



JORDAN

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP, EMPOWERMENT, AND GENDER NORMS IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY

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We would like to express our admiration for the thousands of garment factory employees whose labor and hard work clothe millions around the world, and we are grateful to the garment workers who took part in our survey for their time and for the invaluable insights that helped shape this project.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines key factors that affect the entry and upward mobility of Jordanian women garment workers. We analyze data from surveys at worker, supervisor, and managerial levels, collected by Better Work Jordan, and present findings from focus group discussions with additional participants at each level, to identify key barriers to the hiring, promotion, and retention of Jordanian women working in the garment sector. We find that unstandardized technical trainings, informal promotion processes, the lack of clearly delineated job descriptions and expectations make it difficult for Jordanian women to enter the garment industry and to attain promotions at the same rate as migrant workers. We also find that migrant workers have higher levels of technical skills and trade experience, and therefore, Jordanian workers receive promotional opportunities at a slower and lower rate than migrant workers. In this report, we identify several factors in the hiring, training, and promotional processes that can be reformed to increase the participation of Jordanians in the garment labor force and expand promotional opportunities for Jordanian women. We also provide seven robust recommendations and implementation strategies that Better Work Jordan can use to address the gaps identified in this report.



Introductionⁱ

Every year, billions of dollars' worth of garments enter clothing stores worldwide, spanning from Latvia to the United States, all with one common feature: a 'Made in Jordan' tag.ⁱⁱ Established in 1996, after a Free Trade Agreement with the United States, as part of its regional peacemaking agenda, the Jordanian garment industry employs roughly 75,000 workers today.ⁱⁱⁱ The industry is responsible for producing garments for several high value brands like Nike, North Face, Adidas, and others, and is a highly feminized industry. Nearly 75 percent of all garment workers in Jordan are women, although Jordanians represent only 25 percent of the overall sector.^{iv}

In recent years, the Jordanian government has taken strides to invigorate the domestic workforce, which struggles with chronically low employment, especially among youth and women.^v In 2021, the unemployment rate for youth between 15-24 years was 40.3 percent, and the labor force participation rate for women was only 13.4 percent.^{vi} Given that Jordanian women already participate in garment work, and that the sector employs a high number of women, the garment industry offers an entrée point to increase work opportunities for Jordanian women, and to expand the possibility of promotions within the garment sector. Vocational training facilities as well as soft-skills training on the job make the garment sector an ideal starting point for women interested in employment. To complement the efforts of the government, and the mission of Better Work Jordan to improve labor conditions within garment factories, the Columbia University Capstone Team has undertaken this project to examine: *What obstacles do Jordanian women face in entering into employment and attaining upward mobility in the garment sector?*

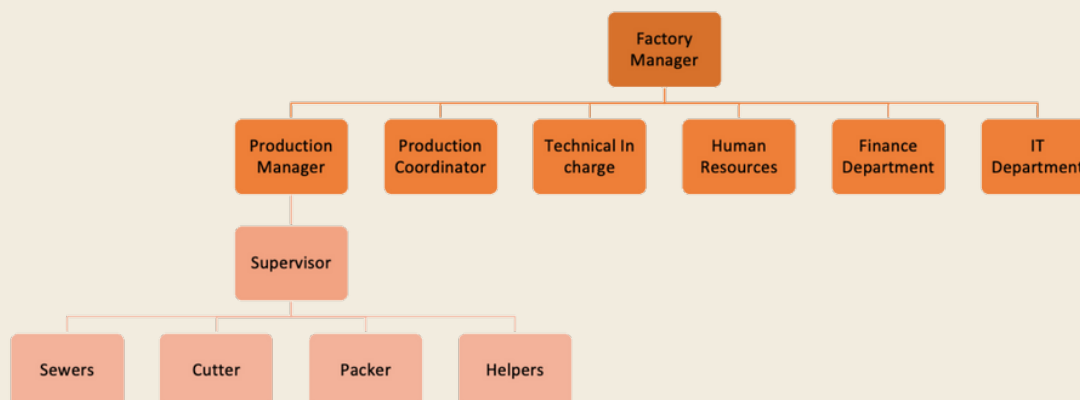
Definition of Terms

In this report, we define “Jordanian workers” or “local workers” as workers in the garment factories whose nationality is Jordanian, and who do not require visas from the Jordanian government in order to work within the country. In contrast, “migrant” refers to non-Jordanian employees, who travel to Jordan with short-term employment contracts with the garment factories and require visas for work in Jordan.

Jordan’s garment sector consists of direct exporter factories, subcontractor factories, and satellite factories. “Exporter factories” or “Qualified Industrial Zone” (QIZ) factories consist predominantly of migrant employees, while “satellite factories”, located outside designated industrial zones in Jordan, have larger concentrations of Jordanian employees.^{vii} “Subcontractor” factories are a mix of both migrant and local employees, and their primary distinction is that they are smaller than the exporter factories and produce goods for exporter factories on request.

The report distinguishes employees of different levels. “Workers” are employees involved in any part of the garment production and packaging process, and they do not oversee the performance of any other employee. “Supervisors” are in charge of those at the worker-level and are often categorized as Quality Control Supervisors (who audit finalized garments for quality), Line Supervisors (who oversee an entire line of machine operators and helpers), and Line-In Charge (who oversee several lines of machine operators). Lastly, “Managers” refer to administrative and production specific roles that oversee supervisors. “Production Managers” or “Floor Managers” are responsible for managing production from all lines on one floor of a factory, and they oversee the work of all supervisors and all workers. “Factory Managers” oversee the operations and administration of an entire building, which includes several floors of production. Depending on the size and type, factories may have one or more “units” (buildings). Each factory has at least one factory manager, and for large factories with several units, there is a different factory manager at each unit. Additionally, each factory employs “HR Managers” who oversee the hiring and administrative components of the entire factory, rather than individual units.

Figure 1. Sample Organization Chart Depicting Hierarchy of Roles

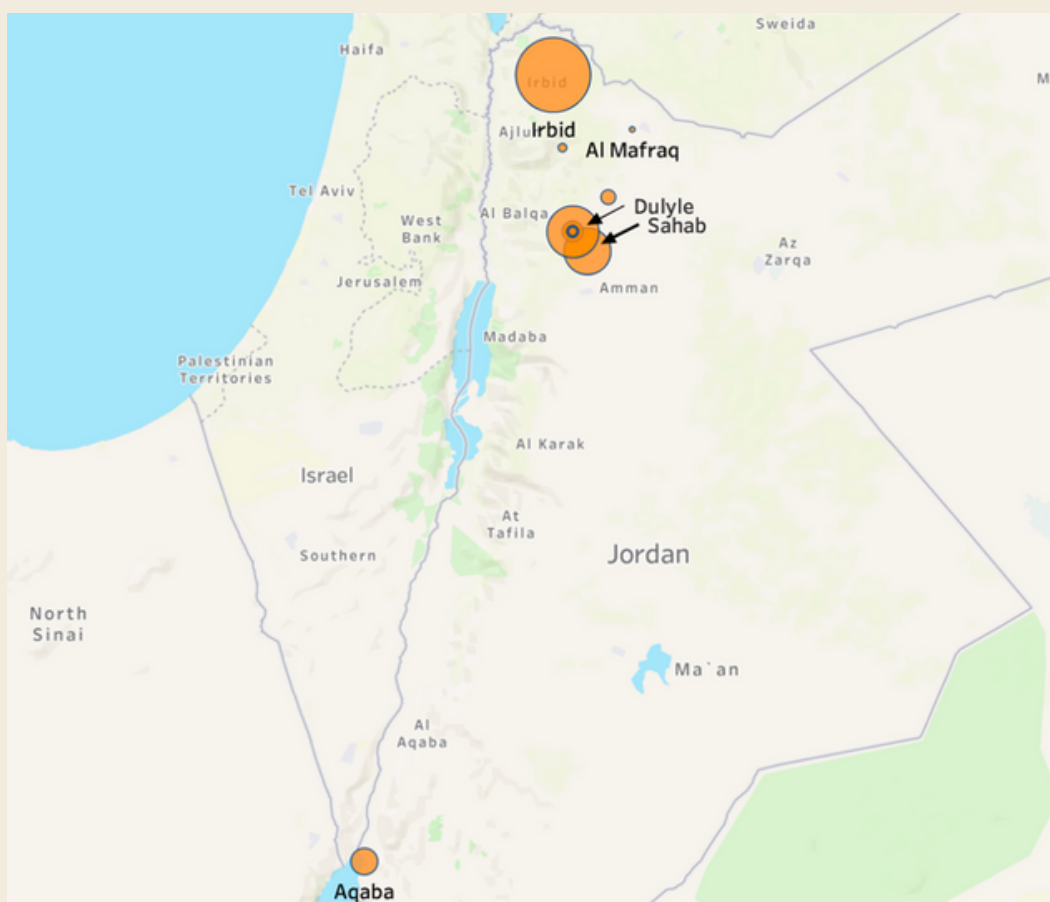


Methodology

The garment sector employs Jordanians, migrants, and Syrian refugees. We focus specifically on Jordanian and migrant employees to further the existing knowledge and work conducted by Better Work Jordan. Syrian refugees make up roughly 2 percent of the Jordanian garment workforce, and the challenges they face are complicated by refugee laws, cross-border politics, and are inherently different from those faced by Jordanian and migrant employees. At the same time, it is important to note the limitations of our quantitative data. For the supervisor level dataset, respondents are disaggregated as “Jordanian” and “non-Jordanian”, which means that the statistical analysis on migrant workers in the supervisor data may include data from Syrian refugee workers. However, since Syrian refugees make up a small percentage of garment workers, and an even smaller subset of supervisors, we consider our general findings on migrant workers to be valid.

The findings in this report are based on mixed methods research. We obtained quantitative data from Better Work Jordan, which included five rounds of survey responses from roughly 2 percent of worker-level employees from December 2019 to July 2022. For each round of surveys, a few additional questions were added or changed. The survey respondents were randomly selected and participants from all factories under Better Work’s purview were surveyed. The respondents selected for the workers’ survey were stratified by factory-level composition of gender and nationality of workers. For the manager dataset, respondents were only stratified by English language and Arabic language capability.

Figure 2. Concentration of Factories, Sized by Total Number of Workers and Supervisors



The worker sample includes 31 percent of Jordanian and 69 percent of non-Jordanian respondents, with a gender split of 75 percent female and 26 percent male respondents. Similarly, the supervisor sample includes 35 percent of Jordanian respondents and 65 percent of migrant respondents, and 52 percent of respondents were female, while 48 percent were male. The manager survey sample does not identify respondents by nationality, so we use the language variable as a proxy for whether respondents were Jordanian or non-Jordanian. 41.67 percent of respondents were English speakers and 58.33 percent were Arabic speakers. Additionally, we used a factory-wide dataset that comprised worker and supervisor data across gender and nationality, in factories that participate in Better Work's program.

These surveys occurred concurrently but independent of one another. For the manager surveys, one manager from each factory was selected to participate. However, respondents to the manager survey did not participate in all four survey rounds, hence the dataset only contains one or two observations rather than four (one for each round) for these participants.

In addition to the quantitative analysis derived from data, we conducted fifteen focus group discussions in four factories, with randomly selected participants who fell into the following categories: Jordanian women workers, Jordanian women supervisors, migrant women workers, migrant women supervisors, Jordanian men workers and Jordanian men supervisors, migrant men workers and migrant men supervisors. In addition, we conducted nineteen in-depth interviews with Jordanian and migrant managers and supervisors of both genders.

To contextualize our understanding of employee experiences in factories, we conducted fifteen key informant interviews with experts from organizations related to the sector. Key informants were from Jordanian Ministry of Labor, the Jordan Chamber of Industry, Jordan Garments, Accessories and Textiles Exporters' Association, representatives from trade unions, representatives from the Technical and Vocational Skills Development Commission (TVSDC) and the Jordanian National Commission for Women, and select staff at Better Work Jordan and the International Labor Organization (ILO) who work closely with Jordanian factories.

Framework and Analysis

In order to capture the factors that affect Jordanian women's initial decision to join the garment industry and their subsequent upward mobility within the factory, our findings and analysis are structured according to four stages in an employment cycle: Phase I: Hiring Mechanisms and Onboarding, Phase II: Retention Incentives (e.g.: childcare, wages, benefits), Phase III: Promotion Structures, and Phase IV: Exit (and analysis of related factors such as verbal abuse). We compare data on migrant employees to that of Jordanian employees, across all levels, to identify factors within each phase of employment that may uniquely affect Jordanian women.

Below, we elucidate the key findings of our field research and the corroborating evidence from quantitative and qualitative data. In addition, we examine Bangladesh's garment sector as a comparative case study, where the implementation of the Gender Equality and Returns (GEAR) program by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and ILO positively affected the promotion of women to higher level positions in factories.

Lastly, we suggest recommendations based on our findings and analysis of given data to foster greater participation from Jordanian women in the garment sector, and to enhance their opportunities and pathways to promotions.

Country Overview

The Jordanian economy relies heavily on foreign investment and trade, and its labor market consists of Jordanian workers, migrant workers, and Syrian refugee workers.^{viii} Only 2.8 million out of 10 million Jordanians participate in the labor force, and unemployment remains a significant challenge, despite high rates of literacy and education in the country.^{ix} In 2022, 22.9 percent of the population were unemployed, and the labor force participation rate among women and youth were particularly low.^x

Jordanian women face several obstacles to gainful employment. Cultural and societal norms in the country often place greater value on women's role as caregivers and homemakers than their participation in paid work.^{xi} The *Jordan Gender Barometer Survey Report* from August 2020, for example, finds that over 80 percent of engaged female respondents believe it is important to work, and male respondents agree.^{xii} However, 57.6 percent of male respondents across different classes believed that it was their right to decide whether their wives worked or not.^{xiii} Women's employment opportunities are also typically clustered in civil service roles in the health and education sectors.^{xiv} These roles are limited to women with access to higher education. Furthermore, the lack of safe and accessible public transportation sets geographic limits to where women can work, and women with children must additionally contend with the costs of childcare, when domestic help and family support are not available.

Increasing women's participation in the labor force can enhance economic growth in Jordan, by increasing the overall size of the labor market and by impacting productivity in industrial economies. Additionally, increasing women's financial security can positively impact their health, levels of education, and living standards, and enhance these attributes for the families they contribute to.

Recognizing the benefits of greater female participation in the labor force, the Jordanian government recently announced its Economic Modernization Vision, with the goal of "accommodating more than 1 million young women and men in the labor force".^{xv} One initiative enumerated in the government's plan focuses on the establishment of new technical schools and vocational programs to increase the employment opportunities for women. The recommendations detailed in this report align with the government's strategy to expand trainings and vocational skills programs to target Jordanian women from a varied range of socioeconomic and

geographic backgrounds in order to economically empower them.

Overview of the Garment Sector

The garment sector is the optimal industry to serve as the entry point for Jordanian women of varied education, skill level, socioeconomic backgrounds, and geographies. Garment exports constitute more than 20 percent of Jordan's total exports, and the sector's highly feminized workforce implies that the industry tries to foster an environment where women can be successfully and gainfully employed.

Like the overall economy, the garment sector also employs migrant workers, refugee workers, and Jordanian workers, though the latter are only 25 percent of the industry.^{xvi} A few cultural and educational factors correspond to the pattern of lower retention of Jordanian workers in the garment sector. First, Jordanian workers have higher levels of formal education than their migrant counterparts, though the industry relies largely on vocational skills.^{xvii} Second, migrant workers generally have higher technical and vocational skills training in garment work. Third, women working in the garment factories are dubbed often "factory girls", a phrase with negative social connotations that may dissuade Jordanian women from seeking employment in factories.^{xviii} In focus groups, several Jordanian women cited parental disapproval of garment work as a major reason why Jordanian women workers leave the sector. Furthermore, while the national minimum wage was phased up to JOD 260 (Jordanian Dinars) since 2019, the garment sector minimum wage has remained constant at JOD 220 over several years.^{xix} In February 2023, the inflation rate rose to 4.25 percent from 3.77 percent in the previous month, and the Jordan Department of Statistics reported that the Consumer Price Index (CPI) increased by 4.01 percent in the first two months of the year.^{xx} While garment sector wages are already lower than the national minimum, the rising costs of living render it additionally difficult for a lower or middle income family to survive on JOD 220.

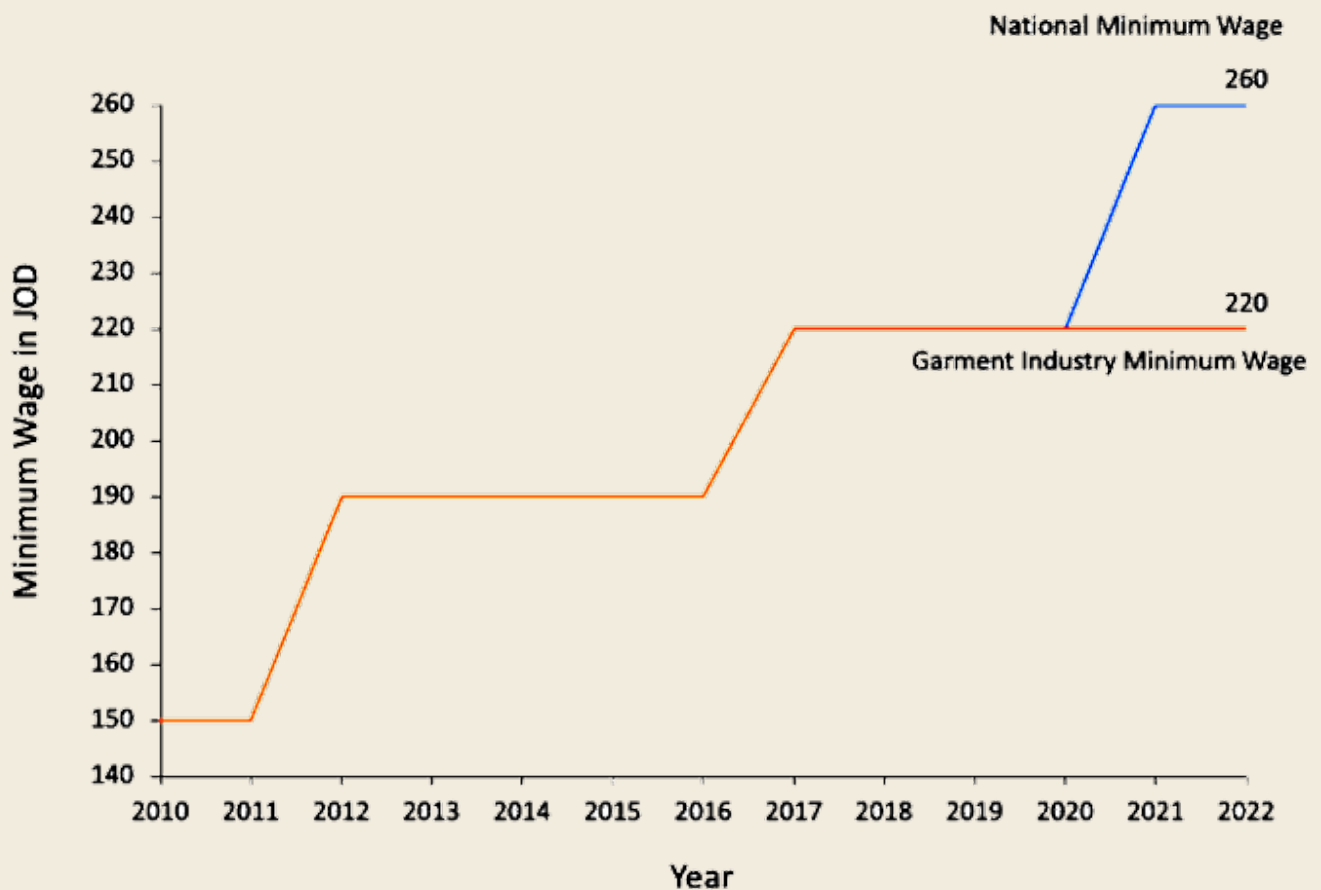
In one interview, Trade Union representatives explained that the rationale for lower sector-specific minimum wages was to decrease the costs of production for factories and to keep the prices of goods low. According to the representative, if the industry minimum wage increases, factories would have to extend the same wages to migrant workers, and would incur exorbitant costs, as 75 percent of the industry is predicated on migrant labor. Additionally, to defray these costs, factories would raise prices for buyers and indirectly raise the price of clothes in the market.

The Ministry of Labor Tripartite Committee, which set the national minimum wage, provided an exemption to the garment sector and the union's Collective Bargaining

Agreement (CBA) established the sector specific minimum wage at 220 JOD.^{xxi} As a result, there is no incentive for specific factories to stray from the norm. For the garment-specific minimum wage to change, the entire sector would have to overhaul its existing minimum wage agreement, but there is no competitive advantage for any factory to modify their current pay rates.

It is noteworthy that while garment sector employers are discouraged by the higher costs of employment they incur through a standardized minimum wage, a lower sector-specific minimum wage stymies the equal opportunity to enhance quality of life among Jordanians. In the employment calculus, when the costs of entry already seem high for women, the lack of competitive wages additionally disincentivizes Jordanian women's participation in garment work.

Figure 3. Minimum Wage in Jordan Compared to the Jordanian Garment Sector



In the next section, we elaborate on our quantitative and qualitative findings at the four stages of employment: onboarding, retention, promotion, and exit, discuss factory level barriers, and offer recommendations to address the hiring and retention, as well as the promotion of Jordanian women in the garment sector.

KEY FINDINGS

Hiring

Factories utilize different hiring and recruitment strategies to target Jordanian and migrant workers. Factories advertise vacancies for worker positions in collaboration with agencies abroad. Migrant workers are typically interviewed at these agencies or at vocational training programs that serve as a pipeline to Jordanian factories. One HR manager revealed that manager level staff from the factory fly abroad to conduct interviews with migrant workers and facilitate the hiring decisions. When migrant workers are interviewed about their garment making capabilities, they are often asked to demonstrate sewing skills and their ability to operate various machines.

Our interviews revealed that Jordanians are hired for factory work in two ways. They are either directly hired without prior training and technical knowledge or are recruited from vocational training institutes and have a higher baseline skillset in garment work. One major exporting factory that creates products for several high value brands, for example, has established four training centers to target the training of Jordanian youth. However, the factory administrators stated that the program was philanthropic and not intended to be a pipeline for trainees to enter the production floor at their factories.

In survey interviews, HR managers stated that garment factories release advertisements through social media marketing campaigns and other platforms such as the Ministry of Labor. An HR manager explained that the Ministry of Labor provides factories with subsidies for hiring a percentage of workers from rural or underdeveloped areas, with low economic opportunities. Applicants are screened for qualifications, interviewed, and hired thereafter. As garment manufacturing is viewed as an engineered product, industrial engineering teams at factories are involved in the hiring and recruitment process. Furthermore, HR managers stated that workers were tested for technical skills to ensure that the length of time between onboarding and operating is short.

According to our findings, there is a major difference in the years of experience and in the technical knowledge possessed by Jordanians and migrants, when they are hired. Survey data from our sample indicates that about 57 percent of Jordanian female supervisors and 62 percent of Jordanian male supervisors had no machine operator experience prior to working in the factories. Although Jordanians are able to learn these skills while working in the factory and can eventually attain supervisory roles, it may take longer for Jordanians to become supervisors than their migrant colleagues. Notably, several interviews with supervisors and workers revealed that operational knowledge of all different sewing machines is a key determinant for workers to be

to be considered for supervisory roles across all factories. Additionally, there are key differences in roles that migrant and Jordanian workers are hired into.

Figure 4. Percentage of Jordanian Workers in Each Production Role

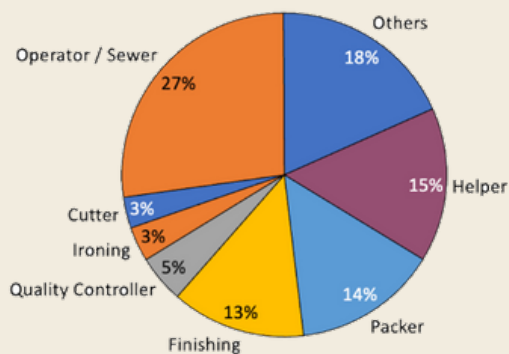
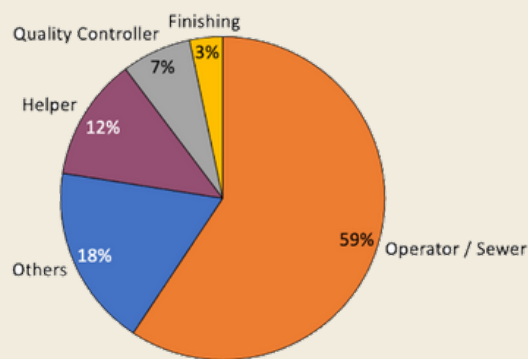


Figure 5. Percentage of Migrant Workers in Each Production Role



While 59.3 percent of migrants in the sample worked as operators or sewers, 27.14 percent of Jordanians worked in the same capacity. About 15.42 percent of Jordanians reported working as a helper, compared to 12.27 percent of migrant workers. Helpers, the second largest role fulfilled by Jordanians, are assistants to operators, who help replenish thread on the spools, cut excess threading on garments, and learn how to operate machines while assisting operators. Typically, helpers are placed in this role because they do not have the adequate technical skillset to operate machines.

The rest of the Jordanian and migrant respondents in the sample were distributed across other garment assembling tasks: cutting, dyeing, finishing, ironing, knitting, mechanic, packer, quality controller, spreader, supervisor, and other.

To facilitate the employment of more Jordanians, the government established a quota requiring at least 30 percent of each factory's workforce to be Jordanian by 2018. The government provides incentives such as rent exemptions and wage subsidies for Jordanians, in order to encourage factories to hire more locals. Larger exporting factories utilize their affiliated satellite units to fulfill the hiring quota, hence, Jordanian workers predominantly work in satellite factories. These factories are located outside of the specific industrial zones, are smaller, and are instrumental in bringing employment to women in rural areas, where opportunities may be limited.^{xxii}

A report by the ILO in 2021 noted that migrant workers are often assigned to work in satellite factories to enhance the level of productivity, due to their higher skill sets and greater experience. However, there are still significantly fewer migrant workers in the satellite factories than in the QIZs.^{xxiii}

Research indicates that other comparable industries in Jordan face similar challenges in hiring local, skilled workers. The food packaging industry and the cosmetics and chemical manufacturing industries are akin to the garment industry in its production-based work, and finding technically skilled workers was a challenge identified by hiring managers in these industries as well.^{xxiv} Furthermore, workers at the food packaging industry lacked communication skills, English speaking skills, and managerial skills, much like the garment industry, which render it difficult for Jordanian workers in these sectors to seek higher paying roles or promotional opportunities.

According to the same report, pre-existing skills are an important factor in the hiring determination for workers. Multi-skilled sewers, for instance, are highly regarded, which was corroborated by our field research.^{xxv} At the same time, the report adds that there are no standardized definitions for what constitutes a “multi-skilled” sewer, and that the role of a multi-skilled sewer is the only skill-based categorization. The lack of clearly defined occupation standards makes it difficult to ensure that workers in the same position have similar skills. It is also important to note that the current wage structure is standardized across all skill levels in a given position and does not reward workers for possessing a variety of skills.

Relatedly, the National Human Resources Development Strategy 2016-2025, established by the Jordanian government, has implored the Sector Skills Council and the newly formed Garment Skills Council to standardize job roles to align with the education and training provided academically and vocationally.^{xxvi}

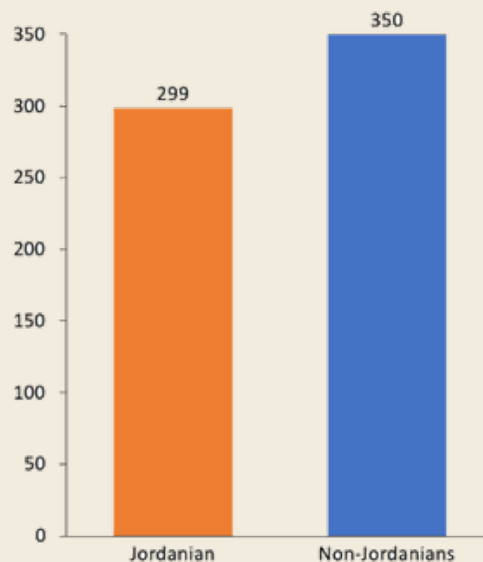
Retention

Jordanian garment workers typically work eight hours per day, while migrant workers work ten hours per day. Our findings confirmed the overall literature that Jordanian workers earned less than migrant workers, on average, due to overtime wages, and provided some new insights. Certain factories allot Jordanian workers with an additional hour of pay per day when workers achieve their daily output targets. Hence, despite the restrictions on their hours of work and pay, Jordanian workers can earn slightly higher wages, and be incentivized to reach their targets.

The mean take-home wage per month of Jordanian supervisors is JOD 312.85 and that of non-Jordanian supervisors is JOD 354.04. The median monthly wage for Jordanian supervisors is JOD 298.5, with the lowest earnings being JOD 80 and the highest being JOD 800. The median monthly wage for non-Jordanian supervisors is JOD 350, with the lowest earnings being JOD 110 and the highest being JOD 825. The baseline wages for migrant workers include a minimum cash component of JOD 125 and in-kind payment valued at JOD 95, according to the 2019 CBA.^{xxvii} Migrant workers receive

room and board as part of their in-kind compensation, which allows them to save their earnings. Additionally, the weight of the Jordanian Dinar in migrant workers' countries of origin makes garment work a lucrative job. On the other hand, Jordanians must contend with rising costs of living in Jordan while earning lower wages, which may make garment work less palatable.

Figure 6. Median Monthly Take-Home Wages, in Jordanian Dinars



At the same time, some factories offer other benefits such as childcare and transportation, which are important in Jordanian women's decision to work.^{xxviii} Factories that offer daycare operate on the same schedule as Jordanian employees and oversee children who are five years or younger. Interestingly, findings from the July 2022 survey round reveal that 16.76 percent of Jordanian workers had children aged five and below, but only 19.2 percent of them availed of the day care services. Our interviews revealed that many women prefer to leave their children with family. Additionally, factories are required by the CBA to provide a monthly stipend to employees if they utilize alternatives to factory-based childcare or if factories do not offer childcare services. The 2023 CBA increased the stipend from JOD 25 per month to JOD 30 per month.

Through interviews with Jordanian workers and supervisors at one factory, we learned that pregnant workers are allowed to operate machines until the last two months of pregnancy, when they are transitioned to less labor-intensive tasks such as checking garments for quality and helping operators. Employees are also offered 70 days of maternity leave and may retain their original position upon returning to work.^{xxix}

Transportation benefits in the garment sector are similar to other comparable industries. Hospitality, retail, and manufacturing industries also provide either company buses and vans or transportation contracted through third-party vendors.^{xxx}

From key informant interviews with Better Work Jordan staff, we learned that workers had previously expressed concern about the state of the transportation being offered, and about harassment from bus drivers. In some cases, when factories contracted transportation through third-party companies, the quality of buses were poor and resulted in accidents. Our field interviews with workers did not reflect significant concerns about the quality of transportation, though it was clear that Jordanian workers relied heavily on transportation benefits. In one interview, Jordanian women workers mentioned that they preferred when factories provided transportation rather than giving workers a transportation stipend, since the latter was deducted from their salary, and workers paid for it even on the days they did not go to work. Across several interviews with Jordanian workers, the decision to work in one factory over another depended, in part, on whether the factory provided transportation or not.

Trainings

Trainings are a key factor affecting Jordanian women's ability to transition to higher paying positions, and their decision to continue working in the garment sector. While Better Work Jordan offers the factories within its purview with a robust training program, our findings indicate that the implementation of those trainings were often informal and sometimes inadequate in their scope.

Currently, Better Work Jordan uses two criteria to measure the perception of the training by employees: 1) whether or not participants would recommend the training to others, and 2) participants' rating of the training in terms of relevance, knowledge acquired, and usefulness of the content outside of the factories.^{xxxi} Additionally, Better Work utilizes a "training of trainers" model to ensure that trainings implemented by the organization can occur sustainably, without the presence of the organization. However, the accountability mechanisms to ensure that factories implemented these trainings were weak.

We identified three major gaps in the existing training structure within garment factories. First, on-the-job training received by workers to become supervisors is not formalized. Second, the technical skills training provided to Jordanian workers is inadequate in preparing them for supervisory roles, compared to the technical background possessed by migrant workers. Third, factories are not held accountable for establishing or maintaining formal trainings by a third party.

Informal training practices: Many workers said that they know how to operate one or two machines. Existing supervisors corroborated that prior to receiving their promotions, they learned the seven or eight machines required to become supervisors by seeking guidance from other supervisors, during break times. Currently, there are no standard practices for an employee to obtain technical skills training, other than seeking casual training from fellow employees or their immediate supervisors. Additionally, who is selected for large-scale, formal trainings is determined by supervisors, who stated that their criteria for choosing workers was the level of productivity and the ability of that worker to meet the quotas. As a result, workers with higher skills, who have greater ability to meet targets efficiently, are more likely to be chosen repeatedly for trainings, over workers who may have lower skills, perform poorly on meeting quotas, and may need the training instead. According to quantitative data, 56.92 percent of workers stated they did not acquire new skills in the last year.

Inadequate technical skills training: When asked to describe the attributes of an ideal supervisor candidate, all interviewees listed the importance of knowing how to operate the seven or eight sewing machines on each factory floor. Complete technical know-how is needed for the supervisory role as supervisors fill in for absent operators or operators who require support with reaching the daily quota, demonstrate how to use a machine if workers are struggling, and troubleshoot technical challenges with machines before calling technicians to the floor. Yet, Jordanian workers typically said they can successfully operate only one to two machines, while their migrant counterparts can operate all of the machinery, due to the training they receive before coming to Jordan. Based on the survey data collected by Better Work Jordan, where respondent proportions match the actual proportion of employees by demographics, only 35 percent of Jordanians are in supervisory roles, compared to 65 percent of migrants.

Supervisors also said that they received supervisory level training for a month, after they were offered supervisory positions. During this time, they also filled gaps in technical knowledge about machine operation. Interviewees described a few different internal processes for promotions. In some cases, potential supervisors were selected to undergo the supervisory training and were selected for promotion if they met the necessary qualifications. In other instances, workers expressed interest in promotions, and underwent training with a cohort from which all trainees were promoted.

Accountability mechanisms for factories: The lack of formalized training structures and inadequate technical trainings are contributing to a gap in the knowledge and qualifications that Jordanian women workers need to attain supervisory promotions. Furthermore, many of the training documents we came across at the factories were handwritten, suggesting that training completion tracking was being conducted manually. This practice may prevent factories from accurately measuring which employees are being trained and in what capacity.

Additionally, workers and supervisors categorically stated that they preferred in-person training and trainings with demonstrations rather than virtual training or video modules. As Better Work transitions to offer some training modules virtually, this insight is important to consider. Furthermore, as factory accountability is already a concern, shifting to virtual trainings may facilitate similar “box-checking” behavior.

Promotions

This project focuses on two particular promotional pathways. First, the pathway of workers to become supervisors within the factory floor, and second, the pathway of supervisors to either become production managers within the floor or administrative managers within middle and upper management. Due to the high volume of Jordanian women workers in satellite factories, greater numbers of Jordanian women become supervisors in those factories. Findings from the supervisor survey data indicate that 68.65 percent of women are supervisors in the satellite factories, and 89.76 percent of all supervisors in those factories are Jordanian women. On the other hand, in QIZ or large exporter factories, roughly 30.96 percent of the Jordanian women in the sample were supervisors, compared to 69.04 percent of non-Jordanian women.

The existing promotion structure for workers to become supervisors relies on interpersonal connections to supervisors. In our interviews, existing supervisors said that prior to becoming a supervisor, they were observed by their line supervisors for the quality of work. Those line supervisors recommended them for promotions and often advocated for them to the factory manager. Thereafter, they were observed by factory managers and were selected for promotion. Workers do have the choice to decline an offer for promotion, though it was not commonly observed in our interviews.

Some Jordanian and migrant workers stated that they were not interested in promotional positions because they perceived the supervisory role to be stressful, as supervisors often have to help resolve the crises of the line of 30-40 workers they manage. According to some workers, supervisors were held responsible for the mistakes of the operators they oversaw, and workers also cited this as a deterrent against seeking promotion. In other instances, workers stated that they wanted to become supervisors but did not believe they possessed the skill sets necessary. Interestingly, this perception that they were not confident in their skills to be supervisors appeared more among Jordanian women than Jordanian men.

Notably, in many cases migrant interviewees stated that regardless of their personal ambitions, they could not approach supervisors or managers to request promotions but had to wait to be recognized for their efforts. However, Jordanian women supervisors in one interview stated that a strong personal connection to their supervisors was helpful, as they could voice their interest in promotions and their supervisors would advocate for them to factory managers. When asked to describe the promotion process, interviewees gave mixed responses and often said that they did not know.

Factories do not have a standardized mechanism for advertising open promotion opportunities. Only one factory manager said that he directly advertised open supervisory positions to employees in order to motivate and to give opportunities to workers to demonstrate their competence.

Generally, we find that employees with higher education levels, some knowledge of English, and either written or computer skills are more likely to receive management roles. Numerous migrant and Jordanian interviewees said that literacy and English were factors for management roles, and in an in-depth interview, a factory manager explained that buyers often request that buyer-facing managers have working knowledge of English in order to communicate with clients.

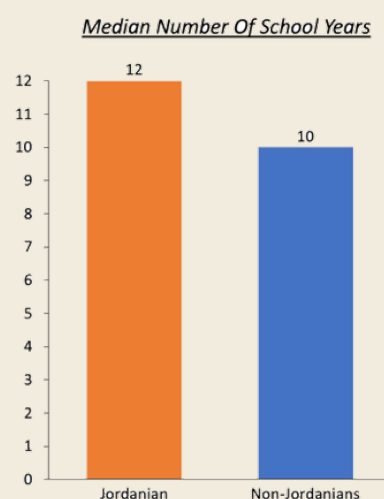
For employees transitioning from worker to supervisor level positions, qualities included the ability to operate all machines in a production line, good interpersonal skills and calm demeanor, and effective conflict resolution skills. In some interviews, a near perfect attendance record was also considered a factor for promotion. Furthermore, the timeline for promotions from worker to supervisor level positions

varied greatly between different factories. It is noteworthy that many of the Jordanian women we interviewed, who held supervisor positions, had non-traditional family backgrounds –they were either unmarried or did not have children.

These findings illustrate an entry point into managerial positions for Jordanian women, who tend to have higher levels of literacy than their migrant counterparts. However, many Jordanian employees lack English language proficiency, despite language education in Jordanian schools, suggesting the need for additional English language training for Jordanian women to obtain middle-management roles.

According to our data at the supervisor level, Jordanian women have higher levels of formal education (13 years), on average, compared to Jordanian men (10.65 years), migrant men (10.45 years) and migrant women (9.29 years). At the worker level, July 2022 survey data indicates that Jordanian women workers have 11.98 years of schooling, on average, compared to 11.2 years for Jordanian men, 9.3 years for non-Jordanian men, and 8.11 years for non-Jordanian women.

Figure 7. Median Years of School Among Supervisors



Our findings indicate three gaps in the promotional stage of employment in garment work. First, there is no formalized process for obtaining a promotion. Second, role descriptions and work expectations are not standardized. Third, in addition to the technical skill deficit delineated in the previous section, the expectation of garment-specific knowledge of English is a barrier to promotions into managerial roles.

Informal promotion process: The current promotion process relies on interpersonal networking between workers and supervisors, and those with stronger connections may be disproportionately favored in the recommendation process. Without a mechanism for workers to express their promotional ambitions, supervisors

may not recognize potential supervisors who want the role. Additionally, this system heavily favors those with individual ambition and the self-confidence to seek out technical training and garner supervisors' attention with their work. While this creates rewards for employees with high self-motivation, this process may inadvertently exclude qualified candidates.

Our interview findings illustrate that self-perceived readiness played a role in determining whether Jordanian women viewed themselves as qualified for supervisory and managerial roles. Without a standardized promotion process, which includes clearly defined qualifications, the existing promotion mechanism may exclude Jordanian women who do not feel confident in their abilities and therefore do not seek additional training or enter the running for promotions.

Unstandardized job description and expectations: Garment workers do not have access to formalized descriptions of supervisory level and management level roles. As a result, those in supervisory positions may undertake more than what is required of them, and those in worker positions may have misperceptions about the burdens and stresses of supervisory roles and be dissuaded from striving for better roles.

Expectation of garment-specific English knowledge: Language expectations for manager level positions disproportionately favor employees with access to quality education and specialized language skills, excluding employees who did not have access to the same resources for education.

Exit

Reasons why Jordanian workers exit garment work include family pressure and disapproval of their work, opportunities to pursue better pay, and stress from work pressure.

If a worker is already dissatisfied with their work, the added experience of sexual harassment or verbal abuse may solidify their decision to leave. About 19.34 percent of workers overall, and 29.06 percent of Jordanian women, specifically, stated that sexual harassment is a concern in factories, according to survey data from July 2022. While we do not have conclusive findings on GBV from field interviews, it is important to note that the surveys used for quantitative findings were conducted anonymously. As a result, more respondents may have felt comfortable sharing their experiences candidly.

Some interviewees confirmed experiencing verbal harassment and described harassing behavior as part of supervisory expectations.

For instance, in focus group discussion with male migrant supervisors, interviewees stated that part of their duties entailed following workers to restrooms to ensure that workers are not “wasting time” on their phones, instead of working. In the same interview, supervisors stated that it was not out of the ordinary to be scolded or yelled at for not reaching the target amounts or for making mistakes. Across a few interviews, verbal abuse, predominantly towards workers by supervisors, was normalized.

In the same discussion, male migrant supervisors said that sometimes supervisors must raise their voices and yell at workers to elicit productivity. Approximately 37.9 percent of female respondents and 45.3 percent of male respondents in the supervisor survey indicated that verbal abuse was a serious or moderate concern in these factories. Additionally, 37.2 percent of female workers and 28.24 percent of male workers stated that verbal abuse was a major concern in the factories.

In discussing the involuntary reasons for exit, some interviewees stated that when interpersonal conflicts escalated and employees resorted to violence, they were sent to the HR manager for disciplinary actions, and eventually fired if their behavior did not change.

A group of Jordanian supervisors stated that one of the major reasons Jordanian women leave garment work is because their fathers disapprove of their work. The same group also said that rather than leaving the sector completely, workers may move from one factory to another. For instance, if one worker transitions to a different factory, they often encourage their coworkers to move, if they find factory conditions to be better in their new environment. It is noteworthy that 47 percent of Jordanian women workers from the July 2022 survey round stated that they see themselves continuing to work in the same factory in three years.

We identified a few areas where factories can better understand and respond to the reasons why Jordanian women exit the garment workforce. We also delineate a key shortfall in best practices for handling harassment or verbal abuse. Since garment workers spend 8 to 10 hours a day in factories, whether they face harassment at work can influence their decision to continue working in that factory.

First, there is an inadequate amount of data on what roles, if any, women take on after leaving the garment sector. Second, despite higher volumes of Jordanian women in the sector, garment work is negatively perceived by the families and communities of many Jordanian women workers. Third, there are no streamlined reporting and redressal mechanisms to report sexual harassment, GBV, harassment, or verbal abuse, across factories.



Lack of post-garment work data: Currently, there is not enough data to understand whether the garment industry serves as an entry point into general employment for women, although the sector has the potential to be, given its willingness to accept women employees, and the lower thresholds for entry. Survey data of female employees who have and have not continued working will be beneficial in understanding the garment sector's role in increasing the overall labor force participation of Jordanian women. If this data is conclusive, garment factories can utilize findings for recruitment and government funding. Factories can leverage the fact that garment work provides entry into the general workforce to leverage financial support from the Jordanian government, in order to create domestic recruitment campaigns in universities and colleges.

Negative social perception of garment work: For women who exit the sector due to negative social perceptions about their work by surrounding family and community, the efforts to affect social norms are inadequate and ineffective, and changing societal norms requires extensive time and government backing, in the case of Jordan.

No uniform or formal reporting mechanism: Although our field research did not find evidence of large-scale instances of GBV and harassment, smaller, isolated incidents may still be occurring. 19.7 percent of women and 18.97 percent of men who were surveyed stated that sexual harassment was a concern in the factories. When we probed on reporting mechanisms for these experiences, the responses were largely varied and contradictory. One group of Jordanian workers, for example, disagreed about whether there was an anonymous number to report incidents at the factory. Another group of migrant supervisors stated that the factory had implemented a group chat with factory managers, to field concerns. However, these mechanisms are not streamlined or uniform across all factories, and also do not always protect the anonymity of reporters.

BANGLADESH GEAR PROGRAM: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

Implemented in tandem with the IFC and Better Work Bangladesh, the Gender Equality and Returns (GEAR) program provides Bangladeshi women garment workers specialized technical skills training at worker and supervisor levels, along with soft skills that employees need to become supervisors, before they are promoted. Since the establishment of the program, the rate of promotions for women increased from 6 percent to 12 percent. Better Work Bangladesh's comprehensive training module is implemented across 437 factories with 1,257,373 workers, which oversee production for 47 brands and retailers.

Based on an applied learning pedagogy, workers receive 2-3 days of technical skills training, practice their knowledge on the factory floor, then return the following week for new technical training. The program provides 4-5 months of comprehensive technical skills training, and runs for 12 months, in total.

Better Work Bangladesh have found that production efficiency increased by 5 percent, after women underwent the GEAR program and transitioned to supervisory roles, because they were more technically adept at addressing production challenges, and demonstrating to the operators they oversaw. Furthermore, 65 percent of the participating factories saw a decrease in absenteeism. With better communication skills, women supervisors could facilitate a dialogue with operators, who could seek formal leaves of absence when necessary rather than taking prolonged, unannounced absences.

Overall, the GEAR program in Bangladesh can help the Jordanian garment sector innovate ways to increase women's participation and upward mobility in the sector.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the gaps identified in this report, we offer several recommendations and implementation strategies that Better Work Jordan can utilize to sustainably enhance the conditions for employment and upward mobility of Jordanian women in garment factories.

Recruitment

- Create a hiring campaign to facilitate recruitment in garment work. This recommendation is designed to target the Jordanian government's goal to increase overall labor force participation, and especially female participation.
- Establish a Women's Leadership and Professional Development Group. The group can create its own opportunities like mentorship programs and focus on professional development of Jordanian women towards middle-management positions. The group can also create a media campaign around championing women, to alter the social perceptions towards Jordanian garment workers who are women.
- Facilitate a partnership with academic universities to create a pipeline for Jordanian workers with training and English proficiency to enter management and middle-management level positions.

Retention

- ◆ Establish an accountability mechanism to monitor whether factories are implementing trainings, and to incorporate employee feedback through monitoring and evaluation.
- ◆ Establish training to identify verbal harassment and to effectively stop harassment without escalating conflicts within the workplace.
- ◆ Establish a streamlined reporting mechanism for harassment, across all factories, which will be uniform, confidential, and efficient. The reporting tool should also inform complainants of the status of their claim.

Promotion

- ◆ Formalize promotional processes within the factory, including standardizing job roles and requirements for each position. Formalize worker level trainings within existing factories and establish accountability mechanisms to ensure factories are implementing a formalized technical skills training program, rather than utilizing supervisors to train workers spontaneously. Include advertising guidelines for factory HR to follow to ensure that open positions at all levels are advertised adequately in factories.
- ◆ Establish an English Language Program to offer basic English education to factory employees, to reduce language barriers to enter managerial positions. Establish the program in existing vocational training centers attached to factories and to vocational centers for increased impact.
- ◆ Create a shadowing and mentorship program within the factory so that workers interested in receiving a promotion can see the responsibilities and roles of supervisors, firsthand. This recommendation is designed to provide workers with transparency on workloads and time commitments of supervisors.

CONCLUSION

A key insight from all field interview findings is that all employees are primarily focused on reaching targets, which has resulted in immense pressure on workers, an incentive system in some factories, and often, verbal abuse when targets are not met. In addition, the existing promotion system positively rewards workers who are never absent and always meet their targets. As a result, target-focused factories are not always focusing on developing human capital, and often have no incentive to upskill

employees internally and to create a managerial pipeline. This makes it difficult to create promotional opportunities for Jordanian women beyond the production floor.

As Jordan expands its economy and invests in its domestic workforce, it is important to examine how the garment sector can enhance opportunities for Jordanian women. Through the analysis of our data and interview findings, we identified several barriers at each stage of employment:

- Informal training practices
- Lack of formalized and routine technical skills training
- Inadequate accountability mechanisms for conducting training
- Informal promotion processes
- Unstandardized job descriptions
- Expectations of garment-specific English language knowledge for managers
- Negative social perceptions of garment work
- Lack of uniform reporting mechanisms for harassment

To address these gaps, we offer recommendations that Better Work Jordan can implement with key stakeholders, including local NGOs, trade-specific commissions, trade unions, and government agencies, to sustainably increase Jordanian women's participation and upward mobility in the garment sector. Additionally, there are a few external factors that are significant in impacting the landscape of the garment workforce but are outside the purview of Better Work. Changes in socioeconomic factors such as the garment sector minimum wage may facilitate greater participation of Jordanian women in the labor force, and in garment work specifically. In addition, we recommend further study of whether Jordanian women retain other forms of employment after exiting the garment industry, in order to better understanding how the garment sector affects the employment trajectory and employability of Jordanian women.

In 1996, the United States entered into a historic Free Trade Agreement with Jordan, at a time of domestic and regional turmoil in the Middle East.^{xxxii} Though the winds of change have blown through the region several times, shaping, and reshaping international policies, the Trade Agreement has left behind several key legacies. The establishment of QIZs and subsequent satellite units have expanded employment opportunities for women across various walks of life. Today, the garment sector provides livelihoods to migrant workers, Jordanian workers, and Syrian refugees seeking better qualities of life. Addressing the barriers to entry and upward mobility of Jordanian women will not only strengthen Jordan's overall economy but will be invaluable to the individual experiences of thousands of women across Jordan.

Appendix A: Implementation Strategies for Recommendations

1. Vocational and Management Skills Training

Overview: Starting in the 9th grade, students may pursue their education through vocational skills development at any number of training institutions throughout the country. However, vocational training is less highly regarded than formal education, as it is considered an alternate pathway for students whose academic performance fall below their peers. Vocational training institutes can help develop skills necessary for the garment sector, but social perception inhibits a steady flow of students from high schools to training institutes. Instead, families urge children to pursue formal higher education.

Through conversations with factory managers and TVSDC representatives, it is clear that many applicants who hold university degrees lack the office readiness skills needed to enter middle management in factories. TVSDC has begun revising Jordan's National Qualifications Framework, overseen by the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Commission for Higher Education, to bring vocational training to similar levels as formal education.

Implementation: Relevant academic and vocational institutions should forge partnerships work with factory representatives to promote vocational training as a pathway to skills development for middle management positions.

The first step is to identify degree-granting programs that can benefit from vocational training to supplement their existing academic structure. Universities and their accredited bodies should supplement their theoretical curriculum with practical skills training. This collaboration model builds on an existing pedagogy in Spain, which aims to boost the number of students who view vocational training as an equally viable option to formal education.

In consultations with skills councils, partners can develop a priority list of possible degree or vocational training streams to focus on. As our research indicates, the importance of English language knowledge for middle management employees necessitates that this be a key aspect of any vocational training program.

Educational institutes with vocational centers should implement shared spaces, such as study areas, libraries, or labs that allow students to interact and to share skills and ideas. Where possible, partners should identify educational and vocational faculty who can collaborate on guest lectures. Sharing resources and spaces between vocational and

educational departments will allow students to be exposed to each other's program and will eventually reduce stigma around vocational pathways.

2. English Language Training Program

Our findings indicate there is a correlation between workers and supervisors with English speaking skills and their ability to attain middle management level promotions. Additionally, several key informant interviewees stated that English language skills are often requisite for administrative managers, when these positions are buyer facing, as buyers prefer to communicate in English. Hence, we recommend the implementation of an English Language Program for existing employees who are identified as possessing the other qualifications needed to become managers.

Implementation: The English Language Program may be offered for an hour during the workday for six days. If there are a large number of workers partaking, the program may be rotated so each batch has classes every other week, before employees begin their workday at the factory. Participants can practice English language phrases taught in class throughout the day with line supervisors and production managers to reinforce learning.

Due to the high volume of workers and factory employees, the classes must be broken into two cycles, so half of the employees receive their classes on Week 1 and the second half receive their classes on Week 2. The English Language Program may require one or two English language educators to facilitate learning. Better Work Jordan oversees 97 garment factories, meaning the English Language Program provides an opportunity for 194 Jordanians (particularly Jordanian women) to be hired as teachers.

To establish the efficacy of this program, the English Language Program should be implemented as a five-year pilot, with joint funding from factories and from buyers whose products are made by the factories.

As diversity, inclusion and women's empowerment have become buzzwords across industries and markets, this initiative provides brands with a tangible and meaningful way to contribute to the empowerment of garment workers and affect their pathway to promotions through language skill enhancement.

The second component of the English Language Program should target Jordanian women before their employment in the garment sector, at entry points that will lead to direct hiring at high levels.

3. Formalize Promotion Process and Expanded Hiring Process

Our field interviews revealed that workers on the path to promotion received only informal technical training. Workers interested in promotion request supervisors to train them to become multi-skilled operators. This places an additional burden on current supervisors to train incoming supervisors. Since Better Work has designed a Training of Trainers methodology for these factories, factories should incentivize these trainers to lead trainings by providing payment based on the number of trainings they conduct within a month. If these trainer costs are a deterrent for factories, they must find alternatives within the organization or formalize the technical skills training through current supervisors. If factories choose the latter approach, they must compensate supervisors for the added responsibility of training potential supervisors.

Standardizing Roles and Advertising Positions: One of the key issues identified in the research was the lack of standardized job descriptions, which clearly lay out the responsibilities as well as the requisite skills for a particular role within the factory. As a result, many workers perceived supervisory and managerial roles as ‘unattainable’ despite their skill levels. A proposed solution is to cultivate an organizational culture of publicizing job roles as and when promotional opportunities open. These advertisements may be similar to those already used by some factories to hire migrant workers from their origin countries as well as Jordanian workers through the Ministry of Labor. Since there is no stipulated promotion cycle and they can take place as and when the need arises (in one interview, an HR manager said that Line Supervisors directly communicate the need to the HR team), the HR team should post on factory notice boards, on messaging platforms (where available), via radio announcements, and informally through supervisors and workers.

Many studies have found that increasing competition, adopting blind screening mechanisms, and instituting quotas can be remedies for taste-based discrimination. Informal promotion practices disproportionately favor employees who are perceived as more committed because they work overtime, self-proclaim readiness for promotions, or individually seek trainings. Setting objective performance and hiring criteria will help level the field for Jordanians seeking promotional opportunities.

Once HR receives applications, they should hire the best candidates using objective criteria. To avoid overburdening HR teams, hiring and promotions may be done separately and delineated by seasons. This intervention will not be costly to implement since such mechanisms are currently being utilized for hiring workers. Factories may have to hire additional HR staff, but that would also create an additional employment opportunity at the management level for educated Jordanians. In the long term, more

transparent processes will lead to the hiring of more qualified workers, who may otherwise have self-selected out of the process.

Formalized training and accountability mechanisms: Despite extensive focus on training, particularly sexual harassment prevention training, only 15.01 percent of supervisors in the dataset reported receiving a training on sexual harassment prevention in the last year. This was a recurring theme in the field interviews conducted for this report, as well. Some of the factories visited for this project shared their training plans and rosters of attendees, records show discrepancies between the targets and the actuals. Most of the training records shared were handwritten, which may result in inaccurate tracking.

We recommend digitizing the tracking methods used to record how many and which workers have received training. Additionally, digitizing training calendars will ensure that schedules can be easily shared in factories with multiple units and will also help track the exact number of employees trained in important trainings such as sexual harassment training.

4. Shadowing and Mentorship Program

Very few women garment workers expressed a desire to be promoted to a higher level: either from worker to supervisor or from supervisor to manager. In fact, several women workers and supervisors actively expressed that they would not want a promotion, citing their self-perceived ineptitude for the rigors of the role. The lack of female mentors in the workplace likely exacerbates these feelings of inadequacy. Studies have shown that mentorship can enhance the upward mobility of women in the workplace. Therefore, an organized mentorship program could facilitate the upward mobility of Jordanian women in garment factories.

Factories should implement a mentorship program that allows workers to shadow mentors at the level of promotion they want to attain, to gain a sense of the day-to-day responsibilities and the amount of additional work they would undertake through promotions. The program should comprise one-on-one mentoring sessions that occur twice a month, and a monthly job shadowing day. This program should be designed through partnerships with a range of stakeholders, industrial relations experts, organizational psychologists, and factory management to ensure that the program is effective.

Implementation: Mentorship is only effective if mentors are equipped with adequate tools and information. Mentors should receive training in effective listening, counseling, and goal identification to help mentees with career trajectories. This training module should also brief mentors on critical topics to discuss with mentees

and practical advice they could give. The training module should incorporate advice and insights from existing supervisors and factory managers.

Given the large scale of factories, QIZ garment factories are most suitable for rolling out this program and should pilot the program before implementing it in the entire garment sector. Mentors should be women in mid-managerial positions. While all women managers should be eligible for the program, Jordanian women managers would be ideal candidates. Mentors must be briefed on the demands of the program and be willing to undergo the mentorship training program, prior to becoming mentors. Existing supervisors should also be briefed on this opportunity in a factory townhall setting. Mentees should be chosen from a pool of potential candidates explicitly interested in participating in such a program, or if they display the qualities of a potential supervisor or manager.

The program should have an in-built accountability mechanism to ensure that mentors and mentees are participating. For example, mentors and mentees should be compensated for their time in the program, but only upon completion of the three-month program. Additionally, both mentors and mentees should be able to give feedback on the program, and involved stakeholders (e.g. factory leadership) should incorporate feedback into subsequent iterations of the program.

Key Challenges: There are two major challenges to the implementation of this program. First, taking supervisors out of their role on the production floor two times a month could disrupt the overall workflow. Second, having someone shadow a mentor for a whole day could also be disruptive to the workflow of the mentor.

The success of this program will depend on how many mentees pursue opportunities for upward mobility. However, factories must have enough options that can be leveraged. For instance, if a factory has one HR Manager post and is not looking to expand that tier, job shadowing the HR Manager could have limited potential for impact.

5. Verbal Abuse Mitigation

Our findings indicate that factory conditions contribute to the retention of employees. Having a safe social dynamic that supports workers' mental and physical wellbeing is a key component of working conditions in garment factories. Since verbal abuse was listed as a concern by employees and may innately reduce productivity by affecting their wellbeing, addressing this concern will directly affect worker retention and the conditions for greater productivity. Key stakeholders may range from factory leadership to HR teams who can help develop training to address verbal harassment.

Trainings to address verbal harassment: Currently, factories only offer training to counter sexual harassment. Our qualitative findings suggest these have been successful in reducing instances of sexual harassment, however, there is no training for identifying or preventing verbal harassment. Factories should expand the sexual harassment training to include mechanisms to identify and address verbal harassment as well. This training will build a better understanding of what verbal abuse is and how to identify and cope with it. It will also provide strategic and socially responsible techniques for increasing worker output through encouragement as opposed to shouting or yelling. This will equip leadership with proper tools for managing conflict.

Reporting mechanism for all harassment: Factories should establish a streamlined grievance reporting and redressal mechanism and supplement it with an employee satisfaction assessment system. Employees will be encouraged to present their concerns, complaints and suggestions on factory conditions and facilities as well as instances of workplace violence and discrimination, in confidence. Complaints and grievances will be addressed, investigated, and addressed in a timely manner and ensure that the reporters and affected employees are not negatively impacted for reporting. This will also ensure current factory conditions, policies and processes are updated and revised to continue towards building a pleasant work environment for both employers and employees alike. Furthermore, this reporting tool must be uniformly implemented across all factories in the garment sector, to ensure that employees moving from one factory to another are still able to access the redressal mechanism.

Implementation - verbal harassment training: Relevant stakeholders should develop a training module for the different employee levels outlining definitions of verbal violence, effects of harassment and abusive conduct, remedies, and resources for victims of harassment, anti-harassment policies in the factories, grievance reporting and redressal mechanisms, confidentiality of the complaint process and process for managing instances. The training module should also discuss positive language leadership can use to encourage workers to reach production targets and conflict resolution methods. Stakeholders should also determine qualified trainers and the most effective delivery methods. For instance, training for corporate employees may be delivered virtually, while factory level trainings may occur in-person. The training should also delineate how employees may contact factory HR teams for clarification and support, and report grievances.

Implementation - grievance and redressal mechanism: Stakeholders should review and strengthen workplace policies to better respond to workers' experiences of verbal abuse and solidify processes to manage instances of abuse. At minimum, workers should have access to a complaint box on each floor of the factories, where they can anonymously submit complaints in their preferred language. HR teams should designate an ombudsperson who is available to receive complaints by phone, Whatsapp, or through in-person meetings. This individual should conduct surprise visits to factories to gauge whether the implemented redressal mechanism is effective and satisfactory. The redressal mechanism should standardize the timeline for resolving complaints along with details on the range of disciplinary actions, resources, and remedies available. Guidelines should clearly state how the confidentiality of reporters and victims will be maintained, and how they will be protected from retaliation.

Implementation - employee satisfaction assessments: Lastly, factories should develop surveys to gauge employee satisfaction on overall work environment, facilities, peer relations, and self-motivation. Factories should survey staff annually for their feedback and adjust the practices that shape factory culture accordingly.

6. Women's Leadership Development Program

Drawing inspiration from the “All on Board” program, which established a national database for women with qualifications for leadership positions, factories should work with relevant stakeholders to establish a database that identifies qualified women for high level positions and considers them for promotions and management positions first. Along with the database, stakeholders should create a leadership program, where women leaders in garment factory management can host professional development workshops and discuss their leadership journeys.

Implementation Stakeholders should create a website to host a national database of Jordanian women who are qualified to be leaders in the manufacturing sector. Names and qualifications for this database may be collected with assistance from universities, through open calls for submissions that are reviewed by government stakeholders, and with an assessment of women in leadership roles in garment factories, who are interested in higher level positions.

Additionally, the website that hosts the database can feature leadership success stories of Jordanian women in the garment sector to both inspire other women and to normalize women in leadership roles. Factories should incorporate the database as part of their talent acquisition strategy. Factories will have to publicize the skillsets and qualifications needed for successful candidates to fill vacant leadership roles, and the database can be used to match candidates with these roles.

Feedback and evaluation: The program must be evaluated for efficacy in placing women in high level positions in the garment factory and for whether it is providing preferential treatment to some employees over others, in a way that is harmful. Additionally, the program must solicit feedback from women in current leadership roles in the garment sector and from women who retained positions through the database to make improvements to the system.

7. Hiring Campaign

Recognizing the overall low rates of labor force participation in Jordan, and the relatively low proportion of Jordanians in the garment sector, we propose a hiring campaign in collaboration with the Jordanian government. The objective of the campaign is to increase labor force participation by promoting job opportunities, and by ensuring that underrepresented groups are given adequate consideration for middle and upper management positions. We recommend the implementation of a quota of a percentage of Jordanian women in upper or middle management roles, which factories must abide by to avoid financial penalties.

Implementation - quota system: The specific quota may depend on the current composition of the management position in each factory. We recommend government stakeholders set a quota and target year of achievement, as well as non-compliance fees or financial compensation for compliance that will incentivize factories to abide by the quotas. Stakeholders should also establish a tracking mechanism to chart the progress of each factory and provide early warnings to factories at risk of non-compliance, prior to reaching the target year.

Implementation - hiring campaigns: Relevant stakeholders, such as worker associations, should host hiring campaigns on multiple platforms, including social media, television advertising, and job fairs. The Ministry of Labor can share the responsibility of advertising upper and middle management positions, while Trade Unions advertise for supervisory and worker level positions. The costs of the campaign will depend on advertising costs, costs of participating in job fairs, and the costs of evaluation. However, given the Jordanian government's push to increase labor force participation through the Economic Modernization Vision, the Ministry of Labor may seek funding from the Jordanian government to implement this program.

Appendix B: Key Informant Interviewee Roles Explained

Ministry of Labor

An arm of the Jordanian government, the Ministry of Labor is responsible for overseeing labor and worker affairs in Jordan. The Ministry assists with the development of socioeconomic programs, supervising labor and worker related issues, the organization of the Jordanian labor market, and with the creation of employment opportunities for Jordanians domestically and abroad.

The Ministry also oversees the registration of trade unions and employer unions and ensures that each sector has adequate resources to create employment opportunities for Jordanians. Furthermore, the Ministry liaises with domestic and international labor organizations to enhance the working conditions and quality of labor in Jordan.

Jordan Chamber of Industry (JCI)

JCI is an independent corporate entity with the goal of participating in the development of the national industry, promoting cooperation among chambers of industry, and fostering the capabilities of the chambers of industry in Jordan. The JCI aims to increase the competitiveness of the Jordanian industry sector on four working levels: the level of the industrial sector as a whole, the level of specialized industrial sectors, the level of national economic and legislative environment, and the regional and international level.

Jordan Garments, Accessories & Textiles Exporters' Association (JGATE)

JGATE is a non-profit organization and the only trade association representing many garment and textile entities. JGATE partakes in policy advocacy, and generates leverage between manufacturing partners and government agencies. Currently, JGATE has 33 registered garment factories, and is working on expanding its network.

Technical and Vocational Skills Development Commission (TVSDC)

An official body of the Jordanian government, the Commission provides a range of services to individuals, employers, and educational institutions, including skills assessment and certification, vocational training programs, and apprenticeship schemes. Additionally, the Commission works to align its programs with the needs of the labor market, ensuring that individuals have the skills and knowledge necessary to succeed in their chosen careers. Through its efforts, the Technical and Vocational Skills Development Commission in Jordan is helping to strengthen the country's workforce and promote economic growth and development.

Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW)

The JNCW is a government entity responsible for promoting and protecting women's rights in Jordan. Its main roles and responsibilities include developing policies and strategies to advance gender equality, monitoring and evaluating progress towards gender equality, and advocating for legislative and policy changes that address gender-based discrimination and violence against women.

Trade Unions

The union's roles and capabilities include negotiating collective bargaining agreements with employers to secure better wages, benefits, and working conditions for workers in the sector. They also provide support and assistance to their members in disputes with employers and help resolve workplace conflicts. The union also promotes the social and economic welfare of workers in the sector by advocating for policies and regulations that protect their rights and interests. This includes lobbying for labor law reform, advocating for occupational safety and health standards, and providing education and training to their members to enhance their skills and knowledge.

Appendix C: Additional Statistical Analysis

Prior experience as an operator in supervisors

```
. tab operator if migrant == "Jordanian" & gender == "Female"
```

Experience as an Operator	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Yes, in this factory	63	29.03	29.03
Yes, in another factory	30	13.82	42.86
No	124	57.14	100.00
Total	217	100.00	

57.14% of Jordanian women in the supervisory dataset had not worked as an operator before

```
. tab operator if migrant == "Jordanian" & gender == "Male"
```

Experience as an Operator	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Yes, in this factory	20	34.48	34.48
Yes, in another factory	2	3.45	37.93
No	36	62.07	100.00
Total	58	100.00	

62.07% of Jordanian men in the supervisory dataset had not worked as an operator before

Concerns of verbal abuse among supervisors

```
. tab v_abuses_5 if female == 1
```

Seriousness of Verbal Abuse	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Serious Concern	79	19.32	19.32
Moderate Concern	76	18.58	37.90
Low Concern	69	16.87	54.77
Not a Concern	148	36.19	90.95
I don't know	37	9.05	100.00
Total	409	100.00	

37.90% of Jordanian and non-Jordanian women supervisors in the dataset found verbal abuse to be a serious or moderate concern.


```
. tab v_abuses_5 if female == 0
```

Seriousness of Verbal Abuse	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Serious Concern	83	21.61	21.61
Moderate Concern	91	23.70	45.31
Low Concern	62	16.15	61.46
Not a Concern	99	25.78	87.24
I don't know	49	12.76	100.00
Total	384	100.00	

45.31% of Jordanian and non-Jordanian men supervisors in the dataset found verbal abuse to be a serious or moderate concern.

```
. tab v_abuses_5 if migrant == "Jordanian"
```

Seriousness of Verbal Abuse	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Serious Concern	47	17.03	17.03
Moderate Concern	40	14.49	31.52
Low Concern	52	18.84	50.36
Not a Concern	124	44.93	95.29
I don't know	13	4.71	100.00
Total	276	100.00	

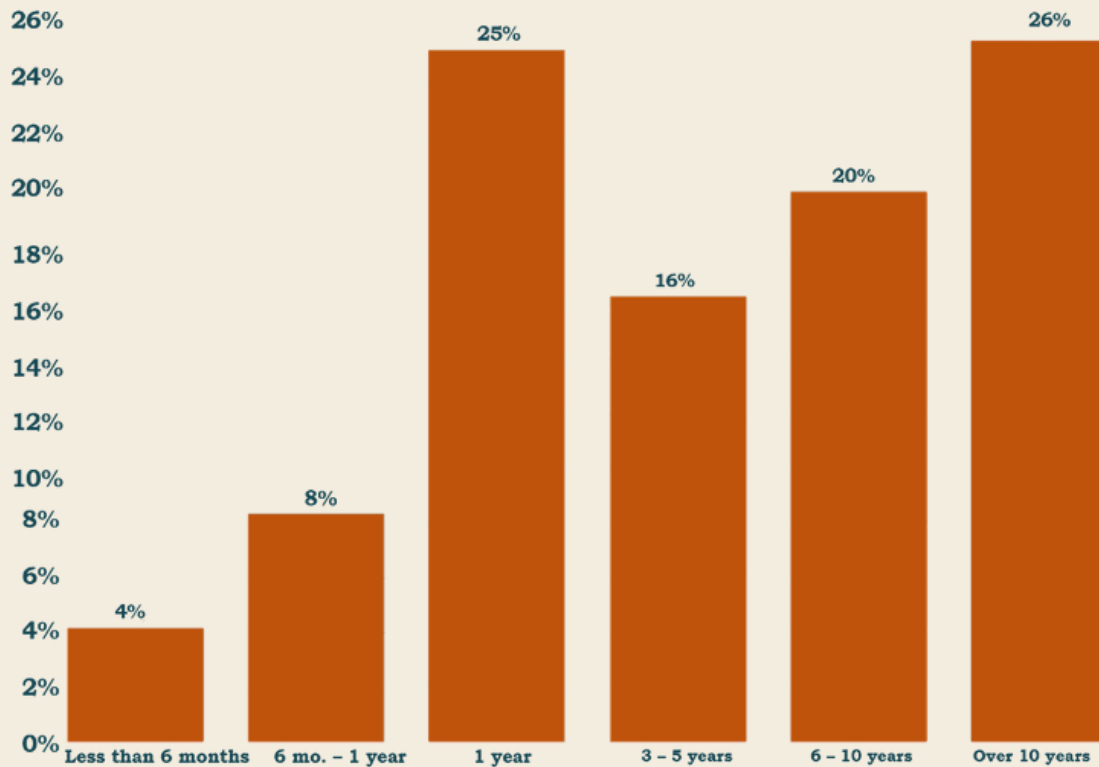
31.52% of Jordanian (men and women) supervisors in the dataset found verbal abuse to be a serious or moderate concern.

```
. tab v_abuses_5 if migrant == "non-Jordanian"
```

Seriousness of Verbal Abuse	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Serious Concern	115	22.24	22.24
Moderate Concern	127	24.56	46.81
Low Concern	79	15.28	62.09
Not a Concern	123	23.79	85.88
I don't know	73	14.12	100.00
Total	517	100.00	

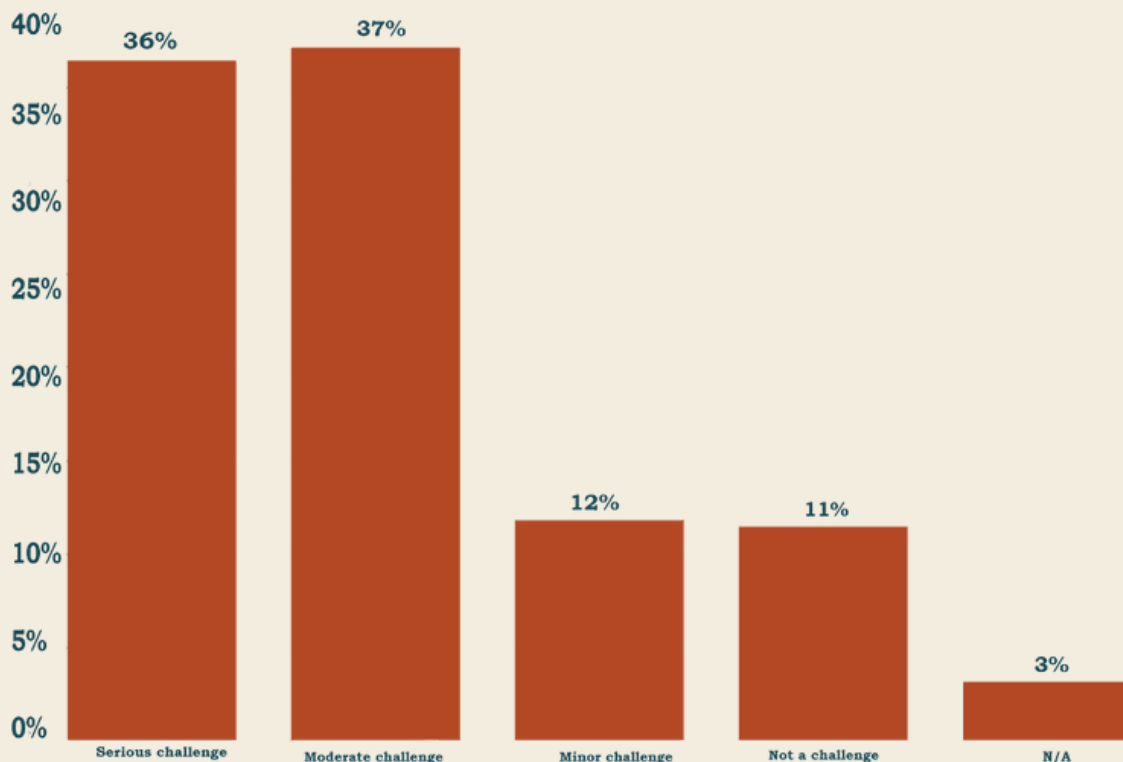
46.81% of migrant (men and women) supervisors in the dataset found verbal abuse to be a serious or moderate concern.

Distribution of work experience among managers



In the overall dataset of managers including all 4 survey rounds, the work experience within the same factory was very spread out. 25.35% of the managers had been working in the same factory for 1 -3years, while 16.32% for 3 -5 years, 20.14% for 6 - 10 years, and 25.69% for over 10 years.

Concerns around low skills of Jordanian workers, among managers



73.61% of the managers in the overall sample reported that low skills of Jordanian workers are a serious or a moderate challenge.

End Notes

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