



LEADERSHIP FOR RIGHTS

A CASE STUDY OF AHEL'S COACHING OF PRIVATE
SCHOOL TEACHERS CAMPAIGNING FOR THEIR
RIGHTS IN JORDAN (2015-2019)

OCTOBER 2019

This case study funded by the Netherland Ministry of foreign affairs and in collaboration with the Humanitarian institute for cooperation with the developing countries (HIVOS)

NISREEN ALAMI
NISREENUN@GMAIL.COM

Introduction:

This case study provides an examination of the coaching and training support provided by Ahel to Jordanian women working as private school teachers who are involved in the “Qom Ma’al Muallem Campaign” [Stand Up with The Teachers]. The case study attempts to document the key elements of Ahel’s coaching approach over the campaign journey extending from April 2015 (the launch of the Campaign) until September 2019 (time of writing this case study). It also seeks to demonstrate how Ahel coaches have contributed to building campaign leadership that has agency for taking organized collective action for the protection of the labour rights of its constituency.

The case study addresses the following questions:

- *What was the coaching approach practiced by Ahel in the context of the campaign?*
- *How did Ahel’s coaching evolve as the campaign evolved and as the capacity and leadership of its members developed? What were the particular drivers for adjustment of Ahel’s approach and how these adjustments defined the respective roles of Ahel and the campaign?*
- *Provide examples that demonstrate shifts in QMM leadership, power and agency at the collective and individual levels? And how these shifts contributed to the overall effectiveness of the campaign identifying how Ahel’s coaching facilitated this progress*
- *What are the insights and lessons learnt for the future support to sustaining and enhancing leadership of the campaign as it expands and becomes more independent?*

The case study is based on information collected through a series of semi structured interviews of key informants from Ahel coaches, teachers and key allies of the campaign. Preliminary findings were shared with a focus group of key stakeholders to validate the findings and refine the analysis (list of interviews in Annex I). The author also carried out a desk review of reports and materials related to the campaign, resources on the governance of the education sector in Jordan and Community Organizing literature (list of references in Annex I).

It is hoped that this case study will contribute to the practice of Community Organizing by unpacking the innovation and adaptation of Ahel’s coaching approach as demonstrated through the experience of the collective organizing of female private school teachers in Jordan.

Background:

The campaign “*Qom Ma’al Muallem Campaign*” (QMM) [*Stand Up with The Teachers*] was launched in Jordan in 2015 to address a range of severe labour violations faced by female teachers working in private schools. More than 31,000 women¹ work as teachers in private schools who constitute over 89% of private school teachers (and are estimated to represent 10% of all formally employed women in Jordan²), but up until April 2015, the silence of teachers in the face of denial of basic labour rights was deafening. The violations by private school owners involved payment of salaries below minimum wage, huge gender pay gap (42%), 9-month yearly contracts, denial of paid leave, denial of maternity leave, denial of social security coverage among many others. For years, the response from relevant government bodies mandated to protect the labour rights of those teachers was negligible and teachers were left to fend for themselves individually either by negotiating directly with their employer (often unsuccessfully) or going to courts and falling into the trap of lengthy and costly court cases. Membership in the Teachers’ Union, formed in 2011, is compulsory to all teachers from public and private sector, however the compulsory enrollment of private schools teachers has not been enforced by the Ministry of Education and therefore, the Union membership is predominantly representative of public school teachers. There were no viable channels to challenge the systematic and gross violation of teachers’ rights by their employers.

The establishment of the National Committee for Pay equity (NCPE) in Jordan in 2011 and research carried out by ILO³ shed light on the dire situation of female teachers in Jordan’s private schools. Members of the NCPE (including the Jordanian National Committee for Women (JNCW), Ministry of Labour (MoL) and Ministry of Education (MoE)) agreed on the need to support a teachers-led effort to rectify the current situation. They identified Ahel as a partner who can support launching such an effort. It was anticipated that Ahel’s work on Community Organizing that is guided by the Community Organizing methodology (developed by Marshall Ganz of the Harvard Kennedy School) would facilitate mobilizing and building leadership of female teachers to organize as a group that can more effectively demand their rights through collective action. In early 2015, ILO hired Ahel Organization to train and coach teachers to mobilize and organize around their rights. Ahel took on that responsibility understanding the exigency of building leadership amongst the constituency of teachers to organize and take collective action.

Ahel saw the potential for organizing the collective power of teachers to demand their rights, demand policies and legislation that guarantee their rights, and demand government accountability in implementing those policies and ensuring compliance by employers. However, the absence of an existing initiative on the part of the constituency was contrary to key principles of community organizing and agency. Ahel was in a situation of having to reach out to the constituency and motivate them to mobilize and organize. The team of Ahel often expresses uneasiness with the role they played in the early days of the campaign: reaching out to a constituency to whom they had no links and attempting to recruit and train a team to lead this collective initiative. According to Nisreen Haj Ahmad and Reem Manna, “**We are not the people of the cause!**”. Somehow, this sentence became the driving force behind a deep commitment from Ahel to intensively invest its resources and experience in an unprecedented leadership coaching journey with the teachers themselves.

When Ahel had agreed to take on that role it became the “de facto organizer” working to build an organized community of school teachers who are able to serve their community and lead for change.

¹ The Annual report of the Ministry of Education in Jordan for the school year 2015-2016

² Estimate based on department of statistics data of total female labour force in Jordan for the year 2015 which is 289,532 women (employed and unemployed) compared to 1,607,599 men.

³ ILO, 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, October 2013

The journey started with the core team of teachers who stood up in one of the first meetings organized with The Teachers' Union and Ahel at the Union's Chapter in Irbid in April 2015. This journey continues to function as the QMM Campaign that has served the cause and the community in numerous ways at a scale that went well beyond what was originally anticipated.

Where Ahel was taking the lead role in the beginnings (including in recruiting and taking decisions related to the community organizing practices), over the past five years, there has been an immense evolution in the development of leadership and commitment amongst the teachers that had Ahel change its role to mostly supporter/coach. Initially, the campaign had a Steering Committee consisting of Ahel, ILO, Ministry of Labour, and NCPE that led the development of the strategy. Today, teachers are taking a lead role in driving the campaign in the national and local leadership teams. The campaign gradually developed shared and individual consciousness and skills amongst, built systems and values that provided conditions for collective action, established a dynamic structure where the teachers now lead discussions within their own teams, deliberate to assess challenges, take decisions on priorities, and organize action. The teachers now demonstrate significant agency and have applied their internal resources in a manner that enables them to act collectively to protect their rights, challenge the reality and transform the environment within which they live and work on many fronts.

This paper documents the Community Organizing coaching approach and process followed by Ahel which enabled the creation of multidimensional leadership amongst the teachers. This paper provides examples that demonstrate the transformation in the campaign's leadership capacity and outlines the key factors that have made this possible. This paper does not cover the details of the campaign demands and the strategy and tactics pursued to improve the situation of female teachers working in private schools in Jordan⁴.

The case study begins by outlining the identified deficits constraining community organizing leadership amongst the teachers. The following section describes the elements of Ahel's coaching that were applied in the context of QMM to address those deficits. The section on the QMM leadership development journey provides an abridged account of QMM leadership development journey (2015-2019) and the shifts in Ahel's coaching along the way. The paper then presents a sample of examples illustrating the emergent leadership within QMM Campaign at the collective and individual levels. The paper concludes with a set of observations that could assist QMM leadership and Ahel in building on the learning of their collaboration over the past five years and ensuring effectiveness of QMM.

Initial QMM leadership challenges:

Since 2012, Ahel has been providing coaching and training support to community leaders or organizations working on range of social justice issues⁵. This support is generally intended to build effective organizations and assist them in dealing with motivational, educational and strategy challenges as a means to build their collective and individual power and leadership in their community organizing to achieve the change pursued.

⁴ For more information about the campaign strategy and actions see <https://leadingchangenetwork.org/recording-campaign-showcase-stand-up-with-the-teacher-campaign-jordan/> and http://ahel.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/wcms_548867.pdf

⁵ See here for more information on Ahel's work. <https://ahel.org/حملات-رافقتها/>

Community organizing for social justice

Ahel's approach to community organizing builds on the practice and methodology of community organizing developed by Marshall Ganz. The methodology builds an approach that combines the personal story, the collective cause and group interest, and the commitment to take action within a team. It applies five practices that are aimed to engage the constituency which are:

- Commitment and relationship building to identify common interest and values among individual members of the constituency
- Storytelling to build a narrative that outlines the challenges, threats and hope for change as a mean to mobilize emotional resources of the constituency/community to take action. This practice serves to connect the individual story with a collective story, define the mission and build the tension and urgency for taking action.
- Strategy to use limited resources in new ways that maximize power and expands capacity for change
- Practice/Action turning resources into a coordinated action with concrete measurable outcomes
- Building structure for community organizing that guarantees shared purpose, norms, that enable sustained collaborative action and shared resources

**adapted from Marshall Ganz writings and lectures*

In planning the support to QMM, both Ahel and ILO agreed that the support to the teachers had to be approached as an *experimental* effort to test out the potential to pursue a community organizing strategy to empower the female teachers in private schools.

Ahel recognized the need for pursuing a dual track for its support focusing on individual leadership coaching as well as on collective campaign leadership coaching. According to Nisreen Haj Ahmad, “this distinction between individual coaching and campaign coaching was not sufficiently covered by Marshal Ganz’s work on community organizing leadership development and we felt the need to spell out a coaching process that addresses the needs of both levels for leadership development”. Ahel therefore, did not have an explicit coaching plan but rather relied on its broader theory of change to guide the support provided to QMM. Only in 2019 did Ahel define specific coaching and training targets as the campaign was preparing for its transition to function independently in 2020. These targets were set to address specific capacity needs to enable the campaign’s leadership to continue its path in the future without Ahel walking closely along its side.

From the early days of 2015, it was clear to Ahel that their role had to respond to a number of leadership deficits amongst the group that would form the basis for identification of individual and collective coaching priorities in order to enable them to organize and act effectively. Those deficits can be summarized as follows:

- Absence of a culture of collective organizing to claim rights or demand accountability amongst the community of teachers and even more broadly within the labour and the civil society space in Jordan. Thus, they had very little experience, skills or exposure that is relevant for community organizing.
- Commanding gender dynamics in the private and public spheres that constrain the teachers’ leadership and limit their ability to participate or to have a voice in challenging patriarchal authority. At home, the teachers carry the care role within the households in addition to their work in schools. often, the family controls their choices (to join a campaign or not, to challenge their employer or not), their mobility (to attend a meeting, or visit a friend) and even economic decisions (to buy a car or quit a job). At the workplace, they face gender-based discrimination and abuse of labour rights and within the society. The societal norms negatively label a woman who stands up in the face of authority or raises her voice and

subjects her to social reprimand. All those elements translate into a general sense of disempowerment and lack of agency.

- Complexity of the cause which demands intervention involving policy change, compliance of employers and strengthened accountability for implementation of labour standards by a multiplicity of actors and are beyond the control of the constituency.
- The situation of teachers working in private schools is highly vulnerable. Until recently, the sector was not regulated, and has witnessed egregious labour violations by employers with impunity and absence of effective accountability and protection mechanisms. Despite this, women continue to seek employment in this sector at extremely high rates because of limited job opportunities and societal preference for women's work in this sector. Women with university degrees face the highest unemployment rates in Jordan. The Civil Service Bureau reports that over 100,000 females apply yearly for jobs in the education sector (118,000 female applicants in 2017 alone). The lack of oversight coupled with the high female labour supply to this sector works in favor of employers and renders any contesting employee dispensable. The lack of awareness of rights, absence of protection mechanisms and limited set of skills amongst female school teachers have added to this vulnerability. Men have traditionally opted out of this sector because of the low pay and unfavorable work conditions.

Objectives and methods of QMM leadership coaching system:

Ahel provided a comprehensive system of coaching and training that was weaved throughout the QMM community organizing journey at both the individual and collective levels. Over the course of the five years of Ahel's involvement in QMM campaign, Ahel's coaching shifted to respond to the needs of the campaign and the achieved milestones in the evolution of the campaign leadership. The path was clearly an incremental one benefitting from the fact that in every year since its launch in 2015, QMM Campaign had set different objectives at each of the phases of the campaign with a slightly higher level of ambition each time. The campaign also repeated implementation of certain time-sensitive actions associated with the school-year calendar at different points of the school-year (such as the actions to refuse end of school year forced resignations, and campaigning for school compliance at the start of the school year). This progression and repetition created conditions that allowed for adoption of a systemic continuous approach and even repetitious interventions and actions.

While the coaching process remained consistent in its methods and delivery, there were clear shifts in Ahel's coaching over the years. On one hand, the content of coaching became more substantive (focusing more on leadership-oriented capacities and less on process and basic skills). On the other, given the initial role that was played, Ahel had to gradually reduce its role in leading certain aspects of the work. It was understood by Ahel and the teachers that Ahel's involvement in the campaign was transient. Ahel's coaching was modeling leadership that was to be internalized by campaign leaders and members and replicated well beyond the involvement of Ahel in the campaign.

"Building an effective movement of collective organizing with leadership" was one of the assumptions of the campaign's theory of change. Mindful of the deficits outlined above, Ahel set out to build a campaign leadership that has the ability to develop and apply its resources to take strategic action to protect the rights of the community of female teachers working in private schools in Jordan.

Ahel's work pursues a specific form of leadership. One that builds collective power in teams, builds individual agency and develops the capacity to achieve the change objective. As such, Ahel uses Marshall Ganz's definition of leadership that is particular to community organizing work. According

to Ganz, “*Leadership is accepting the responsibility to create conditions that enable others to achieve a shared purpose in the face of uncertainty*”⁶. This definition not only conveys a particular understanding of leadership, but also reflects the values of community organizing such as responsibility, interdependence, solidarity, teamwork, effectiveness, service and tenacity. It is those elements that have guided the intentions of Ahel’s coaching to QMM campaign. In addition, this understanding of leadership is grounded in the five community organizing practices, where the shared story is considered central for building commitment and motivation and ultimately realizing agency.

At the individual level leadership coaching has sought to build motivation, and growth in consciousness, skills and knowledge. At the collective level, Ahel’s coaching sought to nurture collaborative leadership through facilitating the emergence of a strong team that has the ability to function in an organized way that protects its shared values and goals, serves its base and support the learning and wellbeing of its members.

Ahel’s coaching is characterized by applying a number of guiding principles. First, Ahel relies to a large extent on building **a tradition of reflective facilitation** amongst the group - in individual and team coaching. Members learn and practice facilitation skills that help them build the capacity for strategic reflection and assessment in running their meetings, reaching agreements, coordinating action, managing time, and listening and responding to feedback. Structured facilitated meetings provide the group and individuals the opportunity to continuously deepen their reflection, improve their deliberation and probe their values, behaviors, and actions. Over time, this process is internalized and becomes a space not only for reflection, but also for resolving tensions, adapting strategy, and identifying actions.

Second, Ahel’s coaching seeks to be **nurturing rather than directing**. NHA shares how she applies this in her coaching role “A good coach never does what the teachers can do themselves. I do team coaching for the database team and individual coaching to Enaam who is the coordinator of that team. My meetings with her are structured in two parts. The first is to ask where she is in implementing her workplan and what are the latest developments and if there are any issues she is struggling with. The second part focuses on addressing the struggle. I try to discipline myself to only ask questions that push for reflection (reflection on head heart and hand) and not to give a solution. The realization and the solution have to come out from her. I know that this is how other Ahel coaches conduct their one-to-one coaching”.

Third, in facilitating deliberations around team or individuals’ actions, processes, values, and dynamics, Ahel coaches consistently strive to maintain a balance between providing support and creating challenge. For example, Ahel’s coaches often pose probing questions that challenge teams and individuals to take more responsibility or initiative, or they can encourage motivation when morale is down through sharing learning and experiences or other community organizing experiences.

Four, Ahel’s coaching supports **the collective team culture** by ensuring collective decision making, deliberation and teamwork; emphasizing collective responsibility towards the agreed norms, values and strategy and facilitating reflection on roles and responsibilities within the campaign structure.

Five, underscoring the political meaning of the shared story through building consciousness and awareness of rights and citizenry to strengthen motivation, and commitment and sense of

⁶ Marshall Ganz definition of leadership in Community Organizing
<http://marshallganz.usmblogs.com/files/2012/08/Chapter-19-Leading-Change-Leadership-Organization-and-Social-Movements.pdf>

community. Ahel addressed this through the integration of the popular education track in its coaching and support system following an adaptation of the popular education pedagogy and aligning it with community organizing approach.

Ahel delivers its coaching support to QMM through a range of methods. The main avenue is the **accompaniment of individuals and teams** with their respective roles and tasks throughout the journey of the campaign. Ahel's coaches closely accompanied QMM in the details of its community organizing journey. In those spaces, Ahel's coaches pose probing questions, share stories, challenge the group to unpack a certain situation or celebrate accomplishments. Ahel's coaches consistently provided individuals and teams with support to carry out a specific action such as running dry runs in preparation for a meeting with an official, giving feedback on written documents, role playing for recruitment of new members using phone banking .etc. According to Reem Manna, the lead coach of QMM - "the coach's role is to "ensure that individuals and teams are well equipped and prepared to implement actions effectively (discussion to deal with different scenarios, dry runs, improve skills ". Ahel emphasizes that coaching is not a space for accountability but rather an opportunity for the coach to raise questions when teams make mistakes or face delays. Reem adds that "with Ahel initially taking the role of organizer, we were very aware of the need to explicitly clarify the distinction between Ahel's coaching role and organizing role in our meetings and interaction with the teachers". Coaching expectations are unpacked from the start. According to Nisreen Haj Ahmad "The first meeting of coaching sets the expectations, the types of questions that the coaching will or will not deal with. We clarify the respective responsibilities of the coach and the teacher being coached to ensure a useful practice".

"coaching facilitates our ability to reach our objectives using our own tools and finding their own resources - without needing the help of "an expert". Coaching teaches us to look inward and find the answers within. It is just the trigger that allows me to find the answers myself. My coach helped me learn about facilitation, posing the right questions, directing dialogue, evaluating, summarizing, and giving feedback. That is how I learned and practiced coaching and became confident in my role leading the popular education."

Hadeel Kiswani, QLM Team Leader of Popular Education Circles

Through the regular accompaniment of teams, coaches employ diagnostic analysis to identify and respond to the encountered community organizing challenges. **Periodic evaluation and reflection processes** that are facilitated by the coaches offer spaces for more in depth assessment of challenges associated with the strategy design, tactic implementation or particular workstreams (for example popular education, interaction with media, channels of communication with the base). In response to those challenges, coaches offer tools that assist in unblocking bottlenecks, identify training needs, or initiate a process to review of structure or strategy to address those challenges. The accompaniment also allowed Ahel coaches to detect potential internal and external risks facing the campaign.

As leadership evolved, Ahel's coaching increasingly relied on **shadowing campaign** members in their meetings and deliberations while Ahel's continued to facilitate a learning and reflection process and providing feedback to refine practice. Throughout this process, Ahel coaches **are modelling community organizing leadership** and introducing a range of coaching methods and tools that the campaign members also learn to apply within their own teams.

Ahel also brought to the table **its own resources, networks, knowledge, and experience** in other community organizations to share with the group as necessary. NHA says," in our support to QMM, we used Ahel's access to networks, senior officials and public spaces on a number of occasions to support the campaign. Perhaps this falls outside the parameters of what can be consider "coaching", but it was an important element of support to QMM, nonetheless. Possibly because of our particular role in this

campaign, we felt the need to do it in the case of QMM. This was never the case with other campaigns we coached”.

Finally, to achieve the aspired leadership development aims, Ahel couples its coaching role with a parallel **track of training and skills enhancement** offered to the teachers. The training path included different elements intended to generate a range of resources for the QMM collective and individual leadership. At various points in the journey of QMM between 2015-2019 Ahel offered training around community organizing practices (e.g. formation, storytelling, strategic planning, recruiting). Training on legal rights was a significant component building the constituency’s knowledge of their rights (legal awareness). Training workshops for enhancing teamwork and collective culture (negotiation skills and collective bargaining, critical thinking, representation and messaging, facilitation of popular education circles). This path even included training and coaching to respond to skill needs of campaign members (e.g. computer skills, skills related to use of information technology, social media... etc.). Ahel also facilitated links to training programmes on enhancing teaching skills which was identified as a means to empower the campaign members within their schools.

Ahel’s team of coaches to QMM consisted of Mais Irsusi who was supporting the core team formation in the early stages of the campaign in 2015 along with Nisreen Haj Ahmad, Ahel Director. Reem Manna, joined from the early days of the campaign and functioned as a campaign coordinator from late 2015 till end of 2017. Following that, Reem was the lead coach of the campaign

accompanying the national and local committees as well as providing individual coaching to the National Coordinator. Rahaf Abu Doha joined Ahel’s team of coaches since 2017 to prepare the popular education guide and materials and roll it out creating a team of popular education facilitators and a network of local popular education committees. Nisreen was coaching the media and database committees in 2019 and providing individual coaching to Reem. Other coaches joined the team at different intervals to support specific tasks. For example, Juman Jbara provided coaching for 2018 tactics, Rania Sabbah coached the implementation of 2019 tactics. Reem Manna convened regular meetings with individual Ahel

“[coaches] operate with leadership teams, based on shared purpose, interdependent roles, and agreed upon norms, avoiding the fragility of a single person doing it all or the chaos everyone doing everything. They create widely distributed leadership opportunities, cascading outward, like a snowflake, as opposed to narrowly held opportunities. They exercise accountability and offer support through ongoing coaching. In this way they can build communities which are bounded yet inclusive, communal yet diverse, solidaristic yet tolerant. They work to develop a relationship between a constituency and its leaders based on mutual responsibility and accountability”

Marshall Ganz

coaches and with the team of coaches to share observations on the teams they support, reflect on coaching challenges faced and identify needed adaptation.

QMM leadership development journey (2015-2019)

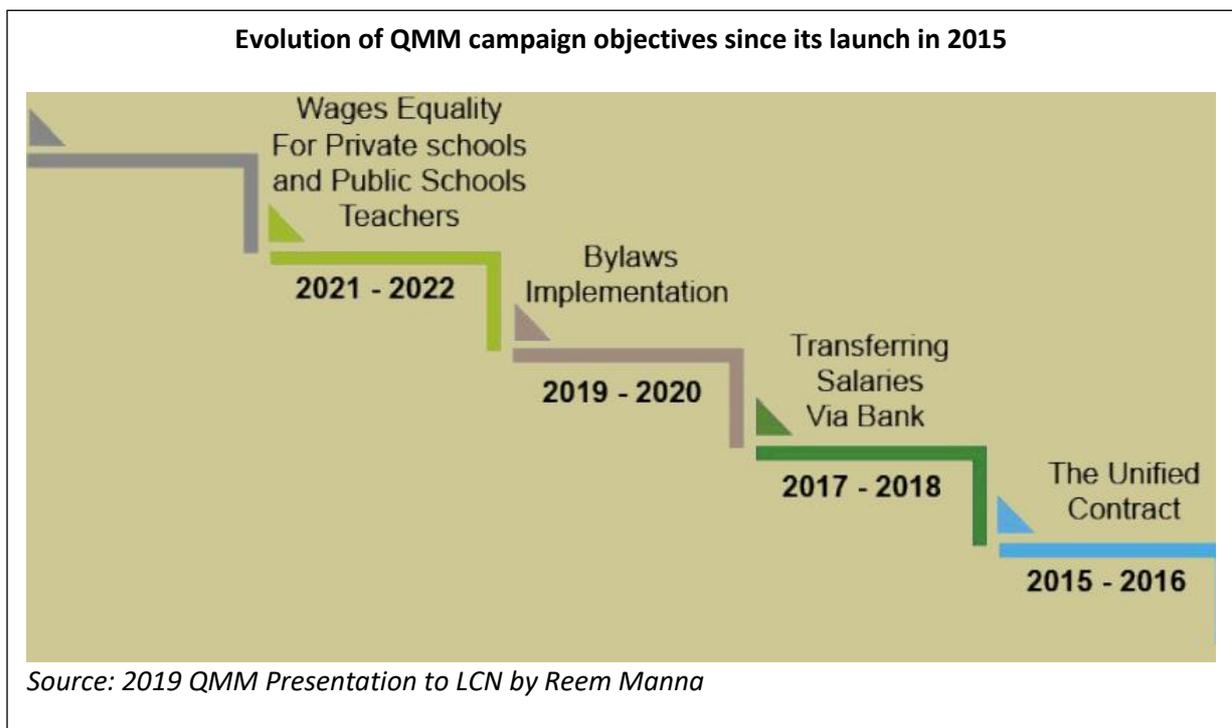
This section provides an account of the evolution of QMM leadership development journey through the accompaniment of Ahel’s coaching as described by the campaign leadership and partners between 2015-2019. It provides key highlights of the coaching path and its adaptation and contribution to the development of the campaign’s strategic vision (as outlined in the box below).

This section looks at the contribution of Ahel’s coaching system with regards to:

- initiating the campaign and its core team,
- development of the campaign strategy and structure,

- response to educational and motivational challenges,
- evolution of agency and decision-making role amongst the campaign leadership
- emergence of a solid collective action culture and teamwork capable of expanding the campaign leadership and of responding to internal and external challenges.

The section maps the trajectory of the coaching journey as aligned with the evolving campaign’s strategic objectives (as outlined in the graph below). It broadly outlines particular focus of coaching that has defined various phases in the life of the campaign. What is highlighted under each subsection below, sheds light on this focus which reflects how the coaching adapted to identified capacity needs and challenges at different points in time. It is important to note however, that coaching during those phases pursued other aims in parallel to the focus highlighted here.



Beginnings (December 2014-April 2015):

Starting December 2014, Ahel’s mission was to identify teachers with interest in joining a community organizing initiative that supports the rights of female teachers working in private schools in Jordan. It was agreed with ILO to initiate the search in Irbid governorate which had the second largest number of private schools. In leading the recruitment of teachers, Ahel acted as an organizer of the constituency rather than a coach for an existing group that has already committed to taking action around its cause. According to Reem Aslan, representative of the National Committee on Pay Equity (NCPE) and consultant to International Labour Organization (ILO), “At that point, both Ahel and ILO agreed that the support to the teachers is considered as a pilot to test out the potential of using Community Organizing approach to advance the rights of teachers in private schools”. Intensive work was undertaken by Ahel to understand the cause, the types of violations faced by female teachers employed in private schools in Jordan and the factors constraining the protection of their labour rights.

During that period, a number of outreach meetings with teachers were organized by Ahel and the Teachers’ Union. Ahel also took part in one-on-one meetings with teachers to recruit them to join the campaign. At one of the earliest community organizing workshops in February 2015, the core

team of the campaign was established with six teachers. In April 2015, Ahel organized a formation workshop (focusing on the Story, strategy and structure SSS) following which the core team produced the first campaign document identifying the campaign's goal of "applying the unified contract in half of the schools of Irbid at the beginning of the school year 2015/2016".

At this stage, a parallel team was set up with the various supporters of the campaign to advocate for a Ministry of Education (MoE) regulation of private schools. The Regulation Team (Nitham) consisted of Ahel, ILO, and the Teachers Union. The core team of teachers was not part of this team. Between May 2015- June 2016, there was intensive effort to establish the campaign. Ahel organized a number of workshops introducing community organizing, and legal awareness sessions. An additional number of teachers expressed their interest to join the campaign.

Ahel organized sessions on story telling with new teachers and established links with human rights lawyers to organize a series of legal awareness training workshops for core team and build their capacity to impart this knowledge to others. Ahel also provided support to the core team to establish a Facebook page, and start compiling a database of teachers and schools in Irbid. At this initial stage, Ahel's focus was on developing the ability of core team to understand CO practices, build a culture of collective teamwork, develop their awareness of their rights and recruit more teachers to join the campaign. The legal awareness training was a channel for outreach to the constituency and to recruiting teachers to join the campaign. The Facebook page started receiving and responding to complaints and inquiries for legal advice which the core team members addressed with the support of the legal experts.

After the first few months, it was clear that the core team needed more direct support from Ahel on the practices of community organizing and give the campaign momentum. Reem Manna, one of Ahel's coaches, took on the role of *core team coordinator* working closely with the teachers to build team culture (shared story, shared values, shared commitment), mobilize action, and trigger leadership within the core team. Her role was to facilitate team processes and discussions through regular structured meetings to define campaign priorities, define roles in taking those priorities forward and set up structure of campaign.

Shaping the campaign strategy (August 2015-December 2015):

Starting August 2015, the core team identified the weakness of the inspection role of the Ministry of Labour (MoL) as a priority that would enable the team to refer complaints to the MoL inspectors and facilitate response. The involvement of Eman Al Okour, the MoL Representative in the campaign presented an opportunity to ensure improve inspection procedures within the Ministry. Ahel and ILO met with the Secretary General of the MoL and obtained a commitment to improve the inspection and MoL helpline. The theory of change of the campaign was revised to include this focus.

In October 2015, the campaign members faced one of their first tests. Upon participation in the ILO/NCPE⁷ Conference on Gender Pay Gap in private schools, two members of the core team were fired by their employer. Nonetheless, the teachers spoke out about the violations they face at the conference attended by HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal and senior officials from the Ministries of Labour and Education and the Jordanian National Commission for Women. Nareman Shawaheen, one of the teachers fired says "I was one of the first people to join the campaign but for the first six months I was careful not to announce my participation in the campaign at the beginning. I was afraid of my employer. I had worked for the school for almost 13 years. I was feeling secure and was contented with the minimum rights that I had, and when I was invited to the ILO conference on fair wages (along with the school principal), he wanted to stop me. He called me to his office to tell me

⁷ https://www.ilo.org/beirut/media-centre/news/WCMS_546883/lang--en/index.htm

"how dare you think of participating in a conference on fair wages? who do you think you are? Who would want to listen to you?" When I insisted to attend, he fired me. Other school owners blacklisted me because I was a teachers' rights defender and I have not been able to find another job. The narrative that Ahel brought touched me personally and I started attending all trainings and meetings always making this a priority in my life. The stories I heard from other teachers at the first meeting I attended made me understand the collective oppression we experience as teachers, but more so as women when we compare our situation to that of other male colleagues". The two teachers continued to be amongst the most active members of the core team. Nareman is currently QMM Campaign Coordinator, and Inam Odeh leads the Database Team.

The core team was actively recruiting new members through meetings and calls (70 meetings, and 300 calls in August and September 2015). However, the loss of jobs of the two teachers presented a significant challenge to recruiting new members. Coaching focused on overcoming fear and motivating the constituency to deal with the oppressive reality. Ahel also felt the need for reflection about those challenges. Nisreen Haj Ahmad writes, "Ahel was set to design and run a reflection session at the end of October. With all the events it became an emergency two-day workshop for the core team to reflect, evaluate and re-strategize". A number of actions were identified as follow up by the core team including sending letters to the MoL with specific recommendations to improve their inspection role⁸. Ahel's coaching provided accompaniment to the core team in implementing those actions.

Building a resourceful constituency (January 2016- June 2016):

Over the next period, Ahel coaching and support sought to expand the legal awareness amongst the teachers. Ahel organized a series of legal awareness sessions run by lawyers, as well as the production of a legal guide for teachers, and producing six one-minute videos on teachers' rights⁹.

In early 2016, Hiba Abu Ghneim, a core team teacher, who was trained on legal awareness and was administering the Facebook page wrote a paper documenting types of violations experienced by teachers based on 52 teachers interviews and identified legal measures to counter those violations. The paper was published on the campaign Facebook page and a local newspaper and other online media. By mid 2016, the campaign had over 6000 followers to its Facebook page that was used as a channel to reach out to teachers and receive complaints. Following the numerous legal awareness trainings, a team of teachers was certified as "rights ambassadors" to run legal awareness sessions on their own. They became resource persons for the Facebook page offering their knowledge to respond to questions and complaints with the supervision of lawyers. During this period, the campaign started participating in meetings with policy makers and key actors such as the (NCPE, JNCW, the Social Security Corporation). With the support from Eman El Okour, the teachers also built close collaboration with MoL inspectors to activate their role on monitoring violations faced by teachers in private schools. Dr. El Okour says, "in the first year, I was very involved in the campaign, attending weekly meetings and mobilizing support from the MoL. This changed in later years, where my role became more of a supporter from within the MoL, participating in one or two annual evaluation meeting over the year. The MoL had initially provided the campaign with political leverage and support and introduced significant improvements in its inspection capacity. The Ministry was paying closer attention to labour violations affecting teachers in private schools through the hotline, and the appointment of an officer with legal authority dedicated to working with labour inspectors on gender-based labour violations ". The teachers also started organizing the

⁸ Haj Ahmad, N. (2017, January). "Stand up with the teacher campaign: An experience of collective voice Irbid, Jordan". International Labour Organization Publications Retrieved 23 September 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS_548867/lang--en/index.htm

⁹ see one of the first videos produced by ILO about the campaign in October 2015 [here](#)

information they collect in a database of teachers, schools and types of violations for use in policy advocacy benefitting from computer skills and social media training that Ahel organized.

In parallel to the training offered to the teachers, Ahel's accompaniment of the process included coaching teachers to participate effectively in meetings with officials, prepare key messages and data that they can use in those meeting and present the campaign cause and objectives in official spaces. Coaching also supported the core team to develop skills to engage with the media and the public. Ahel also organized a social gathering for the teachers and their families to celebrate the progress that was being achieved in the MoL inspection role as well as the mobilized support from the Social Security Corporation and Ministry of Education.

Coaching a campaign with a functioning structure (June 2016 – December 2016):

In June 2016, Ahel ran an evaluation workshop for the core team, reviewing lessons learned and planning for the next phase. According to Nisreen Haj Ahmad, Ahel Director and QMM Coach, "This meeting marked a milestone, after which Ahel decreased its coaching of the core team, which started running its campaign more independently only drawing on Ahel when needed."¹⁰ At this point, the Campaign structure began to emerge and the coaches of Ahel worked with the core team to define the roles of three teams tasked with implementation of campaign tactics related to a) Database and outreach, b) complaints, 3) media. The teams were facilitating their own meetings in the core team as well as in the three workstreams.

During this phase, Ahel's coaching focus was to hone in on building individual and collective abilities to refine the strategy, implement the tactics and develop abilities to recruit and coach new members and teams. Ahel coaches accompanied the teachers in their regular meetings as well as the process of implementation of tactics mainly targeting strengthening role of MoL inspectors. The coaches also facilitated reflection meetings with the different teams and team leaders where they provided feedback and identified internal and external challenges faced by the campaign and ways to address those challenges. For example, to respond to need for negotiation skills, Ahel organized training on collective bargaining and labour rights for campaign members in November 2016.

During the period between August 2016- August 2017, Nisreen Haj Ahmad was away on sabbatical and Reem Manna took on the role of lead coach for the emerging structure of local and national committees and the working teams. Reem's role was shifting away from her role as campaign coordinator and more focused on coaching. The firewall between Ahel's coaching and organizing roles became clearer at this stage.

Popular Education to respond to challenges facing the campaign (2017 onwards)

By early 2017, the teachers showed confidence in facilitating teams for implementing campaign actions (focusing on working with MoL inspectors, building a complaints mechanism, reaching out to the public among others). They were running their meetings, deliberating and reaching agreements. They also showed ability to coach new members and integrate them in teams assigned with implementation of tactics. Ahel coaches observed, diagnosed and gave feedback. While it was clear that QMM leadership was developing, and the community organizing work was systematized. Ahel became aware that the campaign leadership faced two possibly interconnected challenges. The first one was the evidence that gender roles were constraining the teachers' ability to participate in the campaign. The more the teachers were engaging in community organizing work, the more dominant those dynamics became. These constraints were not necessarily unique to the QMM campaign.

¹⁰ Haj Ahmad, N. (2017, January). "Stand up with the teacher campaign: An experience of collective voice Irbid, Jordan". International Labour Organization Publications. Retrieved 23 September 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS_548867/lang--en/index.htm

Feminists have often highlighted the role of gender roles and power dynamics play in constraining women’s leadership. Moreover, it was clear that teachers were facing “social bullying” for offering a model women’s leadership that challenges authority and power (by employers, by male colleagues, their families, and society at large). The second challenge was the slow pace in recruiting new members and therefore impacting the overall potential of the effectiveness of the campaign. Ahel had agreed with ILO that the campaign would expand to two new governorates but that was proving difficult. Reem Manna from Ahel stepped in to initiate a process for identifying teachers in Amman And Zarka governorates through the Facebook page, and the networks of the team in Irbid. Twelve new teachers from these two governorates were identified and provided training on the story, negotiation and media. However, this was still a small number.

Ahel sought to address these challenges through focusing on the individual (and to a certain extent the personal) as a complementary track for leadership building in collective action and community organizing. Given that the community organizing tools did not necessarily address these aspects, Ahel started exploring the potential of using popular education circles (based on Paolo Friere Pedagogy of the Oppressed). Following several consultations, the decision was made to pursue this avenue to complement the Community Organizing approach it uses with popular education pedagogy. Rahaf Abu Doha joined Ahel team in mid 2017 to develop this track. Rahaf worked on designing the popular education (PE) workstream with great creativity. She managed to combine feminist concepts on gender power relations with the consciousness building intentions of PE while creating the trigger for collective action associated with Community Organizing. The central element in this effort was the “story” that is then used to infuse critical thinking and consciousness building. Rahaf Abu Doha says, “what I wanted to do was to develop a guide that adapts PE to respond to the campaign needs focusing on building a collective culture, building consciousness amongst the community of teachers and triggering their ability to apply principles of social justice in the private and public spheres”.

Once the design was completed, PE circles were piloted in two new urban governorates in Amman and Zarka at the end of 2017. The two pilots generated strong engagement with the constituency of teachers. Those teachers formed local PE teams which were linked to QMM campaign structure. At the same time, Ahel organized training on critical thinking training that helped in refining the PE methodology. Ahel made final changes to the PE track and developed a plan for training PE facilitators within the local teams and roll out of PE in the following years. As new members joined, they were given the opportunity to enroll in legal awareness training offered by the “rights ambassadors”. This approach continued to be refined in 2018 and in 2019 it was established as a main component of the campaign’s work as explained in the box below.

Popular education circles

The introduction of popular education into QMM community organizing journey required careful attention of the design and process. Ahel’s popular education coach, Rahaf Abu Doha explains “On the design, the popular education circles provide a space for teachers to share stories. A number of themes are carefully selected with the intention of supporting consciousness raising and motivation of the community of teachers. Those themes were identified following extensive consultation and piloting with the teachers. They focus on: dealing with the other, how to say no, what constrains me, dealing with contention. During popular education circles, participants are asked to share stories around those themes. Following that, the facilitator leads a reflection discussion amongst the participants who share observations and questions around the stories shared. In some circles, they do role play using alternative scenarios. The sessions then are concluded by participants sharing with the group a personal behavioral commitment. An evaluation of each of the sessions is conducted systematically. Participants of popular education

circles are also enrolled in legal awareness training and where possible in training on teaching skills”.

The process for rolling out this component which is now established in four governorates within the campaign entailed Rahaf training and coaching a team of teachers to act as facilitators of popular education circles. Those facilitators are also responsible for recruiting participants, organizing and leading the popular education circles. To enable this process, over the course of over a year (from early 2018- September 2019) Rahaf provided systematic training, coaching, guidance, feedback, modelling and shadowing. She prepared a package consisting of a popular education guidebook, working papers, and voice notes that the facilitators can refer to guide their work. In addition, Rahaf, in her coaching role had identified two teachers (Hadeel Kiswani from Amman, and Saffieh ? from Zarka) to lead and organize the popular education stream taking on the organizational, coordination and communication roles as well as coaching of facilitators and training of new facilitators. At various points of the process, several evaluations were conducted assessing the impact on consciousness, on personal behaviors, and on involvement in QMM campaign work at various levels.

2018: A year of revisioning QMM strategy, structure and agency!

The popular education circles were effective in recruiting new members to the campaign from two new governorates. In September 2017, Ahel facilitated the annual strategy evaluation workshop. At that meeting, it was evident that the campaign has reached a certain level of maturity. According to Reem Manna, “that workshop was a real turning point where we saw members of the campaign from Amman and Zarka work as one team with the core team from Irbid in shaping the strategy along with Ahel, ILO and MoL. Up until that point, members from other governorates were only involved in implementation of tactics. It became clear to me that a new generation of leadership was beginning to emerge and a collective team spirit inclusive of members from governorates other than Irbid was developing!”. It was at that workshop that the campaign leadership discussed the vision of becoming a national campaign targeting the MoE in its strategy and tactics. To a certain extent, this strategic decision came in response to the realization that while the campaign has been successful in strengthening the MoL inspection system, penalties and accountability measures available to MoL did not provide sufficient deterrence to violations of the teachers’ rights by private school owners. Given the MoE mandate of issuing licenses to private schools, the campaign leadership saw that it provided more leverage. The goal of the campaign was modified to “ensuring that transfer of teachers’ salaries to bank accounts becomes compulsory in all private schools across Jordan”. The main campaign demand became **“Salary in the Bank not under the table!”**.

The more ambitious goal guided Ahel’s new coaching targets for expanding the campaign leadership in 2018. Specific coaching goals were established to support the ability of PE teams (12 teachers from Amman and Zarka) to recruit, facilitate meetings and build teams and form local teams. A new round of training on the storytelling and legal awareness was offered to new members. The Irbid Team was trained and coached on Popular Education and joined the team of facilitators from new governorates. New members joined the campaign’s National Committee and working teams on the database, and media.

The expansion of the campaign to other governorates had significant implications to Ahel’s role. The core team in Irbid had a strong sense of ownership of the campaign which resulted in resistance to opening space for new members from other governorates especially in setting the strategy or representing the campaign. Ahel’s coaching focused on team building and developing a strong collective action culture that integrates all local teams. When such tensions were spotted by Ahel, Reem and other coaches raised questions during meetings and facilitated discussions to unpack those issues and reaffirm values, and norms. Reem organized a team retreat. They started leading PE

circles in Irbid. Those sessions became a reminder of the “shared story” and “shared mission” of teachers across the whole constituency, both old and new.

Ahel’s coaching also focused on facilitating reflection with all the teams on the needed adaptation of the campaign structure. In 2018, the structure was adapted again establishing a national team that includes representatives from the local teams in Amman, Zarka and Irbid as well as representatives of all working committees (media, complaints and mediation, database as well as PE). A PE manager was assigned to coordinate with local PE teams (in Amman, Zarka, Irbid and Salt) and to support PE facilitators in expanding to other governorates. The national coordinator Nareman Shawaheen coordinates with all campaign teams in support of strategy and agreed tactics. Hadeel Kiswani, PE Manager shares that “I consider the establishment of the expanded QMM Campaign structure with work committees and national and local teams with clearly defined roles as one of the key moments in the life of the campaign. The first meeting in 2018 where each committee presented their work, accomplishments and challenges using data and reflection demonstrated that the campaign has the leadership that enables it to take on full responsibility on its own”.

During that period, QMM was invited to join “**Haq Coalition**” – a network of 8 entities organizing to demand government accountability related to women’s labour rights in Jordan. Against MoL’s advice and in a step marking its independence from the position of its supporters, the campaign took the decision to join the coalition in April 2018. Najah says, “when Dr. Eman (from MoL) objected to our participation in the coalition given the conflict with the relationship with the MoL. We discussed the issue amongst our teams and took the decision to join and we called Dr. Eman informing her of our decision affirming our readiness to take responsibility for the implications of this decision.” The participation in this coalition allowed the campaign to build new alliances and open spaces for their participation in civil society advocacy with members of parliament and the public around the amendment of the labour code under discussion and related issues.

Another key development demonstrating the campaign leadership in 2018 was the introduction of mediation role through an initiative from complaints team. Heba Abu Ghneim from the complaints committee explains, “the mediation work emerged from the complaints systems. We were receiving complaints and referring them to MoL inspectors or to lawyers providing legal aid. However, teachers were not finding recourse. After receiving a case on denial of maternity leave in 2017, Najah – a member of the complaints committee - decided to intervene and mediate directly with the school owner. The mediation was successful and so we decided to make this a priority for the campaign in the following years. In 2018 we were receiving more requests for mediation from teachers as well as employers. Our mediation is helpful in resolving a lot of cases. So far in 2019, we received over 800 complaints through our Facebook and hotline involving around 2700 types of violations. We were able to resolve 110 cases in the first eight months. For me this is an important way that the campaign protects and serves its members”.

Ahel’s coaches accompanied QMM leadership in planning and implementing tactics targeting the MoE – a space that the campaign had not engaged with until that point. **By early 2018**, the campaign leadership became more active publicly. Ahel’s coaching focused on the ability of QMM to develop key messages, mentoring on how to run effective meetings with officials, how to ask follow-up questions and document agreements, draft communications with official and prepare background documents supporting the cause and campaign demands. Campaign leadership engaged in dry-runs of interviews and meetings, scenario building, role play facilitated by Ahel.

Over the next period, the group of QMM supporters (NCPA, JNCW, ILO and legal experts) and Ahel engaged in advocacy with policy makers. They met with the Minister of Education and delivered a folder prepared by the teachers outlining the violations they face and the rationale for their demand

to make licensing of private schools by the MoE conditional upon the transfer of salaries to bank accounts. There were several follow-up meetings with the Minister and the Secretary General of the Ministry. In April 2018, the campaign organized a “Ring the Bell demonstration” in front of the MoE. Several campaign members consider the demonstration an important turning point for the campaign. Basima from the team in Irbid says “a lot of thought went into preparing for the demonstration in front of the MoE whether in coordinating logistics to get teachers to join the demonstration, agreeing about the slogans we put on our signs, or defining the key messages we wanted to communicate to the media and the public. When the Minister came out in person to greet us on the street and invite us into the Ministry that was the moment at which I realized that our efforts are recognized, our voices are heard and that the campaign had political power that officials will no longer ignore.” On that day, the Minister informed the teachers of his commitment to issue the MoE regulation of Private Schools and for it to include provisions making the private schools licensing conditional upon the transfer of salaries through the banks. Soon after, the Minister was appointed as Prime Minister, and with pressure from the group of supporters, the new cabinet’s priorities included the commitment to finalize the adoption of the regulation related to the licensing of private schools. By September 2018, the regulation was approved by the MoE.

A collective culture equipped for action, expansion and setbacks

Following the adoption of the MoE regulation, the campaign intensified its tactics on several fronts to ensure its implementation and its application to the private school licensing for the school year 2019/2020. Ahel’s coaching was focused on accompaniment of QMM leadership to plan and implement effective tactics to build pressure on MoE. Towards the end of the year, Ahel facilitated several sessions to plan the campaign tactics to ensure implementation in 2019. The plans identified three rounds of three- month tactics starting January 2019. They included a range of actions especially during the last month of the school year (Ramadan/May 2019) such as phone banking, conducting a survey of school teachers, evidence collection of non-compliance, legal awareness and advice to teachers including in PE circles, mediation, compiling data from central bank records, outreach to media and many others. Ahel regularly facilitated individual and team reflections with the teachers to diagnose challenges and give feedback. The documentation of the reflection on the first round of tactics facilitated by Ahel’s coach Rania Sabbah pointed out that Ahel was taking too much of a leading role during the implementation. In the second and third rounds, Ahel’s coaches became more conscious to limit their role and focus on shadowing the national coordinator in working with the teams responsible for implementation. In specific cases, Rania was intervening to support the coordinator in unblocking action, where necessary. Rania describes this period, “it was a moment where the national committee took full responsibility for implementation of intense actions, with great urgency. They took the lead from A to Z, organizing, coordinating across teams, taking decisions and even make mistakes and adjusting their approach”. The reflection pointed out to other challenges related to planning and communication glitches. Ahel’s coach Rania Sabbah drafted a proposal for improving tactics coordination in the future for discussion by the teams. Despite those challenges, the teachers express great pride in their abilities to implement the complex tactics during this period. There was a very positive energy amongst the teams. They confirm that this period was a great learning experience, and that taking the challenge with full responsibility for implementing the agreed tactics “gave us a sense of ownership and a push to overcome any hesitation or fear. Supporting each other and sharing our knowledge allowed us to discover our internal power. We learned never to say, “I don’t know” how to see a task to the end, how to motivate each other, and build on each other’s strengths”¹¹.

During this period the campaign faced two setbacks. The first one had to do with the failure of the MoE to meet its commitment to implement the adopted regulation regarding the licensing of private

¹¹ Rania Sabbah, Report of reflection on QMM 2019 tactics implementation (August 2019)

schools for the school year 2019-2020. Ahel stepped in to propose adjustments to the strategy. Based on this, a meeting was arranged between a campaign team and a number of supportive Members of Parliament demanding their support and action. Ahel coached teachers to prepare a written letter outlining their demand for implementation of the regulation and to prepare talking points and follow up questions. As a result, one of the MPs submitted a question to the Minister Education regarding the failure of the MoE to comply with its own regulation. No information is available whether there was a response from the Minister in this regard.

The second challenge was related to internal collective culture and campaign values when it became known that one of the leading members of the campaign owns a school that is not complying with the campaign values. In this instance, Ahel saw that this challenge presented a threat to the agreed norms and values to the campaign and made the decision to step in. Maali explains, "Ahel called for an emergency meeting, and Reem Manna (from Ahel) and Nareman Shawaheen (the national coordinator) presented the issue and posed a question to us "will you as a team allow this to pass or do you want to confront it?". The team decided to confront it. Reem facilitated the discussion and urged us to separate our personal relations with our colleague from our responsibility to protect the campaign. It was a difficult conversation, but it ended up being a good learning experience for the team. It gave us a model of how to deal with those kinds of challenges. We learnt how to discuss it away from gossip and emotions, to investigate it, and respond to it. At that moment, I realized that the campaign is a serious effort and gave me faith in the campaign and its ability to continue and grow." Nareman confirms, "We spent a month collecting the facts to understand the problem and discuss it with our colleague. In the end, it was clear that we had reached a deadlock and our colleague decided to leave the campaign. I believe we were fair to our colleague and were able to protect the campaign at the same time. We still appreciate her contribution to the campaign, but it is challenges like these that provide us with an opportunity to remind ourselves of our values and to renew our commitment to the collective group". Enaam, the database coordinators says, "when we realized that a valuable member of the team was not respecting the values of the campaign it was a shock to the team. But it was also a turning point. It confronted us with the challenge of protecting the campaign values and reminded us all of our responsibility to stay true to those values".

Ahel facilitated several reflection and assessment processes to ensure extraction of lessons learnt. In addition to the tactics' reflection mentioned above, Ahel's coach - Rahaf Abu Doha and PE team manager - Hadeel Kiswani facilitated an evaluation of the PE circles involving all facilitators and 62 participants from three governorates. According to Hadeel "the engagement during the PE circles was very positive and showed great potential for expanding and supporting the campaign, however, the evaluation showed that we were facing challenges in securing commitment of PE participants to join the campaign especially in Amman. During our PE Committee Meeting, Rahaf helped us address this challenge through posing questions to understand the reasons behind those challenges. So, we came up with a solution to develop a criteria for teachers who are invited to those circles. This succeeded and we had a great group of teachers with shared values. We still need to engage them more closely to motivate them and engage them more actively. This is a work in progress!". Similarly, over the months of September and October 2019, Ahel facilitated a number of Strategy evaluation workshops and supported the campaign leadership to follow up on outcomes of those evaluations.

Preparing for independence:

By end of 2018, funding from ILO for Ahel's coaching support to QMM had ran out. There were other potential funding channels that were available to Ahel. However, given the progress made in 2018, Ahel saw that the campaign had sufficient capacity to continue its journey without the close accompaniment of Ahel in the past. There were several signs that showed that when the teachers were taking full responsibility, they were flourishing, energized and up to the challenge. Reem

Manna' shares one such example, "One day during the 2019 tactics implementation, I came to the office to find it buzzing with teachers. Enaam, the database coordinator, had invited twenty teachers to prepare them on implementing the phone banking tactic. that day, I saw a new side to Enaam and saw a competent community organizer!" Ahel took the decision not to pursue further funding and accompany the implementation of tactics for implementation of the MoE regulation and focus on preparing the QMM leadership to transition to function independently from Ahel by end of 2019.

As such, the coaching priorities included

- Facilitating the process to assess options for establishing or identifying an incubating body that will serve as an umbrella for QMM in the future.
- Working with the campaign leadership teams to address identified needs for the transition.
- Defining expectations for Ahel's coaching for 2020 and beyond.

Starting August 2019, Reem, Rahaf and Nisreen were supporting the campaign in revising its structure to include a new committee to deal with financing needs of the campaign for 2020 and beyond and to formalize the establishment of a fourth local team in Salt governorate that has emerged from the local PE committee established there in 2019.

Supporters of the campaign have mixed feelings about this decision. While there is a consensus regarding the maturity and stability of the campaign leadership, some are of the opinion that the transition has been rushed and did not follow a comprehensive assessment of needs to systematize the work and ensure full control over different aspects of the campaign where Ahel had a more prominent role such as policy advocacy and strategy. Ahel's vision is that while it will phase out its intensive accompaniment role to the campaign it will continue to maintain a coaching role focusing on strategic planning, quarterly evaluation meetings, and response to needs identified by the campaign leadership such as coaching during intense tactic implementation period.

The teachers are strong in their commitment to continue their journey. They feel empowered and confident. However, it will remain to be seen how the QMM leadership will continue to use and develop the resources, skills, systems, and network of allies that it has developed to continue its journey while staying true to the values of collective leadership of community organizing.

Illustrations of QMM collective and individual leadership:

The journey outlined above provided highlights of the leadership development of QMM from its early days with four members from Irbid joining the core team in 2015, to having a campaign leadership of more than 30 members from four major governorates in Jordan with the abilities, tools, and extensive experience in collective Community Organizing. Today the campaign works through a structure of a national committee with three local chapters and four working committees on media, complaints and mediation, database and the newly established financing committee. The campaign now has the ability to mobilize thousands of teachers that it reaches through its Facebook page, its phone banking, its PE circles, its legal awareness sessions and media appearances. Ahel's comprehensive coaching system has enabled this leadership development through close accompaniment of the campaign team offering a multi-dimensional range of skills, capacities and abilities. Ahel's early role as organizer, made it more attuned to the gaps and challenges impeding the development of an effective leadership for collective action within this particular constituency. Ahel's coaching creatively addressed the complexity of Community Organizing in the challenging context impacting the teachers lives in the public and private spheres, at the individual and teamwork levels, or those constraining the potential for achieving strategic and tactical gains for the campaign. Throughout the campaign journey, as Ahel encountered different manifestations of those challenges, they were able diagnose the challenges and incorporate solutions to address them

within the coaching system either through training, mentoring, or even through drawing upon Ahel's own resources (networks, knowledge and capacities). It is evident that the comprehensive coaching system provided by Ahel to the campaign over the past five years has been greatly effective in unleashing the power of teachers both collectively and individually. The support has been intensive and broad in scope (organizing, educational, motivational, knowledge, strategic). It was dynamic and responsive to the evolving needs of the campaign leadership, and it was empowering and agency-focused enabling the leadership not only to lead, but also to gradually take on the role of coaching themselves.

QMM campaign leadership demonstrated agency, voice and ability to take collective action. Teachers affirm that the progressive and systematic coaching approach used by Ahel was effective in helping them take on various roles in leading the campaign, work collectively as a value-driven team and develop the capacity to respond to challenges along the way. They describe the growth they have experienced both as a collective campaign leadership team and as individuals. Saffiyeh from Zarka says, "Through my journey with QMM, I came to realize that it is possible to convert dreams into reality. When we first started planning our tactics for "Salaries in the bank!" I was skeptical. I thought this can never happen, but I went along. I worked as part of the teams implementing those tactics, went to MPs and collected signatures for our petition to the MoE, and took my children with me to stand in the demonstration we organized in front of the ministry in 2018. When the minister received us, and eventually the regulation was adopted, my children and I were so proud and felt a great sense of accomplishment. I now have learnt that when you have a goal, there is a way to reach that goal. Through organizing and hard work we were able to achieve a lot and we will continue to work to achieve our ultimate goal."

There is a general sense of power and confidence in the collective power of the campaign to lead the campaign in the future. This is confirmed by the various illustrations of the agency, voice and ability to organize effective collective action. Significant to the QMM leadership was the ability to use the legal knowledge to ensure the protection of the community of teachers through the awareness raising, complaints system, and mediation role. Using this knowledge, the campaign has worked with the MoL inspectors securing strengthened oversight for labour related violations faced by the teachers. Teachers are better informed of their rights and are therefore refusing to sign promissory credit notes or forced resignations at end of school year. The campaign leadership took the initiative to introduce mediation in the work of the campaign. Enaam explains "after the success of handling one case of denial of maternity leave, we saw the value of this intervention to the teacher and the employer, especially, in helping the teacher retain her job and improve her status and saving both the teacher and the employer the lengthy court processes. We discussed including mediation in our work at the meetings of the complaints committee. We deliberated the matter in one or two meetings and reached a consensus on moving forward".

The campaign's collective culture greatly benefitted from the emphasis on storytelling. There is almost unanimous appreciation of the impact of sharing the stories amongst the teachers. Nareman explains "hearing the stories of other teachers during the first meeting I attended made me aware of the collective oppression we face in our jobs. It also made me realize how this oppression is especially affecting my female colleagues and not the male colleagues". The sharing of individual stories created a bond amongst individuals and forms a strong basis for building the "shared story". Popular education circles provided opportunities to extend this story to new members. Heba Abu Ghneim confirms, "sharing the personal stories was a great way to build a common motivation and introduce new members to the members of the campaign, their values and their experiences. The popular education sessions facilitated mobilizing and recruitment of new members". The 2019 PE evaluation confirmed that the participation in the PE circles has led to a significant increase in the numbers of teachers initiating negotiation with employers around their rights (from 24%-63% in Salt,

from 22% to 54% in Zarka, and from 27% to 58% in Irbid). Similarly, the participation in the PE circles has resulted in a significant increase in the involvement of new teachers in the implementation of QMM tactics and joining the campaign.

On different occasions over the course of writing this paper, the teachers repeatedly expressed a strong sense of belonging and pride in being part of the group. Internal tensions have occurred on a number of occasions, but they provided a learning opportunity to the team and the individual members. For example, questions related to who gets to represent the campaign in meetings, or media appearances brought to the surface frustrations among certain members. Teachers express how they have learnt to overcome personal driven tendencies in favor of the collective goal. In such situations, coaches encouraged them to confront such tensions and unpack the reasons behind them. Coaching also helped them become more attuned to listening to each other and use that skill to reach agreements collectively. Where necessary, those situations were opportunities to review or reaffirm the campaign norms and values. With time, the group succeeded in building a culture of trust and respect that suppressed competition and gossip and put the interest of the team ahead of personal gains. Building a team with a strong internal collective culture ability meant that the team was well prepared to deal with external challenges and act collectively in times of crisis.

Teachers tell stories of how being part of the campaign empowered them in their personal lives as well. During the strategy evaluation meeting in September 2019, teachers were asked to reflect on their personal growth over the course of the campaign. The responses given were almost unanimous in attributing to the campaign their newfound ability to demand their rights in their schools, for speaking up, for saying no when their employer asked them to sign resignations or promissory credit notes for part of their salaries and for being more willing to step in to help other colleagues in school. Several teachers affirm, "I feel confident and fulfilled". "I am no longer passive". "I no longer see myself as a victim!" This was possible, because they found power in the knowledge, skills and the experience they built by being involved in the campaign. One teacher said, "prior to my engagement in the campaign, my response to any oppression was either silence or tears. Now I have the confidence and tools to speak up and express myself and negotiate to get what I want or reach a compromise". Another teacher shares a similar story, "In school, I used to avoid running into my employer I used to stay silent. Now I discovered things inside me and learnt how to argue and contest. Recently, I asked for a raise threatening to leave if my employer did not respond. Being part of the campaign gave me the strength and taught me to be patient and plan to get to what I want". Another teacher talked about how she bought a car despite her family's objection. After she signed the paperwork, her brothers put conditions on where and when she can use her car. Within two weeks, she was driving from her governorate to Amman to attend QMM meetings. Other teachers spoke of how they got their families to support their participation in the campaign following objections to their attendance of QMM meetings. Lawyer Hala Ahed confirms "The teachers represent a segment of society that faces social exclusion and oppression in their personal and professional lives. The investment in their capacity gave them a lot of confidence, and they no longer see themselves as victims. Ahel's solidarity and support made a huge difference to their lives".

The transformation in the lives of the teachers provides a model of leadership building that challenges the multi-layered forms of disempowerment faced by this community. The campaign had a clear impact on the self-image, confidence and sense of purpose amongst the teachers. Teachers attribute this transformation to the coaching provided by Ahel whether to the group as a whole or through the individual coaching. Coaching enabled them to build skills, take leadership roles, and provided constructive feedback for improving their work. Individual coaching in particular was instrumental in personal growth and helping teachers to overcome their unique challenges. Ahel's recognition and response to the role that gender norms, roles, and power dynamics played in constraining the campaign leadership cannot be highlighted enough. The way that popular

education circles were designed and implemented and the themes it presented for storytelling and discussion played a key role in enabling this transformation. Equally important was Ahel's role in creating opportunities for the teachers to interact with each other, connect new members with old ones, or organize social interactions. In the end, the campaign has become a safe place where teachers find friendship, support and solidarity in their personal struggles as well as a shared commitment to lead this campaign.

Conclusion:

The journey of QMM has been a valuable learning undertaking for the teachers and Ahel. It has also generated a model of activism that other civil society initiatives in Jordan can greatly benefit from. Ahel's role in establishing the QMM campaign has on several occasions tainted its coaching role with moments where it took the lead on certain aspects of the campaign. Nonetheless, Ahel has systematically built towards the independent functioning of the campaign. At this moment, the challenge for QMM leadership is to demonstrate its effectiveness in advancing its cause and serving its constituency in the next stage of its journey. For Ahel, the challenge lies in its ability to use its learning from QMM community organizing practice and experience in a manner that allows it to play the role of a strategic ally for QMM and other social justice initiatives throughout the region.

To meet those challenges, below are a set of observations that are addressed to QMM leadership and Ahel respectively.

For QMM Leadership:

There is a general sense of power and confidence amongst the teachers in their capacity to lead the campaign as a result of the progressive process of coaching provided by Ahel. However, they acknowledge that the campaign's work is complex and entails a multiplicity of workstreams, relationships and capacities. The current moment in the journey of the campaign is less than ideal. The failure of the MoE to comply with the 2018 regulation of private school licensing at the start of the 2019/2020 school year puts into question the readiness of policy makers to take actions to protect the rights of private school teachers. In light of the extensive pressure by the campaign on the MoE, it is clear that now the campaign faces significant challenges at the strategy level. In addition, the campaign's expansion into new governorate and elaboration of the campaign structure in 2019 is young. The current structure was unsettled in recent months by dropout of members who played a key role in leading strategic work streams. Those factors present challenges to the campaign leadership as it sets out to work independently of Ahel's coaching.

However, this moment also presents opportunities. In addition to defining its strategy for the next cycle of the struggle, the campaign leadership now has the opportunity to define its long-term vision that is exclusively representative of the interests of the teachers. It is conceivable that the campaign leadership will consider integrating in their strategy a number of issues that have represented a priority but have not found a place in the strategy in the past. Issues such as empowering teachers' economically and supporting the wellbeing of the campaign members (for example countering threats for being penalized for being part of the campaign) that have surfaced on a number of occasions in discussions with the teachers.

In addition, an independent forward-looking campaign leadership has the opportunity to manage its partnerships more intentionally. Over the past years, the campaign had built a wide network of alliances and partnerships. In the early years, the relations were opportunity-driven and not necessarily based on a strategic consideration of the interests of the campaign. Over the years, those relationships shifted. Some allies were lost, and others were gained. At this stage of the life of the campaign, it is of utmost importance that the campaign leadership conduct a strategic review of

the network of actors it is working with and map out the actors it needs to reach out to. This review would identify new opportunities, help clarify common interests, redefine roles, assess efficiencies of past engagement and thus ensure that the campaign leadership pursues strategic partnerships more intentionally. Such a review was not undertaken in the past nor has the coaching process prepared the campaign leadership to carry it out. It is recommended that the transition process include attention to this.

The significant expansion of the campaign leadership and structure in 2018-2019 and the success in recruiting new members in several new governorates is a positive development and reflects a strengthened relationship between the campaign and its base. It also resulted in establishing new teams and committees that will demand attention, time, and effort from the campaign leadership. Regular communication, teambuilding, coaching will be required by former members to maintain coherence of the campaign as it continues to expand. To some, the loss of the intimate interaction within the smaller structure may present a threat to the team culture. The more systematic approach to leadership development in an expanding campaign that safeguards structure, communication and coaching. At this point, the process for integrating new members into the leadership structure is not clearly defined for new members. The way the campaign leadership has been integrating new members is that once teachers are recruited through personal contacts, phone banking, the hotline, the Facebook page, they participate in PE circles, train as facilitators, and form a local PE team. There is an implicit understanding that new members who take part in PE circles and teams initially take part in implementation of tactics accompanied by coaching from older members. They eventually evolve into local teams and gradually become involved in the strategy development through participation in working committees and the national team. It would be beneficial to formalize this process and provide more clarity on what drives the graduated approach, and identify the support needed for setting up new local teams, including having a defined coaching and training path across those stages. Along the same lines, the campaign leadership should constantly invest in renewing team leadership and mitigating the impact of dropouts among older members.

The campaign leadership needs to explore alternatives to maintaining the coaching role that Ahel has provided in the past. That role has been crucial for building and safeguarding the collective team culture, leadership development for new members, and supporting the strategy development and policy advocacy. It is important for the campaign to assess its internal capacity to assign campaign members to fill this role or include those as areas that require attention in the transition period.

For Ahel:

The key take-aways of Ahel's coaching of QMM campaign can be summarized as follows:

- The intensive involvement with the community organizing journey of QMM has been a valuable undertaking for Ahel. It has greatly contributed to Ahel's knowledge and ability to tap on direct experience which now informs other campaigns. One of those critical elements was the extent to which the distinctive characteristics of constituency involved in QMM had on developing a unique model of women's leadership. Ahel's coaching was well attuned to structural gender dynamics that constrained the leadership development process. It responded to this challenge in various ways. On one hand through adapting the popular education pedagogy but also through regular adjustment of its coaching approach. For example, organizing meeting times, protecting anonymity, nurturing relations amongst the group that enabled solidarity and support for dealing with personal challenges – divorce, single mothers, controlling families, restricted mobility...etc. Ahel's coaches frequently triggered reflection on parallels between gendered power relations in the private lives and

the oppressive power faced by teachers in their schools. Thanks to the sensitivity of Ahel's (all female) team of coaches the tools and resources developed to support the group served them on both fronts.

- The initial role played by Ahel as organizer/coach meant that it initially assumed the driver's seat in taking decisions, defining strategy and leading action. When focus was on coaching in later years, Ahel's effort was to enable teachers to lead and make decisions and somewhat succeeded in introducing a firewall between its role as an organizer and as coach. The shift in roles however was not always possible across all the workstream of the campaign. One could argue that there were a number of situations where Ahel stepped in to take the role of an organizer (for example in the design of the strategy, intervening to deal with the internal and external crises, intervening during the implementation of critical tactics in 2019 and on several occasions in advocating with officials). Those interventions were necessary, but they may have contributed to a certain dependency on Ahel.
- The scope of Ahel's coaching system in the context of QMM campaign was multi layered, iterative and responsive to the needs of the campaign and the specificities of the constituency. QMM has been one of Ahel's longest engagements in one particular Community Organizing initiative as coaches. As a result, it is very hard to capture the full scope of Ahel's accompaniment of the campaign, detail the types of coaching interventions that were most effective, or replicate the tools that the coaching system employed. It is easier to capture the impact of the change in the teachers' consciousness, motivation, behavior and skills, the collective culture and the effectiveness of the community organizing journey of QMM in achieving its demands. Throughout the journey, Ahel defined specific leadership benchmarks and targets and required intense effort in the design of individual and team coaching interventions. As a result, the learning that this experience has generated presents Ahel with an opportunity to articulate and document its own framework for effective coaching for leadership development in the context of community organizing that can guide Ahel's future work.
- Finally, the role that Ahel plays in coaching and training Community Organizing Initiatives in the Arab region responds to huge demand for alternative approaches to building leadership. Ahel's success in enabling practice that is grounded in values of collective action, strategic vision and leadership building adds value to the social justice causes throughout the region. Ahel is well placed to invest in generating localized knowledge on leadership development in the context of community organizing in the region.

At the time of writing this case study, the Teachers Union in Jordan succeeded in negotiating a pay increase for teachers working in the public sector. Following a month-long strike at the beginning of the school year, the government responded to the demands of the Union with few compromises made. The strike received public support including through a petition of support signed by civil society organizations including QMM. This success represents a significant moment in the labour rights movements in Jordan that would hopefully open new opportunities and partnerships for QMM. Moreover, with its experience, culture of collective action and community organizing values, QMM has much to offer to collective action space in Jordan least of which by providing a fine model of a transformative women's leadership.

References:

Batliwala S., *Feminist leadership for social transformation: Clearing the conceptual cloud*, CREA India 2011

Ganz, M. (2010), *Leading Change: Leadership, Organizations and Social Movements*. In *N. Nohria and R. Khurana (ed.), Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice*, Harvard Business Press
<http://marshallganz.usmblogs.com/files/2012/08/Chapter-19-Leading-Change-Leadership-Organization-and-Social-Movements.pdf>

Ganz, M. (2018), *Organizing Notes Charts Reflection Questions for course Organizing: People, Power, Change*, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Hackman R. and Wageman R. , “A Theory of Team Coaching” , *Academy of Management Review*, April 2005, p.269 -287.

Haj Ahmad, N. (2017, January). “Stand up with the teacher campaign: An experience of collective voice Irbid, Jordan” . International Labour Organization Publications . Retrieved March 10, 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS_548867/lang--en/index.htm

Haj Ahmad N., *An experience of Collective Voice in Irbid Jordan: Stand Up With the Teachers Campaign*, ILO Lebanon 2017

International Labour Organization. “Towards equal pay for work of equal value in Jordan”. (2013, May 22). International Labour Organization Publications . Retrieved March 10, 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/multimedia/video/institutional-videos/WCMS_213844/lang--en/index.htm

International Labour Organization, *Peoples Voices: Campaigning for Pay Equity and Childcare in Jordan* (2017). International Labour Organization Publications. Retrieved March 25, 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_615714.pdf and *Ibid*, supra 10

International Labour Organization, *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*, October 2013

Jbara, J., *Stand up With the Teachers Campaign: The involvement, strategies, and tactics of Jordanian civil society in improving female teachers’ labour rights in the private education sector*, unpublished 2019

Stromquist, Nelly. (2014). *Freire, Literacy and Emancipatory Gender Learning*. *International Review of Education*. 60. 545-558. 10.1007/s11159-014-9424-2.

Ahel and campaign reports:

- Qom Ma’al Mu’allem Campaign Document, April 2015
- Qom Ma’al Mu’allem Movement Document, April 2018
- Qom Ma’al Mu’allem Movement Document, April 2019
- Qom Ma’al Mu’allem Brief on the beginnings and the journey (not dated)
- Ahel’s QMM Popular Education Plan for 2019
- Ahel Qom Ma’al Muallem Progress Reports (2015-2019)

- Ahel Report submitted to ILO, Irbid Campaign & Nitham Team June 7th, 2015
- Rahaf Abu Doha, Popular Education Guidebook, *draft* March 2019
- Rania Sabbah, Report of reflection on QMM 2019 tactics implementation (August 2019)
- Reem Manna Presentation to LCN, Coaching Women from Repression to Leadership: Campaign Showcase: Stand Up with the Teachers (Jordan) 2019

Annex I

List of Interviews and meetings

Name of interviewee	Date	Role
Ahel		
Reem Manna (in person)	2 September 2019	Coach/national and local teams organizer -
Rania Sabbah (in person)	5 September 2019	Former coach/ complaints and mediation committee and Strategy and tactics (February – August 2019)
Rahaf Abu Doha (in person)	11 September	Coach/ PE committee
Nisreen Haj Ahmad (in person)	10 September	Coach/ Ahel director (communications)
Teachers		
Nareman Shawaheen and Hadeel Kiswani (in person)	10 September 2019	Core Team Member/National team coordinator (Irbid) PE manager(Amman)
Inam Odeh (Irbid) Heba Abu Ghneim (Irbid) (on Zoom)	21 September 2019	Database committee Complaints committee
Maali Qteishat (on Zoom)	19 September	PE (Amman)
Allies		
Reem Aslan (in person)	5 September 2019	NCPE/ILO, founding member
Hala Ahed (by phone)	26 September	Lawyer, Legal awareness and advice
Eman Al OKour (in person)	19 September	Ministry of Labour, Founding member
Other		
2019 Evaluation Workshop	20 September 2019	Ahel's Office