might query the rationale behind revisiting the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign. What objectives does this study pursue, and what novel insights does it intend to unveil?

In addressing such inquiries, it is essential to acknowledge the significant elapse of time since the campaign's last scholarly review. The timeline of extant studies culminates in 2020, and since then, numerous evolutions have transpired within the campaign, amongst the female teachers involved, and within Jordan's socio-political landscape, where the campaign is operational.

In terms of content, the enquiry into impact marks a novel approach in the discourse surrounding the campaign. Whereas previous analyses have explored the changes and the role the campaign has played in the context of rights for female teachers in the private sector and public consciousness, they have done so within a disparate framework from the present study. Earlier research has concentrated on global organisational concepts and tools, employing the campaign as a case study for the selected research theme. In contrast, this study positions the campaign at the epicentre of its analytical trajectory, focusing on the campaign's transformative influence and deriving insights therefrom.

1. See Annex I.

2. Haj Ahmad, N. (2017). An experience of collective voice. ILO.

3. Alami, N. (2019). Leadership for rights. Hivos Foundation; Aiello, E. (2020). Public narrative and its use in the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign in Jordan . Harvard University; Abou Jbara, J. (2020). Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs.

The perspective adopted in this study is unequivocally a political choice. At this juncture, the researcher's political choice is to endorse and build upon organised struggle, whilst avoiding bias and eschewing exaggeration. This document aims to represent reality as it is, documenting and reflecting upon it for educational purposes, thereby presenting a multifaceted depiction of the facets of change engendered by and attributable to the campaign. Each facet is evaluated within its specific context, environmental setting, and resultant outcomes.

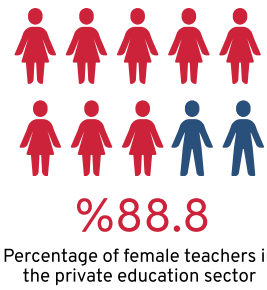
Complex violations: A diagnostic review of the predicament of teachers in the private education sector

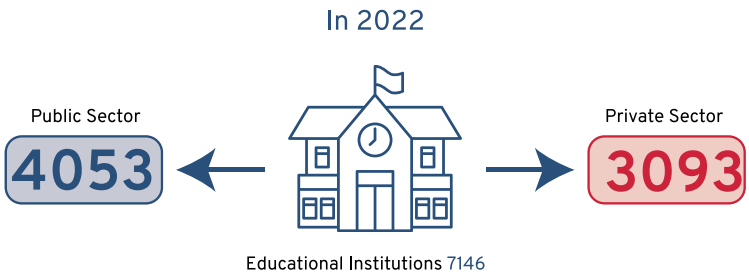
"After 13 years of service, my employer diminished my value with disheartening words: 'Who are you, you inconsequential entity, merely a vassal among my vassals, to aspire for conference participation?' These words deeply wounded me, instilling a profound sense of insignificance." — Nariman Al Shawahin[4], 2023.

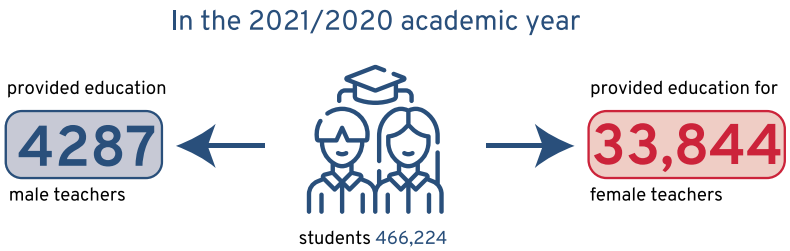
The exploration of the conditions faced by female teachers within Jordan's private schooling system is contextualised within the broader framework of the nation's educational landscape. This is especially pertinent in light of the dissolution of the Council of the Jordanian Teachers' Syndicate (JTS) and the subsequent incarceration of several of its members in December 2020. Due to spatial limitations, this analysis will not delve into the multifaceted dimensions of this backdrop comprehensively. Instead, it will focus on delineating the labour dynamics prevalent within the private educational sector.

The Ministry of Education's (MoE) annual report for 2022 reveals that the private sector encompasses 3,093 educational facilities (inclusive of 1,681 kindergartens), in contrast to 4,053 state-operated educational institutions[5]. During the 2021-2022 academic year, private institutions catered to 466,224 students, with a teaching staff comprising 4,287 male and 33,844 female teachers. This indicates that women constitute 88.8% of the workforce in the private educational realm — a stark figure, particularly when juxtaposed with the 18.1% representation of working women in Jordan's labour force in 2022[6].

These statistics provide a pivotal foundation for situating the private education sector within its analytical framework, as violations within this sector are intrinsically linked to the broader socio-economic conditions of women in Jordan. The sector represents a domain where gender-based disparities exacerbate the challenges faced by working women, necessitating a feminist analytical lens for a comprehensive understanding and critique.







4. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
5. Ministry of Education (MoE). (2022). Yearbook. Department of Educational Planning and Research.
6. Mustafa, M. I. (2022). Jordan's female labour force participation rate stands at 14.3%. Jordan Times.

What factors contribute to the predominance of women in this sector?

In a societal construct where males are perceived as the principal economic providers, the employment of women is often relegated to a secondary status, overshadowed by their primary role in domestic caregiving.

Employment in the educational field is socially endorsed for women; it offers conducive working hours for mothers, ensures a gender-segregated environment, and conforms to societal constructs of women as innate caregivers[7]. This role is predominantly associated with nurturing children and adolescents, both within the domestic sphere and professionally (parallels can be drawn with the healthcare sector, which similarly embodies societal expectations of women's roles within caregiving domains).

This societal perception, coupled with the sector's lack of professionalisation — evidenced by the absence of licensing or certification prerequisites — channels a significant number of qualified women towards it.

However, the oversupply of female teachers in the private education sector, juxtaposed with the prevalent labour violations, underscores the severity of systemic exploitation. A particularly egregious form of exploitation is encapsulated in the employers' recurring admonition: "Should you decline the terms offered, there are ten others willing to take your place." This threat, leveraged against those who challenge injustices or assert their rightful legal and labour entitlements, epitomises the pervasive issue of employment insecurity.

The Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign records a multitude of labour infringements within the private education sector, encapsulating issues related to remuneration among other violations[8].

Teachers have reported an array of grievances including the non-receipt of salaries or the execution of contracts promising higher remuneration than is subsequently disbursed. Instances have been noted where the wages disbursed fall below the statutory minimum wage, or where teachers fail to receive the financial entitlements as delineated in the unified contract. These entitlements encompass an annual experience allowance of JOD 3, a yearly increment of 5%, and a teacher's bonus of JOD 10. Additionally, there are discrepancies in the method of wage disbursement, with some employers circumventing the mandated electronic or bank transfers within the private education framework.

A notable disparity in remuneration between female and male teachers further exacerbates the issue. Beyond the financial violations, the campaign also highlights transgressions affecting the work environment. These include the absence of enrolment in the Social Security Corporation (SSC), the coerced signing of promissory notes to defer payment, and the imposition of resignations during the summer recess[9].

Female teachers, in particular, confront challenges with the insufficiency of essential resources for pedagogical activities, an issue that became pronounced during the COVID-19 pandemic. They are often tasked with additional duties not stipulated in their employment agreements or customary practices within the sector, such as escorting students on transport or undertaking cleaning tasks within the school premises.

7. Aslan, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

8. Ahel Foundation. (2018). Issues of private sector teachers. ILO. Hard copy.

9. Zayadat, A. (2023). Discontent in Jordan as school instruct teachers to time their pregnancies to coincide with the summer break. Al-Arabi Al-Jadeed; Husna FM. (2023). When did employment screening become a requirement for hiring female teachers in private schools?

There are reports of teachers being compelled to work overtime without remuneration. Furthermore, the scope of violations extends to encroachments on administrative and organisational rights, with instances of teachers being mandated to undergo pregnancy tests or to time their pregnancies to coincide with the summer break.

The spectrum of labour violations in the private education sector encompasses:

Financial and contractual violations

- Non-payment of salaries to some teachers.
- Contractual discrepancies with some teachers signing for higher wages than received.
- Payment of wages below the minimum wage.
- Non-fulfilment of financial benefits as per the unified contract.
- Non-compliance with mandated electronic or bank wage transfers.
- Gender-based wage disparities.

Moral violations

- Failure to enrol teachers in the Social Security Corporation.
- Coercion into signing promissory notes to defer payment.
- Lack of necessary pedagogical resources, particularly noted during the COVID-19 crisis.
- Imposition of tasks not outlined in employment contracts or sector norms.
- Compulsory unpaid overtime work.
- Mandates for pregnancy testing and scheduling pregnancies outside of the academic year.

> *"In Zarqa, instances persist where schools remunerate teachers with JOD 150 (approximately USD 210) in cash, compelling them to sign for the statutory minimum wage of JOD 260 (approximately USD 370) for regulatory compliance." — Wafa Al Fadly[10], 2023.*

Munther Al Sourani, president of the Association of Private School Owners (APSO), attributes these violations to the teachers' acquiescence, admitting their occurrence, but asserting that they impact only a minor fraction of private educational establishments. He posits, "The onus is on the teachers for their predicament; it is beyond my capacity to dictate their choices … Should an educator possess competence, why would they consent to a remuneration of JOD 260? [11]"

In the employer-employee dynamic, the latter invariably constitutes the more vulnerable party. Within the context of the private education sector's labour market, female teachers emerge as a particularly disadvantaged group, their employment prospects and livelihoods imperilled by a confluence of job scarcity and societal forces that propel them towards this sector.

10. Al Fadly, W. (2023). Focus session with local teams' female coordinators. Amman, Jordan.

11. Al Sourani, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Moreover, in the socio-political landscape of labour, unions and labour collectives have experienced significant marginalisation since the 1990s, situated within a wider global neoliberal economic agenda that systematically undermines workers' rights globally[12].

In Jordan, female teachers face not only labour-related violations but also infringements upon their rights stemming directly from their gender. This situation is embedded within a broader framework of systemic economic and social discrimination that operates across various dimensions and levels, positioning female teachers in the private education sector squarely as subjects of an entrenched injustice system, subjected to systematic and structural violations beyond their control.

Who is accountable for the violations within the private education sector?

Primarily, the onus falls on the employer. However, attributing responsibility is a multifaceted issue: the degree of vulnerability to violations and rights infringements by the employer is intricately linked to the efficacy of the prevailing legal and regulatory frameworks designed to identify, deter, and mitigate such violations.

The oversight of regulatory bodies in the education sector is delineated as follows: the Ministry of Labour (MoL), tasked with regulating labour and workers' rights in Jordan; the MoE, overseeing the adherence of private schools to the regulations governing their establishment and operation; and the SSC, responsible for ensuring workers' enrolment in social security schemes.

Within the union sphere, the General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions (GFJTU) represents the collective interests of workers in Jordan[13], encompassing, among its affiliates, the General Union of Workers in Private Education (GUWPE) — one of 17 labour unions — and the APSO, which aims to safeguard private schools, advocate for their rights, facilitate inter-school relations, and pursue legal cases[14].

The JTS, whilst a professional body rather than a labour union, focuses on organising the profession rather than advocating for the labour rights of those employed within it and, as such, does not participate in negotiations concerning the rights of teachers in the private sector[15].

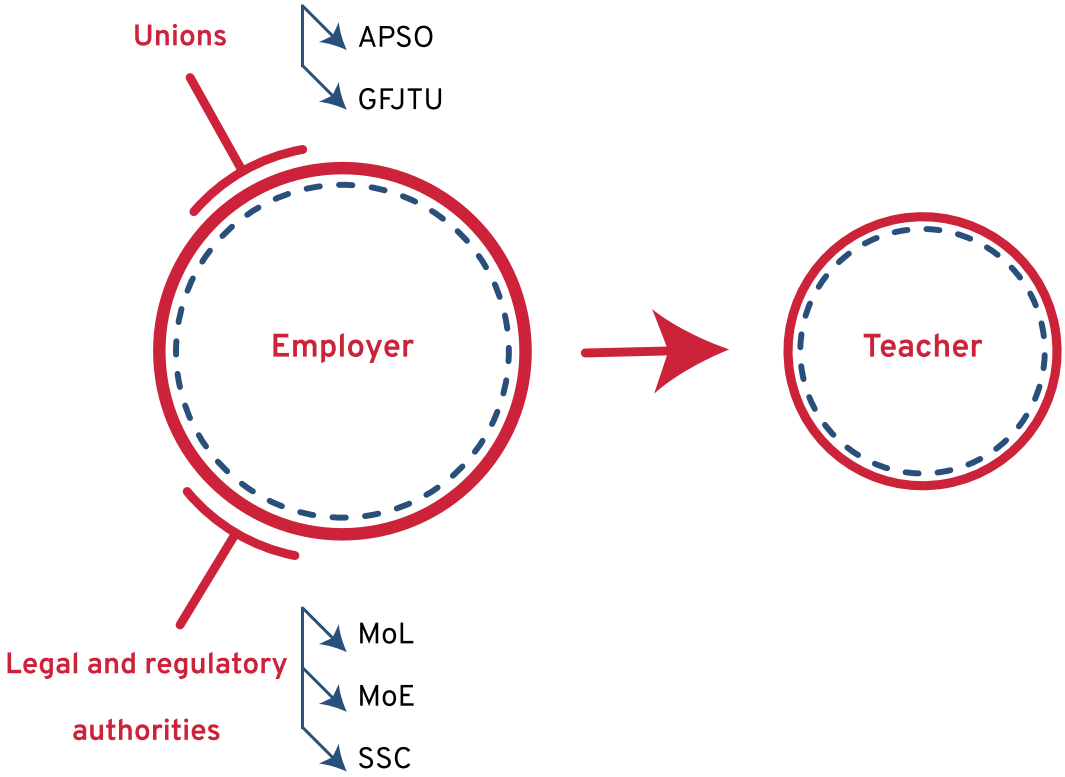
12. Tufaro, R. (2019). Towards the rise of the unprotected? Neoliberalism, social policies, and socio-economic contention in contemporary Jordan. The Centre for Social Sciences Research and Action; Al Hourani, H. (2001). The Jordanian labour movement: history, structure and challenges. Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

13. General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions (GFJTU). (n.d.). Facebook page.

14. Al Sourani, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

15. Al Maayta M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Who is responsible for violations in the private educational sector?



> *"The director managed to falsify the contract and register me for social security, from which I received no benefits." — Maha Abu Malouh[16], 2023.*

The unified contract — a collective employment agreement under the Labour Law umbrella — delineates the relationship between employees in the private education sector and their employers, with negotiations over its terms conducted between the private education workers' union and the school owners' union. This contract, alongside the stipulations of Jordanian Labour Law, regulates the interactions between educational establishments and the Ministry of Labour, granting the ministry the authority to conduct inspections and impose sanctions on entities that contravene the agreed contract and labour laws.

Pertaining to the Establishment and Licensing Regulation for Private and Foreign Educational Institutions, this framework delineates the nexus between the MoE and private educational entities, predominantly concentrating on aspects of the pedagogical process, infrastructural facilities, and classroom capacities. Notably, Article (16) stipulates the mandatory transfer of teachers' salaries through banking channels and the maintenance of digital records as prerequisites for the annual renewal of operating licences for private schools.

16. Abu Mallouh, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Lina Al Malkawi[17], head of the Establishment and Licensing Department within the Private Education Directorate of the MoE, articulates a cautious stance adopted by official bodies towards this sector. Dr. Amin Shdaifat, in 2018[18], underscored the integral role of private education in Jordan's educational landscape, highlighting its contribution to alleviating the pressures on the public education system, particularly in rural and underserved regions, and its significance as an investment avenue bolstering Jordan's economic competitiveness.

These assertions resonate with the observations made by the campaign concerning the dynamics between the sector and regulatory authorities. Maha Abu Malouh[19], general coordinator of the campaign, reflected on insights gained from a 2022 dialogue with the secretary-general of the MoE, who disclosed the ministry's hesitancy to shutter schools found in violation, even when presented with comprehensive evidence of infractions, weighing the implications on investment, student welfare, and employment. Hadeel Al Kiswani, media coordinator of the campaign, commenting on this stance in a 2022 television interview, posited, "It appears that the prioritisation of investment, economic interests, and financial gains trumps the protection of teachers' rights. Our contention was that equitable consideration should be accorded to all stakeholders involved in the educational process, encompassing school owners, students, and teachers alike. Thus, why is a balanced solution, accommodating the interests of all parties, elusive?[20]"

Salma Al Nims, erstwhile secretary-general of the Jordanian National Committee for Women (JNCW), concurs with Al Kiswani's proposition, advocating for the institution of a revised regulatory oversight mechanism for the licensing regime or the overhaul of the public education framework to augment its capacity, quality, and accessibility. She argues, "The responsibility vested in the MoE complicates the closure of non-compliant institutions. Upon issuance of non-compliance notices, owners frequently cite financial duress, compounded by the non-payment of fees by parents. A holistic solution envisages the revitalisation of the public sector to emerge as the premier educational conduit for all Jordanian students ... A strategic overhaul is imperative, prompting a reassessment of fiscal allocations within the education sector."

She further elucidates, "An analysis indicates that the public sector's expenditure per student annually amounts to JOD 700, surpassing the tuition fees of certain private institutions. Conversely, fees in some private settings range JOD 10,000 – JOD 14,000, a financial reservoir not optimally leveraged for state benefits. In summation, the predicament is multifaceted, necessitating a strategic resolution, albeit, the brunt of these challenges should not disproportionately burden the teachers, who occupy the lower echelons of this hierarchical structure.[21]"

17. Al Malkawi, L. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

18. Ammon News. (2018). Private education: A new school classification system.

19. Abu Mallouh, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

20. Kiswani, H. (2022). A sit-in by private sector female teacher to demand their labour rights. A ONE TV.

21. Nims, S. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

An ongoing journey: Tracing the evolution of the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign

On April 4th, 2020, amidst the upheaval caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, viewers tuned in to Al-Mamlaka Channel's "Shadow Government" programme from the comfort of their homes in Jordan. The episode featured a compelling discussion with Hadeel Al-Kaswani, media coordinator for the "Stand with the Teacher" campaign, and Munther Al-Sourani, president of APSO. The broadcast captured the attention of 75,000 Facebook users, and the exchange of 2,800 comments.[22], the campaign articulated its concerns and demands with clarity, addressing the delays in the disbursement of salaries for March and May of the same year. It highlighted the financial difficulties faced by educational institutions in meeting salary obligations and debated the inappropriate transfer of this financial burden to teachers — a responsibility that, under normal circumstances, should be borne by the employers to mitigate market risks.

Al Sourani's retort during the programme was notably confrontational, targeting Al Kasswani with personal critiques. Approximately 16 minutes into the broadcast, he accused Al Kasswani of being underprepared, suggesting that a more robust dialogue could have been achieved otherwise[23]. This altercation not only aimed to question her legitimacy in advocating for teachers' rights but also unveiled the nature of discourse that could potentially transpire more gravely within the confines of educational institutions' administration offices and staff rooms. This televised exchange served as a microcosm of the broader challenges and intimidations faced by teachers, pressured to acquiesce to prevailing conditions and the dominance of capitalist interests over their livelihoods.

The genesis of the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign dates back to April 2015, originating from systemic labour violations within the private sector. Unlike conventional organisational memberships, this campaign garnered direct support from the Jordanian National Committee for Pay Equity (NCPE), encompassing governmental bodies, the MoL, the MoE, pertinent unions, including the GUWPE and General Trade Union of Workers in Health Services (GTUWHS), as well as the JNCW, the ILO, Ahel Foundation, and various civil society entities. This coalition aimed to bolster teachers' capacities to advocate for their rights against documented injustices. These were initially highlighted in a 2013 ILO study focusing on wage gaps[24], subsequently expanded to encompass broader issues such as gender-based wage gaps and minimum wage standards[25], as outlined by Reem Aslan, who is in charge of the ILO's Decent Work for Women Programme.

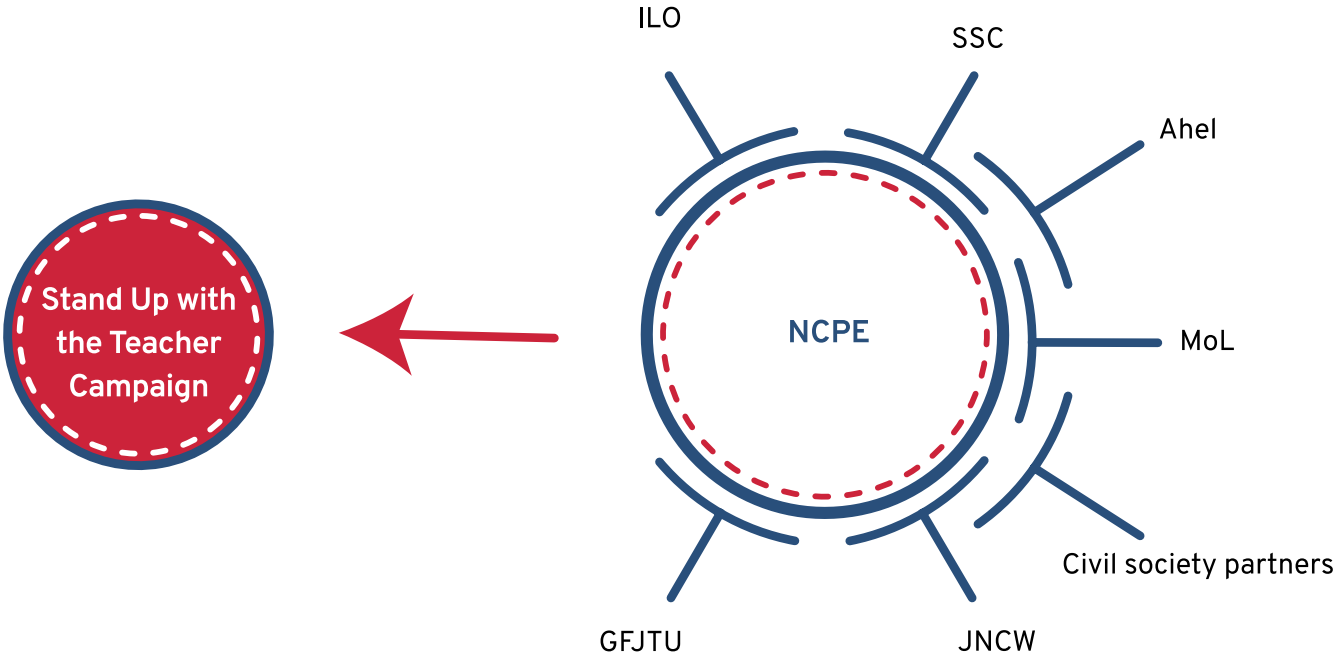
22. Al Mamlaka TV. (n.d.). Facebook page.

23. Al Mamlaka TV. (2020). Salary crisis of private sector teachers.

24. International Labor Office. (2013). Study on gender pay gap in the private education sector in Jordan. ILO.

25. Aslan R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan

Key supporters of Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign



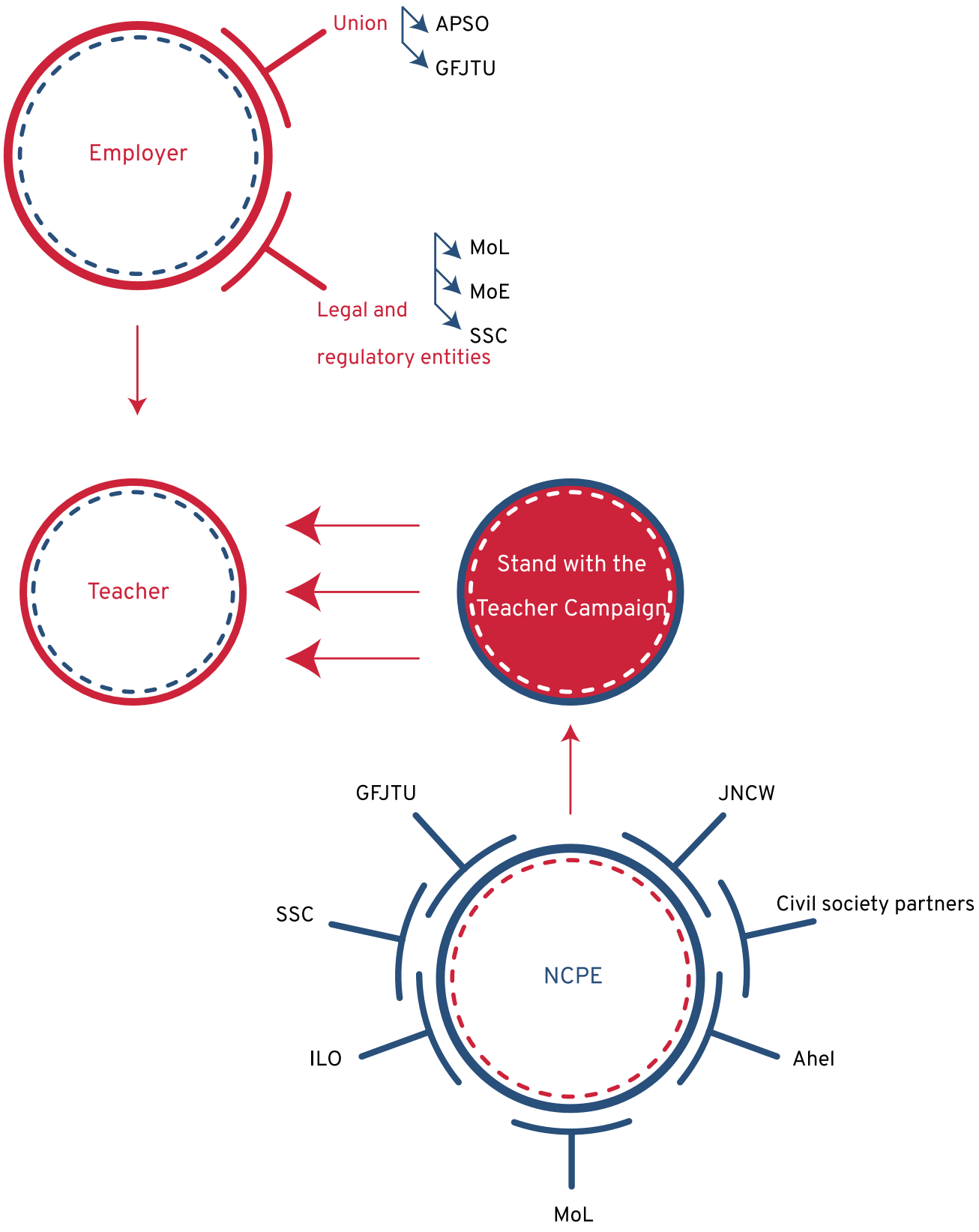
In response to these findings, the ILO, in collaboration with the NCPE and Ahel[26], initiated efforts to empower teachers in the Irbid Governorate — identified as a region with pronounced violations. The objective was to enhance teachers' understanding and awareness of their rights, improve their organising skills, and promote collective action through community organisation and leadership[27]. This strategic approach was intended to galvanise a movement capable of addressing the deplorable conditions prevalent in the private education sector[28].

26. Aslan R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan

27. A method developed by Professor Marshall Ganz and adapted by the Ahel Foundation.

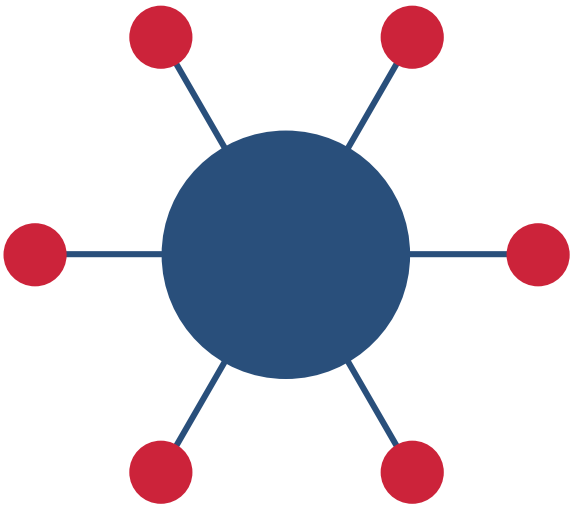
28. Alami, N. (2019). Leadership for rights. Hivos Foundation; Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Key actors


Union
APSO
GFJTU
Employer
MoL
MoE
SSC
Legal and
regulatory entities
Teacher
Stand with the
Teacher Campaign
GFJTU
JNCW
SSC
Civil society partners
NCPE
ILO
Ahel
MoL

Following the initial instalment and the endeavour to identify female leaders, a cohort from Ahel commenced collaboration with a sextet of committed female leaders. This task rendered challenging due to the historical marginalisation of women's roles within trade unions and the public domain[29], coupled with the impediments to organisation and mobilisation, risking job security in the absence of labour protection networks (a reality faced by two members of the founding team). This collaboration focused on empowerment and meticulous support, acquainting them with legal frameworks, organisational, narrative, and strategic resources, and leveraging Ahel's networks to broaden the campaign's reach among relevant stakeholders[30]. Additionally, a comprehensive database for private sector teachers was developed, facilitating targeted engagement with teachers within this sector. Consequently, the campaign gained autonomy, expanded, and propagated its influence amongst the educator community in the Irbid Governorate. Concurrently, it engaged with official regulatory bodies and civil society entities, including the MoL — becoming a collaborator within the (NCPE) — to advocate for the issue and prompt the ministry's Inspection Directorate to augment its oversight within private educational institutions and monitor regulatory breaches.

2015



In the formative years (2015-2016), legal professionals, including Hala Aahed and Noor Al Imam[31], engaged closely with the campaign, imbuing leadership with legal acumen and organising skills as part of the "Ambassadors for Rights" initiative through comprehensive training sessions. From its inception, the campaign initiated a social media presence, becoming a conduit for teachers encountering human rights infractions, seeking redress and mitigation of injustices. This legal counsel empowered leaders to offer legal advice and conduct educational sessions on legal rights, thereby elevating legal awareness among the teaching fraternity involved in the campaign's training endeavours[32].

29. Haj Ahmad, N. (2017). An experience of collective voice. ILO.
30. Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
31. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
32. Shawahin, N., and Abu Mallouh, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

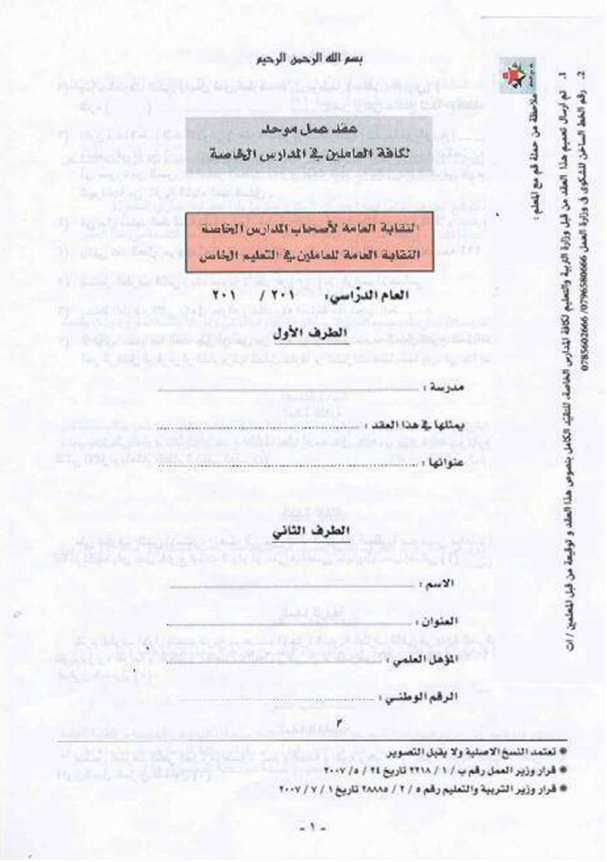
With the enhancement of legal proficiency among leadership and the disclosure of the unified contract and its stipulations through the "Ambassadors for Rights" initiative — aimed at widespread adoption and enforcement[33] — the campaign exerted pressure on governmental authorities, initially targeting the Directorate of Labour in Irbid Governorate, to enlighten teachers about the unified contract and their legally enshrined rights[34].

The campaign disseminated posters and banners across the governorate's main thoroughfares to augment awareness regarding this issue. Subsequently, the focus shifted towards the NCPE, advocating for the comprehensive implementation of the unified contract. This advocacy prompted the MoL to issue directives to the MoE, mandating the exclusion of any contractual agreements for private sector teachers that deviated from the unified contract or failed to offer superior benefits.

Between 2016-2017, the campaign concentrated on enhancing the benefits delineated within the unified contract and endeavoured to elevate the minimum wage (then JOD 190, approximately USD 268). Through collaborations with the NCPE and dialogues with the MoL, the campaign significantly influenced the labour movement, culminating in the elevation of the minimum wage to JOD 220 (roughly USD 310). In gratitude, the campaign orchestrated a "Thank You" rally. Following this achievement, consultations with legal and human rights experts led to the drafting of a ten-item proposal aimed at refining the unified contract, highlighting legal infractions reported to the campaign. This proposal was presented to multiple entities, including the MoL, the GFJTU, and the APSO, calling for negotiations to forge a revised unified contract. Of the ten proposed amendments, four were incorporated into the new contract, encompassing the revised minimum wage, educational allowances, annual increments, and experience allowances[35]. During the summer of 2017, the campaign conducted numerous training and awareness workshops to familiarise teachers with the updated unified contract, which was set to be implemented from September 2017[36], including distributing printed copies of the contract, elucidating its provisions, and organising individual sessions at teachers' clubs to promote its exclusive adoption[37].

33. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
34. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
35. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
36. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
37. Manna, R. (2023). A Study-Related Interview. Amman, Jordan.

Sample of Unified Contract



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

عقد عمل موحد
لكافة العاملين في المدارس الخاصة

النقابة العامة لأصحاب المدارس الخاصة
النقابة العامة للعاملين في التعليم الخاص

العام الدراسي: ٢٠١ / ٢٠١

الطرف الأول

مدرسة :

يمثلها في هذا العقد :

عنوانها :

الطرف الثاني

الاسم :

العنوان :

المؤهل العلمي :

الرقم الوطني :

٢

- تعتمد النسخ الاصلية ولا يقبل التصوير
- قرار وزير العمل رقم ب / ١ / ٢٢١٨ تاريخ ٢٤ / ٥ / ٢٠٠٧
- قرار وزير التربية والتعليم رقم ه / ٢ / ٢٨٨٥ تاريخ ١ / ٧ / ٢٠٠٧

- ١ -

المادة الأولى

١) يلتزم الطرف الثاني بالعمل لدى الطرف الأول بوظيفة (معلّم) (إداري) ( ) براتب شهري قدره ( ) .....دينار أردني خاضع لكافة الاقتطاعات القانونية .

٢) تكون مدة العقد للسنة الأولى (عشرة أشهر)(سنة دراسية) تبدأ من تاريخ (.....) وتنتهي في تاريخ (.....) وإذا تم تجديد العقد أو الاستمرار بالعمل به لسنة تالية وعلى أي صورة من الصور اذا استمر المعلم/ الاداري بذات المدرسة تكون مدة العقد في كل سنة تالية اثنا عشر شهرا تبدأ من تاريخ انتهاء العقد السابق .

٣) في حال تجديد العقد لسنة تالية يستحق الطرف الثاني أجر العطلة الصيفية كاملا و حسب قانون العمل .

٤) ينتهي عقد العمل بموجب أحكام المادة (٢١) من قانون العمل الأردني رقم ٨ لسنة ١٩٩٦ و تعديلاته (١)

٥) يستحق الطرف الثاني زيادة سنوية لا تقل عن(٣٪) من الراتب الإجمالي

٦) يحتفظ الطرف الثاني بكامل حقوقه و مكتسباته السابقة عند تجديد العقد

٧) لا تؤثر أحكام هذا العقد على أي حق من الحقوق أو امتياز يمنحه للعامل قانون العمل النافذ أو أي قانون اخر أو اتفاق أو قرار أو نظام يرتب للعامل حقوقاً أو امتيازات أفضل مما ورد في هذا العقد (٢)

المادة الثانية

يتوجب على الطرف الأول أن يضع نظاماً داخليا له مصادق عليه من وزارة العمل و يتوجب على الطرف الثاني الالتزام بأحكام النظام الداخلي المقر (٣)

المادة الثالثة

على الطرف الثاني الاستمرار بعمله إلى حين إتمام الواجبات المطلوبة منه ضمن ساعات العمل الرسمي و إذا تم تكليفه بأي عمل خارج أوقات الدوام الرسمي فيتقاضى عنها بدل عمل إضافي (٤)

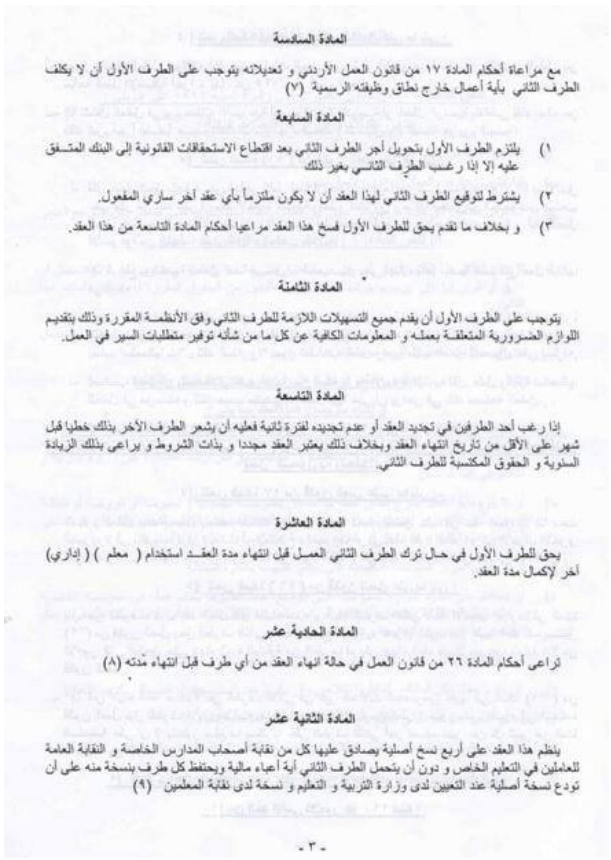
المادة الرابعة

يلتزم الطرف الأول بتحديد تاريخ موعد بدء الإجازة السنوية للطرف الثاني في بداية العام الدراسي و حسب تقويم وزارة التربية و التعليم و مقتضيات العمل وعلى أن لا يتعارض ذلك مع أحكام المادة ٦١ من قانون العمل الساري المفعول (٥)

المادة الخامسة

يستحق الطرف الثاني إجازة مرضية و إجازة أمومة و فترة رضاعة و إجازة سنوية حسب ما نص عليه قانون العمل الساري المفعول (٦)

- ٢ -



المادة السادسة

مع مراعاة أحكام المادة ١٧ من قانون العمل الأردني و تعديلاته يتوجب على الطرف الأول أن لا يكلف الطرف الثاني بأية أعمال خارج نطاق وظيفته الرسمية (٧)

المادة السابعة

١) يلتزم الطرف الأول بتحويل أجر الطرف الثاني بعد اقتطاع الاستحقاقات القانونية إلى البنك المتفق عليه إلا إذا رغب الطرف الثاني بغير ذلك

٢) يشترط لتوقيع الطرف الثاني لهذا العقد أن لا يكون ملتزماً بأي عقد اخر ساري المفعول.

٣) و بخلاف ما تقدم يحق للطرف الأول فسخ هذا العقد مراعيا أحكام المادة التاسعة من هذا العقد.

المادة الثامنة

يتوجب على الطرف الأول أن يقدم جميع التسهيلات اللازمة للطرف الثاني وفق الأنظمة المقررة وذلك بتقديم اللوازم الضرورية المتعلقة بعمله و المعلومات الكافية عن كل ما من شأنه توفير متطلبات السير في العمل.

المادة التاسعة

إذا رغب أحد الطرفين في تجديد العقد أو عدم تجديده لفترة ثانية فعليه أن يشعر الطرف الأخر بذلك خطيا قبل شهر على الأقل من تاريخ انتهاء العقد وبخلاف ذلك يعتبر العقد مجددا و بذات الشروط و يراعى بذلك الزيادة السنوية و الحقوق المكتسبة للطرف الثاني.

المادة العاشرة

يحق للطرف الأول في حال ترك الطرف الثاني العمل قبل انتهاء مدة العقد استخدام (معلم) (إداري) أخر لإكمال مدة العقد.

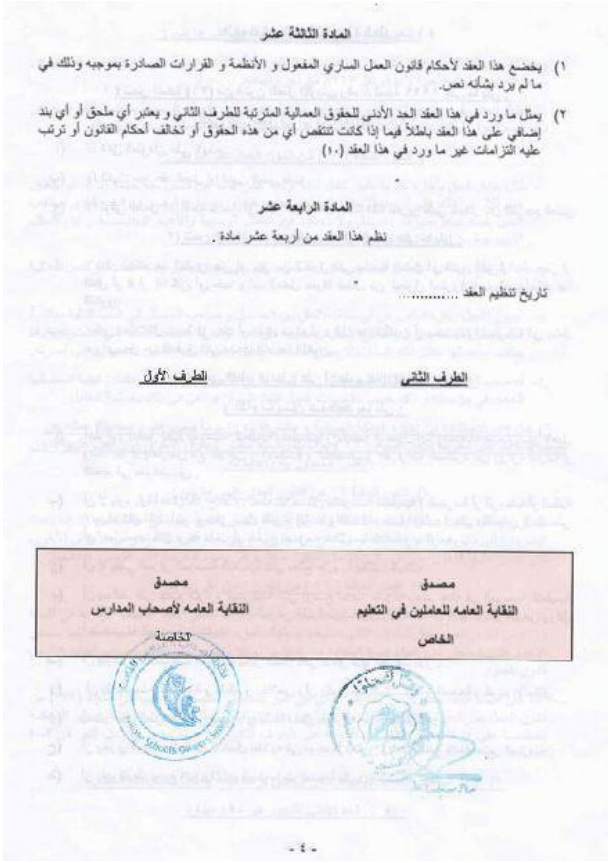
المادة الحادية عشر

تراعى أحكام المادة ٢٦ من قانون العمل في حالة انهاء العقد من أي طرف قبل انتهاء مدته (٨)

المادة الثانية عشر

يتم هذا العقد على أربع نسخ أصلية يصادق عليها كل من نقابة أصحاب المدارس الخاصة و النقابة العامة للعاملين في التعليم الخاص و دون أن يتحمل الطرف الثاني أية أعباء مالية ويحتفظ كل طرف بنسخة منه على أن تودع نسخة أصلية عند التعيين لدى وزارة التربية و التعليم و نسخة لدى نقابة المعلمين (٩)

- ٣ -



المادة الثالثة عشر

١) يخضع هذا العقد لأحكام قانون العمل الساري المفعول و الأنظمة و القرارات الصادرة بموجبه وذلك في ما لم يرد بشأنه نص.

٢) يمثل ما ورد في هذا العقد الحد الأدنى للحقوق العمالية المترتبة للطرف الثاني و يعتبر أي ملحق أو أي بند إضافي على هذا العقد باطلاً فيما إذا كانت تنتقص أي من هذه الحقوق أو تخالف أحكام القانون أو ترتب عليه التزامات غير ما ورد في هذا العقد (١٠)

المادة الرابعة عشر

نظم هذا العقد من أربعة عشر مادة .

تاريخ تنظيم العقد .....

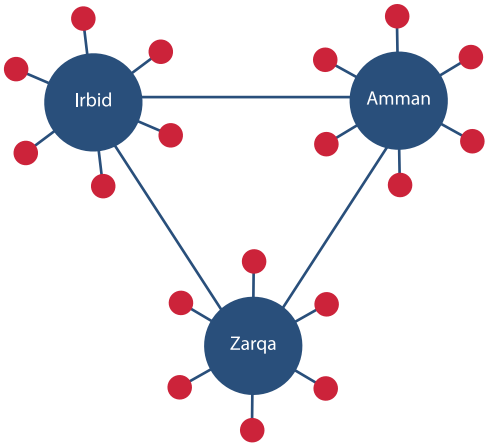
الطرف الثاني — الطرف الأول

مصدق	مصدق
النقابة العامة للعاملين في التعليم الخاص	النقابة العامة لأصحاب المدارس الخاصة

- ٤ -

In 2017, the database underwent significant expansion, growing to encompass 1,500 teachers compared to 900 in the preceding year, and initiated direct engagement with the teachers listed therein by using the "phone bank" tactic. This effort aimed to elevate their cognisance of inherent rights and galvanise their participation in the campaign. Concurrently, the campaign's geographical reach extended, incorporating leadership from both the Amman and Zarqa governorates, thus augmenting the leadership team to 18 teachers and facilitating the establishment of three distinct teams across Irbid, Amman, and Zarqa. This period also marked the inception of a "Popular education"[38] approach, devised by Ahel, drawing inspiration from the pedagogical principles of Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed"[39]. This initiative played a pivotal role in fostering reflection, facilitating the exchange of legal, organisational, and personal insights, and enriching the revolutionary consciousness and rights awareness among participants. It bolstered the campaign's cohesion and allegiance, contributing significantly to the enlargement of its membership and leadership through learning circles that culminated in the participation of 300 teachers in 2019. Moreover, the campaign undertook personal outreach to school owners to amicably resolve individual and collective labour disputes, encouraging adherence to teachers' rights through what was termed the "Mediation Programme"[40].

2017



Throughout these years, the campaign focused on:

- Membership expansion;
- Increasing the number of operational teams;
- Enhancing the database and mobilisation capabilities;
- Broadening the scope of knowledge, awareness, and the sharing of personal narratives;
- Elevating teachers' awareness of the campaign's objectives;
- Extending the network and forging connections with official entities and the media;
- Advocating and voicing concerns in the public domain.
- These multifaceted strategies significantly bolstered the campaign's capacity to instigate change.

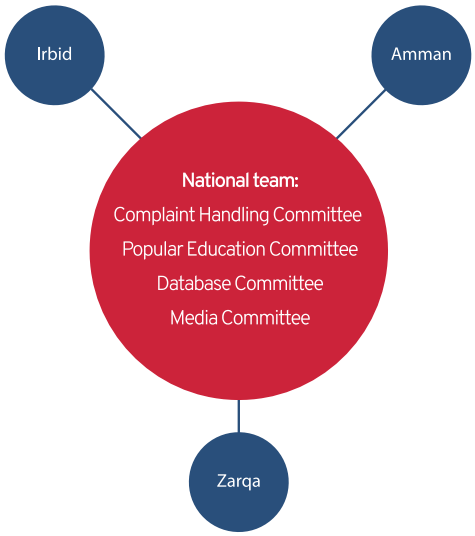
38. Ahel Foundation. (n.d.). Popular Learning [Report]. Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign. Popular Learning is described as a progressive educational approach focused on establishing inclusive and secure environments for grassroots movements and civil society — specifically, private sector female teachers in this context — to engage in discussions about topics of interest and exchange stories and experiences. Since 2017, the campaign has implemented this methodology across various governorates with support from Ahel. Over time, the campaign's female leaders have taken on the responsibility of independently organising and overseeing these sessions.

39. Freire, P. (2000). Pedagogy of the oppressed. Continuum International Publishing.

40. Abu Ghneim, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

In 2018, a noteworthy advancement was achieved through securing backing from official and executive entities, propelling a critical policy reform encapsulated by the introduction of Article 16 into the Establishment and Licensing Regulation for Private and Foreign Educational Institutions. This amendment mandated the digitalisation of salary transactions for private school staff, as a prerequisite for educational institution licensing, epitomising the campaign's organising efforts and tactics such as a a "phone bank", online social media media storms, protests and others all under the banner #My_Salary_in_the_Bank. This legislative change is regarded as a crucial milestone in the organizing for teachers' rights within the private sector, aiming to curtail salary violations and ensuring that teachers receive formal documentation of their employment and remuneration, thereby bolstering their legal standing[41]. The campaign's media presence and the discourse surrounding the specificities of their demands[42] were particularly prominent during this year. Additionally, a strategic reassessment led to the formation of a national team, integrating representatives from local (governorate-based) teams and various working committees (enquiries/complaints, media, popular education, and database management)[43].

2018

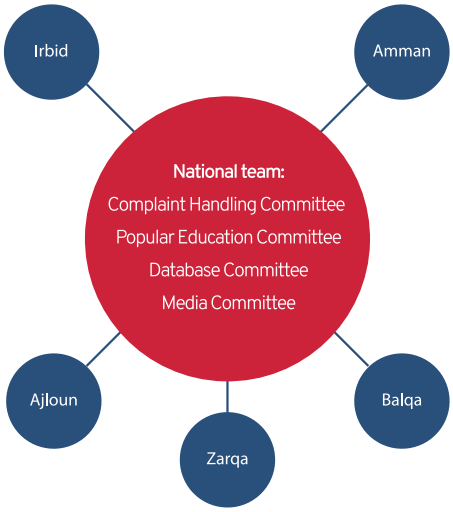


The campaign's geographical footprint expanded further in 2019 to include Ajloun and Balqa governorates. Female leadership within the campaign reached 40, and the number of local teams grew to five. This expansion was complemented by efforts to ensure compliance with the amended Establishment and Licensing Regulation for Private and Foreign Educational Institutions, liaising with official bodies to advocate for its enforcement and calling for the issuance of warnings or suspension of licences to non-compliant institutions. The campaign maintained its commitment to popular education sessions, database expansion, and the processing of complaints and enquiries via its Facebook platform. It identified 300 schools in breach of the banking/digital transfer mandate[44] and exerted pressure on official entities and the MoE to undertake legal measures against these non-compliant institutions. The campaign's mediation efforts persisted, aiming to resolve individual labour disputes at the school level.

41. Alami, N. (2019). Leadership for rights. Hivos Foundation.
42. Kiswani, H. (2018). Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign presents teachers' demands. Roya TV.
43. Alami, N. (2019). Leadership for rights. Hivos Foundation.
44. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Furthermore, the campaign's involvement within civil frameworks, such as the "Haq" alliance, became evident, with negotiations and recommendations aimed at amending Jordanian Labour Law provisions to ensure gender pay equity and presenting tangible examples from the private education sector to the relevant authorities[45].

2019



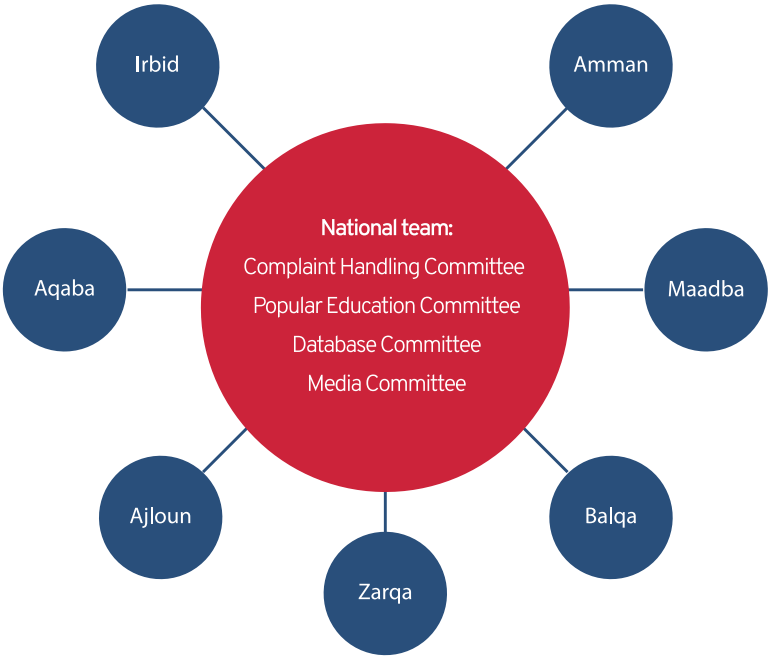
In 2020, amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, the criticality of accumulated efforts in advocacy, organisation, and continued educational and awareness initiatives became distinctly evident as life was brought to a standstill. This period underscored the urgency in bridging the labour disparities and the implementation of robust policies and systems. The campaign pivoted towards leveraging its expanded supporter base, in conjunction with the meticulously documented complaints which escalated from approximately 1,000 to 3,000[46] during the lockdowns that impacted key sectors nationwide. Two primary concerns were foregrounded: firstly, the issue of remuneration, encompassing both the quantum of pay and the modality of its disbursement, advocating for electronic transfers in lieu of cash payments — a practice exacerbated by movement restrictions. Secondly, the apparent deficiency in support from private educational institutions for teachers facilitating remote learning highlighted the systemic vulnerabilities faced by teachers in securing their livelihoods and procuring essential tools for professional responsibilities, including affordable internet access[47].

In response, the campaign enhanced its online training provision, disseminating foundational knowledge in information technology, remote teaching methodologies, and offered support to teachers despite some school owners' indifference to the teachers' domestic circumstances. The campaign's resilience, attributed to its robust organisational structure and the diligent allocation of responsibilities amongst its leaders, enabled continuity of operations amidst logistical challenges.

45. Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview . Amman, Jordan.
46. Abu Ghneim, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
47. Kiswani, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

In 2021, amidst various challenges, the campaign conducted its inaugural democratic elections to appoint committee coordinators and the general campaign coordinator, with subsequent elections held annually through to 2023. This democratic rotation of roles and responsibilities contributed to the campaign's resilience and operational efficacy during and post-pandemic, bolstering its structural capacity. With an uptick in complaints and inquiries originating from the Aqaba and Madaba governorates during the pandemic, the decision was made to extend the campaign's geographical footprint, integrating leading teachers from these regions into the structural framework, thus expanding the number of local teams to seven by 2021: Irbid, Zarqa, Amman, Ajloun, Salt, Madaba, and Aqaba, and increasing the leaders in the campaign count to 65.

2021

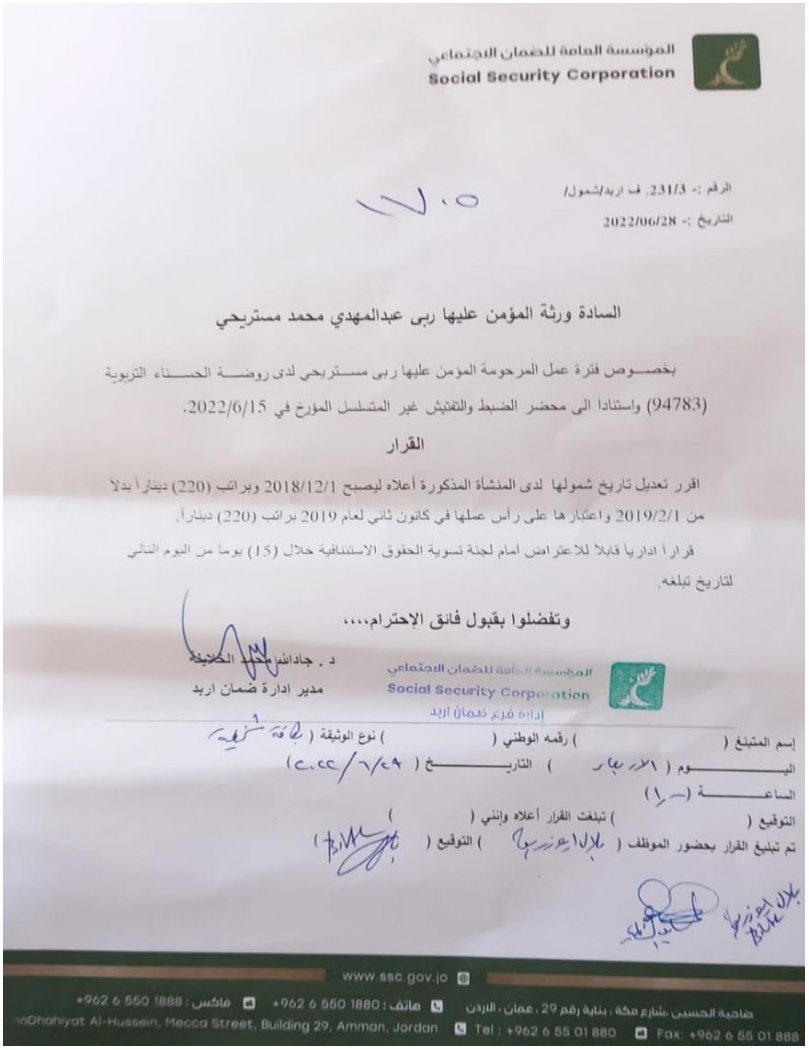


The year 2022 witnessed pivotal developments and challenges that refined the campaign's objectives and strategies. A particularly grievous event that resonated deeply within the Jordanian societal and educational spheres was the demise of Ruba, a 34-year-old expectant teacher employed within the private sector. Her passing, after enduring wage discrepancies and workplace injustices, underscored the systemic issues the campaign had been addressing for seven years. Despite the transition to bank transfers, her employer[48] manipulated the system, compelling her to relinquish a portion of her salary, alongside inconsistent social security contributions — a situation the campaign addressed in collaboration with the SSC to safeguard her offspring's entitlements. Ruba's experience, extending to uncontracted tasks such as student transportation, mirrored the broader challenges faced by private sector teachers.

48. Shawahin, N., and Salameh, D. (2022). Ruba's death: How were private school teachers failed? 7iber.com.

The campaign's concerted efforts with Ruba's family to vindicate her rights, alongside engagements with pertinent entities and public dissemination of factual narratives, underscored its pivotal role in advocating for teachers' rights. In essence, Ruba's case served as a clarion call, illuminating the primary objectives of the campaign and showcasing its efficacy in amplifying the voices of those impacted by the issue. She epitomises the struggles of all teachers whose rights have been infringed upon, demonstrating the intersection of the personal with the political.

Letter from SSC confirming correction and backpay



المؤسسة العامة للضمان الاجتماعي
Social Security Corporation

الرقم :- 231/3، ف اربد/شمول/
التاريخ :- 2022/06/28

السادة ورثة المؤمن عليها ربى عبدالمهدي محمد مستريحي

بخصوص فترة عمل المرحومة المؤمن عليها ربى مستريحي لدى روضة الحسناء التربوية
(94783) واستنادا الى محضر الضبط والتفتيش غير المتسلسل المؤرخ في 2022/6/15.

القرار

اقرر تعديل تاريخ شمولها لدى المنشأة المذكورة أعلاه ليصبح 2018/12/1 وبراتب (220) ديناراً بدلاً
من 2019/2/1 واعتبارها على رأس عملها في كانون ثاني لعام 2019 براتب (220) ديناراً.
قراراً اداريا قابلاً للاعتراض أمام لجنة تسوية الحقوق الاستئنافية خلال (15) يوماً من اليوم التالي
لتاريخ تبلغه.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الإحترام،،،

د . جادالله محمد الكايد
مدير ادارة ضمان اربد

المؤسسة العامة للضمان الاجتماعي
Social Security Corporation
ادارة فرع ضمان اربد

إسم المتبلغ ( ) رقمه الوطني ( ) نوع الوثيقة ( )
اليـــــوم ( ) التاريـــــخ ( )
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> *"The apprehension felt by teachers, fearing repercussions such as job loss, extends beyond provincial areas to the heart of the capital, Amman. Nevertheless, in the wake of teacher Ruba's case, we've witnessed a notable surge in confidence among educators regarding their involvement with the campaign. Teachers are now embracing their role within the movement and actively engaging in its organisation with a newfound sense of pride."* — *Israa Al Hyari[49], 2023.*

49. Hiyari, I. (2023). Focus session with local teams' female coordinators. Amman, Jordan.

Subsequently, another pivotal development that year involved the campaign's erstwhile official collaborators, including the NCPE, the JNCW, various ministries, and the GUWPE, adopting a divergent stance towards the campaign[50]. This shift entailed a diminution of support, culminating in the severance of ties with the ministries via liaison officers who had previously played a crucial role in facilitating communication and relaying grievances. Furthermore, the campaign was presented with a choice: either integrate within the GUWPE or undergo a structural metamorphosis to attain a "legal status"[51].

This proposition was perceived by the campaign as a formal withdrawal of support, indicating a disinterest in continuing the partnership with the campaign as an autonomous, grassroots entity. Conversely, official agencies contended that such a move would bolster the durability of legal victories, arguing against the necessity of an unstructured, non-institutionalised struggle in light of the existence of competent legal frameworks[52], as affirmed by head of the Inspection Directorate. Following deliberation and the subsequent refusal of the proffered alternatives by official entities, this paradigm shift impelled the campaign to introspect on its internal operations, enhancing its organisational structure and resilience, thereby pivoting towards a revitalised emphasis on grassroots organisation among teachers at the shop-level and the propagation of collective bargaining strategies with employers.

In 2023, the campaign embarked upon a new trajectory, concentrating on instigating change within specific educational institutions. This initiative set forth the objective of implementing the unified contract in 25 schools that had hitherto not adopted it. The campaign facilitated the empowerment of staff in 10 schools for collective bargaining through the approach of "collective refusal" — an organised collective dissent, with staff in two schools achieving complete success in securing their rights, and partial success in four schools. Additionally, the campaign forged alliances with 10 private schools to safeguard the rights of female educators through the "Excellence Programme". This scheme entailed negotiations between the campaign and the schools, wherein the campaign provided educational, legal, and technical training to the teaching staff in return for the schools' adherence to the unified contract stipulations and the Establishment and Licensing Regulation for Private and Foreign Educational Institutions, culminating in the inclusion of these schools in the campaign's compliance listings[53]. Consequently, the campaign transitioned towards advocating for change at the grassroots level, targeting school owners, following a national campaign on policy and regulatory reforms, collective organisational efforts, and the amplification of individual consciousness among female teachers. Notably, in 2023, female teachers from the Jerash Governorate sought membership, bolstering the campaign's footprint and organisational structure in the region, with the number of local teams rising to eight.

50. Al Ali, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

51. Al Ali, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

52. Najdawi, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

53. Abu Mallouh, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

2023

In conclusion, August 2023 saw the campaign playing a pivotal role in the negotiations with the GUWPE and the APSO, aimed at revising the terms of the unified contract, slated for implementation in the 2024-2025 academic year. The campaign's consultations and recommendations to the labour union facilitated amendments, including the extension of the contract duration to 12 months from the first year, the obligatory bank transfer within the same contract framework (addressing a legal loophole that previously enabled employers to compel teachers to accept cash payments), and the digitisation/automation of the unified contract to ensure all parties retain a digital copy. This development also simplifies the integration of various regulatory systems (MoL, MoE, SSC), aligning with one of the campaign's demands since 2019[54].

54. Al Maaytah, M. and Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan

A chronological overview

2015/2016

- Initiation of the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign, focusing on the empowerment of six female leaders within the realm of community organisation.
- Development of a comprehensive database specifically for female educators within the private sector.
- Enhancement of group leaders' legal acumen through specialised training programmes, notably "Ambassadors for Rights."
- Collaboration with educators from the Irbid Governorate to bolster awareness regarding the unified contract and their entitlements.
- Establishment of the campaign's presence on various social media platforms, leading to the commencement of receiving inquiries directed towards the campaign.
- Partnership with the MoL aimed at augmenting awareness amongst educators regarding the unified contract.
- Dispatch of a directive from the MoL to the MoE, mandating the exclusive use of the unified contract for teacher engagements.
- Facilitation of dialogue among negotiating parties towards the creation of a revised unified contract, accompanied by a proposition of enhancements.

2017/2018

- Advocacy for the elevation of the minimum wage to JOD 220 (approximately USD 310), achieved through concerted labour movements, inclusive of the campaign.
- Inclusion of a series of enhancements within the new unified contract, as proposed by the campaign, encompassing bonuses, annual increments, and experience allowances.
- Expansion of membership through strategic communications.
- Geographical extension into the Zarqa and Amman governorates.
- Initiation of "Popular Learning" sessions.
- Launch of the "Mediation" programme.
- Advocacy for the obligatory electronic disbursal of teachers' salaries via banks and electronic wallets.
- Integration of electronic salary transfer requirements into the private schools' establishment and licensing criteria.
- Structural reorganisation of the campaign, leading to the establishment of a national team and various operational committees.

2019/2020

- Expansion into the Ajloun and Balqa governorates.
- Lobbying the MoE to enforce mandatory bank transfers and sanction non-compliant schools.
- Organisation of multiple protests and submission of lists of schools circumventing the bank transfer mandate.
- Advocacy within the "Haq" alliance for equitable remuneration for identical roles irrespective of gender.
- Notable increase in complaints received by the campaign during the pandemic.
- Facilitation of remote training workshops for educators on information technology and digital pedagogy.

2021/2022

- Execution of the campaign's inaugural elections.
- Further geographical expansion to include the Madaba and Aqaba governorates.
- The unfortunate demise of teacher Ruba and subsequent campaign actions.
- Representation of Ruba's case in the media and collaboration with her family to vindicate her rights.
- Successful assertion of Ruba's entitlements with the SSC and the restoration of her family's financial rights.
- Notification regarding a transformation in the collaborative dynamics with official authorities.
- Proposal received for amalgamation under the GUWPE's auspices.
- Strategic pivot towards engagement with school organisations.

2023

- Objective to enforce the unified contract across 25 schools previously non-compliant.
- Collaboration with 10 schools on the implementation of "Collective Refusal," achieving complete success in two and partial success in four.
- Launch of the "Excellence" programme, fostering partnerships with private schools to ensure adherence to regulated labour laws and policies.
- Extension into the Jerash governorate.
- Provision of consultancy for negotiations pertaining to the unified contract.
- Ratification of a new unified contract incorporating the campaign's solicited amendments.

Conceptualising "Change" in the Educational Sector

> *"Change, for me, represents a significant shift in the balance of power within the relationship between educators and the private sector, exemplified by teachers and their employing schools. Such a shift will profoundly influence their professional lives and their perceived value as educators, which, in turn, fundamentally impacts their performance. It is challenging to envisage how a teacher, earning merely JOD 190 (approximately USD 270) per month, is expected to impart knowledge 'from the heart,' particularly in the demanding and energy-depleting realm of education." — Al Nims55, 2023.*

This study investigates the extent to which the campaign has brought about change in the reality of female teachers in the private sector, after eight years since its establishment. This question requires two main clarifications: firstly, concerning the definition of change, what specifically is meant by this concept? And secondly, related to measuring the change on the ground, based on this definition.

How does the study define change?

As it is a labor issue concerning the rights of female teachers in the private sector, the initial form of change is the alteration of power dynamics between the worker and the employer. This is because much of the violations stem from the fragmentation of individual teachers' power against a system of school owners, who are predominantly wealthy and powerful individuals, enjoying relative and perceived freedom to commit violations. To observe the change in the power dynamics, this study begins by dissecting the power positions in this issue, which could potentially overturn this balance of power.

I. The analysis of power dynamics begins with a focus on the **teachers' awareness, knowledge, and life quality.** Building power at this juncture adopts both narrative and tangible forms, commencing with the recognition of injustice and oppression, leading to the realisation that teachers have the agency to transform their circumstances, and culminating in actionable steps towards agency, autonomy and efficacy[56].

Al Kasswani elaborates on change at the individual level, stating, "It transcends mere awareness alteration; it's about reshaping the dominant narrative. Teachers are becoming cognizant of injustices, yet we strive to transform their self-perception and their capacity for action; it's essentially about redefining behavioural narratives.[57]" At this level, an informed and skilled teacher exhibits resilience against intimidation, wielding enhanced capability to confront challenges, armed with an understanding of her rights and the proficiency to employ legal terminology. Furthermore, possessing in-depth knowledge of her rights violations empowers her to counter accusations and silencing attempts. A teacher who is continually evolving, equipped with a broad spectrum of cognitive tools applicable within and beyond the classroom, becomes irreplaceable. Her absence would detrimentally affect the quality and effectiveness of education, a change likely to be conspicuously noted by both students and parents.

55. Nims, S. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

56. Maddox, J. (2002). Self-efficacy: The power of believing you can. In handbook of positive psychology (Halila, C., Trans.). Oxford University Press. Hard copy.

57. Al Kiswani, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

With enhanced individual awareness and understanding of rights and actionable strategies, the power dynamic begins to tilt slightly in favour of the teacher. However, there remains a need for financial and job security, alongside the right to operate within a more equitable political framework than that imposed by employer policies. While change at the individual level, as exemplified by this campaign, is significant, it does not suffice, as enhancing the awareness of a solitary teacher can alter her life exclusively. What, then, of the broader collective of teachers?

II. Regarding the shift in power dynamics, the study further explores the **collective awareness and organisation of teachers as a group**. It posits that the injustices endured are not isolated incidents but part of a systemic issue affecting the collective. This realisation steers towards two collective actions:

   1. Networking and organisation at either the **school or local level** (encompassing multiple schools), where reclaimed power is most potent. Actions at this level, functioning as a unified pressure block or negotiating body, threaten the educational process and profitability of educational institutions, potentially yielding rights improvements. Such movements bring violations to the fore, prompting regulatory interventions and highlighting accumulated infractions against the institution.

   2. Organisation at the **national level** marks a transition from oppressed teachers to leading teachers within an organised and balanced collective, capable of engaging at national and official echelons. This approach facilitates dialogue with higher authority figures, access to public mobilisation channels, the formation of partnerships, and the opening of communication with other marginalised groups, civil society, and political entities.

The transformation within collective organisation is predicated upon the evolution of individual leadership. A leader in the campaign, endowed with rights, knowledge, and mechanisms for action, and versed in the principles of collective endeavour and its strategic underpinnings, progressively enhances the group's resilience against adversity. This, in turn, fosters the enduring nature of changes instituted by the organised collective. To encapsulate this concept, it might be articulated that mere organisation is insufficient as a catalyst for change. Instead, the focus must be on cultivating a resilient organisation, characterised by its capacity for sustainability, task rotation, and a methodology that bolsters the knowledge, growth, and utilisation of individual leadership within the collective's framework and activities. The campaign's leadership is acutely aware of this dynamic, incorporating it into the bedrock of their modus operandi; the methodology of community organisation underpins their engagement with the issue at hand. Al Shawhin elucidates this perspective, stating, "For us, change manifests in our collective ability to link arms in an organised and strategic fashion, united by a common objective pursued year upon year. We journey together, aligned in our values, cultivating our internal ethos of collaboration to fortify our collective strength. It is this unity that enables us to engender widespread change, for without it, and as mere individuals, we would be incapable of effecting substantial transformation.[58]"

III. In addressing the paradigm of shifting power dynamics, this study foregrounds the imperative for systemic change at the **national administrative echelon**. Such transformation necessitates enduring strategies and widespread dissemination to effectively recalibrate power imbalances. This transcends mere ad hoc solutions targeting isolated incidents within individual educational institutions. Instead, it calls for a comprehensive approach to rectify systemic violations and oppression, entailing

58. Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

1. **Political will. This is bifurcated into:**

    a. **Policy, legislation, and governance:** This necessitates the convergence of pertinent ministers and policymakers to acknowledge the critical nature of the issues at hand, scrutinise existing legislative frameworks and their enforcement, and closely examine real-world practices to ensure alignment with statutory provisions.

    b. **Implementation, execution, and judicial oversight:** This involves ensuring the rigorous enforcement of reformed laws, proposing viable solutions to issues, and establishing an ongoing supervisory mechanism equipped both bureaucratically and logistically to identify infractions and mitigate the risk of their recurrence.

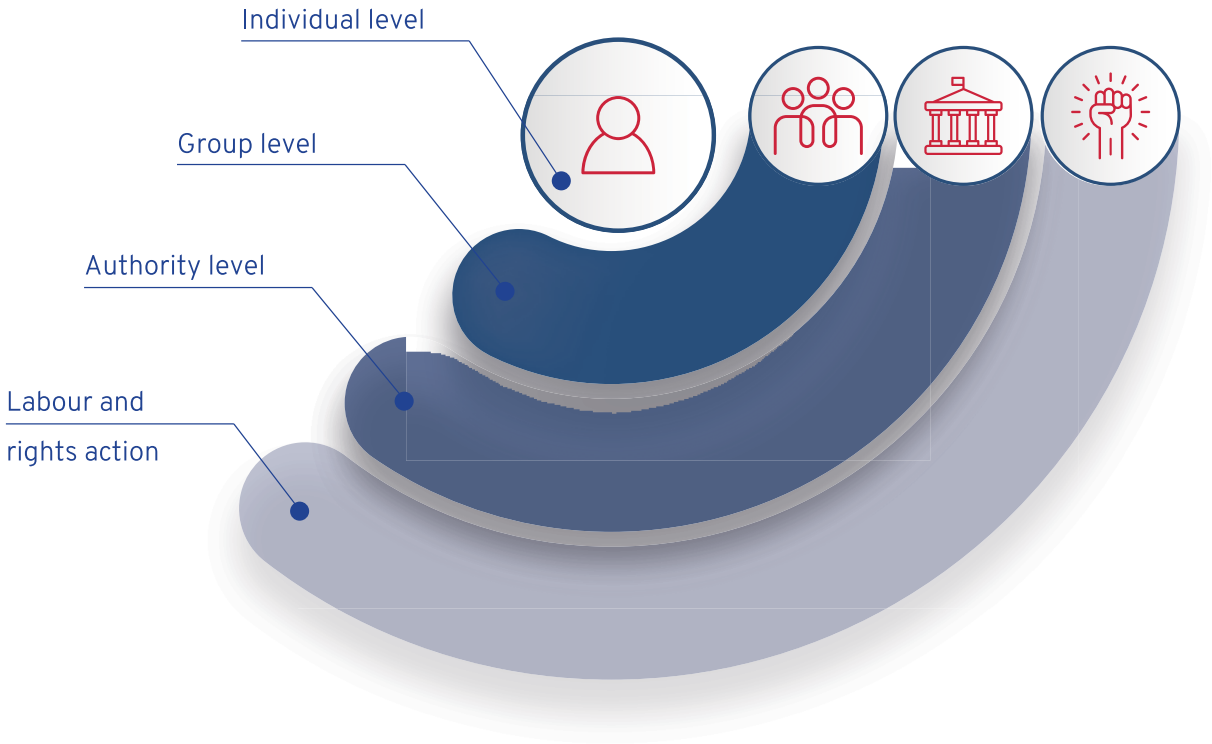
2. **Employer's willingness to implement change:**

    This may stem from official mandates but can also be the result of collective pressure exerted at the school level, compelling proprietors to halt violations within a robust organisational structure capable of negotiation. Achieving compliance will be challenging and costly for employers, who will find themselves at a disadvantage against the collective might of organised and well-informed teachers capable of influencing political and legal frameworks. However, there exists a possibility, albeit slender, for effecting a change in the stance of school owners towards equitable practices without resorting to coercive measures. Dialogue, negotiation, or educational initiatives may play a role in nudging employers towards a fairer stance.

IV. In the broader scope of **labour and human rights organising within Jordan and the region,** the study acknowledges that the challenges faced by private school teachers are intertwined with broader societal issues, including violations of women's rights, socio-economic disparities, and labour disputes across various sectors. These encompass the rights of agricultural labourers, healthcare professionals, and migrant workers in the garment industry, among others, within the context of economic organisation and global trade dynamics dominated by prevailing powers.

Change, therefore, may be precipitated by a wider recognition of the need for transformation, both locally and globally. This could elevate the plight of teachers, their collective mobilisation, and their influence on policy and regulatory frameworks to a paradigmatic example that bolsters the narratives of other pressing issues. It suggests the potential for a more informed and rights-aware populace through broad-based parallel movements, enhancing the collective consciousness of all oppressed groups, including workers and students, towards ending systemic injustices.

This transformative change calls for **an independent organisational effort that aspires to a higher level of national and regional solidarity**, fostering knowledge exchange among active movements and laying the groundwork for new initiatives addressing the needs of other marginalised communities. This ultimate tier of change, characterised by its profound impact, transcends the capacity of any single social campaign, demanding instead a coordinated effort at both national and regional levels, underpinned by a strategic dissemination of knowledge. If we all stand together, the teacher will stand, and if the teacher stands, we will be more capable of reaching a world where we can all thrive.



Impact and organisational dynamics

Individual level

- Elements:
- Teacher's cognisance of infractions and their specific characteristics.
- Leadership acumen and personal erudition of the teacher.
- Capacity for agency active participation, and organisation within a collective.
- Measurement:
- Evaluation of leadership educators' qualifications and the volume of queries directed to the campaign.
- Analysis of the campaign's penetration and dissemination amongst relevant entities.

Group level

Elements:

- Effectiveness of teacher organisation at the school echelon.
- Effectiveness of teacher organisation at the national echelon within the campaign, transitioning the campaign into an equitable collective.
- Evolution of the campaign into a pivotal reference for educators, governmental entities, and the media.

Measurement:

- Quantification of campaign membership and longitudinal tracking of complaint statistics.
- Assessment of school-level movements, focusing on their quality and methodologies.
- Evaluation of campaign activities and visibility in media and governmental forums.
- In-depth review of the campaign's operational, resource, strategic decision-making, relational, and cultural facets.

Authority level

Elements:

- The campaign's proficiency in galvanising political commitment.
- Legislative amendments and the enactment of such reforms.
- The campaign's influence over employers.

Measurement:

- Examination of the campaign's interactions with governmental agencies.
- Scrutiny of the campaign's engagements with administrative entities.
- Analysis of the campaign's response to legal amendments.
- Degree of enforcement of regulatory statutes.
- Oversight of the campaign regarding legislative and practical dimensions.

Workers' and comprehensive rights struggles level

Elements:

- The campaign's contribution to the interconnectivity of organised collective efforts in Jordan.
- The campaign's resilience and autonomy within the prevailing political and labour milieu.
- The campaign's impact on other national and regional initiatives.

Measurement:

- Observation of the campaign's integration within civil society.
- Scope of its partnership and support network.
- Engagement with national and international concerns.
- Interaction with and impact on other initiatives.
- Decision-making and behaviour of the campaign within institutional frameworks and other modes of engagement.

Evaluating the impact of the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign

To ascertain the degree of change brought about by the "Stand Up with Teachers" Campaign over the preceding eight years, this analysis employs the theoretical framework and criteria delineated in the preceding segment. The study scrutinises the campaign's achievements against each established criterion, exploring the causative factors, contextual influences, and events that have either facilitated or impeded change.

1. Individual level: the personal is political

> *"Initially, some teachers, unaccustomed to voicing dissent, displayed a marked transformation through their engagement with popular and legal education initiatives offered by the campaign. One teacher, notably passive during her seven-year tenure at a school, began to assert her rights and challenge the administration upon her involvement with the campaign. This newfound assertiveness led to an administrative attempt to transfer her to a distant branch, a move she resisted, ultimately culminating in her resignation and subsequent blacklisting from employment within the sector. Reflecting on her experience, she expressed pride in her personal growth and her capacity to dissent, signifying a profound shift in her personal politics."* — *Abu Malouh[59], 2023.*

In a focus session involving local team coordinators across various governorates[60], the prevalent fear among educators targeted for organisation and mobilisation by the campaign was palpably evident. This apprehension stemmed from various sources, including societal norms and the threat of job loss. Notably, in the Irbid governorate, school proprietors orchestrated a collaborative effort via WhatsApp to compile a "blacklist" of teachers affiliated with the campaign, effectively barring them from future employment opportunities within the sector. This action underscored the potential of organised teachers to rally support and exert pressure on employers for the realisation of their rights.

To counteract the pervasive fear, local coordinators and teams promulgated narratives emphasising the efficacy of collective action and the empowerment derived from individual participation in organised efforts towards systemic change. Enhancing confidence in the campaign involved ensuring confidentiality for participants, fostering a trustful rapport between the teaching community and the campaign. This approach was informed by the direct correlation between the campaign's members as members of the constituency and the broader existential realities faced by teachers, indicating a strategic pivot towards embedding the campaign within the fabric of the educational community's collective consciousness.

> *"When new teachers become involved with the campaign, their initial apprehension is palpable. However, as they immerse themselves in the campaign's activities and dedicate their efforts, this fear gradually subsides, supported by the campaign's commitment to safeguarding their privacy and providing a protective environment."* — *Maha Al Atoun[61], 2023.*

59. Abu Mallouh, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

60. See Annex I.

61. Atoun, M. (2023). Focus session with local teams' female coordinators. Amman, Jordan.

Al Kasswani shares her personal transformation, "As someone inherently introverted, I find that advocating for justice emboldens me. It compels you to assert yourself and reject the status quo, even against your natural inclinations. This emergent internal fortitude is pivotal because change is imperative, and it is this necessity for change that motivates me daily." Nariman, too, experienced an awakening upon confronting the injustices she faced, fuelling her thirst for knowledge and empowerment. "Realising my narrative and my rights unveiled a leadership persona within me that I was previously unaware of.[62]"

The findings from a survey[63] distributed among campaign leaders for this study reveal a significant enhancement in their personal competencies and professional skills within the classroom, attributed primarily to the popular education approach adopted by the campaign. Organisational involvement and legal education courses were also highlighted as instrumental in fostering these developments.

Reem Mannaa[64], in charge of campaign empowerment at Ahel, agrees with her Aslan[65], observing a marked evolution in the teachers' capabilities for organisation and meeting management. "There's a noticeable advancement in their ability to communicate their ideas and objectives, both in public forums and private meetings with stakeholders, a skill that was less developed at the outset of their campaign participation."

Exploring the campaign's broader influence necessitates considering its impact on the teachers' families. Al Kasswani recounts her initial challenges, particularly around societal expectations and familial pressures due to her gender. Her steadfast commitment to organised activism eventually led her family to not only accept but also take pride in her contributions to the campaign, inspiring others within her circle to pursue change.

On her part, Reem Manna', one of the key facilitators and supporters of the campaign from Ahel, recounts a humorous incident that occurred with one of the family members of the campaign leaders during an honorary ceremony gathering the leaders and their families. Reem says that one of the family members remarked that he didn't know what one of the teacher/leaders did, saying: "She goes out to meetings, one meeting after another." He thought she was going out for entertainment or coffee, but he exclaimed in surprise, "Turns out they're out there doing politics!"[66]

Al Nims lauds the campaign leaders' organisational acumen, likening them to legal advocates in their insistence on solution-oriented discussions, clear demands, and securing commitments, which she finds both impressive and commendable[67].

62. Kiswani, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

63. Internal questionnaire distributed by the researcher to campaign leaders (October 2023).

64. Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

65. Aslan, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

66. Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

67. Nims, S. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

These accounts underscore the campaign's success in effecting change at the individual level, corroborated by the significant expansion of the campaign's database and leadership network. From its inception with six leaders in 2015 to 70 in 2023, and a teacher database growth from 50 to 7,500, the campaign demonstrates its efficacy in raising awareness, enhancing teacher agency, and fostering organisational skills. The receipt of over 6,505 inquiries and complaints in four years underscores the campaign's pivotal role in educating the private sector's teaching workforce. Furthermore, the broad participation in diverse training courses and popular learning sessions, reaching 1,290 and 870 participants respectively[68], highlights the campaign's extensive educational outreach.

> *""The concept of popular education, which initially drew me to the campaign, has been truly inspiring. It has increased our understanding of the challenges faced by different groups, making us feel truly engaged in the struggle. It has also enhanced our knowledge of the laws that govern us. Additionally, the Excellence Project has had a significant impact on our campaign. As we visited schools and listened to various issues, we gained strength and a better understanding of potential actions. We began to envision innovative solutions and strategize within different frameworks."*
>
> *Al Hayari[69] – 2023.*

2. Collective Level: a powerful counter-bloc

Beyond merely enhancing leadership qualities, individual awareness, and academic insight among educators, the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign is pivotal in augmenting teachers' understanding of their rights and consciousness of injustice. It tirelessly works towards bolstering their capacity for initiating change and organising within a collective framework. This endeavour is aimed at enabling decisive action against employers and facilitating communication with official entities. The campaign has adeptly filled a crucial void in collective rights activism, specifically targeting the redressal of rights violations faced by private sector teachers. This gap was notably present due to the inefficacy of trade unions in Jordan, which, constrained by political limitations, have struggled to effectively address violations and organise teachers around the cause.

The campaign's operational efficacy is underscored by its structured organisational framework, its snow-flake structure, centred around a national team that extends into local teams across various governorates. Within this national team, specialised working committees have been instituted: the Education Committee (handling complaints and inquiries), the Database Committee, the Media Committee, and the Popular Education Committee. Democratic elections for power sharing and coordination roles within the campaign underscore its commitment to continuity and rejuvenation. This democratic ethos is manifest in the campaign's sustained geographical expansion, the growth of its leadership team, and the swelling ranks of teachers within its database, alongside the dedication of campaign leaders who invest their time in monthly engagements with teachers.

Regular meetings among campaign members are convened, with each annual gathering setting forth clear strategic objectives, delineated steps for achievement, and a suite of tactics and hypotheses aimed at realising broader, consensus-driven goals. Each objective is backed by a meticulously crafted action plan, ensuring the campaign's forward momentum remains unswayed by transient distractions.

68. These numbers presented in the study were extracted by the researcher by speaking with coordinators. They are presented in a table showing changes over the years.

69. Hiyari, I. (2023). Focus session with local teams' female coordinators. Amman, Jordan.

Moreover, there is a pronounced emphasis on cultivating a culture of collective endeavour in discussions, highlighting the virtues of unity, serenity, and joint reflection. Coordinators view their contributions as integral to the campaign's collective reservoir of efforts, eschewing individual accolades in favour of recognising the cumulative achievements of all involved. This collective ethos is further enriched by the knowledge that the financial backing from the ILO is allocated entirely towards facilitating campaign activities and logistical needs, such as venue reservations and transportation expenses for meetings, reflecting the campaign's extensive operational footprint across Jordan[70].

The campaign's consistent organisational approach, its visionary leadership, and articulate discourse have cultivated a balanced media presence and fostered a patient, evidence-based dialogue for rights advocacy in the public domain. Its structured public engagement has successfully crafted a compelling narrative of rights advocacy, garnering widespread public support and rallying more educators to its cause, thereby facilitating its expansion into new territories.

> *"In the transition from 2016 to 2017, the campaign pondered over growing its membership and territorial expansion. Fast forward to 2023, we see a marked evolution where teachers from Jerash proactively reach out to affiliate with the campaign, signifying a paradigm shift in engagement and mobilisation strategies. This self-initiated outreach underscores a remarkable transformation in the educators' resolve and organisational capacity." — Reem Manaa[71], 2023.*

Over the years, the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign has emerged as a pivotal reference in advocating for the rights of female educators within the private sector. Teachers increasingly rely on it for insights, organisational support, and guidance. With the campaign's growing reputation as a reliable advocate, the volume of complaints and inquiries it receives has surged, reflecting the private educational community's trust in its capacity to offer assistance. By August 2023, the campaign had received 1,000 complaints and inquiries, alongside 2,006 in 2022, and a notable 3,500 during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Noteworthy is the fact that in 2023, 400 cases saw the campaign facilitating teachers towards proactive solutions, underscoring its impactful intervention.

The similarity in the number of complaints and inquiries received by the campaign in 2023 to those lodged with the MoL's "Hemayeh" platform, which totalled 1,098[72], underscores the campaign's significance and influence as a rights advocacy platform, paralleling official labour reference bodies.

The campaign's intervention in the tragic case of the deceased teacher, Ruba, exemplifies its influence as a reference and change agent on the collective level. It swiftly mobilised, gathering essential data, championing the case in public discourse, and convincing the teacher's husband to take action. Through meticulous efforts, the campaign retrieved crucial employment evidence and secured social security benefits for her children, highlighting its credibility and balanced approach in advocacy[73].

70. The researcher reviewed the campaign's financial report for 2023 through Ahel, the campaign's financial partner.

71. Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

72. As per "Hemayeh" platform until September 30, 2023. The researcher obtained this number in a field visit to the Inspection Directorate on October 17, 2023.

73. Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

This credibility is further reinforced through the campaign's collaborations with Jordan's civil sector and unions. In 2023, its invitation to contribute recommendations for the unified contract's revision, considered in union negotiations, exemplifies the tangible impact of its organised collective efforts. Its engagement with legislative bodies[74], as evidenced by lower house Deputy Mayada Shareem's direct reference to the campaign in the Parliamentary Committee on Women and Family Affairs, illustrates campaign's reach into legislative circles, enhancing its role as a formidable reference for both advice and direct policy influence.

Efforts to organise female teachers at the school level have been methodical, encompassing three strategic avenues: engaging schools in collective bargaining through the "collective refusal" tactic, resolving disputes via the "Mediation Programme"[75] which involves direct negotiations with school owners, and the "Excellence Programme" that incentivises schools to uphold teachers' labour rights in exchange for training. In 2023, ten schools adopted the unified contract through the "Excellence Programme"[76], showcasing the campaign's success in fostering legal awareness and organisational skills among teachers.

Therefore, the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign has significantly empowered female teachers, transforming them into knowledgeable leaders capable of collective organisation and advocacy. It stands as a primary and equitable force within both civil and official domains, adept at offering recommendations, engaging with authorities, and presenting a cohesive and effective narrative in the media. The emphasis on school-level organisation marks a crucial, albeit gradual, advancement towards achieving positive systemic change, potentially influencing employer attitudes and practices, thereby reflecting on the campaign's overarching impact on authoritative and administrative frameworks.

3. National administrative level: bittersweet

The analysis at the national administrative level encompasses two critical dimensions as delineated in the preceding chapter: political will and the willingness of employers to embrace change. The campaign's engagement through the mediation programme illustrated positive outcomes, albeit marred by significant challenges. A noticeable decrease in the mediation programme's beneficiaries — from 100 at its zenith in 2018 to a mere three in 2023— highlights these challenges. Heba Abu Ghneim attributes this decline to a compelled withdrawal from the mediation programme following a severe confrontation that jeopardised the safety of campaign members. Heba recounts, "Four years prior, a confrontation at a Zarqa school escalated severely. The principal vehemently opposed our mediation efforts, culminating in threats of violence against our team. This incident necessitated our withdrawal from the programme to safeguard our members' well-being[77]."

This episode underscores the complexities of instigating change at the employer level, suggesting a strategic pivot towards the "Excellence Programme" might be prudent under such security considerations. The programme has already fostered partnerships with ten school proprietors, indicating a promising avenue for expanding the campaign's influence on school

74. House of Representatives Media Centre. (2023). Recommendations for a radical solution to violations against the rights of female teachers in the private sector. House of Representatives. Amman, Jordan.

75. This study has analysed the Mediation Program at the school level, despite its lack of direct relation to the organisation of female teachers within schools. The campaign strategically targeted school owners as a means to resolve individual labour disputes, exert pressure to effect change, and advocate for organisational efforts at the school level. The focus is neither on the overarching political landscape nor on individual actions, but rather on institutional dynamics within schools.

76. Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

77. Abu Ghneim, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

owners more effectively and bolstering organised collective action to prompt substantive changes in the educational milieu.

Concerning the cultivation of political will for change, perspectives vary among officials, partners, and the campaign. Defining political will involves two principal components: the inclination of political entities to enact and amend teacher-centric laws and regulations within the private sector, and the determination of decision-makers to enforce these laws rigorously to curtail violations.

Has the campaign facilitated policy and legislative modifications? Affirmatively, it has influenced pivotal changes, notably advocating for amendments to the unified contract provisions between 2016 and 2017, and compelling the MoE to enforce these changes during private school licence renewals. Moreover, the campaign's organising efforts, including protests and digital campaigns under the #My_Salary_in_the_Bank initiative, led to regulatory amendments in 2018 mandating electronic salary transfers. The Establishment and Licensing Regulation for Private and Foreign Educational Institutions, ensuring transparent salary transactions, stands as a testament to the campaign's impactful organising .

The correlation between the campaign's efforts and policy shifts suggests that the campaign significantly influenced legislative changes. These alterations, following the campaign's initiatives rather than preceding them, underscore the tangible effects of its activism.

A notable legislative advancement was achieved in 2023 with the campaign's involvement in revising the unified contract, a critical document governing employer-employee relationships in private educational institutions. Through recommendations to negotiating unions, significant amendments were enacted, such as extending the initial contract duration to 12 months and explicitly detailing salary components, including bonuses and allowances. These enhancements, long championed by the campaign, mark significant milestones in the pursuit of fairer employment conditions for teachers.

Malik Al Maayta, head of planning and development at the GFJTU, acknowledges the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign's significant influence in catalysing discussions and applying pressure on pertinent authorities to initiate recent negotiations. He states: "Initially, our union was reluctant to embark on negotiations regarding the unified contract provisions during this period, primarily due to concerns that garnering public support would be challenging amidst the economic adversities faced by private schools. However, the landscape shifted following the concerted efforts of the campaign. Their advocacy work with the House of Representatives catalysed dialogues and exerted pressure on the MoE and the MoL, which, in turn, compelled us, the unions, to engage in this critical discourse. We expressed apprehensions to the MoL about the potential ineffectiveness of the negotiations given the prevailing economic conditions, yet the ministry assured us of its support. It's important to acknowledge the APSO's contribution, reflecting its adaptability in understanding the economic realities teachers face. Indeed, the campaign's multifaceted pressure on various institutions paved the way for meaningful dialogue and advancements[78]."

78. Al Maaytah, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

A notable recent amendment involves the digitalisation or automation of the unified contract, transitioning to a digital signature process with contracts stored on an electronic platform developed by the GUWPE. Teachers are to receive contract copies via email. While the implications of this automation for integrating the regulatory frameworks of the MoL, the MoE, and the SSC remain to be fully understood, Al Maayta explains that the union's platform will facilitate regulatory access to its data in a streamlined and transparent manner, aligning with the campaign's objectives for achieving substantial outcomes from such digital initiatives.

Concerning the dimension of political will, particularly regulatory aspects, a critical inquiry arises: Is the mandate for bank and electronic salary transfers being effectively enforced in the licensing of private schools? Observers within the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign and stakeholders in the Jordanian labour sector argue that the Private Education Directorate's establishment and licensing department at the MoE falls short in regulating non-compliant schools effectively. Al Shawahin highlights a loophole in the oversight mechanism, where schools temporarily comply by providing bank transfer evidence for a few months before reverting to cash payments. "Despite schools formally adhering to licensing requirements and conducting salary transfers, often through indirect means, compliance dissipates post-licence renewal, leading to educators being paid in cash, exemplified by a case in Zarqa where a teacher is still seeking JOD 1,062 in unpaid salaries from the previous year, a scenario not isolated but shared by 42 other teachers at the same institution[79]."

Al Kiswani elaborates on the campaign's efforts to propose regulatory enhancements to the MoE: "We offered a comprehensive oversight mechanism, complete with timelines and procedural guidelines, including a proposal for leveraging a Central Bank of Jordan (CBJ) facilitated system for verifying salary transactions, aiming to simplify the process for all parties involved. Despite presenting a viable solution to streamline school licensing and salary verification processes, we encountered unexpected resistance to its implementation[80]."

Al Malkawi acknowledges that the campaign has indeed presented lists of schools found in violation of regulations for potential closure in a meeting she attended. Yet, the campaign's call for retroactive enforcement against these institutions has been declined. The ministry signals its openness to receiving new lists of non-compliant schools, having closed three private educational institutions in 2023, despite identifying over 260 schools as non-compliant. Abu Malouh and Al Kiswani contend that the ministry's actions, including the closure of three schools, do not reflect a genuine commitment to enforcing regulations comprehensively, typically eschewing the closure of non-compliant institutions. This perspective was corroborated during discussions with the director of the Licensing and Accreditation Department.

Concerning the MoL and its Inspection Directorate, the campaign perceives shortcomings in how complaints lodged via the "Hemayeh" platform are addressed. In 2022, the education sector submitted 1,610 complaints, with an additional 1,098 lodged in the third quarter of 2023 alone.

Heba Abu Ghneim, the campaign's complaints coordinator, relays teachers' observations that inspections often appear cursory, with inspectors seemingly conducting informal visits rather than thorough evaluations. She advises that inspectors utilise the complaint number to access files on the platform promptly, noting delays in complaint resolution that extend beyond the statutory two-week period for rectification, with some cases remaining unresolved for months.

79. Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

80. Kiswani, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Abu Ghneim reveals that an inspector known to the campaign was subject to a disciplinary transfer for his unofficial interactions with the campaign, suggesting official pressure on labour inspectors to limit their cooperation. This is evidenced by a change in attitude of certain inspectors previously amenable to assisting the campaign, who now refrain from intervention in a personal capacity[81].

Haitham Al Najdawi, head of the MoL's Inspection Directorate, asserts his full confidence in the directorate's efficiency, claiming comprehensive oversight of inspector activities through body-mounted cameras to ensure procedural compliance[82]. Al Najdawi clarifies that the directorate's role concludes at identifying violations, with judicial authorities responsible for determining the consequences and deterrent effect of such violations.

Amidst the campaign's criticisms of regulatory oversight and the defence mounted by regulatory bodies, the persistent issue of violations raises questions. The study points to a misalignment between the campaign's aspirations and the operational remit of regulatory bodies. While the campaign advocates for more stringent actions, regulatory bodies, particularly the MoL, see no necessity for alternative measures concerning private education sector teachers.

Discrepancies in perspectives became pronounced in 2023, with official entities[83] advising the campaign to either operate as a more institutional status or align with trade unions to maintain collaborative efforts with governmental agencies[84]. Al Najdawi's remarks underscore a perceived lack of exceptionalism[85] in violations within the private education sector compared to others, suggesting that salary delays are a common issue across various sectors, not warranting special attention to the education sector as a unique case of labour grievances[86].

4. Activism Level: resilience and influence

This section observes three pivotal criteria: the campaign's steadfastness in preserving its autonomy and resolve, its pivotal role within the nexus of activism in Jordan and its participation therein, and its proficiency in impacting other social movements both nationally and regionally. The Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign encounters explicit recommendations from official and union bodies advocating for its institutionalisation, purportedly for the campaign's benefit. This suggestion introduces a new dimension for analysis, spotlighting the challenges and sustainability of independent, non-institutionalised activism within Jordan's current political landscape.

Labour unions traditionally embody a collective organisational role according to established political norms. However, Ahmed Awad, of the Phenix Centre for Economics and Informatics Studies, observes that union activities are "encircled and constrained", despite the "imperative to honour the right to unionise as stipulated by internationally recognised labour standards", standards that Jordan has committed to through its ratification of the 1998 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Awad notes a discreet complicity between the GFJTU and governmental and employer entities, suggesting the necessity of a community labour campaign as a testament to GFJTU's inefficacy, particularly when the demand ceiling merely seeks the enforcement of

81. Abu Ghneim, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
82. Najdawi, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
83. Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
84. Al Ali, M. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
85. Najdawi, H. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.
86. Najdawi, H. (2023). Private schools force teachers to resign during the summer break. Jordan TV.

recently enacted laws and regulations. This view diverges from that of the GFJTU, as conveyed by Al Maaytah, who asserts that the union exerted considerable efforts in the late 20th century to address violations in the private education sector. Nonetheless, a general reluctance towards union membership and organisation — perceived as a global issue — has ostensibly hindered the union's capacity to advocate effectively for workers' rights.

The Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign disavows any move towards institutionalisation or unionisation at this juncture, perceiving such a shift as a potential constraint on its independence and its unencumbered operational agility, free from bureaucratic and financial barriers that could divert the campaign's energies and dilute its grassroots organisational essence[87]. Al Shawhin articulates, "Institutionalisation is not our objective. Our aim is not to confine ourselves to offices, engrossed in administrative tasks and staffing. We function as an institutional campaign without the need for formalisation. We believe activism is the key to addressing our concerns; we are, at our core, educators in private schools, champions of our profession and cause. I am a stakeholder in this cause, fighting to secure my rights as part of the community we serve[88]."

Awad concurs, advocating for the campaign to persist in its current form, "Developing new tools for activism is crucial, as transforming the campaign into a subsidiary of the Labour Union would merely serve to contain it. I recommend the campaign maintains its current status, enhancing its operational methodologies to work union-like internally, yet without the official designation, and to continue its advocacy through public statements and demonstrations[89]."

In light of these developments, the campaign's persistence as an autonomous, voluntary, and activist-driven entity represents a paradigm shift that elevates the ambit of workers' activism within Jordan. It fortifies its resilience amidst prevailing challenges. Operating in conjunction with various societal movements, political parties, and both civil and non-governmental organisations, the campaign navigates a restricted civic landscape as delineated by Human Rights Watch[90] and the perspective of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, particularly when describing the constraints imposed by the recent Cybercrime Law[91].

The political pressures facing the education sector manifest starkly in interactions with the JTS, notably following a series of protests and a month-long general strike in 2019 aimed at enhancing working conditions and teachers' remuneration. Subsequent actions by the state included the arrest of union leaders, the dissolution of the union council, and a judicial mandate suspending the union for two years[92].

The campaign's involvement in broader human rights and activist agendas is demonstrated by its leaders' participation in the general strike against the policies of former prime minister Hani Al Mulki's government, endorsing declarations against normalisation and the importation of gas from perceived adversaries, and advocating for the repeal of Article 308 of Jordan's Penal Code[93]. This reflects the campaign's broader engagement in labour, political, and feminist discourses. Such intersectionality, emphasised through collaborative efforts with other rights-focused initiatives, extends to regional movements as well.

87. Abu Mallouh, M. (2023). A Study-Related Interview. Amman, Jordan.

88. Al Shawahin, N. (2023). A Study-Related Interview. Amman, Jordan.

89. Awad, A. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

90. Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2022). Jordan: Government crushes civic space. HRW.

91. Throssell, L. (2023). Jordan: Concerns over cybercrime legislation and shrinking of civic space. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

92. Frontline Defenders. (2022). Jordanian Teachers' Syndicate (JTS).

93. Naffa, R., and Aloul, S. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Manna highlights the campaign's influential role in sharing its expertise with initiatives such as the "Families for Freedom" campaign, led by Syrians advocating for clarity on the status of detainees and the missing. The Syrian campaign benefitted from insights into election methodologies shared by the Stand with the Teacher Campaign[94]. Furthermore, Ahel recognises the value of involving activists and campaign leaders as "seasoned guests" in annual educational programs delivered remotely to global audiences, themed around "organising and leadership for collective change.[95]" Campaign leaders impart their experiential wisdom to other movements, contributing to the empowerment of societal initiatives or leading educational workshops, alongside the participation of some leaders in the "Athar" network. This network unites a diverse array of activists and societal campaigns from across the Arab world[96].

Through its collaborative endeavours and engagement with various issues, the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign elevates the level of activist transformation both nationally and regionally. It plays a pivotal role within the Jordanian civic sphere, amidst an increasingly restricted environment, and collaborates with counterparts across the Arab region to enhance their movements, whether through direct participation or by leveraging the campaign's accrued knowledge to bolster other initiatives and facilitate a range of educational workshops.

94. Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

95. Ahel Foundation. (2024). Organising and leadership for collective change. Ahel Foundation.

96. Manna, R. (2023). A study-related interview. Amman, Jordan.

Conclusion: has the power balance shifted?

Upon scrutinising the labour conditions of female educators within the private education sector and evaluating the Stand Up with the Teacher Campaign's endeavours to address labour infractions against private school teachers, this study has devised a matrix for defining, measuring change, analysing shifts in power dynamics, and examining the campaign's on-the-ground activities across four distinct levels of change. The critical inquiry posed is: **To what extent has the campaign effected change in the professional landscape for private sector teachers over the eight years since its inception?**

The analysis reveals that the campaign has instigated notable and substantial change at the individual level, bolstering teachers' self-efficacy and consciousness of their capacity for action and autonomy.

Furthermore, it has significantly altered the landscape of organised collective action, positioning the campaign as a formidable counter-bloc and a pivotal reference within Jordan's private education sector. The campaign has markedly influenced policy reform within this sphere, contributing to the materialisation of recommendations into concrete legal and contractual provisions. Initiating change from the grassroots — both through teacher organisation and employer receptiveness to reform — the study encourages the campaign to leverage these incremental achievements towards broader, more systemic change.

Additionally, it identifies a modest positive shift in national and regional activism, projecting potential for greater impact, provided the campaign sustains its knowledge base, autonomy, and continues to expand its network and resources to engage with broader societal movements.

Conversely, despite employing diverse tactics such as protests, negotiations, and public engagements, the campaign has faced challenges in effecting decisive change in political decision-makers' commitment to enforcing regulatory policies and overseeing employer compliance, thereby necessitating its continued role as a labour advocacy group for educators' rights.

This ongoing struggle suggests a need for strategic introspection and innovation within the campaign to develop more effective methods of advocacy and pressure, positioning teachers' issues as a national priority. This responsibility extends beyond the campaign to encompass unions, legislative frameworks, and civil society, all of which play crucial roles in galvanising political will.

It is worthwhile to further investigate the effects of engaging the student-parent base as key stakeholders and allies could underscore the intrinsic link between teachers' rights and students' entitlement to quality education and conducive learning environments.

In summary, the question of whether the balance of power has shifted receives an affirmative response; the professional circumstances of private sector teachers post-campaign markedly differ from their pre-campaign status, highlighting the campaign's success in imposing significant constraints on employer transgressions.

However, the study concludes that while there has been a perceptible shift towards favouring teachers, the balance predominantly favours employers, primarily due to the lack of effective deterrent mechanisms, accountability measures, and sanctions for violations — a situation intrinsically tied to the broader political will and perception of the issue.

Annex I: List of interviews

Person	Entity	Position	Interview date	Interview format
Nariman Al Shawahin	Stand Up with the Teacher	Complaints Committee member/ founding team	October 3-5, 2023	Zoom and phone
Heba Abu Ghunaim	Stand Up with the Teacher	Complaints Committee Coordinator	October 7, 2023	Phone
Maha Abu Malouh	Stand Up with the Teacher	General Coordinator	October 11, 2023	Zoom
Hadeel Al Kaswani	Stand Up with the Teacher	Media Committee Coordinator	October 14, 2023	Zoom
Reem Manna'	Ahel Foundation	Campaigns Empowerment Manager	October 1, 2023	Zoom
Reem Aslan	ILO	Head of Decent Work for Women Programme	October 5, 2023	Zoom
Ahmad Awad	Phenix Centre	Director	October 18, 2023	Zoom
Randa Naffa'	SADAQA Foundation	Co-founder	October 9, 2023	Zoom
Sahar Al Aloul	SADAQA Foundation	Co-founder	October 9, 2023	Zoom
Malek Al Maaytah	GFJTU	Head of Planning and Development	October 10, 2023	Zoom
Munther Al Sourani	GUWPE	President	October 8, 2023	In-person
Maha Ali	JNCW	Secretary-General	October 16, 2023	In-person
Salma Al Nims	JNCW (formerly)	Former secretary-general	October 9, 2023	Zoom
Lina Al Malkawi	MoE Directorate of Private Education	Head of Establishment and Licensing Department	October 24, 2023	In-person
Haitham Al Najdawi	MoL Directorate of Inspection	Director	October 17, 2023	In-person
Adnan Al Dahamsheh	MoL Directorate of Labor Relations	Director	October 17, 2023	In-person
Iman Al Akour	MoL Directorate of Women's Work	Director	October 18, 2023	In-person
Hamada Abu Nejma	MoL (formerly)	Former secretary-general	October 11, 2023	Zoom

Campaign coordinators who attended a Zoom focus group on October 14, 2023

Name	Team
Tahani Al Shboul	**Irbid**
Maha Al Atoun	**Amman**
Wafaa Al Fadly	**Zarqa**
Israa Hyari	**Salt**
Rana Salha	**Ajloun**

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All photos used in the study are from the archives of the Ahel Foundation


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