



Jordan

**Baseline Report:
Worker Perspectives
from the Factory and Beyond**

February 2013

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Foreword

This report is one of a series of papers presenting data from worker surveys conducted as part of a rigorous impact assessment of the Better Work programme. The data presented here were collected as the Better Work programme was starting up in Jordan. It forms the baseline against which the impact of the Jordan programme will be measured in future years.

Better Work strives to have a significant impact on the lives of workers, the business practices of firms, and the social, human and economic development of countries. Measuring this impact in a credible way requires special effort and particular tools. In 2007, Better Work selected a multidisciplinary team of researchers to design and implement the impact assessment framework. The team, led by Professor Drusilla Brown of Tufts University (United States), comprises six economists and statisticians, three psychologists with expertise in programme evaluation and human development, and two scholars with expertise in workplace innovation, organization and occupational safety and health.

As of January 2013, surveys were under way in Haiti, Indonesia, Jordan, Nicaragua and Vietnam. In each country, data collection is carried out in collaboration with a local research partner. The survey instruments, as well as the training for local research partners, have been developed by the team at Tufts University.

For each factory, the baseline data include findings drawn from computer-based surveys conducted with: (i) four management staff, such as the General Manager, Chief Financial Officer, Production Manager, Factory Manager, Human Resource Manager and Industrial Engineer; and (ii) 30 workers randomly selected from the factory's roster of production employees. The worker surveys are implemented using Audio Computer Assisted Self Interview (ACASI) methodology, whereby workers responded to audio-narrated questions in the local language using a minicomputer or tablet attached to earphones. The management surveys are conducted using a Computer Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) without audio assistance. Using this innovative, highly confidential method to collect primary data, in accordance with protocols governing the surveys' proper implementation, allows workers and managers to disclose sensitive information without fear of repercussion or retaliation.

This report was written by Anika Huq. It presents a baseline and does not therefore demonstrate the impact of Better Work's interventions. The survey data shed an important light on workers' lives and their perception of their working conditions. They highlight some of the opportunities and challenges of working in the global garment industry. In addition to establishing a benchmark for measuring the long-term effect of the Better Work programme, the data will be used to inform the programme about any worker needs and priorities that might be addressed immediately in service delivery.

As every country in which Better Work operates has a unique institutional and cultural context, this report also presents additional desk-based research aimed at providing the background necessary to interpret the survey data effectively.

Executive Summary

This report presents baseline data of worker survey results to identify areas for further research.

The following outlines notable findings.

1. Demographics

1.1 71 percent of workers were female and 85.7 percent were born in Jordan or South Asia. 66.3 percent of workers had completed primary, lower, or upper secondary schools. 42.4 percent of workers had previously worked in another apparel factory or another business inside or outside Jordan.

48.6 percent of workers were sewers and 55.9 percent of workers were split among other positions. The amount of time workers spent employed in the factory was consistent with the amount of time spent in their present position, indicating that workers may not be getting promoted.

1.2 33.9 percent of migrant workers borrowed money to pay to come to Jordan. 91.4 percent of workers had not paid anything towards their debt in the past month, presumably because they had no debt or the debt had already been paid. 24.9 percent of workers said that they could go home if they wanted to while 22 percent perceived that they could not go home because they had not finished their contract.

2. At the workplace

2.1 Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) and facilities

With respect to occupational safety and health, 38.5 percent of workers were concerned with dangerous equipment and machinery and 51.4 percent of workers were concerned with accidents and injuries. 44.7 percent of workers were concerned with dusty or polluted air and 42.4 percent of workers were concerned with bad chemical smells.

With respect to facilities, 87 percent of workers were satisfied or very satisfied with dormitory facilities and 96.9 percent reported that there were health clinics in their places of work. These health clinics featured some combination of treatment for workplace injuries, headache or fatigue, general illness, or general check-ups. 95 percent of workers were split relatively evenly among perceiving that factory clinic treatment was excellent, very good, good or fair. 64.9 percent of workers reported that they were satisfied or very satisfied with toilet facilities in the factory. 86.5 percent of workers asked this question answered that food quality was fair or better. Most workers reported being hungry rarely (66.5 percent).

2.2 Hours and rest days

39.1 percent of workers were concerned with excess overtime, 15.2 percent with late work on Thursdays and 15.4 percent with work on Fridays. 76 percent of workers indicated that their supervisor set a production target or quota for them. 85.7 percent of workers reported correcting their own defects, and 52.8 percent of workers reported correcting their defects as part of their regular work day, being compensated at the same rate as other work.

2.3 Compensation

65.8 percent of workers were concerned with low wages, 27.5 percent with in-kind compensation, and 39.3 percent with a broken punch clock.

54 percent of workers were concerned by late payment of wages. However, 87 percent of workers were last paid during the previous week, two weeks ago, or one month ago. Perhaps, therefore, workers who were concerned with late wages had been paid a few days late rather than a few months or weeks late.

Migrant workers' current and expected wages varied. There was no consistent or significant trend of migrant workers receiving more or less pay than expected.

2.4 Workplace systems and relations

Factory structure appeared rigid because 72.8 percent of workers reported that they have never been promoted.

82.3 percent of workers reported signing a contract before beginning work in the factory and 94.9 percent of those workers reported that the contract was in a language they could understand. 79.2 percent of workers kept their contract at home or in the dormitory while 19.2 percent of workers reported that the factory kept their contract.

19.5 percent of workers reported raising a complaint in the factory in the previous year. Workers were split nearly in half between being satisfied or unsatisfied with their complaints. Workers on the whole felt comfortable with seeking help from superiors or other groups.

2.5 Training

Workers received induction training on a range of issues. The most significant areas in which workers received induction training was basic skills, health and safety, safe machine operation, and work hours. 37.6 percent of workers did not receive training in the past six months. The most significant areas in which workers received training in the past six months was new skills, health and safety, and safe machine operation.

2.6 Respect and welfare

Relationships between workers, management, and supervisors were of great concern to workers. 34.3 percent of workers reported that their supervisor corrected workers fairly and with respect sometimes, rarely or never. 49.9 percent of workers considered verbal abuse a concern and 31.1

percent deemed physical abuse a concern. 34.4 percent of workers were concerned with sexual harassment.

3. Beyond the workplace

3.1 Financial independence

87.3 percent of workers reported sending remittances to family members regularly or occasionally. Remittances were most commonly spent on food, clothes, household items, family debt, education, and health care.

3.2 Workers' long term plans

39.4 percent of workers responded that they planned to leave in three years. 57.7 percent of workers responded that their employer will pay for the cost of their ticket home

3.3 Workers leaving the QIZ

Very few workers perceived that lack of an identification card, time, or transportation were significant obstacles to leaving the QIZ and 40.8 percent of workers had already traveled outside the QIZ. 33.9 percent of workers did not express significant desire for outside travel.

Notes:

Every worker did not answer every question. Percentages were calculated out of the total number of workers who answered each question, which in many cases for split questions, were fewer than the total sample of 804 workers.

Section 1: Introduction

The Better Work Jordan program, a partnership between the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and locally funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Jordanian Ministry of Labour, began operations in 2008. The program aims to improve compliance with labour standards and working conditions in the garment industry as regulated by the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and the Jordanian labour law, while at the same time promoting competitiveness at the enterprise level.

In addition to offering a growing range of assessment, advisory and training services to participating factories, Better Work is conducting an impact assessment of all global programmes. The objectives of this impact assessment are to compile baseline information on worker and manager perspectives to use as a springboard for further research and to support continuous improvement in programme services.

To achieve this, Better Work has partnered with Tufts University in Boston, MA, USA to collect and analyze a first round of data in Jordan as a baseline for future impact assessment research. Surveys were conducted in 22 factories between March 2010 and April 2011. A total of 804 workers participated in the surveys using the Audio Computer Assisted Self Interview (ACASI) methodology. These surveys covered a broad range of topics in categories including occupational safety and health, workplace systems and relations, compensation, and worker health and well-being.

The purpose of this report is to contextualize baseline survey results in country, regional, and industry-specific contexts. These results are categorized in the areas of demographics, occupational safety and health and facilities, hours and rest days, compensation, workplace systems and relations, training, respect and welfare, financial independence, and workers' future plans.

Baseline data will be used to identify further points of research. Such research will eventually be assessed based on measures of (i) innovations in human resource management, (ii) improvements in working conditions, (iii) factory productivity, (iv) product quality and complexity, (v) supply chain position, (vi) worker perceptions of workplace satisfaction, (vii) compensation, (viii) physical and mental occupational health, (ix) worker and family physical and mental health status and access to health care, (x) educational attainment of siblings and children and (xi) human rights related to forced labour, equal rights of migrant labourers, non-discrimination, child labour, freedom of association and collective bargaining.

Section 2: Demographics

2.1 Basic demographics of the garment industry

The demographics of workers in Jordanian garment factories are especially important to examine as it creates challenges and opportunities for both factory management and workers.

Seventy-one percent of workers were female, which is characteristic of the global garment industry. Most (75.9 percent) of workers were between the ages of 21 and 35. 7.5 percent of workers were between the ages of 18-20 and 16.7 percent of workers are 36 or older. Most surveyed workers were born in Jordan or South Asia (Table 1).

Table 1: National origin

<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>Worker count</i>	<i>%</i>
Jordan	261	33.7
Bangladesh	123	15.9
Sri Lanka	279	36.0
Pakistan	1	0.1
China	24	3.1
Other	86	11.1

These figures differ significantly from demographics of the wider Jordanian garment sector, which is comprised of 37,055 workers, 21% Jordanian and 79% migrant.¹ The lack of Jordanians employed in the Jordanian apparel sector has concerned policymakers in the Kingdom and poses a major challenge to BWJ's goal of reducing poverty in Jordan through employment in the apparel industry. As a step towards addressing this challenge, BWJ has conducted research to identify practices that can increase Jordanian employment in this sector. This report will be considered in the development of a national strategy for increasing Jordanian employment and investment in the apparel sector.²

Workers showed a range of educational attainment.

¹ BWJ Newsletter No. 5 (March 2012)

² Domat et al (2012)

Table 2: Educational attainment

Educational attainment	Worker count	%
No formal education	32	4.0
Primary school	106	13.2
Lower secondary school	163	20.3
Upper secondary school	264	32.8
Short-term technical training	22	2.7
Long-term technical training	29	3.6
Professional secondary school	107	13.3
Junior college diploma	49	6.1
Bachelor's degree	25	3.1

32.8 percent of workers indicated that they attended upper secondary school, indicating that some workers went through more schooling than the average years of school as cited by the UNDP's Human Development Report, which indicates that the mean years of schooling for Jordan is 8.6, or through lower secondary school.³

Another indication of human capital in factories participating in this study is the finding that a considerable percentage of workers (42.4 percent) had worked in another apparel factory inside or outside of Jordan. 31.6 percent of workers indicated that this was their first work experience.

Table 3: Previous work experience

Previous employment	Worker count	%
Another apparel factory in Jordan	165	20.5
Another apparel factory outside Jordan	112	13.9
Another business in Jordan	31	3.9
Another business outside of Jordan	33	4.1
Family farm	28	3.5
Household enterprise non agricultural	17	2.1
At home taking care of my family	87	10.8
None this is my first job	254	31.6
Other	73	9.1

Workers indicated that they have been employed at the factory for varying amounts of time. This reflects the high concentration of migrant workers in the factory, as they come from different countries at different times. This may also reflect the transient nature of production level factory work that typically results in high turnover of workers.

Table 4 indicates worker positions. 48.6 percent of workers identified themselves as sewers.

³ *United Nations Development Programme (2011)*

Table 4: Worker Position

Worker position	Worker count	%
Sewer	391	48.6
Cutter	48	6.0
Spreader	19	2.4
Checker	34	4.2
Mechanic	8	1.0
Packer	47	5.8
Quality control	56	7.0
Supervisor	29	3.6
Helper	82	10.2
Other	126	15.7

As indicated by the figure and corresponding table below, the amount of time workers spent employed is largely consistent with the amount of time workers spent working in their current position. This hints at the possibility that workers may not be getting promoted. Indeed, as identified through worker promotion data in section 2. 4, 72.8 percent of workers have never been promoted.

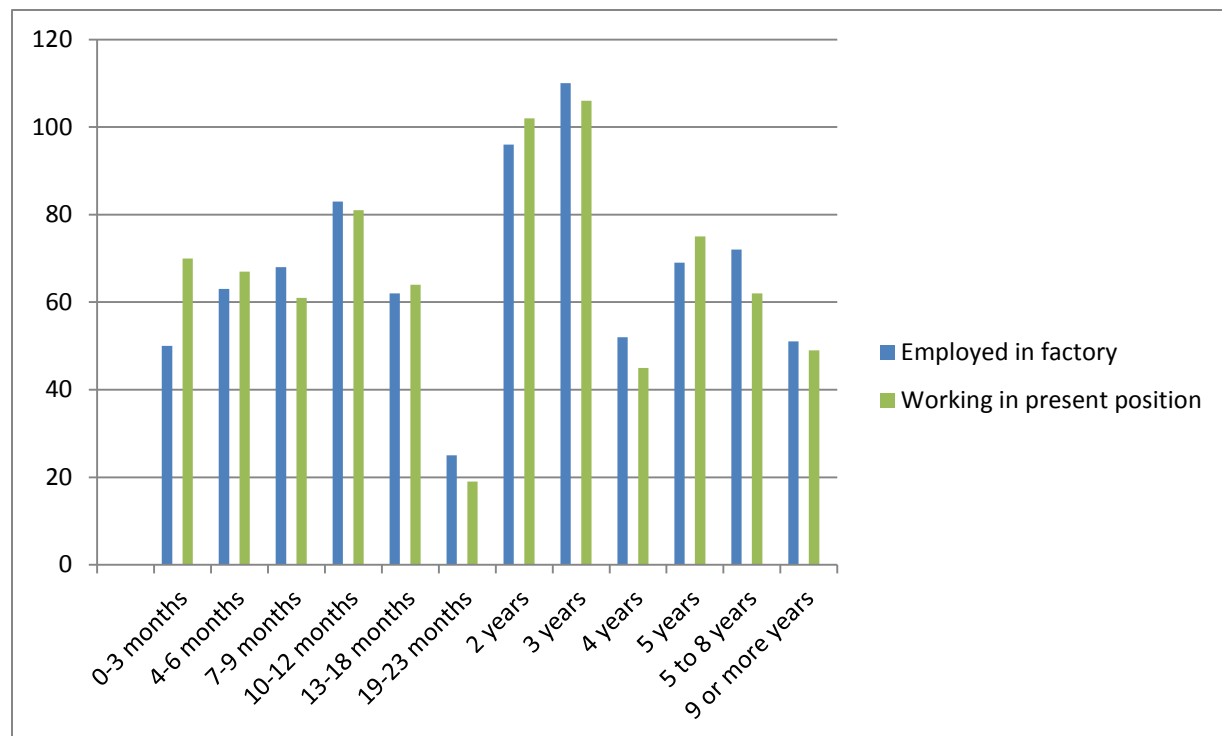
Figure 1: Workplace history

Table 5: Time spent employed in factory vs. working in present position

Length of time	Employed in factory		Working in present position	
	Worker count	%	Worker count	%
0-3 months	50	6.2	70	9.5
4-6 months	63	7.8	67	9.1
7-9 months	68	8.5	61	8.3
10-12 months	83	10.3	81	11.0
13-18 months	62	7.7	64	8.7
19-23 months	25	3.1	19	2.6
2 years	96	11.9	102	13.9
3 years	110	13.7	106	14.4
4 years	52	6.5	45	6.1
5 years	69	8.6	75	10.2
5 to 8 years	72	9.0	62	8.4
9 or more years	51	6.3	49	6.7

2.2 Status of migrant workers

Baseline data highlighted important information about migrant workers in participating factories. The percentage of workers who have their residency permit, work permit, and passport on hand is a useful, though not absolute, indicator of workers' agency and their control over their migration to Jordan.

It was observed that passports were in the factory's possession for 19.5 percent of workers, and that residency permits and work permits were in the factory's possession for 16.4 percent of workers.

This phenomenon has been studied extensively in Jordan. Jordan's sponsorship system for foreign workers places a significant amount of power in the hands of employers and recruitment agencies. Legal requirements rely on employers to renew work and residency permits. The U.S. State Department cites that it has been a common practice for factories to withhold workers' passports.⁴ However, in the past few years Better Work Jordan has stepped up efforts to lessen the severity and reduce the instance of this offense. Following this, observers noted a decrease in the frequency of this practice.

The withholding of workers' documents is, however, a multi-faceted issue. There are many reasons why workers may not have passports in their possession. Often workers feel more comfortable with passports in the hands of their employer, who will keep the documents safe. Also, workers must periodically have their passports renewed, for which they must keep their passports at government agencies for processing that may take months. Therefore it may not be the case that passports are "confiscated" from workers, but rather taken temporarily for reasons that may not harm them.

⁴ *United States Department of State (2010)*

Regardless of the reasons behind why passports are taken away, article 18 of the Passport Law⁵ and the Golden List criteria⁶ prohibits this practice. Workers' lack of possession of passports prevents them from leading normal lives and legal redress when demanding rights.

Workers reported using a variety of strategies to pay to come to Jordan. In particular, a considerable percentage (52.2 percent) of workers reported that their family borrowed money or used savings for them to come to Jordan.

Table 5: How workers paid to come to Jordan

How workers paid to come to Jordan	Worker count	%
Worker or family borrowed money	174	33.9
Family sold land or property	29	5.6
Family used savings	94	18.3
Factory paid	15	2.9

Since 33.9 percent of workers reported that they or their families borrowed money for them to come to Jordan, It would seem that workers' debt is also a factor in determining their agency. According to baseline data, however, it did not seem that workers perceived debt a matter of major concern. For example, only 6.8 percent of workers perceived debt as a reason for not being able to go home. Other reasons are illustrated in the following table.

Table 6: Perceived reasons for not being able to go home

Perceived reason for not being able to go home	Worker count	%
Airfare	49	6.1
Owe too much money	55	6.8
Have not completed contract	177	22.0
Factory has passport	27	3.4
Factory will not allow	12	1.5
Family will not allow	11	1.4
I can go home	200	24.9

In addition, many of the workers who borrowed money had paid off their debt (39 percent) or didn't have any debt (39 percent). The following table illustrates this.

⁵ Article 18 of the Passports Law No. 5/2003 states: "a penalty of no less than six months and not exceeding three years, or a fine not less than JD 500 and no more than JD 1000, or both would be imposed on anyone who: a) illegally obtains a fraud passport or transferring document, b) gives his own passport or transferring document to someone else to illegally use any of them, or mortgages any of these for any benefit, c) untruly claim that he lost his passport or transferring document or deliberately destroy any of them in order to conceal it."

⁶ The Golden List was created by the Ministry of Labour to encourage employers' best practices regarding labour conditions.

Table 7: Outstanding debt

Outstanding debt	Worker count	%
No debt	139	39.0
Debt already paid	139	39.0
Has debt	78	21.9

The following statistic may further indicate that many workers already paid off their debt: 91.4 percent of workers indicated that they paid 0-50 dollars towards their debt the month before completing the survey.

Table 8: Debt relief

How much money paid towards debt last month	Count	Percent
0-50	735	91.4
70 to 100	16	2.0
105 to 200	15	1.9
222-500	6	.75
745-2000	17	2.1
2500-5000	5	0.6
6200-8500	3	0.4

Efforts by the Government of Jordan, USAID, and Better Work Jordan to improve illegal recruitment practices and working conditions in the QIZs may have led to workers reporting feeling less burdened by debt. After the National Labour Committee's report released in May 2006 that alleged workers' rights violations such as trafficking, forced labour, and non-payment of wages in factories in the QIZs received widespread attention, the Ministry of Labour of Jordan (MoL) and USAID commissioned independent verification of the NLC allegations against local labour law and international standards. The report, published in March 2007, confirmed that many allegations were correct. Thereafter, Jordan published a Plan of Action to reform labour administration systems in Jordan to improve working conditions, enhance institutional capacity, and increase employment opportunities for Jordanians. In 2008, a Worker Humanitarian and Legal Assistance Fund from the MoL was included in this plan to assist garment sector workers with food, lodging, plane tickets, administrative visa fines and lawyer fees.⁷ Government caps on recruitment fees and government-issued sanctions such as warning notice or closure upon an agency's violation of law may also explain workers' relative ease in debt repayment.

Finally, focus group discussions conducted in Jordanian factories by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) illustrated that female factory workers paid minimal placement fees compared to male factory workers

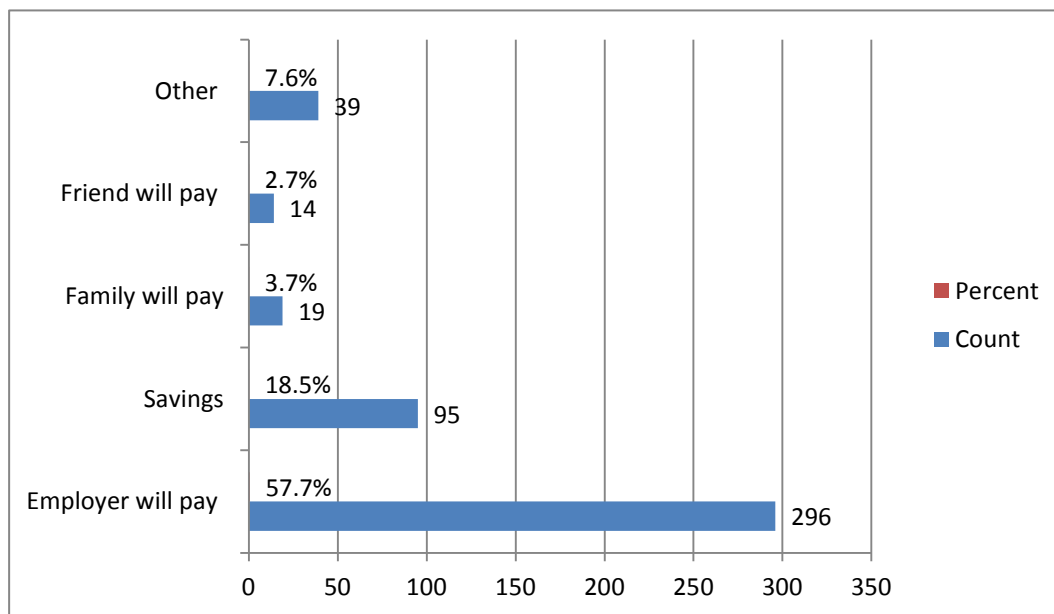
⁷ Sibbel (2010)

and high-skilled workers. If this is true across the garment industry, this may have made it easier for garment factory workers participating in this baseline study to pay off their debt.⁸

As for other reasons why workers perceived they could not go home, 22 percent of workers cited that incompleteness of their contract was a reason. According to ILO principles, however, workers should not be confused by the terms of their contract and mistakenly believe that it is binding. Article 5 of ILO Convention 97 for Migration for Employment sets principles of clarity and transparency of migrant worker contracts. This convention requires members to provide a copy of work contract to the migrant before departure or in a reception center upon arrival to the host country. The contract should indicate the voluntary nature of employment, the freedom to leave, and any penalties associated with leaving.⁹

The price of the plane ticket home seems to be less critical of a reason for workers to feel that they cannot go home when they would like to. 57.7 percent of workers asked this question reported that their employer will pay for their ticket.

Figure 2: Payment for ticket home



⁸ Agunias (2011)

⁹ CO97 Migration for Employment Convention

Section 3: At the workplace

3.1 Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) and facilities

Baseline data did not indicate that workers experienced severe amounts of fatigue or exhaustion, aches, or thirst.

Table 9: Frequency of worker symptoms

	Severe fatigue or exhaustion	Headache, dizziness, or backache	Severe thirst
Never	18.0	18.1	23.6
Rarely	34.6	35.3	26.6
Occasionally	31.7	26.8	21.6
Often	8.1	12.2	11.7
Every day	6.8	7.0	14.7

Many workers, however, expressed a high level of concern with workplace hazards (38.5 percent) and accidents and injuries (51.4 percent). This is shown in the table below.

Table 10: Workplace hazards concerns

	Dangerous equipment or machinery		Accidents and injuries	
	Count	%	Count	%
No, not a concern	372	46.3	333	41.4
Yes, discussed with co-workers	142	17.7	207	25.7
Yes, discussed with manager	112	13.9	147	18.3
Yes, discussed with trade union rep	13	1.6	20	2.5
Yes, considered quitting	15	1.9	17	2.1
Yes, threatened a strike	11	1.4	5	0.6
Yes, caused a strike	16	2.0	18	2.2

Workers were also very concerned with the factory's environment. 44.7 percent of workers were concerned with dusty or polluted air and 42.4 percent of workers were concerned with bad chemical smells.

Table 11: Workers' concerns with factory's physical environment

	Dusty or polluted air		Bad chemical smells	
	Count	%	Count	%
Not a concern	222	48.4	169	42.9
Yes, discussed with co-workers	109	23.7	78	19.8
Yes, discussed with manager	63	13.7	59	15.0
Yes, discussed with trade union rep	7	1.5	6	1.5
Yes, considered quitting	14	3.1	10	2.5
Yes, threatened a strike	4	0.9	3	0.8
Yes, caused a strike	8	1.7	11	2.8

Out of 513 workers asked this question, 73.9 percent lived in dormitories. This makes sense since 66.2 percent of workers were born outside of Jordan, and can thus, to a degree of error, be assumed as migrants.

Table 12: Workers' place of residence

Residence	Worker count	%
In a factory dormitory	379	73.9
With my family	20	3.9
With friends/coworkers outside factory	111	21.6

87 percent of these workers replied that they are satisfied or very satisfied with their dormitories.

Table 13: Satisfaction with dormitories

Worker satisfaction with dormitory rooms	Worker count	%
Very satisfied	126	37.3
Satisfied	168	49.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	22	6.5
Very dissatisfied	9	2.7
Not satisfied at all	8	2.4

96.9 percent of workers reported that their factory has a health clinic. Health services available are detailed in Table 14.

Table 14: Health services

Health services available	Worker count	%
Treatment for workplace injuries	265	33.0
Treatment for headaches or fatigue	410	51.0
Treatment for general illness	345	42.9
General health check-up	150	18.7
Check-up for pregnant women	9	1.1
Check-up for women after giving birth	3	0.4
Health education	31	3.9
Health care for family	8	1.0
Have not used the factory clinic	42	5.2

Only 5.2 percent of workers reported that they never used the factory clinic before, indicating that clinics were well-used in factories studied. Workers were, on the whole, satisfied by the treatment that the factory clinic provided to them. The following figure presents workers' perceptions of quality of treatment at the factory clinic. 95 percent of workers were split relatively evenly among perceiving that factory clinic treatment was excellent, very good, good or fair.

Figure 3: Quality of factory clinic treatment

In regards to other facilities, 75.1 percent of workers reported that there are toilets in the factory. 64.9 percent of workers reported that they were satisfied or very satisfied with toilet facilities in the factory.

Table 15: Quality of toilets

Worker satisfaction with quality of toilets	Worker count	%
Very satisfied	130	22.6
Satisfied	244	42.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	120	20.8
Very dissatisfied	26	4.5
Not satisfied at all	50	8.7

Quality of food is reasonable according to workers, as 86.5 percent of workers asked this question answered that food quality was fair or better.

Table 16: Food quality

Food Quality	Worker count	%
Very good	182	29.9
Good	192	31.6
Fair	152	25.0
Poor	51	8.4
Offensive	10	1.6

Most workers reported being hungry rarely (66.5 percent) or occasionally (18.3%).

3.2 Hours and rest days

Excess overtime, late work on Thursdays and work on Fridays emerged as concerns for workers.¹⁰

Table 17: Work hours and rest days concerns

	Overtime		Work on Fridays		Work on Thursday nights	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No, not a concern	416	51.7	259	32.2	203	25.2
Yes, discussed with co-workers	145	18.0	50	6.2	52	6.5
Yes, discussed with manager	101	12.6	42	5.2	37	4.6
Yes, discussed with trade union rep	16	2.0	3	0.4	4	0.5
Yes, considered quitting	34	4.2	16	2.0	14	1.7

¹⁰ The working week in Jordan is Sunday through Thursday and sometimes Saturday as well.

Yes, threatened a strike	6	0.7	4	0.5	7	0.9
Yes, caused a strike	13	1.6	9	1.1	8	1.0

76 percent of workers indicated that their supervisor set a production target or quota for them within the following values:

Table 18: Production target

Production target last month	Worker count	%
1-1,000	163	28.5
1,000-5,000	90	15.7
5,000-10,000	43	7.5
10,000-20,000	37	6.5
20,000-50,000	16	2.8
over 50,000	18	3.1

However, factories that reward output may inadvertently create incentives to reduce work effort directed toward production quality. One strategy to offset perverse incentives is to require workers to correct their own defects. 85.7 percent of workers reported having this task. 64 percent of workers reported spending one hour or less per day making corrections. Though, for such an incentive scheme to be effective, time spent on repairs must be compensated at a lower rate than regular work. About half of workers, 52.8 percent of those who were asked this question, reported performing this task as part of their regular work day, being compensated at the same rate as other work. This indicates that factories may be headed towards prioritizing positive incentives over negative ones, and do not offset positive incentives through paying workers less when they have to correct their own mistakes.

However, there is also evidence that workers may be working unpaid overtime. 37.3 percent of workers reported that they corrected errors during breaks or post-shift: 13.2 percent repaired defects during scheduled breaks, 17.3 percent remained after the end of the work day, and 6.9 percent corrected errors during the overtime shift. This deserves to be further examined, as it indicates an unfavourable result of workers' response to productivity-related incentives.

3.3 Compensation

65.8 percent of workers were concerned with low wages, as shown in Table 19.

Table 19: Concern with low wages

Concern with low wages	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	157	34.2
Yes, discussed with co-workers	131	28.5
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	73	15.9
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	20	4.4
Yes, considered quitting	50	10.9
Yes, threatened a strike	13	2.8
Yes, caused a strike	15	3.3

Complaints about low wages are consistent with the finding in the following text that migrant worker wage expectations are not realized. However, workers did not tend to address their concerns with low wages by talking to their co-workers, managers, or union representatives.

These data do not reflect a recent minimum wage increase for apparel sector workers in Jordan, which became effective 1 February 2012. The minimum wage increased over 27 percent to JD 170 for Jordanian workers in the first phase and JD 190 during the second phase which began on 1 January 2013. The minimum wage of migrant workers, however, remains JD 110. Migrant workers who have been employed in the sector for over four years will have the opportunity to be given one-time seniority bonuses of \$28 per month.¹¹ However, this is lower than the absolute poverty line for a family of six persons: JD 350.¹²

27.5 percent of workers asked cited in-kind compensation as a concern.

Table 20: Concerns with in-kind compensation

Concerns with in-kind compensation	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	237	51.6
Yes, discussed with co-workers	72	15.7
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	32	7.0
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	6	1.3
Yes, considered quitting	6	1.3
Yes, threatened a strike	4	0.9
Yes, caused a strike	6	1.3

However, this could be a misunderstanding on the part of the workers since factories typically offer accommodation and food to workers free of charge.

¹¹ *Better Work Jordan newsletter no. 5 (March 2012)*

¹² *Phenix Center for Economics and Informatic Studies (2012)*

Record keeping is also a concern among workers. 39.3 percent of workers reported that the broken punch clock is a concern for them and many of these workers took action on this concern.

Table 21: Actions on Broken Punch Clock

Broken Punch Clock a Concern	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	196	49.7
Yes, discussed with co-workers	68	17.3
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	65	16.5
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	6	1.5
Yes, considered quitting	0	0.0
Yes, threatened a strike	5	1.3
Yes, caused a strike	11	2.8%

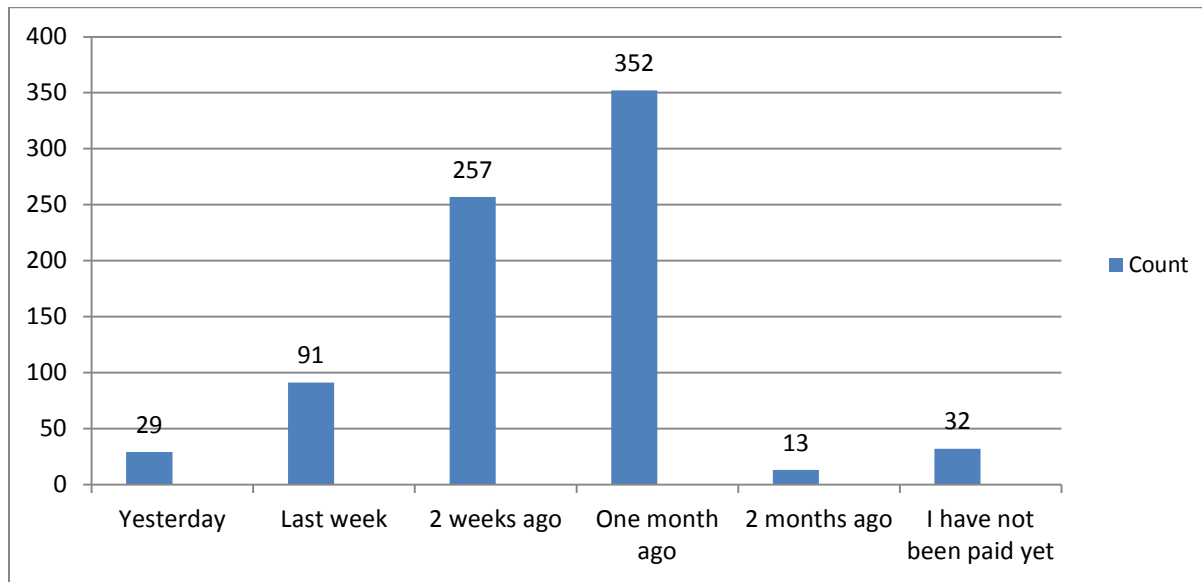
54 percent of workers were concerned by late payment of wages.

Table 22: Concern with late payment of wages

Concern with late payment of wages	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	225	49.0
Yes, discussed with co-workers	120	26.1
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	78	17.0
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	13	2.8
Yes, considered quitting	17	3.7
Yes, threatened a strike	10	2.2
Yes, caused a strike	10	2.2

The following clarifies how late workers maybe have been paid through detailing the time that workers were last paid.

Figure 4: Time of last payment



The vast majority of workers, 87 percent, were last paid during the previous week, two weeks ago, or one month ago. This indicates that perhaps workers who are concerned with late wages had been paid a few days late, rather than a few months or weeks late.

Workers reported that most deductions were taken out for absences (52.5%), lateness (24.9%), food (20.6%), social security (24.9%), and sick days (12.7%). 47.4 percent of workers were concerned with excess deductions and significant numbers of workers took action on these concerns, as shown below.

Table 23: Concern with excessive deductions

Concern with excessive deductions	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	158	40.1
Yes, discussed with co-workers	64	16.2
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	60	15.2
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	13	3.3
Yes, considered quitting	27	6.9
Yes, threatened a strike	11	2.8
Yes, caused a strike	12	3.0

Pay slips with adequate wage information are also a good indication of innovative human resource management. Through examining the effect of HR innovations on productivity and profitability in the US steel industry, Ichniowski et al. suggest that innovations such as detailed pay slips are part of broader array of advancements including incentive pay, multi-dimensional pay, team work, communication and problem-solving that increase productivity and profits. This study showed that production lines that adopted the most innovative and cooperative HR practices experienced a seven percent increase in productivity as compared to lines that adopted the least innovative and uncooperative practices.

Moreover, the authors estimated that a one percent increase in productivity led to a \$27,900 increase in profits.¹³

In this baseline report, 93.8 percent of workers reported receiving a pay slip. Workers, however, reported varying amounts of information present on pay slips.

Table 24: Pay slips

Information on Pay Slip	Worker count	%
Name	628	78.1
Factory ID number	561	69.8
Regular Hours	534	66.4
Overtime Hours	517	64.3
Wage Rate	482	60.0
Piece Rate	42	5.2
Pieces Completed	23	2.9
Bonuses	250	31.1
Deductions	293	36.4
Union dues	137	17.0
Fines	122	15.2

Workers reported that, on the whole, their pay was not determined by piece rate. Out of 513 workers asked this question, 13.3 percent of workers answered that some or all their pay was determined by piece rate. It is contradictory that 23.2 percent of these workers reported that the piece rate is a concern for them. Therefore, more workers were concerned with the piece rate than actually received it. This must be further investigated. Actions taken on piece rate concerns are detailed below.

Table 25: Concerns with low piece rate

Concern with low piece rate	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	207	52.5
Yes, discussed with co-workers	42	10.7
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	24	6.1
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	7	1.8
Yes, considered quitting	7	1.8
Yes, threatened a strike	3	0.8
Yes, caused a strike	8	2.0

Most workers reported that the factory set performance standards for them as 76 percent of workers had production targets. However, much lower percentages of workers stated that they received

¹³ Ichniowski et al. (1995)

bonuses based on productivity. Out of 459 workers asked this question, 15.5 percent of workers reported receiving a self-productivity bonus and 12.4 percent of workers reported receiving a line productivity bonus.

Table 26: Bonuses

Bonuses	Worker count	%
No bonus	184	40.1
Attendance bonus	87	19.0
Bonus for my own productivity	71	15.5
Bonus for my line's productivity	57	12.4
Skill bonus	41	8.9
Annual bonus	26	5.7
An allowance for rent	4	0.9
An allowance for food	22	4.8
Transportation allowance	13	2.8
Other bonus	38	8.3

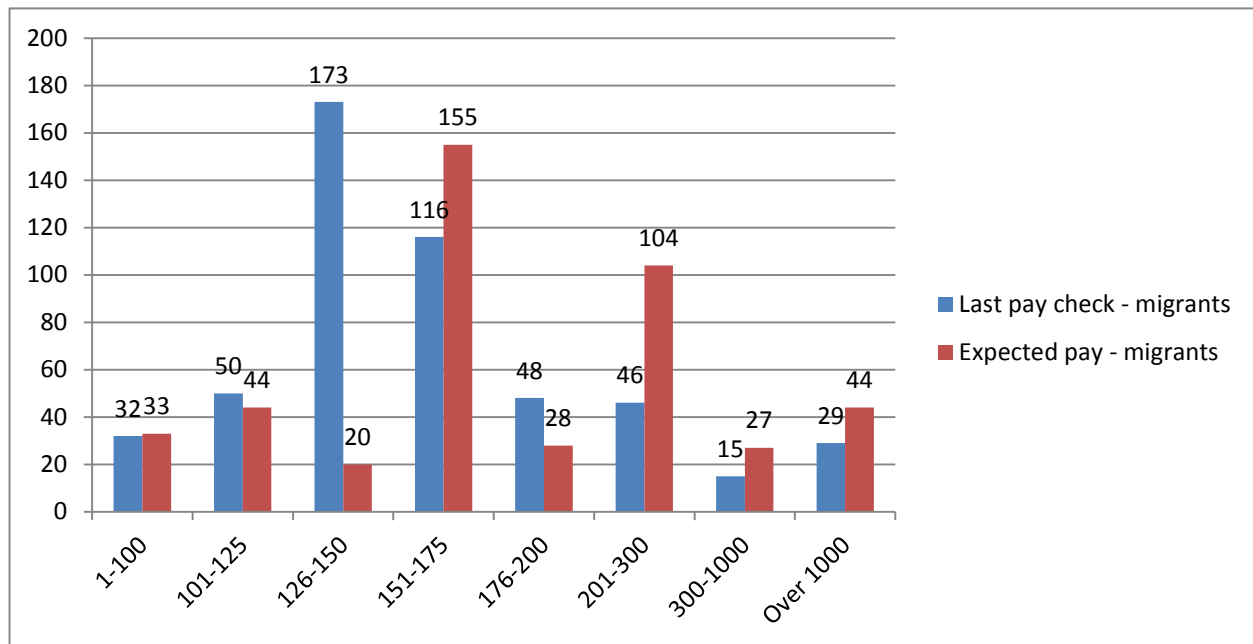
It follows, therefore, that even if workers reach their performance standards, many of them are not receiving bonuses. This may explain workers' dissatisfaction with compensation.

It would be helpful to workers and managers if factories adopted high- powered pay incentives, as these have been proven to positively impact profitability. This was shown by Bandiera et al, who investigated the impact of a switch to managerial performance pay on labor force quality and productivity. This study found that managerial performance pay led to significant increase in the average productivity of pickers and cross-worker dispersion of productivity.¹⁴

In addition to these points on compensation, points related to migrant labour are relevant when discussing compensation. The data shows that both workers' current wages and expected wages varied and did not show a consistent or significant trend of migrant workers receiving more or less pay than expected.

¹⁴ Bandiera et al. (2007)

Figure 5: Last pay check vs. expected pay

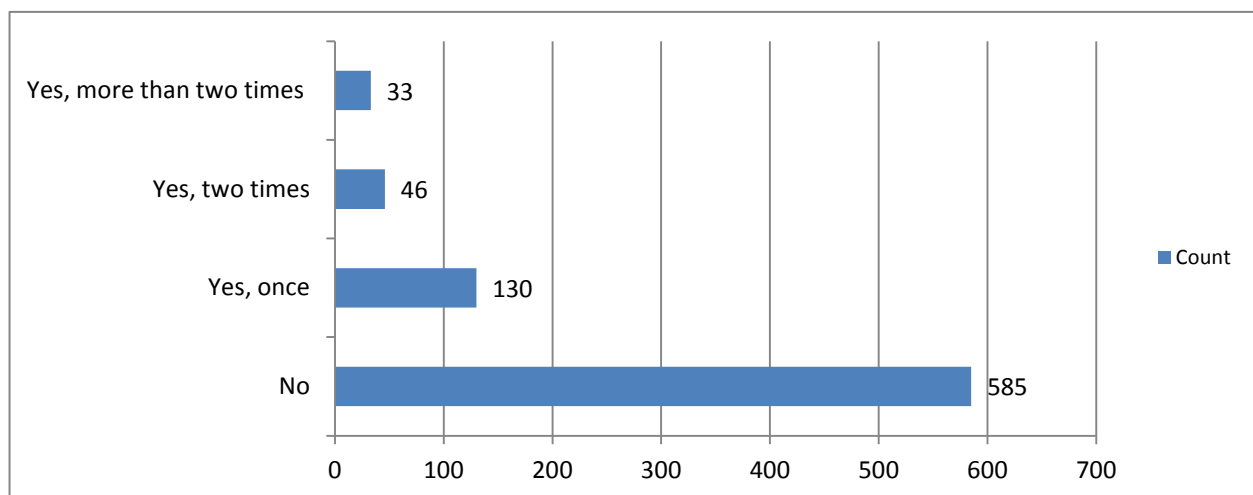


3.4 Workplace Systems and Relations

Baseline data indicated that garment factories surveyed have rigid factory structures and weak exercise of union membership and collective bargaining activities.

Factory structure appeared rigid because 72.8 percent of workers reported that they have never been promoted. This is consistent with worker demographic data showing that 59.8 percent of workers had been working at their present position for two years or more.

Figure 6: Promotion



This may be explained by the inherently prohibitive nature of factory structures, as most workers are the bottom rung of factory hierarchy find it hard to navigate the few, if any, avenues to promotion.

Evidence from factories in other regions of the world suggests that a lack of formal promotion procedures may negatively impact workers. A qualitative study on worker perceptions by Pike and Godfrey found that the lack of formal training promotion procedures in factories in Lesotho negatively impacted workers. Workers felt that they were not able to learn skills properly so they turned to each other for help, slowing down production. They also felt that promotion was unfairly random or based on favoritism and were squeezed out of their jobs when a supervisor hired someone he or she favored.

Since 50 percent of workers in this baseline study felt that there were barriers to promotion and 16.3 percent felt that there were no opportunities for promotion in their factory, this above research compiled in Lesotho may be relevant for Jordan as well. Worker perceptions on barriers to promotion are detailed in the table below.

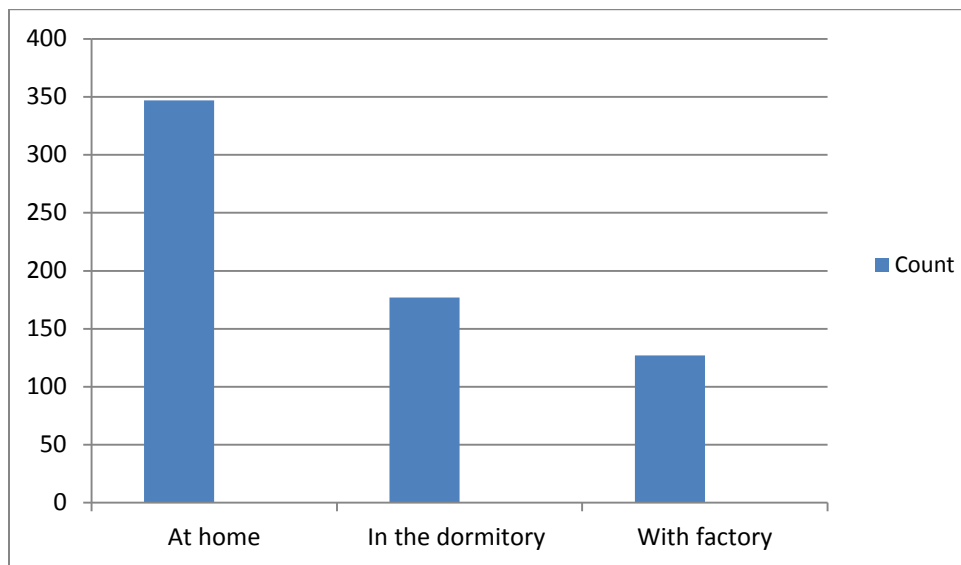
Table 27: Barriers to promotion

Barriers to promotion	Worker count	%
Don't want to answer	14	1.7
Don't know	43	5.3
Gender	25	3.1
Age	25	3.1
Education	56	7.0
Religion	13	1.6
Ethnic group	8	1.0
Family obligations	24	3.0
Skill/ ability	44	5.5
Relationship with supervisor	12	1.5
No opportunities for promotion	131	16.3
Lack of seniority	36	4.5
Nationality	8	1.0
No barriers	402	50.0

Workers' contracts are also an important measure of the quality of workplace organization. 82.3 percent of workers reported signing a contract before beginning work in the factory and 94.9 percent of those workers reported that the contract was in a language they could understand.

79.2 percent of workers kept their contract at home or in the dormitory. 19.2 percent of workers reported that the factory kept their contract. This is detailed in the figure below.

Figure 7: Worker possession of contract

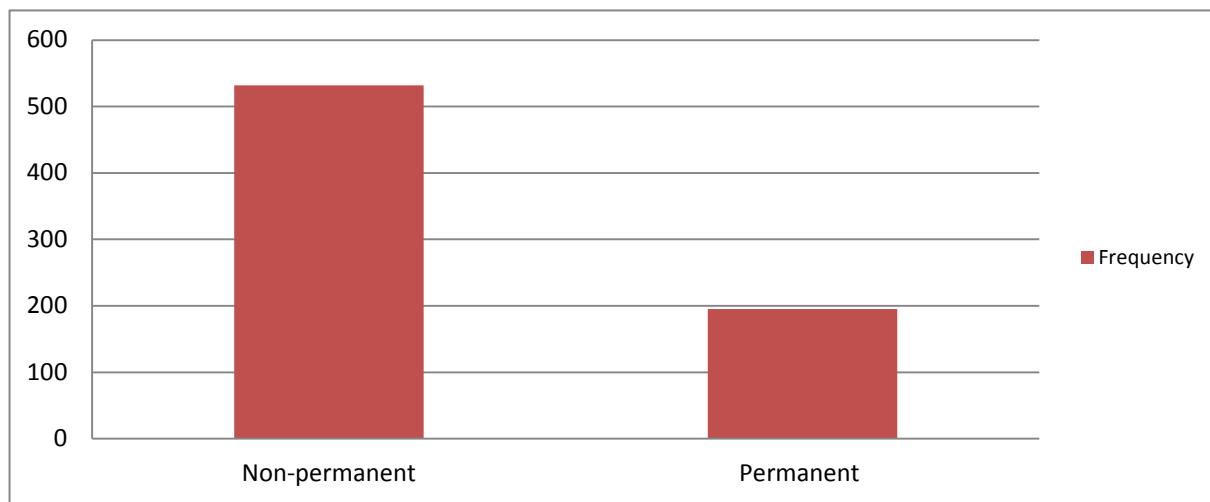


Below are details on types of worker contracts and a comparison of non-permanent vs. permanent workers.

Table 28: Contract type

Type of agreement or contract	Worker count	%
Don't want to answer	24	3.0
Don't know	53	6.6
Training	92	11.4
Apprentice	36	4.5
Home work	27	3.4
Subcontract	16	2.0
Bonded	6	0.7
Probationary	17	2.1
Temporary	41	5.1
Fixed time	297	36.9
Unlimited time	195	24.3

Figure 8: Permanent vs. non-permanent contract

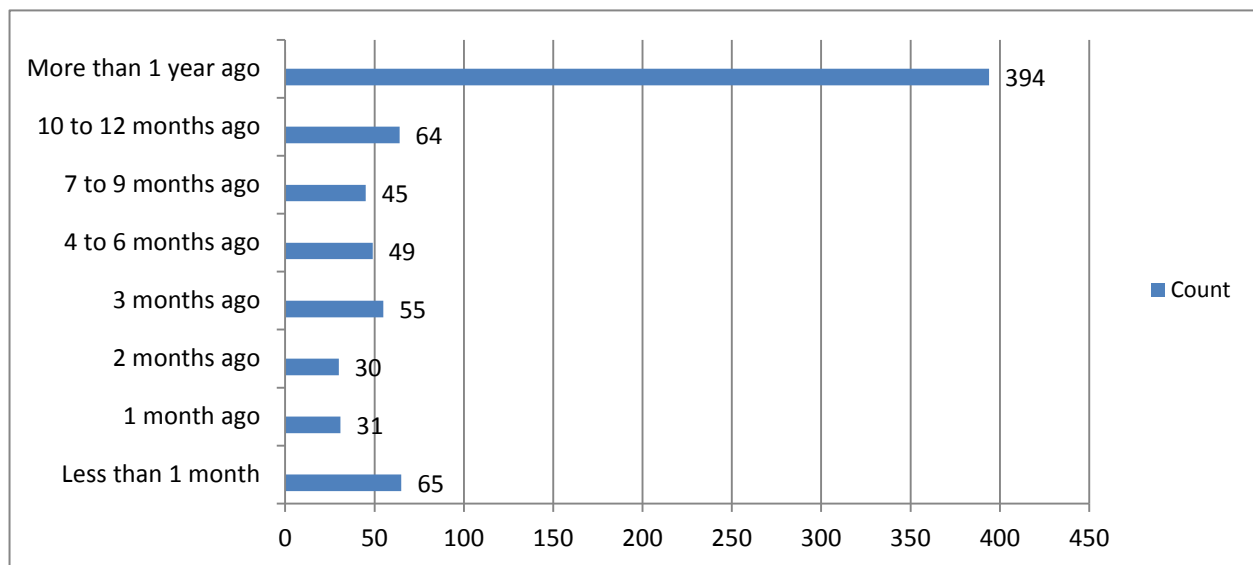


66.1 percent of workers are non-permanent. Implications of such precarious work have been researched in other regions. The ILO Committee of Experts on this issue have suggested that although ILO instruments provide some protection to precarious workers, there are gaps in the relevant current body of international standards that do not comprehensively address the issue. A study by ACTRAV, the ILO's Bureau for Workers' Activities, suggests that precarious work may deprive workers of the ability to take long-term decisions and plan their lives, due to uncertain continuity of contract and low wages. Precarious work is also associated with poor health and safety conditions such as hazardous work environments, stressful work situations. The study also suggests that precarious work has social impacts, as a high proportion of precarious workers in a community, whether those workers are currently present in the community or not, coincide with a lower level of neighborhood cooperation and cohesion and decline in group memberships and associations in poorer communities.¹⁵

As shown in the figure below, most workers have had the same contract for over a year.

¹⁵ ILO (2011b)

Figure 9: Beginning of worker contract



Though there is nothing mentioned in Jordanian labour law that says that migrant workers are not allowed to have unlimited-term contracts, most have fixed time contracts. This may explain the fact that the percentage of workers on non-permanent contracts, 66.1 percent, corresponds to the percentage of workers who are migrants, 66.2 percent.

19.5 percent of workers reported raising a complaint in the factory in the previous year. The following table illustrates how satisfied workers were with complaints. 44.6 percent expressed some degree of satisfaction while 50.3 percent expressed some degree of dissatisfaction.

Table 29: Satisfaction with complaints

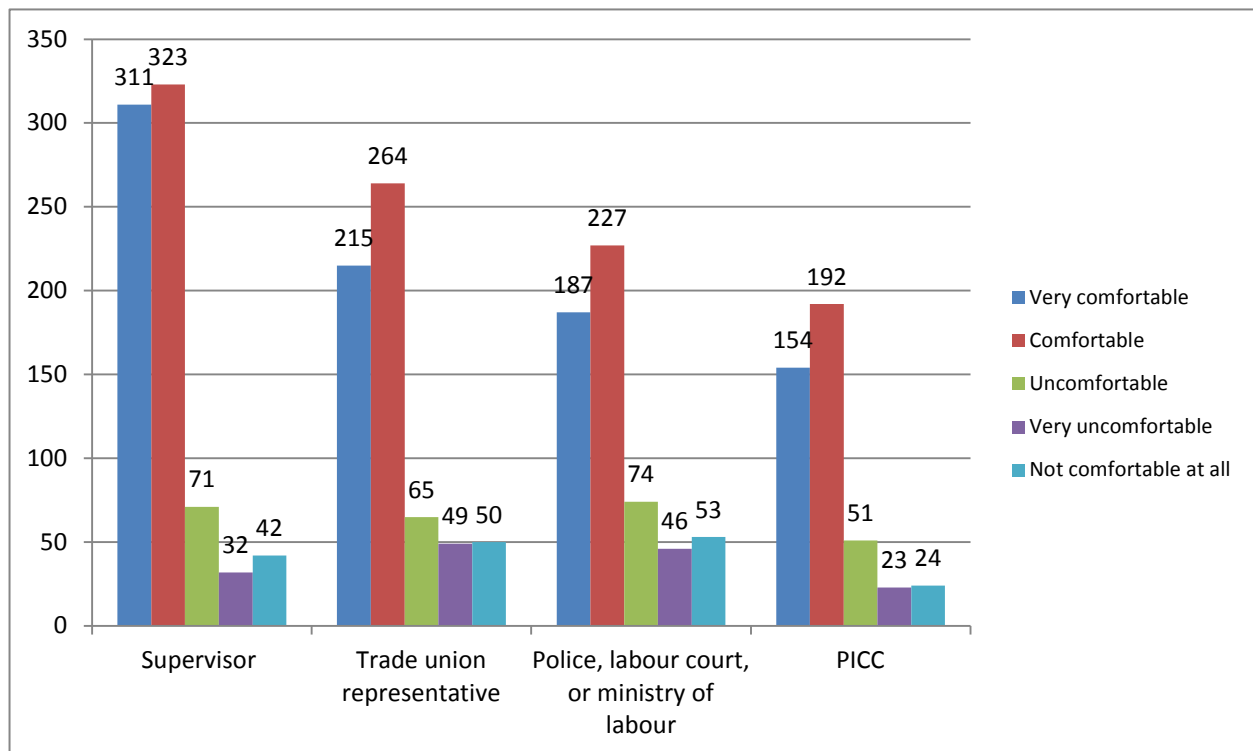
Worker satisfaction with complaint	Worker count	%
Very satisfied	29	18.5
Satisfied	41	26.1
Somewhat dissatisfied	36	22.9
Very dissatisfied	11	7.0
Not satisfied at all	32	20.4

The fact that workers were just about split in half in their satisfaction with complaints indicates that problem-solving mechanisms need some improvement.

Another important component of workplace relations is the ability of the worker to seek help from supervisors or other superiors. Considerable percentages of workers felt very comfortable or comfortable seeking help from supervisors, perhaps because 84 percent of workers reported that their

supervisor speaks their language. Workers felt comfortable seeking help from other groups as well, as shown in the table below.

Figure 10: Workers' comfort seeking help

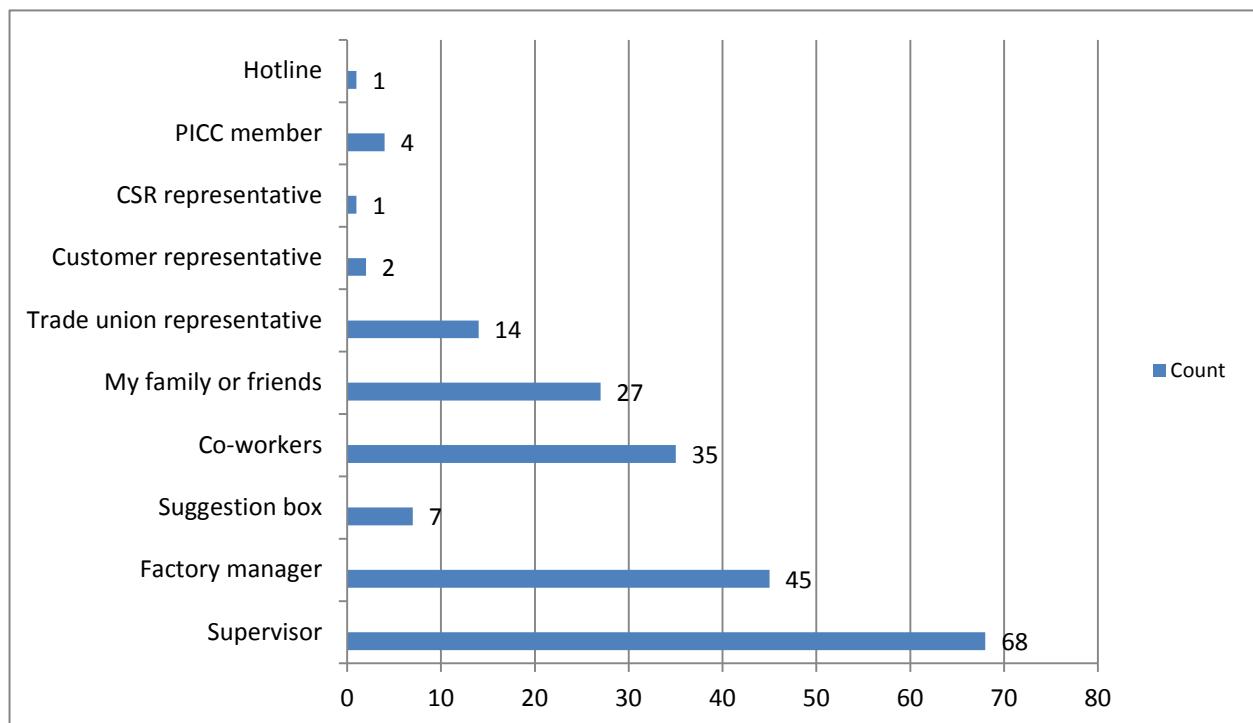


This corresponds to data presented that very few workers, 1.5 percent, felt that the relationship with their supervisor was a barrier to promotion. This is significant as supervisors have the ability to monitor worker's performance and offer rewards accordingly.¹⁶

Many of these workers took action to remedy these complaints, as shown in the figure below.

¹⁶ Lazear, E.P. and Oyer, P. (2009)

Figure 11: Outlets for worker complaints



3.5 Training

Staff training is important to measure as it represents a company's investment in human capital as well as motivates workers to be more efficient. Workers received induction training on a range of issues, as shown below.

Table 30: Workers' induction training

Induction training	Worker count	%
Basic skills	199	43.4
Upgrading skills	58	12.6
Worker rights	79	17.2
Labor law	94	20.5
Collective bargaining agreement	23	5.0
Health and safety	126	27.5
Safe machine operation	119	25.9
Pay procedures	53	11.5
Benefits	46	10.0
Fines	17	3.7
Work hours	101	22.0
Over time regulations	60	13.1
Grievance or complaints procedures	50	10.9

Some workers in the baseline study reported receiving training in the past six months.

Table 31: Training in past six months

Training in past six months	Worker count	%
None	148	37.6
New skills	64	16.2
New equipment	24	6.1
New operations	28	7.1
Worker rights	35	8.9
Collective bargaining agreement	9	2.3
Supervisory skills training	22	5.6
Grievance procedures	15	3.8
Health and safety	64	16.2
Safe machine operation	45	11.4
Factory organization	28	7.1
Other training	43	10.9

Training is therefore not extensive in the factories studied. This is backed by data collected by the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report that measures efficiency- enhancing education and training practices in Jordanian businesses, in which Jordan ranks 4.3 out of 7, 7 being the highest. Jordan ranks 3.9 out of 7 for business sophistication.¹⁷ There is therefore room for improvement in the garment sector and in Jordan as a whole in the area of staff training.

3.6 Respect and Welfare

Relationships between workers, management, and supervisors are of concern to workers. 34.3 percent of workers report that their supervisor corrects workers fairly and with respect only sometimes, rarely or never.

Table 32: Correcting workers with fairness and respect

Frequency of supervisor correcting workers with fairness and respect	Worker count	%
All of the time	374	46.5
Most of the time	111	13.8
Sometimes	142	17.7
Rarely	85	10.6
Never	48	6.0

Types of punishment were as follows:

¹⁷ *World Economic Forum (2010)*

Type of punishment	Worker count	%
Yelling	109	23.7
Insults	31	6.8
Vulgar Language	20	4.4
Slapping	9	2.0
Hitting	3	0.7
Hitting with Cloth	3	0.7
Losing Wages	24	5.2
Extra Work	16	3.5
Work during lunch	8	1.7
Work during dinner	6	1.3
Other	227	49.5

The main reasons for punishment were complaining about production targets (10.2%), missing work (8.2%), making a mistake (8.1%), refusing overtime (6.0%), and speaking at work (5.6%).

49.9 percent of workers considered verbal abuse a concern and took action on this concern.

Table 33: Verbal abuse

Concerns with verbal abuse	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	195	42.5
Yes, discussed with co-workers	96	20.9
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	63	13.7
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	10	2.2
Yes, considered quitting	41	8.9
Yes, threatened a strike	6	1.3
Yes, caused a strike	13	2.8

Reports of physical abuse were less common than verbal abuse. Out of 394 workers asked this question, 31.1 percent deemed physical abuse a concern, and expressed this concern in the following ways.

Table 34: Physical abuse

Concerns with physical abuse	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	191	48.5
Yes, discussed with co-workers	40	10.2
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	42	10.7
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	6	1.5
Yes, considered quitting	14	3.6
Yes, threatened a strike	5	1.3
Yes, caused a strike	15	3.8

34.4 percent of workers were concerned with sexual harassment and discussed this issue among themselves, supervisors, and managers.

Table 35: Sexual harassment

Concerns with sexual harassment	Worker count	%
No, not a concern	387	48.1
Yes, discussed with co-workers	95	11.8
Yes, discussed with supervisor or manager	93	11.6
Yes, discussed with the trade union representative	18	2.2
Yes, considered quitting	38	4.7
Yes, threatened a strike	13	1.6
Yes, caused a strike	20	2.5

Structural features of the global garment industry make sexual harassment pervasive throughout it. The power differential between managers and workers makes workers vulnerable to various forms of abuse. Specific to Jordan, the nature of migrant workers' contracts prevents them from changing employers, as loss of work results in deportation to their home country. This results in job insecurity, which makes migrant workers more vulnerable to sexual harassment. In addition, on a global level, stereotypes of garment workers as low-class and pressured to meet production targets can lead to abusive practices.

In regards to legislation on this issue, it is difficult to prosecute sexual harassment in the workplace according to Jordanian law, as not all types of workplace sexual harassment are illegal. The ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations notes that quid pro quo sexual harassment and some types of hostile environment sexual harassment are not prohibited in Jordan.¹⁸ Types of sexual harassment that constitute an offense under Jordan's Penal Code include sexual assault, attempted sexual assault, physical molestation or touching involving intimate areas of the body, and behaviour constituting a breach of public morality such as indecent exposure. These are defined as those areas which are customarily kept covered by clothing in public venues and conventional settings. The Minister of Labour can either temporarily or permanently shut down any enterprise in which an incident of sexual harassment as defined in the Penal Code has taken place.

Manager perceptions can be linked to lack of respect and abuse of workers. These tensions emerge when supervisors, highly motivated by productivity-linked incentives, lack any pecuniary mechanism for inducing work effort on the part of workers. Supervisors fall back on the only inducement mechanisms they have, which are limited to cajoling and verbal and physical abuse.

It follows that baseline data showed that factories in this study showed poorly coordinated incentives. Though piece rate pay and bonuses linked to skill and production were limited principally to supervisors, 76 percent of respondents reported having a production target. Therefore, factories tended to set

¹⁸ ILO (2011a)

performance standards for employees, but only supervisors were rewarded for meeting those standards. Since supervisors did not have a pecuniary mechanism for inducing work effort, this may have led to verbal and physical abuse.

This is, however, mathematically proven to be a poor method for inducing work effort. As indicated by a study by Brown et al taken from monitoring and evaluation manager and worker data from Vietnam, paying as promised is more profitable than the sweatshop practice of failing to pay as promised while eliciting work effort through aggressive verbal exhortation.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Brown et al (2012)*

Section 4: Beyond the workplace

4.1 Financial independence

Workers appeared to be achieving some of their objectives for employment. Many indicated that they regularly or occasionally sent remittances to parents or family members, as shown through the following table.

Table 36: Worker remittances

Remittances to family members	Worker count	Percent
Regularly	549	69.8%
Occasionally	138	17.5%
Rarely	31	3.9%
Very rarely	14	1.8%
None	38	4.8%

Workers reported that remittances that they sent home were most commonly spent on food, clothes, household items, family debt, household buildings and health care. Remittances were also important contributors to investment in human and physical capital. According to workers, their families spent remittance monies on a variety of everyday expenditures. Remittance money was less commonly spent on ceremonies, luxury goods, leisure and travel.

Table 37: Remittance expenditures

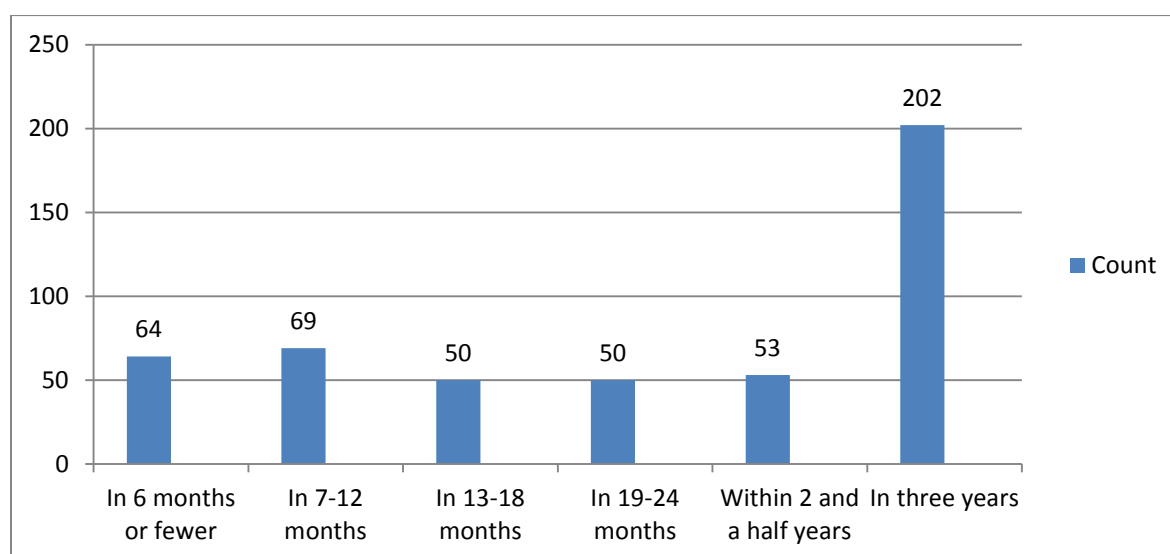
Remittance expenditures	Worker count
Food	350
Clothes	235
Household Items	227
Family's Debt	233
Worker's debt	165
Household enterprise	134
House building	187
Ceremonies	76
Child's education	136
Sibling's education	138
Health care	153
Farm tools	85

Transportation	102
Luxury goods	51
Leisure	26
Travel	43

4.2 Workers' long term and short-term plans

Most workers planned to stay in Jordan for a relatively short period of time. Out of 513 workers asked about their long term plans, 39.4 percent of workers responded that they planned to leave in three years.

Figure 12: Workers' planned departure dates



Over half of workers (57.7 percent) asked how they will afford to return home reported that their employer will pay for the cost of their ticket.

Regarding workers' lives inside the QIZ, workers either did not express significant desire to travel outside of the QIZ or had already traveled outside the QIZ.

Table 38: Reasons for not traveling outside QIZ

Reason for not traveling outside QIZ	Worker count	%
No identification card	19	6.6
No transportation	12	4.2
No time	27	9.3
Does not want to	98	33.9
Has traveled outside the QIZ	118	40.8

Section 5: Conclusions

Baseline data indicated a number of interesting findings for further research.

91.4 percent of workers had not paid anything towards their contract in the past month. Comparing this to the longer duration of time that workers have spent in the factory- many longer than two years - it seems that many workers have spent enough time in the factory to have paid their debt. Debt therefore did not seem a major factor in workers feeling that they cannot go home. Only 6.8 percent of workers claimed that debt is a determining factor for their lack of ability to go home, while a more major factor to be not yet completing contract (22 percent). This positive result deserves to be investigated further, as recruitment fees of migrant workers are often highlighted as a human rights issue that violates ILO principles. Although private recruitment agencies bridge the gap between employers and migrants through navigating immigration policies, making transit easier, and providing information to workers about working conditions, some agencies ask for excessive fees from workers, collect fees too early, or fail to issue receipts. Pre-departure loans with high interest rates or salary deductions in which the first three to five months of salary are held as payment are also other ways that recruitment agencies collect money from workers.²⁰ Considering the above issues, the fact that workers are not reporting that debt is a major concern for them should be further studied.

Excess overtime, late work on Thursdays and work on Fridays emerged as concerns for workers. This is worth researching in-depth through triangulating information with manager survey data on sourcing challenges and vendors' time of payment to suppliers, and obstacles to business success.

Workings had significant concerns with respect to occupational safety and health, including dangerous equipment and machinery and accidents and injuries. Workers were also concerned with dusty or polluted air and bad chemical smells. Better Work Jordan is continuing to address these issues through its assessment, advisory, and training services and its factory assessment data indicates steady improvement.

Based on worker data regarding compensation and incentives, more research must be done to see what kind of incentives workers are getting. From these data it seems that most workers have production quotas (76 percent) but fewer receive bonuses (15.5 percent for self-productivity bonus and 12.4 percent for line productivity). It is possible that workers are not pushing to achieve targets because they believe that the value of the bonus is not worth it. This issue should be further investigated. An analysis into monitoring and evaluation data from the Better Work Vietnam program show that workers and managers perceive that accurate compensation of workers has a positive impact on profits and that higher quality managers choose more humane and profitable labor management practices (Brown et al, 2012). It would be worthwhile to do similar analysis of Jordan's data.

²⁰ *Agunias (2012)*

Data collected from migrant workers on expected pay versus actual pay and money workers believed they could have earned if they were home showed inconsistent patterns that should be scrutinized further.

Demographic and workplace relations data suggests that workers have not been getting promoted. Since many workers have been working in the factory for more than one year it is worth studying ways how to allow workers to have a more fulfilling work experience and incentivize pay.

Workers on the whole felt comfortable seeking help from supervisor, trade union representative, government entities, or the PICC and many felt satisfied with the outcome of complaints. Since this percentage is less than that of the percentage of workers who are represented by a collective bargaining agreement, a member of a union, or affiliated with a union, workers may have felt more comfortable seeking help in an informal setting. In this respect, more research can be done exploring the issues workers feel comfortable talking about.

It would be worth taking a closer look into the high percentages of workers reporting representation in collective bargaining agreements and union membership and affiliation, as workers may have interpreted these terms in different ways. Since there is only one garment worker trade union in Jordan, perhaps the level of influence of this union can be further studied, as it may have affected workers' interpretation of their involvement in unions and collective bargaining agreements.

Physical, verbal, and sexual abuse emerged as concerns for workers that should be points of focus for management and worker training in addition to brand pressure. Better Work Jordan is continuing its efforts to address this issue. After the emergence of the data above BWJ issued a plan to address sexual harassment through its core services and by working with national stakeholders. This included providing specialized advisory services to factories, advocating for strengthened legislation by providing technical counsel to the Jordanian government, raising awareness about sexual harassment by providing training to workers and managers, and counseling, legal services, and protection for workers facing sexual harassment through the pilot workers' centre to be established in the Al-Hassan Industrial Zone in July 2012.

In response to these data, BWJ commissioned an investigation in October 2011 by engaging in focus groups and individual interviews with Sri Lankan women garment workers in five garment factories throughout the country. BWJ found that workers had little understanding of the concept of sexual harassment, and had trouble differentiating between consensual and coerced relationships. The majority of women are interested in awareness-raising programs on prevention of sexual harassment and related laws and regulations.

87.3 percent of workers reported regularly sending remittances to family members, indicating a positive progression in human development. Remittances are a substantial source of capital that can bring about poverty alleviation through economic development and is a strategy through which families can climb out of poverty through industrialization. The extent to which remittances that garment factory workers in Jordan are positively affecting their home countries deserves to be examined more.

Overall, research focusing on the unique challenges of male workers versus female workers would be worthwhile to study, given, for example, the differences in placement fees that recruitment agencies place on the two groups. In the workplace, male and female workers face disparate challenges and acquire different roles and outside the workplace, they are shouldered with different responsibilities to their families and communities. Studying these differences further would allow Better Work Jordan and stakeholders to better and more specifically attack challenges in factories and in the sector as a whole.

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