**Appendix**

**Data and Methods**

This appendix provides a detailed discussion of the methodology and methods employed in the article "Claiming a "Right" to State Space: Building Social Movements under Authoritarian Rule." This research is based on over twelve months of fieldwork in Jordan, conducted between 2018 and 2019, with follow-up field research in the summer of 2022. Field research consisted of 60 in-depth interviews with activists (labor and non-labor) and members of civil society organizations.

*Case study methods and case justification*

This article draws upon a case study of Jordan between 2006 and 2011 to generate novel theoretical insights regarding the interaction of space and social mobilization in repressive political contexts. Case studies are ideal for generating theory by identifying new or overlooked variables (George and Bennett 2005). Additionally, case studies are powerful tools for identifying causal pathways by "peer[ing] into the box of causality to the intermediate causes lying between some cause and its purported effect" (Gerring 2004, 349–50; 347; George and Bennett 2005). This research uses case study methods to identify *protests in state space* as an overlooked intervening variable and to trace the causal pathways through which state workers were able to use state space to facilitate social mobilization.

Jordan provides an opportune case in which to study these dynamics. First, Jordan in the 2000s has been characterized by scholars as a particularly difficult environment for mobilization given the state's considerable intolerance for transgressive public protest (Moss 2014). Second,

under these conditions, public sector workers' movements had to pursue "unconventional" mobilizational pathways (Fu and Berman 2022). As George and Bennett argue, such "deviant" cases are particularly useful for generating new theoretical insights (2005). Third, by studying two "most different" movements of state workers, this article is also able to account for "existing rival hypotheses" (Slater and Ziblatt 2013, 1313).

Specifically, scholars have identified several contentious repertoires and movement characteristics that might allow would-be activists to engage in protests under repressive conditions. These include engaging in smaller protests, the ability to threaten or cause social and economic disruption, unique geographic characteristics that make repression difficult, less transgressive/threatening demands, and social location as "labor market insiders" (Al-Sholi 2022; Fu and Berman 2022; Fu 2017; Elfstrom 2017; Berman 2021; Chang and Vitale 2013; Hertog 2022).[1] While both belonging to the public sector, the two movements differ from each other across all respects:

- **Size:** The DWLM was smaller in size, with protests ranging from tens to hundreds of workers, while teachers were eventually able to organize nation-wide strikes incorporating thousands to tens-of-thousands of teachers. The literature is also indeterminate on whether smaller protests are associated with more or less repression (Berman 2021).
- **Disruptiveness:** Teachers' protests, by shutting down public education, were far more disruptive. Nevertheless, DWLM protests were transgressive in the context of 2000s Jordan.

[1] It should be noted that, to the extent any of these dimensions might affect levels of state repression, the literature remains indeterminate regarding the direction of the effect (Bishara 2018; Davenport and Moore 2012).

- **Geographic Dispersion:** Teachers were highly geographically dispersed, working in thousands of schools throughout Jordan making them a difficult target for state repression. But DLWM protests were, in theory, not hard to pin down (and repress), as workers frequently used the Ministry of Agriculture in Amman.
- **Demands:** Teachers' demands were more transgressive, as evinced by the regime's heavy repression of teachers' attempts to form a union in the 1970s and 1990s. While DWLM activists were violating the law by engaging in concerted labor actions (illegal in the public sector), their demands were primarily oriented towards wages and employment status—though their rhetoric did exceed the bounds of "routine" protests by targeting the regime directly.
- **Pre-existing networks:** Teachers' workplace networks were rather extensive, but still required the mobilization in 2010 to build up national coordination; DWLM activists had limited pre-existing networks, mostly based in certain localities (e.g., Dhiban). Both movements were historically denied the right to form unions.

Despite differing in these theoretically relevant respects, both movements shared a common spatial repertoire—early mobilization and organization within state spaces—and a common outcome: movement building and expansion. Though DWLM activists were potentially easier to repress, and teachers posed a more significant state threat, both movements were repressed less severely than other social mobilization at the time. This suggests that it was their common social position as state workers that enabled them to access and protest in state spaces associated with their employment. Through process-tracing methods and interpretive qualitative data analysis,

the case studies unpack the mechanisms through which state spaces played this significant mobilizing role.

*Interpretive Fieldwork Description*

This research employed in-depth interviews with labor activists, nonlabor activists, and members of civil society. Data collection was conducted as part of a larger project studying a variety of protest movements in Jordan between 2006 and 2011, not just those focused on in the article (Lacouture 2021). Participants were selected through purposive snow-ball sampling to gain a breadth of coverage across different categories of activism—public-sector labor activists, private-sector labor activists, and non-labor activists—and relevant civil society organizations. In total, 60 in-depth interviews were conducted between December 2018 and September 2019 and a follow-up research trip in June 2022. Interviews were primarily conducted in person, in Arabic, with the assistance of a translator. Where possible, interviews were recorded with the participant's consent, and notes were taken during all interviews. Transcripts were then collaboratively developed from recordings, translated into English, and uploaded in NVivo qualitative data analysis software for focused and thematic coding. Interviews ranged from one to four hours, with repeat interviews in some cases. Geographically, a majority of interviews were conducted in Amman, the capital—where many participants lived or frequently visited—while other interviews were conducted throughout Jordan, including in northern cities, such as Irbid, and in southern Jordan, in al-Tafilah, Karak, and Aqaba.

Interviews with labor activists were conducted to (1) gain retrospective accounts of protests events and social movement trajectories; and (2) to gain an "interpretive" insight into "the reasons that actors give for their actions and behaviour and to investigate the relations between beliefs and behaviour" (Vennesson 2008, 233; Soss 2006). Similarly, interviews with

non-labor activists were conducted to elicit descriptions of events and to gain a deeper understanding of participants' experiences living and protesting under politically-closed conditions. Finally, interviews with members of civil society were oriented towards gaining historical and contextual understanding of the broader protest environment as well as to confirm the details of important events.

As an "interpretive" method, in-depth interviews "can be viewed as a set of simultaneous activities that support and direct one another in the field: discursive and dialectical conversations with interviewees, transcription activities, coding and analysis of data in hand, analytic memo writing, purposive selection of next informants, revision of interview protocols, and so on," all oriented towards understanding participants' experiences and the meanings generated from those experiences (Soss 2006, 136). The theoretical insights that inform this article were very much derived from iterative engagement with this process. The concept of "state space" was not directly used by research participants, even if they referred to the significance of places that are categorized as state space in the article (i.e., it is not an "emic" category). Rather, the theoretical insight was initially generated "out of the field", in the process of transcription, initial coding (using NVivo), and memo-writing (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). In subsequent interviews, and in follow-up interviews conducted during a 2022 research trip, I asked additional questions to elicit information about the spatiality of protests to confirm the initial insight.

Fieldwork on the public-school teachers' movement consisted of in-depth interviews with social movement participants, located primarily in al-Tafilah and Amman, as well as civil society and non-labor activist observers of the movement. Teachers' movement participants were able to provide key details about local and national protest events, as well as to offer a "palpable" account of their personal experiences (Small and Calarco 2022). Observers, especially from non-

labor activists inspired by the teachers' movement and civil society leaders from labor-focused organizations, were able to confirm certain details about protest events and trajectories and to offer broader context about the social impact of the teachers' movement and examples of cross-movement solidarity-building.

Field research on the Day-Waged Labor Movement (DWLM) was primarily informed by interviews with individuals who were not directly involved in organizing the protests, such as non-labor activists and civil society actors, as well as by discussions with researchers who conducted primary research and maintained relationships with movement leaders and participants. The limitation in this case was due to movement leaders' security concerns at the time and the canceling of a research trip to Madaba due to the Covid-19 pandemic. As with the teachers' movement, these discussions generated important theoretical insights regarding the ability of key protest events and sites to generate public and civil society support, as well as the influence and continuing resonance of the movement on subsequent mobilization. These insights were greatly informed by careful analysis of supplemental data sources covering the movement (see below).

Interviews with labor activists in other sectors and observers from civil society organizations added additional and necessary context regarding the overall protest environment and degree of political and spatial closure in Jordan. Non-labor activists repeatedly confirmed that, prior to 2011, public protest was heavily constrained and limited to "contained" (as opposed to "transgressive") protest repertoires (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2004). Additionally, interviews offered a window into the spatial repertoires of other social groups, including private sector workers, youth and popular activists, and other public sector workers. As a result, I was

able to identify what was divergent about the protest practices of the two state workers' movements under study.

Finally, I was able to observe over a dozen contemporary protest events (between 2018 and 2022) during my fieldwork at key protest sites referenced in the article (e.g., in front of the Prime Ministry) and to visit other protest sites (e.g., the Ministry of Agriculture, public schools) in Amman and in Karak, al-Tafilah, as well as other state spaces in Aqaba, Irbid, and Dhiban. These site visits deepened my insights into the spatial dimensions of political contention, providing a sense of geographic distance (between protest sites and other parts of the city, or within protest sites to key government structures). In some cases, these visits were led by activists who had participated in protests in these sites. Traversing with participants through and around protest sites—such as public schools—while also discussing their experiences invited important reflections that helped to generate the theoretical insights that underpin the research. Second, as with other authoritarian contexts, my ability to reach and speak with certain key social movement actors (such as former DWLM activists) was at times limited, due to the prevalence of internal security monitoring in Jordan, and my primary concern with the safety of research participants (citation). To address these limitations, this study also employed substantial analysis of supplementary data sources.

*Limitations and opportunities of retrospective interviews*

Several limitations of the field research should be discussed. First, in each case, interviewees' observations were necessarily retrospective, and my own field research (conducted many years later) did not involve directly witnessing any of the protest events recounted in the research. Nevertheless, while each of the events traced in the article occurred well into the past—

some nearly 20 years ago—they still resonated deeply for many participants. The events of 2006, 2010, and 2011 have had enduring political legacies, including the formation of the long-denied Teachers' Association, and substantial concessions won by the DWLM. In many cases, interpretations of these events in retrospect were also useful in understanding their broader resonance and influence. Supplemental data was also employed to confirm key pieces of evidence gleaned from interviews where possible.

*Supplemental Data*

To help confirm, expand, and contextualize the insights gleaned from interviews and analysis of interview data, this article relies on a variety of supplemental data sources. To confirm and contextualize the article's argument, I gathered as much data as possible on protests that occurred during the period of study. First, this included an analysis of every labor and non-labor protest event recorded by three daily Jordanian news sources between January 1, 2006, and December 31, 2010: *The Jordan Times* (English), *Al-Rai* (Arabic), *Ammon News* (Arabic). (Other details in the paper are taken from additional news sources: *Saraya*, *Al-Jazeera*.) In total, this amounted to over 200 unique protest events. The limitations of cross-national event datasets (e.g., ACLED) have been noted by scholars as particularly pronounced in the Middle East and North Africa (Clarke 2023), and, at the time of writing, no comprehensive protest event dataset exists for Jordan (Shalaby and Williamson 2023 are the exception, but their dataset goes back only to 2010). While certainly far from the full population of protest events during this period, these data provide a snapshot and an opportunity to code for the type of protest (labor/nonlabor/popular) and the specific location of protests (e.g., administrative state space, sovereign state space).

In addition, I consulted labor protest data collected by the Phenix Center for Economic and Informatics Studies for 2010 (the earliest year available), a labor-serving civil society organization conducting research on labor and labor rights in Jordan. These data offer a sense of which labor movements were most active during this period and, combined with data collected on the location of different kinds of labor protests in these years, provides some comparative insight into the different spatial patterns of labor protest in Jordan. Overall, these supplementary sources compliment the qualitative case studies by providing additional evidence that *state workers were unique in their utilization of state spaces associated with their employment to engage in protests.* In what follows, I expand on the discussion of spatial patterns of labor protest (between 2006 and 2011) discussed in the article:

First, state spaces associated with popular sovereignty—such as the Parliament and the Prime Ministry—were most often selected by popular activists for their symbolic value, central locations, and disruptive potential (Schwedler and Fayyaz 2010, 284–85; Schwedler 2020; 2022; Schwedler and King 2012). Pro-Palestine protests were also often organized at the Professional Associations Complex in Amman and mosques throughout the city, such as the Kalouti Mosque in West Amman (Schwedler 2022, 148). Accordingly, popular protests were largely "contained" in nature.

Labor protests by private and public sector workers evinced their own unique spatial repertoires. Private sector workers most often protested at their places of employment, such as outside phosphate facilities or, for many migrant textile workers, at the geographically isolated Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZs) (Debruyne 2014; Fioroni 2015; Al-Sholi 2022; Fine 2013). Transport and logistics workers often locate protests to maximize disruption, e.g., by obstructing cargo ship offloading and roadways. Where applicable, both private and public sector workers

also protested at locations associated with the official trade unions or professional associations to which they belonged (Clark 2012; Al-Hourani 2001). When they spilled out into public space, private sector protests gravitated towards the parliament or prime ministry, but only rarely at specific state ministries, such as a protest by QIZ workers at the Ministry of Labor in 2007 (Fine 2013; *Al Rai* February 12, 2007 ). In this latter instance, migrant workers were rebuffed by the state and their protest was declared illegal. These insights into popular and private sector protests reflect patterns observed in the qualitative literature on Jordan.

Like other workers, state workers often protested at places associated with their employment. But unlike other workers, these sites also happened to be state spaces (e.g., state ministries, public schools, and state-controlled teachers' clubs). Indeed, in a survey of every protest recorded by three local news sources between 2006 and 2011 where the specific protest location was described (n=99), protests at state ministries were almost exclusively conducted by state workers. Public sector workers' protests were not exclusive to state spaces, and included city squares throughout Jordan, and in Amman, the Prime Ministry, Parliament, the Royal Court, and the Professional Associations Complex.

Finally, while private sector protests far outnumbered those of public sector workers in 2010 (the year for which there is data) there is good reason to believe that private sector workers did not generally employ state spaces as a spatial repertoire: Most private sector protests—nearly 70 percent—occurred in textiles, private industry, and transportation, sectors, and thus towards protests in the QIZs (where textile workers are largely concentrated), workplaces/union locations, and transportation bottlenecks (see **Table A.1**). Protests in the remaining private sectors (including service and domestic work) generally did not number above ten and were also unlikely to take place in state spaces. Additionally, given that most public sector protests—over

80 percent—were conducted by teachers and daily-waged workers, this suggests that the case studies presented in the article are broadly representative of public sector spatial practices at the time. Hence, while these data have significant limitations, taken together with the case studies, they provide s strong evidence that protests in *state spaces associated with the state's employment function* was a unique spatial repertoire of public sector workers.

**Table A.1 Labor Protests in 2010**

| Sector | Protests | Breakdown |
|---|---|---|
| **Private Sector** | 105 | 34% in textiles*<br>17% in industry<br>18% in transportation |
| **Public Sector** | 35 | >80% Daily-waged workers and teachers** |
| **Total** | 140 | |

(Source: Jordan Labor Watch 2011)
*The remainder, approximately 30 percent, were spread across the service sector and domestic work
**The way data is presented in the report makes it likely this percentage is higher, but a precise number is not provided for daily-waged workers (p. 9).

*A Note on Post-2011 Protests*

This research focuses on a period in Jordan (1/1/2006-12/31/2011) in which transgressive protest was rare in Jordan. This context pushed state workers to resort to less conventional protest practices (and spaces) to mobilize under repression—the outcome of interest. In 2011, the regional and Jordanian uprisings expanded political opportunity for contention in Jordan. Consequently, transgressive protests, in terms of repertoires (e.g., occupation-style protests,

marches) and discourse (e.g., direct challenges to the regime), became more frequent (Ryan 2018; Yom 2014). In addition, labor and nonlabor activists also began to engage in expanded spatial practices. For example, in 2011, "A group of unemployed youth from that neighborhood protested at the Royal Court in March 2011, demanding jobs and university scholarships" (Schwedler 2022, 168). This practice was repeated on a much larger scale in 2019, in the form of a mass "March of the Unemployed" from Aqaba to camp in front of the Royal Court in Amman. The selection of the Royal Court in both cases evokes the monarchy's employment obligations, similar to how state workers utilized many state spaces, including the Royal Court, prior to 2011. Further research should investigate the differences between pre-2011 contentious uses of state space and post-2011 spatial patterns of contention.

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