

WORKING PAPER

A study on the gender pay gap in the private education sector in Jordan

Based on research conducted by Dajani Consulting

Management and Economic Consultants

Amman – Jordan

**International Labour Office
Geneva**

October 2013

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First published 2013

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ILO Cataloguing in Publication Data

A study on the gender pay gap in the private education sector in Jordan / International Labour Office. - Geneva: ILO, 2013

ISBN 9789221280521; 9789221280538 (web pdf)

Working paper; WP 70

International Labour Office

wage differential / women workers / women's rights / workers' rights / sexual division of labour / university / private education / Jordan

13.07

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Printed in Switzerland

Foreword

To better address the pay gap between women and men in the labour market in Jordan and issues of discrimination in the world of work, the National Steering Committee for Pay Equity (NSCPE) with support from the International Labour Organization (ILO) commissioned a study on the gender pay gap (GPG) in the private education sector in Jordan. The aim of this research is to provide empirical evidence on the GPG in Jordan in a sector that is highly feminized.

The Jordanian National Steering Committee for Pay Equity was established in 2011 with the mandate to promote effective means to close the gender pay gap in Jordan. The Committee is co-chaired by the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) and the Ministry of Labour (MoL). It is comprised of representatives from trade unions, professional associations, civil society, government bodies, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Industry, other private sector representatives and the media.

The principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value, which is sometimes referred to as “pay equity”, is enshrined in the ILO Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100). There are two main concepts covered by pay equity. The first concept is “equal remuneration for equal work” which means that men and women should receive equal pay and benefits for work that is the same or requires the same skills, effort, and responsibility, and that is performed under similar working conditions. The second concept is that of “equal remuneration for work of equal value”. This means that even if jobs are entirely different but, based on objective criteria free from gender bias, they are of equal value; remuneration, which includes the overall value of the pay package, should be the same. This ensures that men and women receive equal remuneration for jobs which may involve different types of qualifications, skills, responsibilities or working conditions, but which are nevertheless of equal value.

This working paper is based on the research conducted by Dajani Consulting, a management and economic consulting firm based in Jordan. Substantive technical inputs and a review of the text were provided by Andrea Davila, Emanuela Pozzan and Lisa Wong. Further contributions were provided by Eman Akor, Henrietta Wilkins, Karen Nassif, Reem Aslan, Vanessa Raingard, and Verónica Escudero. This study was made possible thanks to a generous contribution from the government of Norway.



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Acronyms

DoS	Department of Statistics
GPG	Gender Pay Gap
HR	Human Resources
ILO	International Labour Organization
JOD	Jordanian Dinars
JNCW	Jordanian National Commission for Women
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoHE	Ministry of Higher Education
MoL	Ministry of Labour
NSCPE	National Steering Committee for Pay Equity
SSC	Social Security Corporation

Executive summary

The gender pay gap (GPG) is a worldwide phenomenon that refers to the difference between male and female average earnings. In Jordan, official figures from the Department of Statistics (DoS) suggest that the pay gap by sector is 41.3 per cent in manufacturing, 27.9 per cent in health and social work, and 24.5 per cent in education.¹ Similarly, figures from the Social Security Corporation (SSC) show an important GPG in both public and private sector. Accordingly, males that are registered with the SSC and work in the public education sector receive an average monthly wage of 553 Jordanian Dinars (JOD), while women registered with the SSC receive 360 JOD (a GPG of 34.9 per cent). In the private education sector, registered men receive an average monthly wage of 540 JOD, while registered women receive 307 JOD (a GPG of 43.15 per cent).²

In order to provide substantive evidence of the GPG in the private education sector (schools and universities), the International Labour Office (ILO) in collaboration with the National Steering Committee for Pay Equity (NSCPE) commissioned an in-depth study that also defines the causes of the pay gap and provides recommendations on the way forward.

This study was two-pronged, comprising of both a desk review and fieldwork. The desk review analysed articles, studies, reports and statistics from official sources.³ The fieldwork consisted of individual interviews, the application of surveys and focus group sessions with key stakeholders, namely workers (i.e. administrative, teaching and support service staff) and employers in the private education sector, governmental and regulatory authorities, trade unions, professional associations and civil society organizations.

Key findings

The *composition of the labour force* in the education sector, according to the sample size, was made up of 75 per cent of women and 25 per cent of men in private schools and 54 per cent of women and 46 per cent of men in private universities.

In private schools, women are over-represented in all job categories: administrative, teaching and support services; while in private universities, men and women are equally distributed in teaching positions but men are prominent in support services and women in administrative positions.

When it comes to managerial and non-managerial positions in these institutions, the study found that *vertical segregation* is practiced in private universities, where 70 per cent of managerial jobs are held by men and only 30 per cent by women. The case of private schools appears to be different since 75 per cent of the managerial positions are held by women

¹ DoS, *Employment Survey*. Amman (2010).

² *Women in Social Security Law No. 7 for 2010*: a PowerPoint presentation, Saja Aqrabawi, (Oct. 2011), p. 11.

³ Department of Statistics, Social Security Corporation, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher Education, among others.

compared to only 25 per cent held by men. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the percentage of women employed by private schools far outweighs that of men.

In terms of wages, the field research shows that the ***GPG is 41.6 per cent in private schools and 23.1 per cent in private universities***. Figures are based on information provided by respondents about their average monthly remuneration (basic salary and supplement).⁴ In private schools, the average monthly remuneration is 435 JOD for males and 254 JOD for females, and 540 JOD versus 415 JOD for males and females respectively in private universities. When comparing the average monthly basic salary, the study shows a GPG of 42 per cent in private schools resulting from a basic monthly salary of 426 JOD for male and 247 JOD for female workers; and a GPG of 18.2 per cent when comparing the average monthly basic salary of 330 JOD for males and 270 JOD for females in private universities.

General findings

During interviews and focus group sessions with governmental and regulatory authorities, employers, workers, trade unions, professional associations, and civil society organizations, the following factors were suggested as being the primary reasons for pay inequalities in the private education sector:

- ***Stereotypes and prejudices*** that perceive jobs in private schools as requiring less effort and thus being more suitable for women.
- ***Undervaluing women's jobs and women's qualifications*** reflected in the high demand for men teachers and therefore better salaries offered to them, as opposed to a high supply of women teachers who are expected to accept salaries which in some cases are below the minimum wage.
- ***Social and cultural factors*** such as the belief that males are the breadwinners and therefore entitled to higher remuneration; women's lack of information regarding their rights; family responsibilities that fall on women; and under-representation of women in trade unions.
- ***Absence of a legislative/policy and regulatory framework*** on equal pay for men and women for work of equal value.
- ***Lack of coordination among stakeholders*** that limits their ability to interfere and control the employer-worker relationship in questions related to pay equity for women and men.

Recommendations

For the government

- Amending national legislation to include equal remuneration for women and men for work of equal value.

⁴ In the analysis of remuneration in this study, basic salary refers to the "net monthly wage", while remuneration refers to the "sum of basic salary and supplement calculated as social security and health insurance".

-
- Activating the inspection role of the Ministry of Labour (MoL) to ensure labour rights for women workers in the private education sector.
 - Conducting awareness raising campaigns for private sector men and women employees on their rights at work, specifically on equal remuneration for women and men for work of equal value, in collaboration with civil society organizations and trade unions.
 - Establishing follow-up mechanisms for GPG cases under the MoL in coordination with the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE).

For trade unions, professional associations and civil society organizations

- Creating an effective mechanism for detecting and recording pay discrimination complaints and labour rights violations experienced by workers in the private education sector at the national level.
- Lobbying for the inclusion of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value in the Standard Employment Contract.
- Enhancing cooperation and coordination between trade unions and professional associations, as well as school and university owners associations in order to reach a modern and fair classification of private educational institutions and workers.
- Promoting the services of the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) hotline amongst women workers so that they can seek help in cases of pay inequality.

For employers

- Revising human resources practices and remuneration systems.
- Applying the Standard Employment Contract.

For the NSCPE

- Pilot testing gender-neutral job evaluations in ten to 15 private schools and universities to test the findings of this study.
- Establishing “School of the Year” and “University of the Year” awards for institutions that prove their compliance with gender equality and pay equity principles.

Introduction

Pay equity is about women and men being fairly and equally remunerated for the work they do. Pay equity gives full expression to the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value enshrined in ILO Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) which means that men and women shall receive equal pay and benefits for different work that is deemed to be of equal value. In other words, remuneration is based on an objective evaluation of the work performed, thus ensuring that men and women receive equal pay for jobs which require or entail different types of qualifications, skills, responsibilities or are performed under different working conditions, but which are nevertheless assessed to be of equal value.

Remuneration includes salary, commissions, paid leave, severance pay and bonuses. It also includes employer contributions made to pension funds, health insurance, disability plans or other forms of social security, overtime pay, family allowances, meal vouchers, educational grants or scholarships, and fringe benefits (such as a company car, entertainment allowance, or access to health or leisure facilities). It also includes any components of the overall earnings package that have a monetary value, whether paid in cash or in kind, made regularly or on an occasional basis.

The GPG is the result of pay inequality to the detriment of women. The GPG refers to the difference between male and female average earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings. Globally, it is estimated that women are paid 22.9 per cent on average less than their male counterparts at work.⁵

The GPG can be estimated using the following formula:

$$\left(\frac{\text{Men's average income} - \text{Women's average income}}{\text{Men's average income}} \right) \times 100$$

Different factors can explain the GPG; these include the individual's characteristics such as level of education, work experience, and skills, as well as characteristics of the particular company and/or sector of employment, e.g. its size and whether workers are unionized or not. However, gender-based discrimination can also play an important role in the GPG. This can be manifested in several ways including occupational segregation, stereotypes and prejudices; a tradition of undervaluing women's qualifications and jobs; traditional job evaluation methods designed on the basis of requirements of male-dominated jobs, and social and cultural factors.

⁵ ILO: A new era of social justice, Report of the Director-General, Report I(A), ILC, 100th Session. Geneva. (2011); See also ILO: Global wage report 2010/2011: Wage policies in a time of crisis, Geneva (2011).

The GPG is a worldwide phenomenon. In Jordan, it is estimated that the GPG is prominent in three highly feminized sectors: manufacturing (41.3 per cent), health (27.9 per cent) and education (24.5 per cent).⁶

With the aim of understanding the causes of the GPG in the country and in order to undertake corrective measures, the National Steering Committee for Pay Equity (NSCPE) has chosen the private education sector to undertake the present in depth-study. The study provides substantive evidence of the pay gap in the private education sector (schools and universities), identifies its causes, and provides recommendations on the way forward.

In light of the above, the first part of the study, which is based on a desk review, will analyse official statistics from the Department of Statistics and Social Security Corporation in order to provide an overview of the situation of Jordanian women in the labour market and specifically in the education sector, including information on the GPG.

The second part of the study will present and analyse the outcomes of the interviews, surveys and focus groups to provide both qualitative and quantitative data on the magnitude and causes of the GPG in the private education sector. Conclusions will come at the end, together with some recommendations addressed to different stakeholders in the private education sector.

⁶ DoS, *Employment Survey*, Amman. (2010).

Methodology

Qualitative and quantitative research was undertaken to provide a comprehensive picture of the GPG in the private education sector. This data was collected through a desk review and fieldwork, performed by a research team composed of experts on gender, statistics, labour economics and ten interviewees.

The desk review included compiling and analysing information from secondary sources such as studies, academic articles, reports and official documents and statistics. The findings from this review provided the basis for the design of the field research instruments and analysis tools. Fieldwork took place from November 2012 to February 2013 and consisted of general interviews, surveys and focus group sessions with key stakeholders.

General interviews were conducted using guidelines that included a list of general questions addressing pay equity. The interviews also included specific questions relating to the experience of the respondents about pay equity. Interview respondents included: representatives from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education, senior representatives from the Teachers' Association, principals and teachers from private schools, administrators from private universities and university professors, education experts, human rights defenders, women's issues activists, university lecturers, community representatives and decision makers.

Two questionnaires were developed for the survey. One questionnaire specifically addressed questions to teachers and to staff in administrative and support services positions at private schools and universities. The other addressed questions to the employers and owners of the private schools and universities. Questions were related to working conditions, workers' treatment, employers' and workers' relations and perceptions and stereotypes on gender and discrimination issues in the workplace.

The total number of interviewees was 223 (28 men and 195 women) from 22 private schools and 59 (27 men and 32 women) from six private universities. The gender distribution of respondents was based on the proportion of women and men working in each institution according to the number of employees shared by the employer.

Focus groups were conducted to assess the participants' level of awareness of pay equity and the general legal and regulatory environment. They were also used to ascertain a general opinion of possible areas for improvement. To facilitate this goal, a discussion guide manual was developed for focus group sessions covering the main aspects related to pay equity in the private education sector. Each focus group session hosted seven to ten participants and lasted for three to four hours. Six sessions were conducted, two per region. Participants of the focus groups included representatives from the Ministry of Education (MoE), Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE) officials and labour inspectors, as well private school owners, school teachers, university professors, and representatives from labour unions.

Data collection and analysis methods

Data was entered electronically through an entry frame designed using Microsoft Access software that includes a database to store entered data. Qualitative collected data was analysed using SPSS, SAS and Excel software. The statistical analysis comprised of mean, average and standard deviation. Qualitative analysis consisted of classified and grouped responses according to the number of respondents to each questions. A quality control mechanism was put in place to ensure accuracy. It consisted of well-defined criteria e.g. no conflicting or contradicting responses, no duplicated or repeated responses. It also included a verification process with a random sample of respondents contacted for validation.

The study team encountered difficulties when applying the surveys in universities. On one hand, some of the universities originally chosen had to be replaced given the employer's reluctance to participate in the study; and on the other hand, employees from the participating universities were reluctant to respond to all questions in the questionnaires whereas employers did not respond to the questionnaire at all. Therefore, private university employers' views on the topic of pay equity are missing. This explains why the data obtained from private universities was relatively weak compared to private schools, and it confirms the sensitivity of this type of research.

Sample design

Based on official national data, a mapping of the private education sector was conducted as a baseline for the sample design. Private schools and universities were selected according to the following criteria:

1. Terms of reference for the study indicated 250 people in 20 private schools and 50 people in five private universities.
2. Geographical distribution, taking into consideration the different concentration of private schools and universities in the country and rural versus urban settings.

Due to the small size of some of the selected institutions and their resistance in responding to questions, the research team added two more private schools and one more private university to the sample. Challenges were encountered, especially with conservative private universities, in sharing information considered sensitive in the context of a highly competitive sector.

Private schools

The total number of private and public schools across Jordan is 6,007, distributed within the three regions (the North, the South and the Centre). Out of these, 2,254 are registered as private schools under the private education authority of the Ministry of Education. They represent 38 per cent of the total number of schools in Jordan; 70 per cent of which are concentrated in the Centre, 25 per cent in the North and 5 per cent in the South.

Also, 9.2 per cent of private schools are located in rural areas and 90.8 per cent in urban areas. They are distributed by region as follows:

Table 1: Distribution of private schools in Jordan according to region and rural/urban setting

Region	% of rural schools	% of urban schools	Total %
South	33.93	66.07	4.97
North	18.08	81.92	24.55
Central	4.41	95.59	70.48
Total	9.23	90.77	100

The sampling unit was the private school. The sample size was proportional to the private schools' distribution among the three regions, the 12 governorates within the regions, and urban and rural sectors within the governorates. In this case, either the proportional distribution method or the equal distribution method⁷ on the regional basis can be followed to design the sample. Both methods will include the proportional distribution of sample size according to governorate and urban/rural criteria within the region as illustrated in Table 2:

Table 2: Proportional distribution of private schools sample among regions and proportional distribution according to governorates and urban/rural setting

% of schools by region	Sample size (number, of schools) by region	% of schools by general setting	Sample size (number, of schools) by general setting (urban/rural)	Representative governorate	Sample size (number, of schools) in the governorate
North: 25%	5	Urban: 82%	4	Jarash	1
				Ajloun	1
				Mafraq	1
				Irbid	1
		Rural: 18%	1	Irbid	1
Centre: 70%	11	Urban: 96%	10	Amman	7
				Balqa'	1
				Zarqa'	1
				Madabe	1
		Rural: 4%	1	Balqa'	1
South: 5%	4	Urban: 66%	3	Tafilah	1
				Ma'an	1
				Aqaba	1
		Rural: 34%	1	Karak	1
Total	20		20		20

⁷ Proportional distribution method: Proportional distribution of school workers among regions and governorates; Equal distribution method: Equal distribution of workers among regions, with proportional distribution of workers by governorate.

Private universities

There are 30 public and private universities in the Northern and Central regions in Jordan⁸. Out of these total, 20 are private universities, representing 66 per cent of the total number of universities in Jordan.

Table 3: Geographic distribution of public and private universities in Jordan

Region	Governorate	No. of public universities	No. of private universities
Centre	Amman	2	13
	Az Zarqa	1	1
	Al Balqa'	1	-
	Madaba	-	1
North	Jarash	-	2
	Ajlun	-	1
	Al Mafraq	1	-
	Irbid	2	2
South	Karak	1	-
	Al Tafilah	1	-
	Ma'an	1	-
	Aqaba	-	-
Total		10	20

Source: Ministry of Higher Education in Jordan

Given the few private universities, six were randomly selected by virtue of similarities in size and staff composition and by taking into consideration their geographical distribution.

Table 4: Distribution of targeted segment sample in private universities

Region	Sample size	No. of universities
Centre	40	4
North	10	1
Total	50	5

⁸ There are no private universities in the South and in general in rural areas.

1. Women in the Jordanian labour market

1.1 Economically active population and employment rate

According to the statistics published by the Employment and Unemployment Survey in 2010,⁹ the economically active population represented 39.5 per cent of the total population of working age (15+ years). Of the economically active population, 63.5 per cent were male and 14.7 per cent were female. The same survey revealed that the unemployment rate reached an average of 12.5 per cent. Among males, the unemployment rate was 10.4 per cent, and it was 21.7 per cent among females. In 2011 and 2012, the economic activity and unemployment rate were in the same range as they were in 2010 (see Table 5).

Table 5: Economic activity and unemployment rate of men and women

Indicator	2010		2011		2012	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Economic activity	63.5	14.7	62.8	14.7	61.3	14.1
Unemployment rate (%)	10.4	21.7	11	21.2	10.4	19.9

Source: DoS: *Employment and Unemployment Annual Survey Report*. Amman. (2010, 2011 and 2012)

Among the employed population, the percentage of paid men employees in 2010 was 81.3 per cent while it was 94.8 per cent for women. This means that more women are working in wage-employment jobs than men. This difference is significant in the public sector because of the reluctance of men to work in the governmental sector compared to women, as salaries in the public sector are less attractive (see Table 6).

Table 6: Percentages of men and women paid employees

Indicator	2010		2011		2012	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Paid employee in the public sector (%)	35.3	49.5	36.5	49.2	36.7	48.8
Paid employee in the private sector (%)	47.5	45.8	45.5	45.8	45.0	47.1

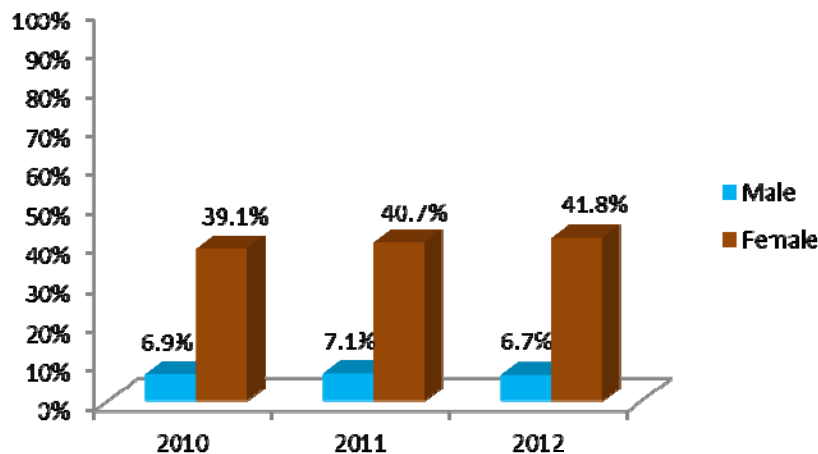
Source: Employment and Unemployment Annual Survey Report, Department of Statistics, Jordan (2010, 2011 and 2012)

When comparing women and men in terms of employment in main economic activity using the DoS survey of 2010, 6.9 per cent of the employed males worked in the education sector, while 39.1 per cent of the employed females worked in this sector.

⁹ DoS: *Employment and Unemployment Annual Survey Report*, Amman. (2010).

In 2011 and 2012, these rates were within the same range as they were in 2010 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Percentage of men and women employed in the education sector



1.2 Remuneration

According to the latest household income and expenditure survey (2010),¹⁰ the average annual current income from employment of a female-headed household was 2,209.3 JOD, while for a male-headed household it was 4,103.5 JOD, which shows a GPG of 46.16 per cent.

According to the 2010 Employment Survey, “the average value of monthly wage for men and women working in the **public sector** was 457 JOD and 403 JOD respectively. Within the same context, the average value of monthly wage for men and women working in the **private sector** was 378 JOD and 315 JOD”.¹¹ The GPG is estimated at 11.8 per cent in the public sector and 16.6 per cent in the private sector.

The same survey for the year 2009 indicated that the average monthly wage **in the public education sector** was 459 JOD for men and 363 JOD for women, with a difference of 96 JOD, which means there is a GPG of 20.92 per cent. On the other hand, men working in the **private education sector** received an average monthly wage of 523 JOD, while women received 273 JOD¹², the difference of 250 JOD reveals a GPG of 47.8 per cent.

¹⁰ DoS: *Household Income and Expenditure Survey Book*, Amman (2010).

¹¹ DoS: *Employment in Establishments Survey Report*, Amman (2010).

¹² *Ibid.*

Records from the SSC for 2010 suggest interesting facts confirming the existence of gender wage gap. Men that were registered with the SSC and work in the private and public sector received an average monthly wage of 437 JOD and 335 JOD respectively. On the other hand, the average monthly wage of registered women was 347 JOD in the private sector and 342 JOD¹³ in the public sector. The GPG is estimated at 20.6 per cent in the private sector.

Particularly, for the public and private education sectors, registered men with the SSC working in the public education sector received an average monthly wage of 553 JOD, while registered women received 360 JOD (a GPG of 34.9 per cent). In the private education sector registered men received an average monthly wage of 540 JOD, while registered women received 307 JOD (a GPG of 43.15 per cent).

1.3 Private education sector workforce

In general, women are overrepresented in private schools where they represent 87.6 per cent of the workforce compared to only 12.4 per cent of men. The number of teachers and administrative staff in private schools differs from one governorate to the next, as some girls' schools are entirely run by women. Table 7 shows the distribution of private school employees according to category and gender across the country.

¹³ *Women in Social Security Law No. 7 for 2010: a PowerPoint presentation*, Saja Aqrabawi, (Oct. 2011) p.11.

Table 7: Distribution of private school employees according to job category, gender and governorate

Category & gender Governorate	Teachers			Administrative staff*			Total			Total	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
Amman	2473	13271	15744	294	1727	2021	2767	14998	17765	15.58	84.42
Az Zarqa	219	2265	2484	48	305	353	267	2570	2837	9.41	90.59
Al Balqa	124	1227	1351	17	186	203	141	1413	1554	9.08	90.92
Madaba	69	462	531	10	55	65	79	517	596	13.3	86.74
Jarash	14	224	238	9	42	51	23	266	289	8	92
Ajlun	4	346	350	2	58	60	6	404	410	1.5	98.5
Ma'raq	20	241	261	7	38	45	27	279	306	8.82	91.18
Irbid	97	2674	2771	40	429	469	137	3103	3240	4.22	95.78
Karak	14	462	476	6	73	79	20	535	555	3.6	96.4
Al Tafilah	0	76	76	0	8	8	0	84	84	0	100
Ma'an	0	62	62	2	9	11	2	71	73	2.74	97.26
Aqaba	37	572	609	7	69	76	44	641	685	6.4	93.6
Total	3071	21882	24953	442	2999	3441	3513	24881	28394	12.4	87.6

Source: Educational Management Information System (EMIS), Department of Statistics and Studies – Ministry of Education, 2011/2012

* Includes both administrative and support staff.

The case is different in private universities where the majority of workers are men (70.71 per cent men versus 29.29 per cent women) (see Table 8).

Table 8: Distribution of private universities employees according job category and gender

Gender / Department	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Administrative*	2698	67.67	1289	32.33	3987	100
Academic	1938	75.44	631	24.56	2569	100
Total	4636	70.71	1920	29.29	6556	100

Source: Educational Management Information System (EMIS), Department of Statistics and Studies – Ministry of Education, 2011/2012

* Includes both administrative and support staff.

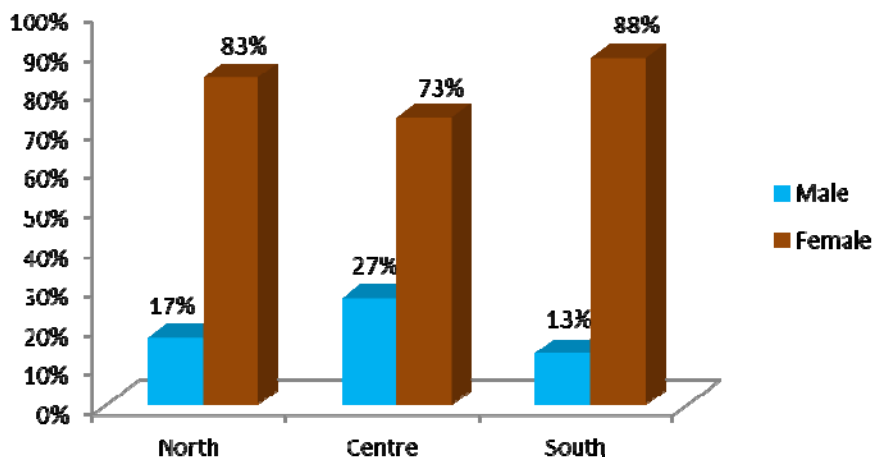
2. Fieldwork findings: pay gap in the private education sector

2.1 Private schools

2.1.1 Composition of the labour force in private schools

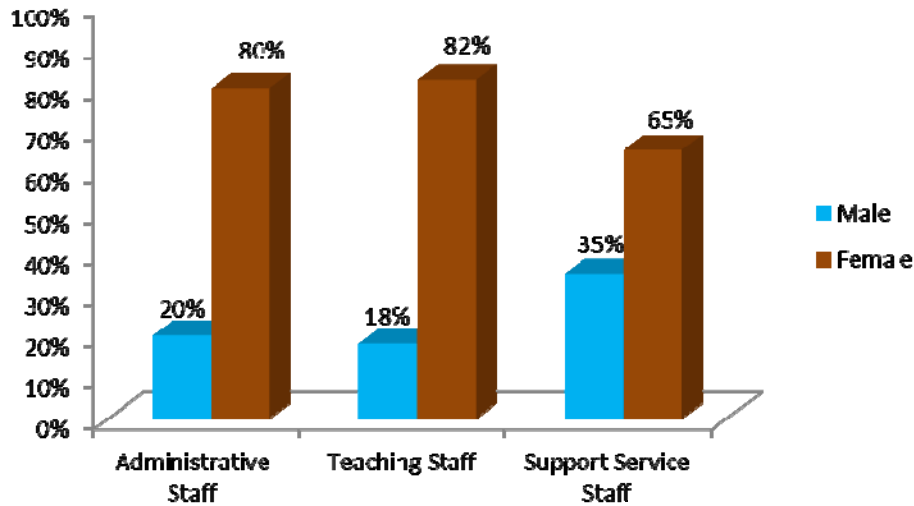
According to the sample interviewed, 25 per cent of men and 75 per cent of women represent the total workforce in private schools. As the figure below shows, women also represent the majority of the workforce across the three regions (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Composition of schools workforce by sex in the three regions



In terms of job categories (administrative staff, teaching staff and support services staff), women make up the majority in all positions; 82 per cent are in teaching positions, 80 per cent in administrative, and 65 per cent in support services positions (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Composition of private schools workforce by job categories and sex



Contributing factors determining this distribution are the presence of a high number of women teachers in girls, mixed and elementary schools while men are mainly present in boys' and secondary schools. Moreover, very few men teachers are to be found in the Northern and Southern regions where the majority of schools are girls only or mixed schools, which are mostly run by women in conformity with local social norms.

In the case of support services staff, even if there are more women than men (65 per cent versus 35 per cent) the proportion of men is higher than in other categories. This is due to the fact that some jobs in this category, such as school bus driver, maintenance technician, security officer or night guard are usually performed by men. At the same time, there are some jobs in this category that are dominated by females, such as school bus escort, cleaner/janitor and nurse.

2.1.2 Gender occupational segregation

It is often observed that private schools in Jordan have irregular or unclear hierarchical organization, particularly the small and medium sized schools. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the hierarchical organization used in public schools in Jordan was adopted, as they have clear organizational structures that identify positions in basic education schools in general.

Employees' job titles and descriptions were used to identify **managerial** level positions that are at the top of the hierarchy (such as school principal, school deputy principal, financial manager and administrative/personnel manager), and that are held by senior staff who have served several years in the education sector, particularly in the same school; and the **non-managerial** positions (such as administrative assistant/secretary, accountant, teachers, cleaner/janitor, bus driver, bus escort/supervisor and guard) were set at the bottom of the hierarchy. Non-managerial staff are responsible for the main

operations of education delivery and school service and maintenance. Usually, the managerial positions are at the administration level.

Data showed that 75 per cent of women are in managerial positions compared to 25 per cent of men; and 88 per cent of women are in non-managerial positions, as illustrated in Figure 4. Once again, this relates to the high presence of women in this sector. Of interest is the percentage of men (44 per cent) in managerial positions in the Central region (compared to only 14 per cent in the South and 38 per cent in the North), where there are more private schools owned by men who are also likely to manage the school (see Figure 5).

Figure 4: Managerial and non-managerial positions in private schools by sex

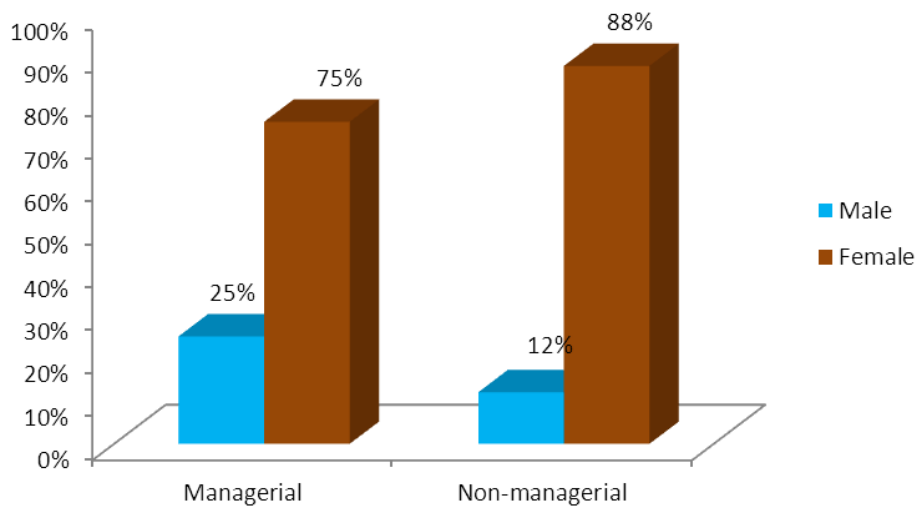
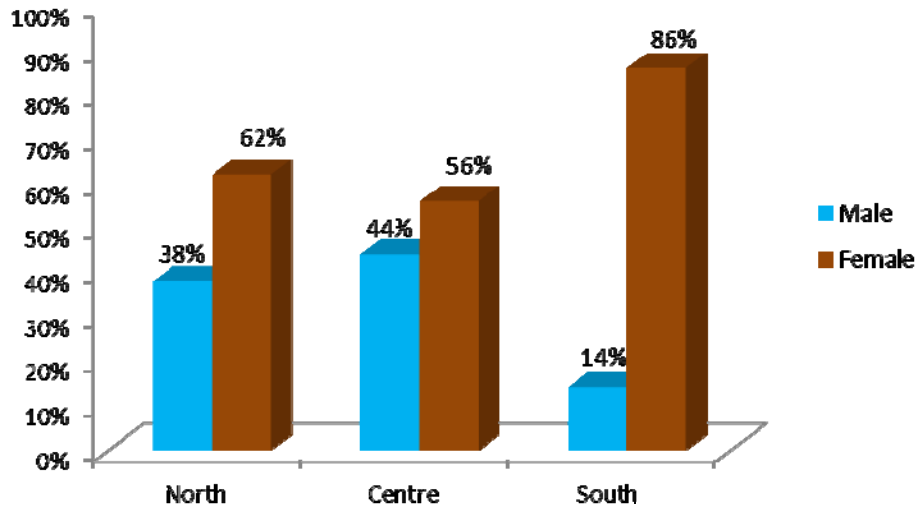


Figure 5: Managerial positions in private schools by region and sex



2.1.3 The gender pay gap

In general, it was found that the common remuneration of workers in private schools in Jordan is only composed of basic salary and social security contributions, and in some cases health insurance. In rare cases, teachers receive an additional raise for their administrative/management role in addition to their main teaching role, or they may receive a share of the profits if they are partners in the school. Another variable source of income is private lessons outside schools, where teachers of certain grades (usually 11th and 12th) and of certain subjects (mathematics, physics, Arabic and English) conduct private lessons for individual students or small groups of students charging hourly fees, specifically before major exams.

Any other remuneration components, such as health insurance and transportation allowances, are considered optional since the law does not enforce employers to apply them.

Findings from the survey show that in general, workers' average monthly remuneration in private schools is 435 JOD for men and 254 JOD for women, resulting in a gender pay gap of 41.6 per cent. When comparing the average monthly basic salary, the study shows a gender pay gap of 42 per cent in private schools resulting from a basic monthly salary of 426 JOD for male and 247 JOD for female workers (see Figures 6 and 7).

Figure 6: Average monthly basic salary and remuneration of private school workers by sex

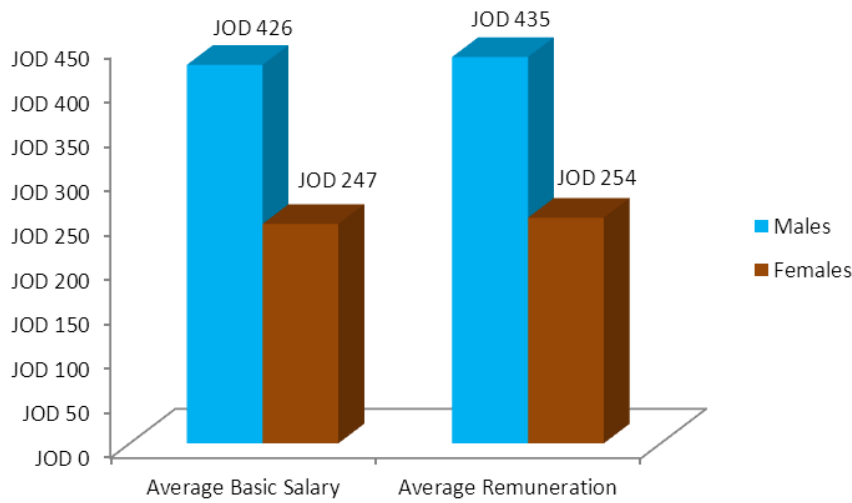
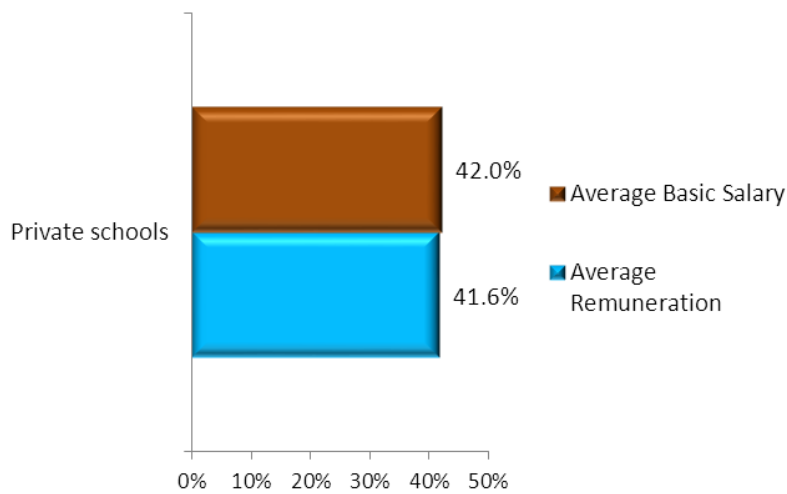
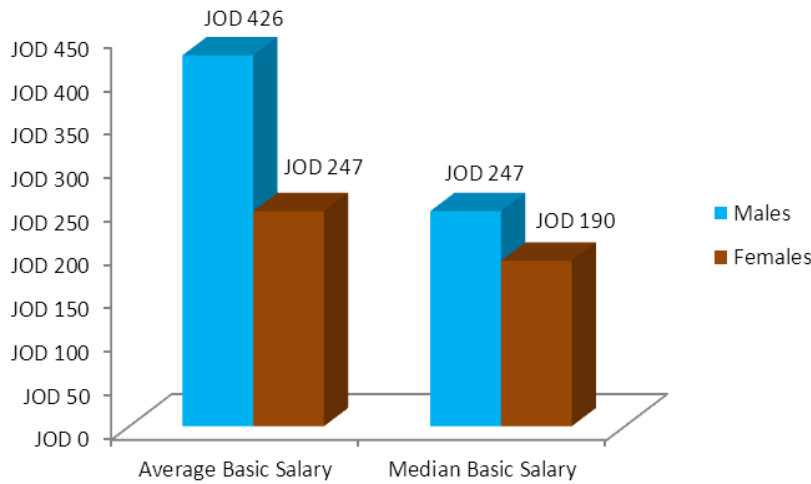


Figure 7: The gender pay gap in private schools



It is worth noting that the **median** basic salary (i.e. the most common or frequent value among all values of the sample members in the survey) was 245 JOD for men and 190 JOD for women. This means that around 40 per cent of female respondents from the private schools receive the minimum basic wage of 190 JOD as stipulated by the labour law, while the majority of males in the same sector receive a wage that exceeds the minimum wage (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: The average and median basic salary of private schools workers by sex



Anecdotal evidence indicates that while most female workers stated that they received the minimum wage, some women agree with their employer to receive less than the minimum wage but to declare that they receive the legal minimum wage.

It was observed that the gender pay gap increases in the Central region due to the fact that private schools in this region can afford to hire male teachers who demand higher salaries than female teachers (see Table 9).

Table 9: Average and median basic salary of private schools workers by sex in the three regions

Region	Indicator	Male	Female	GPG%
North	Average	190	148	22.1
	Median	190	170	10.5
Central	Average	426	247	42.0
	Median	245	190	22.4
South	Average	168	172	-
	Median	168	190	-

The analysis shows that the average monthly remuneration of the most common senior administration position among the visited schools, which is principal or deputy principal, is 458 JOD for males and 282 JOD for females. While the average monthly remuneration for the most common non-senior administration position among the schools visited, which is secretary or assistant, is 270 JOD for males and 240 JOD for females. As illustrated in the following table, the pay gap is 38.43 per cent among senior administration positions and 11.11 per cent among non-senior administration positions (see Table 10).

Table 10: Average monthly remuneration of administration positions in private schools

Position	Remuneration (JD)		GPG in %
	Male	Female	
Principal / deputy principal	458	282	38.43
Secretary / assistant	270	240	11.11
Accountant*	250	350	-

* The number of male accountants is very small which justifies the high pay gap in favour of women.

Concerning teachers, the average monthly remuneration is 214 JOD for men and 191 JOD for women with a pay gap of 10.74 per cent. However, this information does not match the answers collected by the employers, which indicated that the average monthly remuneration for teachers is 203 JOD regardless of gender. Apparently, most private schools adopt the minimum wage policy particularly when remunerating teachers; due to the high proportion of teachers in the total workforce of schools (see Table 11).

Table 11: Average monthly remuneration of teaching positions in private schools

Position	Remuneration (JD)		GPG in %
	Male	Female	
Teacher	214	191	10.74

According to the responses of support services staff, the average monthly remuneration for men is 195 JOD and 181 JOD for women, depending on their position. It can be observed that some support staff receive higher wages than teachers, which can be explained by the high availability of teachers that increases competition and decreases wages, and also due to the negative image attributed to jobs performed by the support staff (see Table 12).

Table 12: Average monthly remuneration of support staff positions in private schools

Position	Remuneration (JD)	
	Male	Female
Bus driver	271	-
Janitor / cleaner	118	181

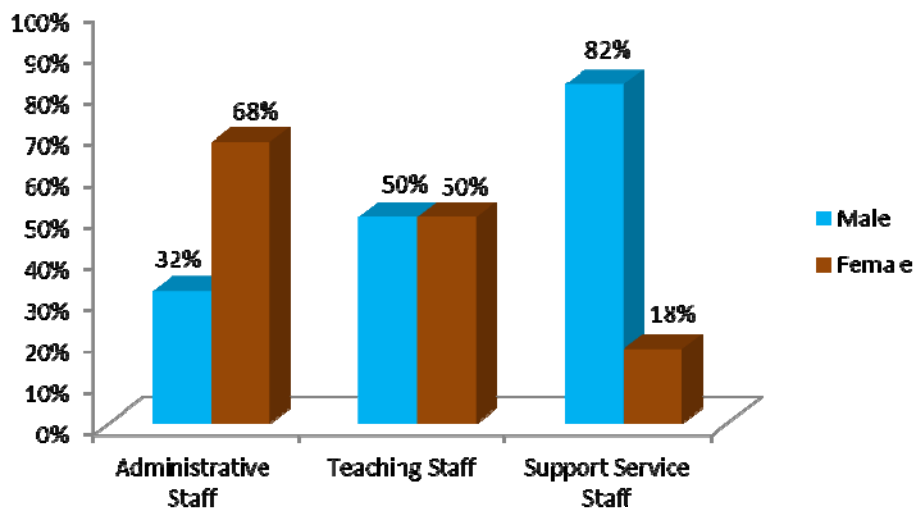
According to the school management records, the average monthly remuneration for men working in the support services is 195 JOD and 181 JOD for women.

2.2 Private Universities

2.2.1 Composition of the labour force in private universities

The sample size for private universities was 54 per cent women and 46 per cent men. In private universities women are only overrepresented in administrative positions (68 per cent women versus 32 per cent men), while there are few in support services positions (18 per cent women versus 82 per cent men), and they are equally represented in teaching positions (see Figure 9).

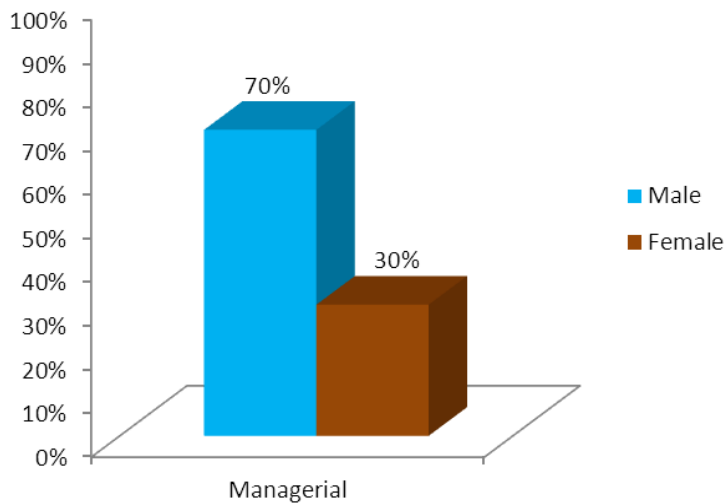
Figure 9: Composition of private universities workforce by job categories and sex



2.2.2 Gender occupational segregation

In private universities, male workers are overrepresented in managerial positions (70 per cent male versus 30 per cent female), which clearly demonstrates vertical segregation (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Managerial positions by sex in private universities



The most common managerial positions in universities include:

- University president
- University vice president
- Dean of students affairs
- Head of university security
- Dean of registration
- Deans of academic schools/colleges
- Dean of post graduate studies and scientific research
- Academic sections/specialization supervisors
- Administrative manager
- Financial manager
- Faculty affairs manager
- Human resources manager
- Public relations manager
- Maintenance manager

Non-managerial positions in private universities include a wide variety of jobs, such as:

- Faculty members (professors, associate professors, assistant professors, teaching assistants)
- Laboratory supervisors
- Secretaries
- Receptionists
- Telephone operators
- Cleaners

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- Maintenance technicians
 - Drivers
 - Typing / data entry clerks
 - Cafeteria workers

2.2.3 The gender pay gap

Remuneration of workers in the private universities in Jordan is composed of basic salary, social security contributions, health insurance and other components such as scholarships for children, outstanding performance rewards, overtime pay, transportation and family allowances, a 13th and 14th salary, annual incentives and personal computers. It is worth noting that family allowances are exclusively paid to men thus deepening the GPG.

In private universities the average monthly remuneration was 540 JOD for males and 415 JOD for females, which means a GPG of 23.1 per cent. When remuneration is broken down, figures show a monthly basic salary of 330 JOD for males and 270 JOD for females resulting in a GPG of 18.2 per cent (see Figures 11 and 12).

Figure 11: Average basic salary and remuneration of private universities workers by sex

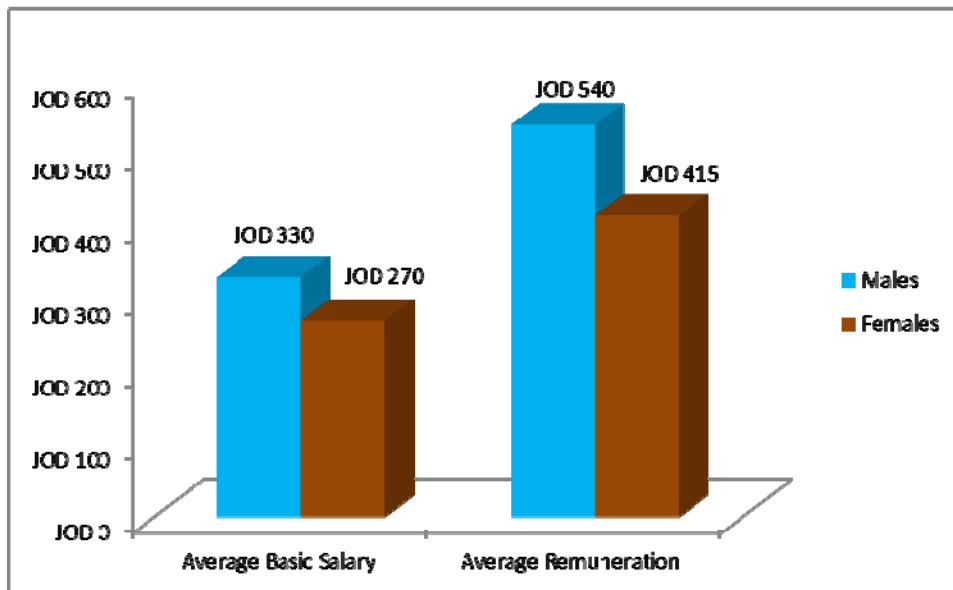
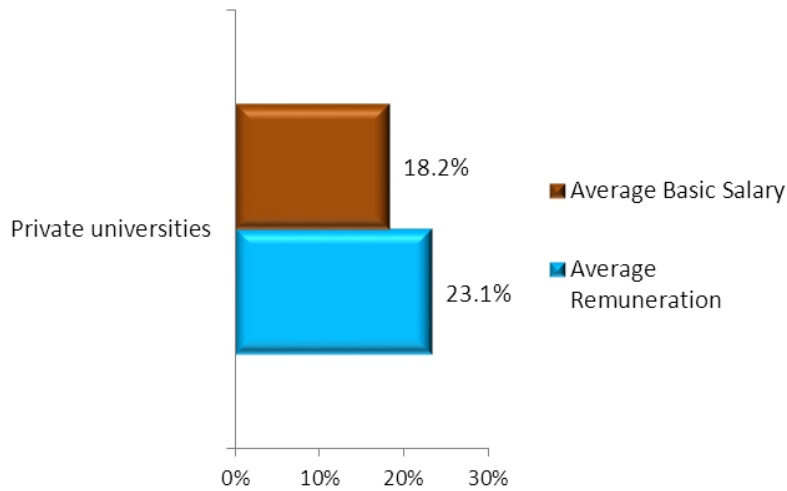


Figure 12: The gender pay gap in private universities

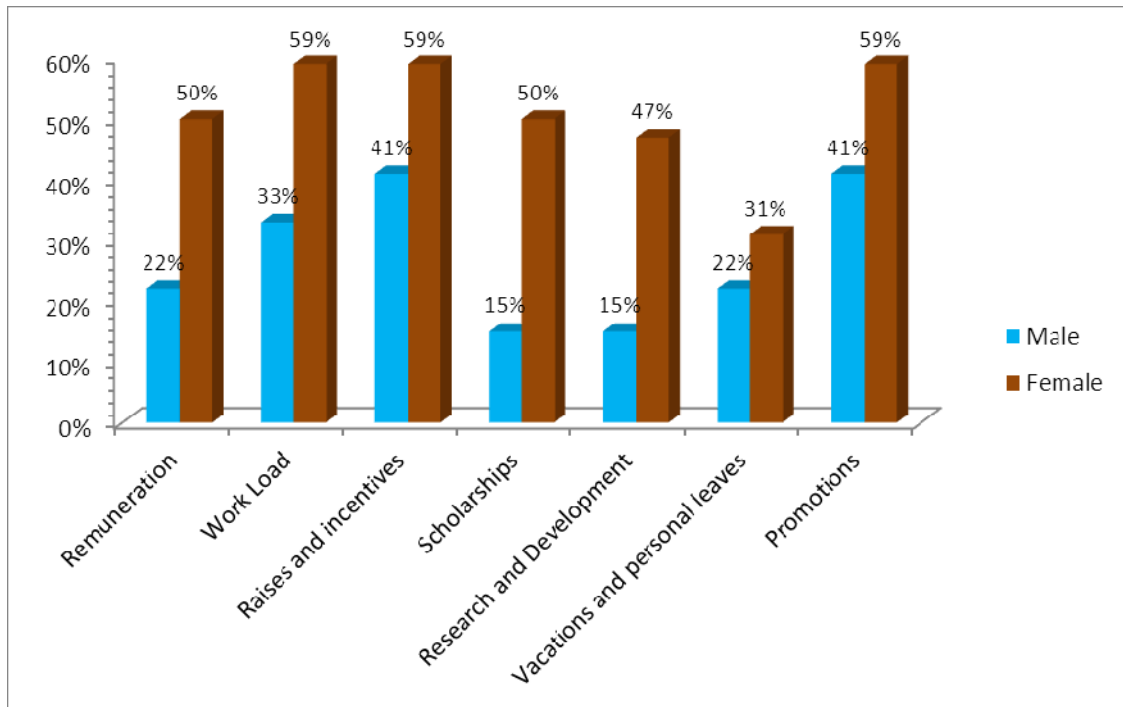


According to the responses collected from workers in private universities during the survey, 50 per cent of females reported the main issue of unequal treatment between men and women in terms of remunerations in private universities, while only 22 per cent of males reported the same.

Within the same context, 59 per cent of females stated that the main issue of unequal treatment between men and women was raises and incentives in private universities, while 41 per cent of males reported the same.

The difference between the perception of females and males regarding unequal treatment in terms of vacations and personal leave is relatively limited compared to other aspects of how employers at private universities treat workers.

Figure 13: Percentages of private university workers who confirm the main issue of inequality of treatment between men and women in universities disaggregated by sex



3. Root causes behind the gender pay gap in the private education sector

During interviews and focus group sessions with governmental and regulatory authorities, trade unions, professional associations and employers and workers, various factors were suggested as being the primary cause of pay inequalities in the private education sector. Some of these factors are supported by the findings of the survey:

3.1 Stereotypes and prejudices

According to the interviewees, Jordanian society perceives jobs in education as effortless and suitable for women. This explains the overrepresentation of women in private schools and therefore the gender pay gap associated with a high supply of female teachers, which forces them to accept any wages for their work.

3.2 Undervaluing women's jobs and women's qualifications

3.2.1 A high demand for male teachers versus a high supply of female teachers in private schools

One of the findings of the interviews and focus groups is that there is high demand for a few specialized male teachers, which allows them to negotiate better wages, as opposed to a high supply of female teachers that makes them accept lower salaries.

Private education directorate officials explained that parents tend to enrol their children in private schools with well-known male teachers and pay higher tuition fees to these schools. Having male teachers in a school is a marketing and promotion tool that leads to higher enrolment and school fees. Therefore, higher remuneration is the main factor attracting male teachers.

Private lessons were also mentioned as being a major source of income for teachers, which in some cases exceed income from their standard jobs at schools. Male teachers would make a higher income from private lessons than females given their availability after school hours.

3.2.2 Economic conditions

Difficult economic conditions among Jordanian families and a high unemployment rate among women forces women to work and accept low pay, as their income is only considered complementary to the income of the male member of the family. This is a strategy used by private schools with limited financial resources to reduce their operational costs.

3.2.3 Non-compensated work

According to members of trade unions, Teachers' Association, Private Schools Owners' Association and the JNCW, another factor affecting remuneration is the nature of other assignments female teachers are required to carry out without compensation, such as supervision, correction and escorting.

3.2.4 Limited awareness of the concept of pay equity

A limited awareness of the pay equity concept among employers was observed during the employers' survey and confirmed during focus group discussions at a later stage. Moreover, it was found that the GPG issue is side-lined due to the presence of more urgent issues stated by law such as non-compliance with minimum wages and denying financial rights to workers.

3.3 Social and cultural factors

3.3.1 Men are considered the only breadwinners

The common belief in Jordanian society is that males are the only breadwinners. This is reflected in laws and regulations which entitle men to higher remuneration and benefits, such as family allowances paid exclusively to them. This argument was mentioned by participants in the interviews, focus groups and also by the female workers that responded to the survey.

3.3.2 Women's lack of information on their rights

Another factor that most of the participants in the interviews and focus groups agreed on was that females are less likely to complain about unequal treatment due to a lack of information regarding their rights, fear of losing their jobs, lack of awareness of the differences in remuneration received by their male counterparts, and social and behavioural reasons which prevent them from demanding equal footing.

Only a few women have complained to the MoL, trade unions and/or civil society organizations about the non-respect of their rights. Nevertheless, these complaints have rarely related to unequal treatment between female and male workers including gender-based pay discrimination. According to the MoL, most documented complaints revolve around the establishment of salaries below the minimum wage defined by law, failure to pay remunerations on time, non-payment of salaries during summer holidays or failure to register workers with the SSC.

Members of the Directorate of Women at the MoL mentioned a case of unequal treatment presented by a female university professor who alleged that a male professor could enjoy family allowances for his spouse and children when they joined him during his educational scholarship abroad, while she did not have the same treatment. The University claimed that the reason for this unequal treatment was because internal laws

had been wrongly interpreted. A representative from the MoL responsible for private sector inspections explained that these kinds of complaints were rare due to social and behavioural reasons..

The above findings are supported by the responses of women workers to the questions asked by the survey. In fact, only twelve per cent of women in private schools said that they intended to file a complaint before governmental authorities and/or trade unions related to the low remuneration they receive compared to their male colleagues. The real percentage might be higher, but some women were dubious about sharing their intentions with the interviewers during the survey.

In more general terms, only 4 per cent of women working in private schools and 3 per cent of women working in private universities intended to file complaints related to the unequal treatment of men and women.

A lack of women's awareness of the pay equity concept and of the differences in remuneration received by their male counterparts is another factor determining the low rate of complaints. The results of the survey show that approximately 31 per cent of workers in private schools do not know how to compare their basic salary with the salary of colleagues of the opposite sex working in the same job. It was found that 40 per cent of female workers do not know how to compare their salary raises with those of their male colleagues, and 46.6 per cent of them do not know how to compare their incentives/rewards with those of their male colleagues. The same applies when it comes to other job benefits such as vacations, training and development, overtime, health insurance, social security and transportation allowance.

3.3.3 Family responsibilities

The study found that family responsibilities that fall on Jordanian women are also a cause of the gender pay gap. Family responsibilities limit women's participation in committees, missions, delegations and private lessons and limit the number of courses assigned to them. This prevents them from earning additional income and/or limits their chances of receiving a promotion and/or training. In some schools, married women applicants are not employed.

Given their family responsibilities, women in private schools work less time per day than men. The study found that the average work hours for men is 7.3 hours, while for women it is 6.8 hours; the average number of work days per month is 22.7 days for males and 21.9 days for females; and the average number of work months per year is 9.75 for men and 9.65 for women.

Family responsibilities are the reason why women have a shorter career span than men, which prevents them from earning additional benefits and accumulating more years of experience. The study reveals that the average period of employment in private schools is 8.7 years for men compared to 6.3 years for women.

Women and men from private universities who took part in the survey said that they worked full time and a total of 8 hours per day.

3.3.4 Women's weak bargaining power

Women are under-represented in trade unions in Jordan. This weakens their situation in terms of collective bargaining with employers for better remuneration and working conditions. Moreover, men enjoy stronger negotiating / bargaining power than women who tend to be weak or shy during negotiations out of a fear of losing their jobs due to strong competition.

3.4 Absence of a legislative and regulatory framework

In spite of recent revisions to the labour code, the principle of equal pay for work of equal value is still missing. This deficiency makes implementation of the principle challenging.

According to the study's findings, the lack of bylaws, regulations and structured remuneration systems is prominent in the majority of private schools. The study shows that employers' capacity to operate gender-neutral remuneration systems is limited, leading to the undervaluation of jobs carried out by females within the private sector. This is due to the unavailability of qualified staff to manage these systems. The findings show that 86.4 per cent of employers at private schools manage their business relations with workers using internal instructions or systems, while only 9 per cent of them have either a salary scale based on a job classification or a documented Human Resources Management system, and 4.6 per cent of them do not have any system of staff management. In contrast, only 8 per cent of private school workers confirmed the existence of a declared salary scale within schools and 11.2 per cent of them said that their employers do not have any internal system or declared salary scale. The remaining percentage of workers did not know if the school has either a declared salary scale or an internal system.

This is not the case for private universities, as they have their own bylaws regulating relationships between the university and its workers in terms of, for example, remuneration, compensation, insurance, rewards, and scholarships approved by the Higher Education Council and the Cabinet.

Another reason that was given was the weak labour inspection system in place when it comes to enforcing standard work contracts. Females are usually less driven to demand a formal, fair and documented work contract. Although most workers in private schools interviewed during the survey stated that they had signed a contract, they did not have a copy of the contract or the contract was informal (i.e. not registered with the MoE or MoL). The weak regulatory monitoring and inspection of work contracts may lead to the GPG between men and women and even to unpaid work in the private schools.

In a related matter, the failure to apply the Standard Employment Contract which guarantees the rights of employees in private schools is also seen as a cause of the GPG according to trade unions, Private Schools Owners' Association and the JNCW. Although it does not include provisions on pay equity between men and women, the contract stipulates the basic rights of employees (i.e. remunerations, vacations, social security, medical insurance, maternity leave for women, among others) regardless of gender, as regulated by the labour law.

In general, regulators and government authorities attribute the gender pay gap to practices resulting from misinterpretation by managers or administrators of internal regulations at private education institutions. Moreover, these practices are neither allowed nor prohibited by legislative articles, and are therefore governed by personal standards and favouritism while not contradicting legislation and the internal regulations of these institutions.

On the government side, it uses media outlets to play a role in raising the awareness of women workers in the private sector about their rights such as remuneration, compensation, leave and contracts, in addition to guiding working women and promoting a culture of fairness, equal opportunities and gender equality.

3.5 Lack of coordination among stakeholders

Interviews with representatives from civil society and the labour unions showed that there is inadequate coordination between stakeholders from the education sector (employers, employees and regulators), in addition to the conflicts of interests among education trade unions which limit their ability to interfere and control the employer-employee relationship and maintain pay equity for women and men.

A participant in the focus groups mentioned that there are currently 1,700 complaints related to remuneration issues filed with the Teachers' Association. These complaints have been reported to the MoE, which advised it to report them to the MoL. This shows an unclear identification of the authority responsible for dealing with these cases, which may also explain the lack of effective labour inspection in schools and universities.

Conclusions

The analysis of the results clearly indicates the existence of a significant gender pay gap in the private education sector with the value of 41.6 per cent in private schools and 23.1 per cent in private universities. More in-depth analysis suggests a larger pay gap in private schools than in private universities. The study showed that the reasons behind this gap are multiple; one of these reasons being the local culture that men are the main breadwinners in the family and the providers of the family's requirements, therefore they deserve to receive higher remuneration. As women undertake more household chores, therefore, it is accepted that they will bring home a marginal income to support the family. This is coupled with a general lack of awareness among women of their rights.

Another contributing factor is the situation of labour demand and supply, where the supply of female job seekers in private education (particularly teachers) highly exceeds the supply of males, while the demand is higher for males to work in private education, especially at boy private schools. Therefore, labour economic factors play a role in determining the average and maximum remuneration for males and females in the private education sector.

The gender-based pay gap issue lacks adequate supportive documented official cases or complaints by employees to authorities or governing entities such as the MoL, which leads to the assumption that the actual number of cases in the private education sector is much higher than the number of reported cases. Moreover, the issue of the GPG has been side-lined at the policy level due to the presence of more pressing issues such as non-compliance with the minimum wage and the denial of financial benefits to workers. The lack of legislation on equal remuneration for work of equal value limits formal channels for receiving complaints, communicating and resolving the gender-based pay gap in Jordan.

Multiplicity of official authorities (mainly the MoE, the MoL and the MoHE) and ambiguity about governmental supervision over private educational institutions enhances the possibility of a GPG. This generates confusion from the side of employers in applying multiple laws and standards regarding human resources and employees within institutions, without one legislative reference. Also, this duplication of authority confuses the employees when they have a complaint over pay, and makes it difficult for them to decide and select the concerned authorized agency.

The weak role of trade unions and associations involved in the private education sector, in addition to the existing high priority economic and social issues directly affecting private education workers, limits their ability to intervene and eliminate possible unfair treatment of women or gender discrimination in remuneration and other labour rights. Clear, systematic and transparent practices by the employers in private education institutions will complement the rules set by the MoL to improve pay equity in private education..

Recommendations

- National legislation should be revised to include equal remuneration for women and men for work of equal value.
- The inspection role of the Ministry of Labour should be activated to ensure that all workers in the education sector sign employment contracts in line with labour law and other related laws, and to ensure that they receive fair remuneration and decent working conditions. Collaboration between the Ministries of Labour, Education and Higher Education should be sought to achieve this.
- Gender-neutral job evaluations should be piloted in ten to 15 private schools and universities to test the findings of this study. Using a proper and scientific methodology, gender-neutral job evaluations can help the management of these institutions to set salary scales based on the value of the job rather than on the “holder” of the job. Once the pilot has been completed, the results analysed and corrective actions recommended, gender-neutral job evaluations could then be applied to other private institutions in the education sector.
- Employers should revise human resources practices and remuneration systems.
- Employers should apply the Standard Employment Contract.

Trade unions should lobby for the inclusion of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value in the Standard Employment Contract.

- The government, in coordination with the NSCPE, should design and conduct awareness-raising campaigns for male and female employees in the private sector on their rights at work, specifically on equal remuneration for women and men for work of equal value. The design and implementation of such a campaign could be shared with civil society organizations and trade unions that are active in the private education sector.
- Cooperation and coordination between trade unions and professional associations, and school and university owners associations (the Association for Owners of Private Schools, the General Trade Union for Workers in Private Education, Teachers’ Association and the Association of Arab Private Institutions for Higher Education) should be enhanced in order to reach a modern and fair classification of private educational institutions and workers.
- Trade unions and professional associations should create an effective mechanism for detecting and recording pay discrimination complaints, as well as other labour rights violations experienced by workers in the private education sector at the national level.

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- Follow up mechanisms for GPG cases should be established by the MoL in coordination with the MoE and the MoHE.
 - The services of the JNCW hotline should be promoted amongst women workers so that they can seek help in cases of pay inequality.
 - “The School of the Year” and “The University of the Year” awards should be created for institutions that prove their compliance with gender equality and pay equity principles.

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