

The State of Political Participation and Representation in Jordan 2022

Final Analytical Report

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Executive Summary

General

The survey engages with the respondents on their views on the issues facing Jordan today. The results find that the majority of both university students and national samples believe that unemployment is Jordan's most important issue, as noted by 63% students and 39% of the national sample. It can also be extrapolated that the students worry that after graduation; they will not be able to pursue proper careers in Jordan. In addition to unemployment, many respondents from both samples believe that the economy is also a major issue facing the country.

Participation

The majority of respondents indicated that they are uninterested in politics, as demonstrated from the 61.3% of respondents from the national sample and 56.6% of respondents from university students' sample. While 52.4% of respondents from the national sample and 65.5% of university students sample indicated that they can freely express their opinion to a large to or medium extent, political participation rates remain low. This includes being invited to events by a political party, participating in a political party, being affiliated with a political party, and reaching out to parliamentarians.

Representation

In this section, the respondents were asked about the extent to which they feel political parties, CSOs/CBOs, parliament, cooperative associations, governorate council, municipal council, labor/trade union, government, religious leaders, and tribes represent them. The survey results show that over 70% believe that CSOs/ CBOs and the parliament do not represent them at all. In addition, 78.6% indicated that political parties do not represent them at all. Excavating the tribal community of Jordan, over 50% of the respondents from both samples indicated that their tribes represent them to a large extent.

Respondents from both groups stated that different political entities do not represent them at all. For instance, 60% of the respondents from the national sample indicated that governorate unit does not represent them at all and 60.9% of respondents from the university sample stated that CSOs/CBOs do not represent them at all.

This alludes to a weak connection between the people and political parties. Looking ahead, representing bodies should work more on developing their outreach mechanisms and messages to reach community members and enhance their interests. This can also repair public knowledge of political parties in Jordan, on the basis of respondents' lack of knowledge about any political parties in Jordan.

Knowledge/ Awareness

In this section, survey looked to gauge Jordanians' level of awareness on political parties. Over 60% of both samples stated that they did not know any political party in Jordan and over 85% of the respondents from both samples could not name any political party leader.

Then the respondents were asked whether they have heard of any new political party in order to test their knowledge of the recent political reforms. About 95% of both samples stated they had not heard of any new political party.

The respondents were then asked about which of the existing political parties comes closest to representing their political, economic and social interest. 59.4% of the respondents from the national sample did not believe that any party represented their interest as well as 67.3% of 787 university students.

It can be indicated that the respondents depend on social media to obtain their political knowledge as the respondents were asked about which Jordanian personality would they like to see leading or forming a political party (with exception of members of the Royal Family). The majority of both samples believed that no one is suitable for forming a political party, yet 1.4% of the national sample believed that MP Mohammad Al Thahrawi is preferable to form a political party followed by Mohammad-Nouh Al Qudah with 1% of the national sample.

Similarly, MP Mohammad Al Thahrawi was preferable to form a political party by 4.2% of the university student's sample. Both MP Mohammad Al Thahrawi and Mohammad Al Qudah have active social media accounts with a large following.

Effectiveness of political parties

64.3% of the national sample and 51.3% of university students sample indicated that political parties are currently very ineffective. This result could be related to several reasons such as a lack of meaningful programs; political parties not addressing people's needs; and people's fear of reprisal. The survey asked the respondents if political parties have been able influence decisions of some political entities (CSOs/ CBOs, society's value system, the media, universities, the parliament, professional associations and trade union, the government) in a way that reflects their orientation and goal to gauge the effectiveness of political parties. The majority of respondents from both groups stated that they are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence their decisions in a way that reflects their orientation and goals.

Another hindrance that stands against increasing the political participation and representation in Jordan is that the respondents found political parties to be somewhat incapable or not at all capable to address issues in Jordan. For example, 78.1% of the national sample indicated that political parties were somewhat incapable or not at all capable to address fuel prices and 72.5% of university students sample indicated the same for addressing crime.

Regarding democracy's consolidation, 47.5% of the national sample indicated that political parties were somewhat unimportant or not important at all. For university students' sample, 56.4% stated that they are very important to somewhat important. Moreover, 55.6% of the national sample and 46.6% of university students indicated that they are somewhat unsuitable or not suitable at all for the Jordanian culture. 25.2% of the national sample and 24.2% did not know how political parties can contribute to the political and economic reform.

Democracy and Political Parties

89.6% of the national sample and 86.8% of the university students' sample stated that they were somewhat uninterested or very uninterested in political parties, which can indicate that they are

unwilling to participate at the Jordan political life. The majority (65.4% of the national sample and 63% of the university students' sample) believe that they will definitely not vote for a political party in the upcoming parliamentary elections in 2024 with agreement of 65.4% of the national sample and 63% from the university student's sample. Similarly, 69.3% of the national sample and 70.6% of the university students' sample stated that they would probably or definitely not vote for a political party in the municipal elections of 2025. Some of the indicated reasons include the respondents' belief that nothing would change, and that they have no interest in politics and elections. On the other hand, some respondents would consider a trustworthy candidate to be a reason behind voting.

The respondents believe that adopting the approaches that improves the educational sector, healthcare sector, transportation system, preservation of the environment and economic growth, inclusion of women and inclusion of youth in the political process are ways that encourages them to participate or vote for a political party.

Future of Political Parties

35.8% of the university students' sample and 27.5% of the national indicated that the role of political parties in the next 10 years will remain as it is now. Furthermore, 39.6% of the national sample and 31.9% of university students sample indicated that the political parties will never be able to form a government in Jordan. This could be attributed to perceived restrictions from the authorities, having inconsistent objectives, and the ineffectiveness and weakness of political parties.

When asked if the prime minister should consult with political parties, the highest percentage of both samples stated that the prime minister should not consult with any political party. Economic reforms, the reduction of unemployment and high prices are some of the most significant concerns political parties should focus on, according to 49 % of respondents from the national sample and 50.2% of university students. When it comes to respondents' attitudes, the majority of both groups stated that their attitudes have not changed. The majority of those whose attitudes changed stated that they became much more positive or somewhat more positive.

Political Parties and Universities

The majority (94.8%) of respondents stated that they are currently not a member of any association, party, or club compared to only 4.1% who indicated they are members of health and sport clubs, student political party clubs, charity organizations, law clubs and others.

The respondents were asked if they have ever participated in students body elections on campus, 89.9% stated that they have not while 9.6% stated that they have, which indicates that elections are far more recognized within the university campus. But when asked about political parties, 72.9% of the respondents somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the presence of political parties on university campuses.

79.1% indicated that they have not been aware regarding the recommendations put forth by the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System on youth and political parties. The majority of university students indicated they were not affiliated with any political party, nor have they engaged in any political event. The findings indicate that university students have low rates of political participation.

1. Introduction

1.1 About Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

KAS is a German political foundation, closely associated with the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU). Since 1982, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been present with its office in Jordan where it promotes democracy and the rule of law as it does throughout the region and worldwide. Moreover, KAS Jordan Office intends to provide a sustainable contribution to the development and deepening of social and market-based structures. By offering political education, KAS supports the development of political parties, civil society, local self-administration and free and independent media.

1.2 About NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions

NAMA is a technology driven strategic intelligence solutions provider to key stakeholders in the public and private sectors. NAMA strives to advance political, social and economic development in the MENA region, and more specifically in Jordan by utilizing over 100 years of combined collective experience in polling, research, security, business consultancy, investments, monitoring and evaluation, and sustainable socio-economic development.

1.3 Research Methodology and Work Plan

NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions conducted a survey exploring Jordanians' perceptions in relation to political participation. The survey comprises the following objectives:

- Recognize the awareness of the Jordanians on the new political reforms;
- Identify the perception of Jordanians on political participation; and
- Examine the level of political participation among university students in comparison to the national sample along with the extent to which recent reforms impact overall political dynamics in universities.

The survey for the national sample was conducted between September 22 and October 2 2022, with a nationally representative sample of 1,256 Jordanians. Data collection for the university students' sample was conducted between October 9 and 16, 2022 with a representative sample of 822 from public and private universities. The survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews, through field work implemented by 32 trained enumerators. This was supervised by 8 field supervisors to monitor data collection, attend to any challenges, and ensure the implementation of quality assurance measures. As for the questionnaire, it was designed cooperatively between KAS and NAMA. It comprised of 8 sections, as follows:

- General
- Participation
- Knowledge/Awareness
- Representation
- Effectiveness of Political Parties
- Democracy and Political Parties
- Future of Political Parties
- Political Parties and Universities (Student Sample Only)
- Demographics

Once the final version of the questionnaire was approved and translated, NAMA's methodologist programmed the survey onto electronic tablets and conducted a training for the field research team. The training included a discussion of the research objectives, explanation of every question, and instructions on using the program as well as mock interviews.

The field team proceeded with the data collection phase; whereby field supervisor provided them with daily assignments containing their daily targets of interviews as well as specific demographic factors to meet and ensure that the sample is nationally representative. Additionally, the supervisors illustrated the skipping patterns for the enumerators. The supervisors coordinated with the office team to synch the tablets on a daily basis to upload the completed questionnaires to NAMA's servers.

NAMA's analysts then reviewed the data on a daily basis to apply quality assurance measures, which reviews for logic, context, misspunching, or other unintended errors. The review looks at the data holistically along with assessing each enumerator's completed questionnaires.

Once the dataset passes the quality assurance measures, it is delivered to the data analysis team, who simultaneously handle the statistical analysis of the multiple-choice questions in addition to the coding and analysis of the open-ended answers through statistical analysis software such as SPSS & CPro.

1.4 Sample

As indicated earlier, the final achieved sample comprised of 1,256 respondent's representatives from the national sample and 822 respondent's representatives from the university student's sample. From the national sample, 50.3% were males and 49.7% were female respondents. From the university students' sample, 50.1% were males and 49.9% were female respondents.

For the national sample, 15.9% were respondents aged 18-24; 20.3% were aged 25-34; 20.3% were aged 35-44; 18.4% were aged 45-54; 13% were aged 55-64 and 12.1% were 65 years of age or older. For the university students' sample, 94.8% were respondents aged 18-24; 4.5% were aged 25-34; 0.4% were aged 35-44; 0.2% were aged 45-54; and 0.1% were 65 years of age or older.

In terms of geographic regions for the national sample, 59.2% of the respondents were from the Center Region (Amman, Balqa, Zarqa, and Madaba); 28.8% from the North Region (Irbid, Mafraq, Ajloun, and Jarash); and 12.1% from the South Region (Karak, Maan, Tafileh, and Aqaba).

In terms of geographic regions for the University student's sample, 63.1% of the respondents were from the Center Region (Amman, Balqa, Zarqa, and Madaba); 25.6% from the North Region (Irbid, Mafraq, Ajloun, and Jarash); and 1.4% from the South Region (Karak, Maan, Tafileh, and Aqaba).

For the purpose of this study, Jordanians aged 18 years and above were the targeted group. The National Census frame 2015 was used to design and draw the sample. The frame provided information on the Block level (the smallest Sampling Unit). This sample was designed to provide valid and reliable survey estimates across the entire Kingdom of Jordan including rural and urban areas, each of the twelve governorates, and smaller communities within. The sample was also designed to ensure reliable estimates on regional levels (North, Center, and South) and can provide an indication at the governorate level: North (covering Ajloun, Irbid, Jerash, and Mafraq),

Central (covering Amman, Balqa, Madaba, and Zarqa), and South (covering Aqaba, Karak, Ma'an, and Tafieleh).

Using the 2015 Jordan Population and Housing Census as a sampling frame, a sample of 1,223 households was drawn using stratified cluster sampling with a margin of error of ($\pm 2.5\%$) with confidence level of 95%. The Kingdom was subdivided into area units called census blocks, which were then regrouped to form clusters– the Primary Sampling Units (PSU-Blocks) for this survey. Stratification was achieved on three levels: the classification of governorates into rural and urban areas, administrative divisions within each urban and rural area, and clusters will be identified and selected within each administrative division. The distribution of the sample among these stratum will be distributed proportionally to the relative population size of each stratum (probability-proportional to the cluster size).

Once the clusters were sampled, a household listing operation of these clusters was conducted and a frame of the households in each cluster was developed. Collective homes such as student housing, prisons, nursing homes, factory accommodations were excluded as they do not fit the definition of a Jordanian Household. The sample was designed in way to cover the 12 governorates, using a stratified cluster proportional to size sampling method. The confidence level was about 95% at $\pm 2.5\%$ error.

2. Key Findings

2.1 General: Issues Facing Jordan

The focus of this study is to examine Jordanians’ knowledge levels and perceptions of reforms and political participation and representation in Jordan, with an emphasis on political parties. The responses of the respondents when asked about the most important issue facing Jordan today was a magnificent starter. The majority of the national sample and university students agreed on unemployment to be the most important issue facing Jordan today, with 61.3% of respondents from the national sample and 56.6% of university students. What is perceived by the variance between the two samples is that university students perceive a more immediate fear of not receiving a job currently or after graduating.

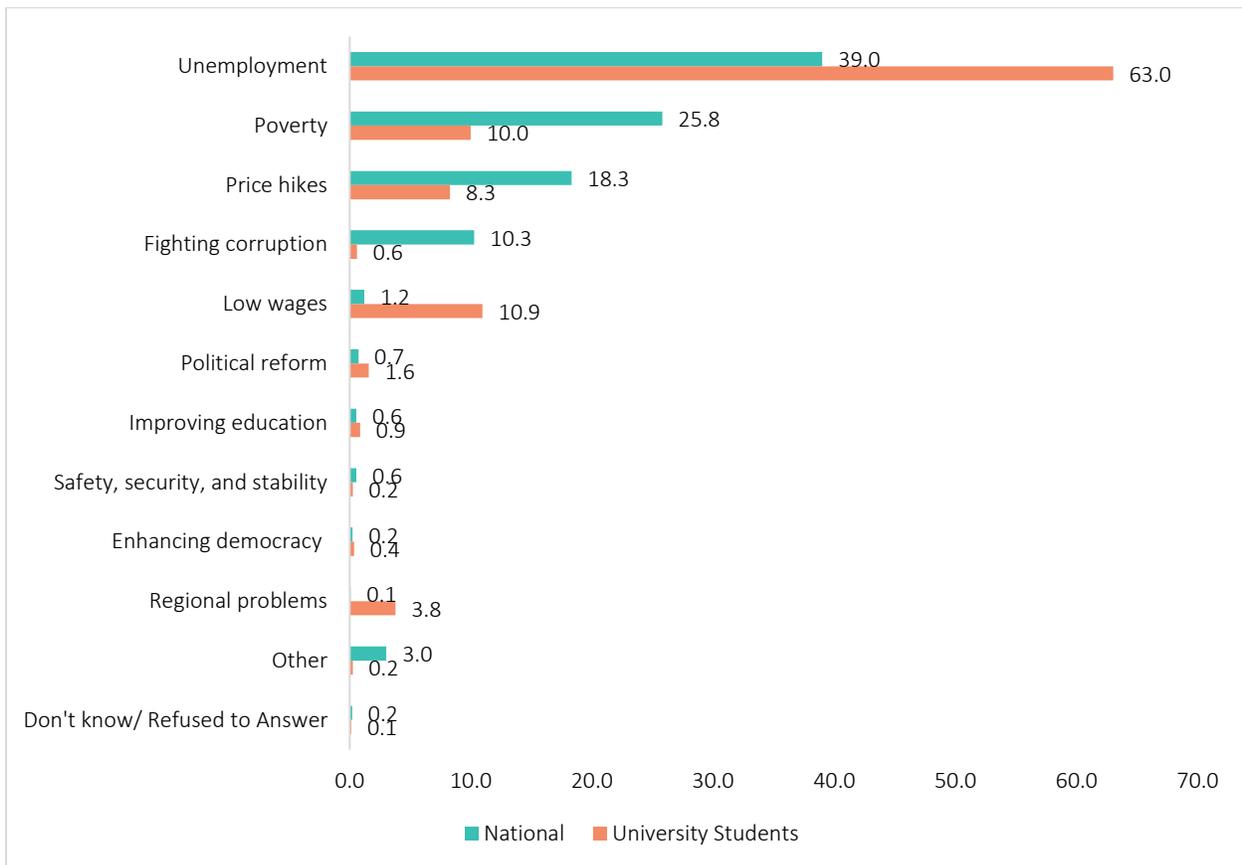


Figure 1: Of the following, what is the most important issue for Jordan today?

Of the 37 individuals from the national sample who identified other issues, 24.3% stated that all of the issues (unemployment, poverty, price hikes, fighting corruption, low wages, political reform, improving education, safety, security and stability, enhancing democracy and regional problems) were important at the current time, followed by the economy with 13.5% and drugs with 10.8%. For the university students’ sample, 31 indicated other issues, of those, 12.9% agreed on the economy, another 12.9% agreed on transportation to be the most important issues facing Jordan currently, and 9.7 stated that moral problems must be addressed with the other issues.

2.2 Participation

The second section of the survey delved into Jordanians’ perceptions toward their political participation.

2.2.1 Political Interest

The survey asked the respondents about the extent of their interest in politics. For that, 61.3% of respondents from the national sample are very uninterested compared to only 4.9% who are very interested. The same pattern appears among university students, as 56.6% were very uninterested compared to 5.6% who were very interested.

These results show that the majority of respondents are not interested in politics which can be related to several reasons. For instance, the inefficiency of the political parties, the low political participation among citizens, and weak political knowledge and awareness could affect Jordanians’ interest in political parties.

2.2.2 Freedom of Expression

When the respondents were asked about the extent to which they feel that they can freely and publicly express their opinion without fear of reprisal, 52.4% of respondents from the national sample indicated that they can freely express their opinion from a large to a medium extent, compared to 65.5% of university students sample indicated from a large to a medium extent. This means that the respondents believe that they have a solid level of freedom of expression, coupled with an emerging trend across the region that Gen-Z individuals are relatively more outspoken.

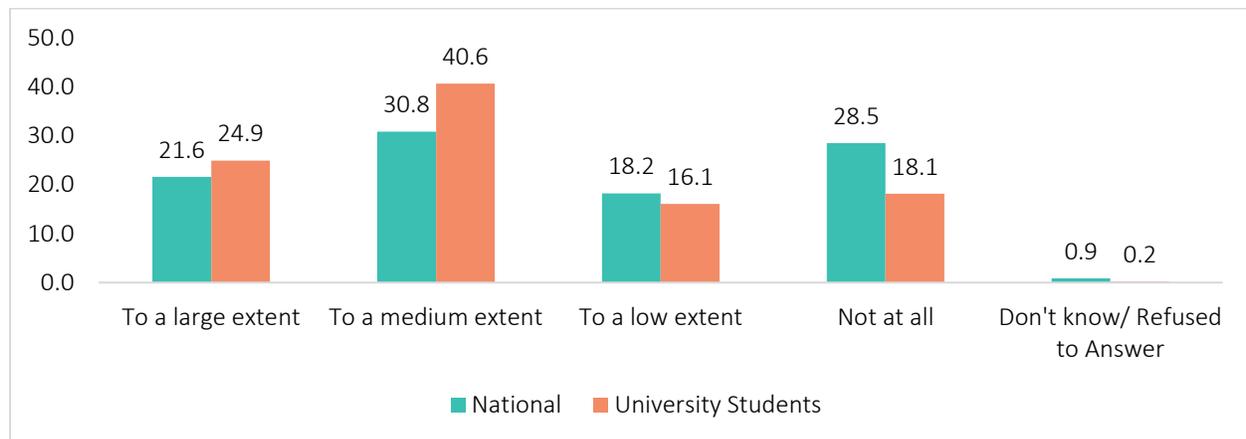


Figure 2: To what extent do you feel that you can freely and publicly express your opinion without fear of reprisal?

2.2.3 Political Participation

After analyzing the Survey results, it is notable that the level of political participation of the respondents was low. For instance, 99.1% of the respondents from the national sample have not volunteered for a political party, 97.9% have not joined a demonstration, and 97.2% have not advocated for a certain issue at parliament over the past few years. The only exception was voting in any type of elections, as 57.8% indicated they had voted in the past few years. The same applies to university students, as 97.8% did not volunteer for a political party, 95.5% did not sign a petition, and about 95.1% did not join a demonstration.

When it comes to social participation, the percentages were higher, as 89.3% stated they had attended a Jaha (engagements or weddings) and attended an Azzaa with 93.2%. Similarly, 90.4% of the university students' sample attended a Azzaa and 91.7% attended a Jaha (engagements or weddings).

To that end, it can be extrapolated that the majority of respondents are more interested in participating in social activities such as Jaha than participating in political activities.

Furthermore, 95.5% of the respondents from the national sample indicated they were not invited by a political party to attend an event in the past 12 months, compared to 90.8% of university students. 99.2% of the national sample have not participated in a political party event over the past 12 months and 97% of university students sample have not participated either.

Of those who had participated in such events in the past 12 months (8 adult Jordanians and 21 university students), 50% of the national sample indicated that the events they participated in were very useful or somewhat useful, and 81% of the university students sample indicated very useful or somewhat useful. When they were asked if they would go again, 62.5% of the national sample indicated that they would go again, compared to 66.7% of the university students' sample.

Those who were not invited were asked if they were invited, would they attend, to which 91% of respondents from the national sample indicated that they would not and 85.1% of respondents from university students' sample indicated the same.

The survey also found that 98.9% of the national sample were not affiliated with any political party, compared to about 98.5% of university students. Those who are affiliated with a political party were asked about the reasons behind supporting a political party. The majority of respondents indicated having political aspirations, to develop their political culture, their belief that any reform will be through political parties and fighting corruption through political parties in an organized manner were important reasons to support a political party.

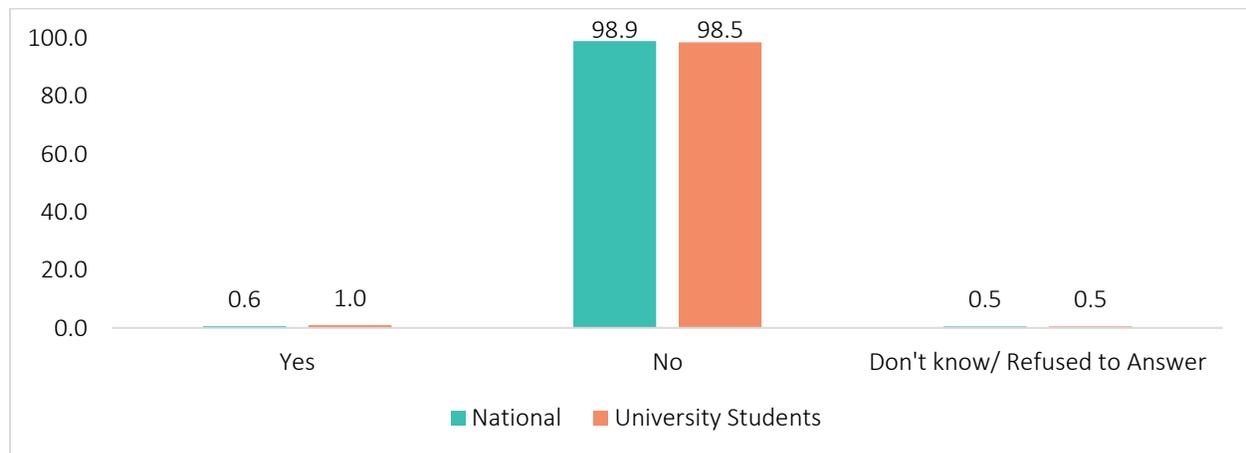


Figure 3: Are you affiliated with a political party?

When asked if they have reached out to a parliamentarian over the past 2 years in regards to finding a job, addressing the issue of unemployment general, addressing poverty in general, or addressing a demand they have, 89.3% of the national sample did note reach out to a parliamentarian to find a job. In addition, 91% did not reach out to address the issue of

unemployment in general, 93.6% did not reach out to address poverty in general, and about 85.8% did not reach out to address a demand they have.

As for the university students' sample, 94% did not reach to a parliamentarian over the past 2 years to find a job; 92.8% did not reach out to address the issue of unemployment in general; 93.8% did not reach out to address poverty in general; and 89.4% did not reach out to address a demand they have.

This could indicate that respondents do not trust parliamentarians to address their issues efficiently and mitigate the impact of the issue. Further, it appears that political participation rates are low even though the majority stated that they can freely express their opinion to a large to or medium extent.

2.3 Knowledge/Awareness

This section of the survey looked to understand the respondents' knowledge and perceptions of politics and political parties. The results are as follows:

2.3.1 Political Knowledge

The respondents were asked to name political parties in Jordan. For the national sample, 64.7% did not know any political party in Jordan, compared to 70.4% from the university students' sample. As the majority in both samples were not aware of any political parties in Jordan, this finding indicates that the political parties in Jordan are lacking in terms of raising awareness and in educating people about their mission or their presence in the political avenue.

The significance of the responses provided by both the national sample and the university students were similar regarding their knowledge about political parties. The majority of both samples did not know anything about political parties, and many of the respondents stated the names of political parties located outside Jordan such as Hezbollah, which represents the lack of political awareness and knowledge.

2.3.2 Perceptions of Political Parties

When the respondents were asked about which of the existing political parties comes closest to represent their political, economic, and social interest, 59.4% of the respondents from the national sample and 67.3% of the university students' sample believed that none of them represents their interest.

2.4 Representation

The fourth section of the State of Political Participation and Representation in Jordan survey asked the respondents from both groups about the extent to which they feel political parties, CSOs/CBOs, parliament, cooperative associations, governorate council, municipal council, labor/ trade union, government, religious leaders, and tribe represent them.

Firstly, 83.6% of the national sample indicated that political parties do not represent them at all; 70.3% indicated that CSOs/CBOs do not represent them at all; and 71.7% stated that the parliament does not represent them at all. 64.9% also stated that cooperative associations do not

represent them at all; 60% indicated that governorate unit does not represent them at all and 53.3% stated that municipal council does not represent them at all either. For labor/ trade union, 67.2% of the respondents indicated that it does not represent them at all; 53.2% indicated that the government does not represent them at all and 54.3% indicated that religious leaders do not represent them at all. As the tribal community has a significant present in Jordan, 50.3% of the respondents indicated that the tribe represent them to a large extent.

When it comes to the university students' sample, 57.5% of the respondents indicated that the tribe represents them to a large extent. Nevertheless, 50.7% stated that cooperative associations do not represent them at all; 51.9% stated that religious leaders do not represent them at all; 60.9% stated that CSOs/CBOs do not represent them at all; and 56.9% indicated that labor/ trade union does not represent them at all. For political parties, 78.6% indicated that they do not represent them at all; 48.7% indicated that governorate council does not represent them at all; 45% of the respondents indicated that the municipal council does not represent them at all; 53.3% stated the same about the parliament; and 38.7% stated the government does not represent them at all.

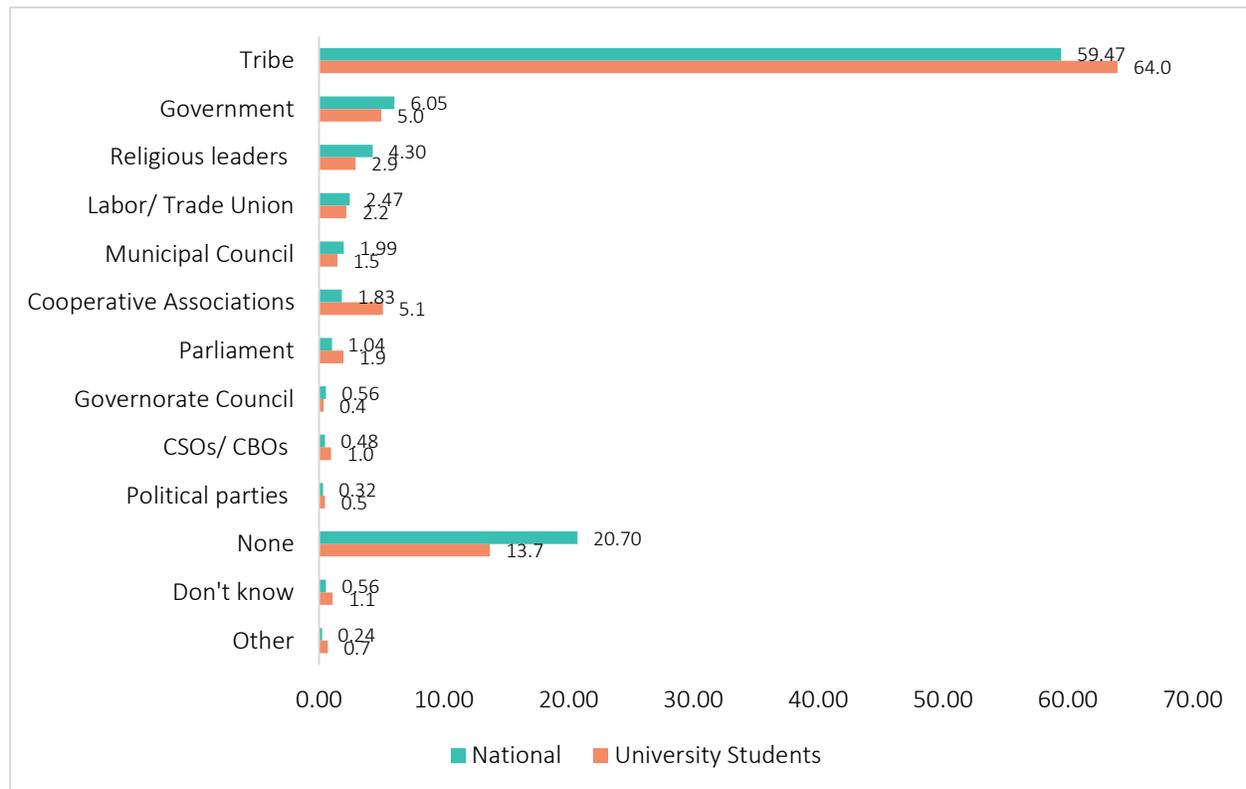


Figure 4: Which of them would be the best representation of your interests?

These results show a weak link between Jordanians and the parties that should reflect and represent their needs and issues. In fact, when the respondents were asked which of the previously mentioned entities would be the best representation of their interest, the majority of both groups stated that the tribe would be the best representation of their interests (59.5% national, 64% university students), which could be due to the nature of the tribal communities in Jordan.

2.5 Effectiveness of Political Parties

2.5.1 Status of Political Parties' Effectiveness

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they believe that political parties are currently effective. Based on the results of the previous section where the majority of respondents indicated that political parties do not represent them at all, in this section as well the majority of respondents from both samples indicated that political parties are currently very ineffective (64.3% of the national sample and 51.3% of the university students).

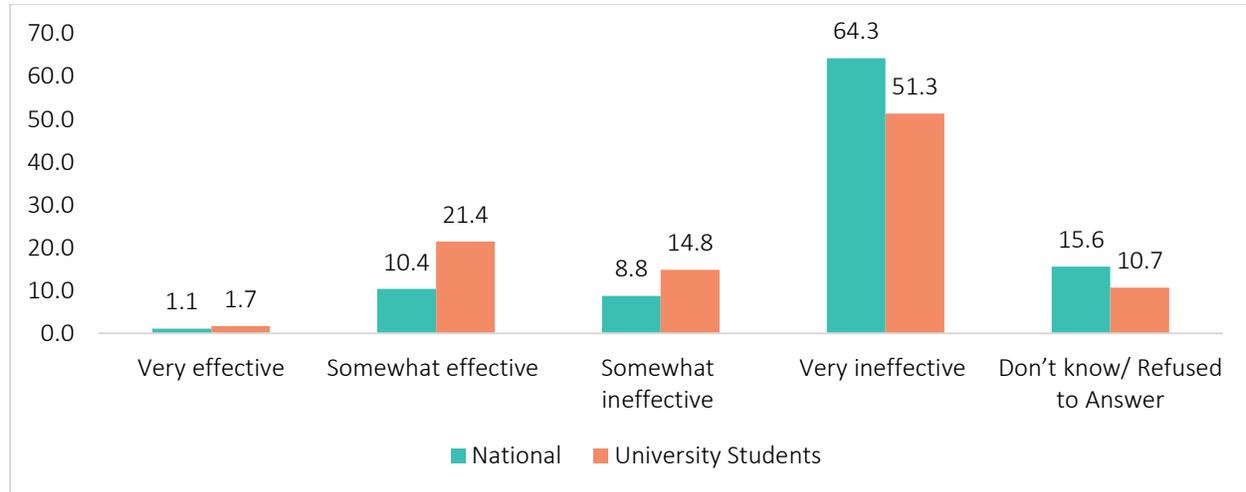


Figure 5: Overall, to what extent do you believe political parties are currently effective?

The survey followed up with the respondents and asked them about the reasons for the ineffectiveness of political parties. For the national sample, 65.3% of the respondents totally agreed or somewhat agreed that the lack of meaningful programs is one of the reasons behind political parties' ineffectiveness. Another reason is that political parties do not address people's needs, as 72.9% totally agreed or somewhat agreed. Further, 68.9% totally agreed or somewhat agreed that the fear of reprisal is a reason for political parties' ineffectiveness.

Moreover, 68.3% of the university sample totally agreed or somewhat agreed that political parties' programs do not address people's needs, 69.8% agreed or totally agreed or somewhat agreed that political parties lack appropriate leaders, 72.5% totally agreed or somewhat agreed that fear of reprisal is one of the reasons of political parties' ineffectiveness.

62.5% of the national sample indicated that political parties are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence CSOs/CBOs decisions in a way that reflects their orientation and goals; 61.9% indicated that they are somewhat unable to not able at all to influence society's value system; 60.5% indicated that they are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence the media decisions; and about 61.5% said that they are somewhat or not able at all to influence universities decisions.

For the parliament, 65.1% of the respondents from the national sample stated that political parties are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence Its decisions; 6.7% stated that political parties are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence professional associations and trade union decisions; and 63.5% indicated that political parties are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence the government decision.

The majority of university students sample found political parties to be somewhat unable or not able at all to influence the previously mentioned institutions decisions in a way that reflects their orientation and goals. For instance, 54.4% stated that they are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence society value system decisions; 55.5% stated that they are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence professional associations and trade union decisions; and 58.9% stated that that political parties are somewhat unable or not able at all to influence the parliament decisions.

Furthermore, the respondents were asked about the extent to which they believe that political parties were capable of addressing their issues. The majority of respondents from the national sample and university sample indicated that political parties were somewhat incapable or not capable at all to address issues such as Jordan’s foreign relation, health, energy-fuel prices, energy electricity prices, crime, poverty, prices, inflation, water scarcity, fighting corruption, education, and unemployment.

More specifically, 71.5% of the national sample found political parties somewhat incapable or not capable at all to address Jordan’s foreign relations; 78.1% indicated that they are somewhat incapable or not capable at all to address fuel prices; and 79.1% indicated that they are incapable or not capable at all to address poverty. For university students’ sample, 63.4% indicated that political parties are somewhat incapable or not capable at all to address issues facing the education sector; 72.5% indicated that they are somewhat incapable or not capable at all to address crime; and 67.1% indicated the same in relation to addressing the issue of unemployment.

2.5.2 Political Parties and Democracy’s Consolidation

36.6% of respondents from the national sample indicated that political parties are very important or somewhat important for democracy’s consolidation, whereas 47.5% indicated that they are somewhat unimportant or not important at all. For university students’ sample, 56.4% stated that they are very important to somewhat important, compared to 36.3% who stated that they are somewhat unimportant or not important at all.

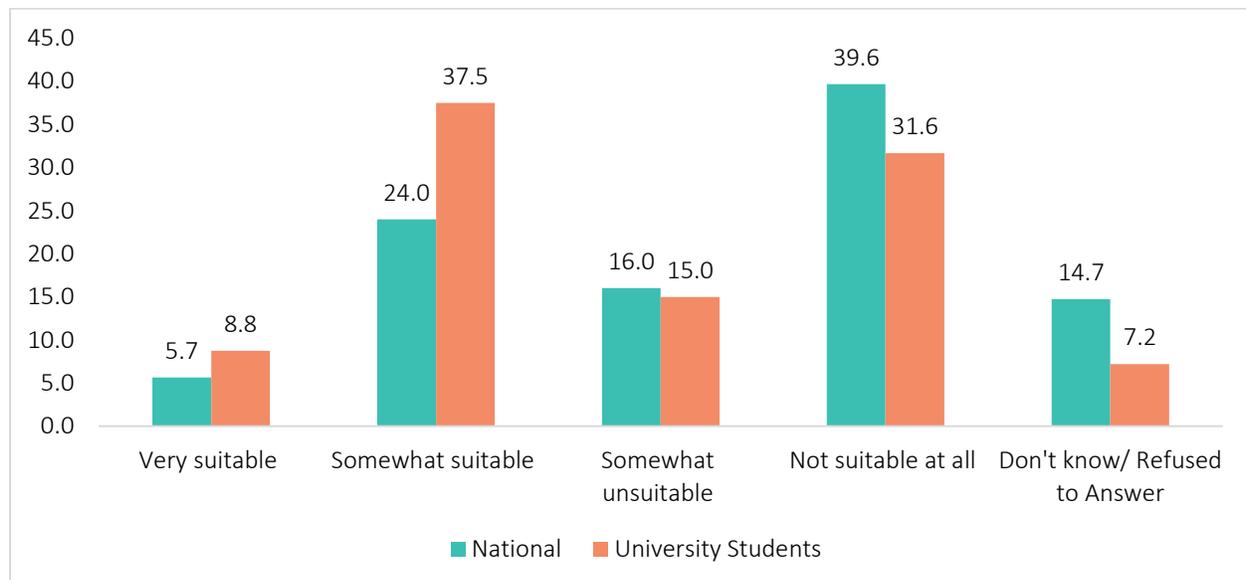


Figure 6: To what extent do you think political parties are important for democracy’s consolidation?

2.5.3 Political Parties and the Jordanian Culture

When respondents were asked about the extent to which they think political parties were suitable for the Jordanian culture, 29.7% of the national sample stated that political parties were very suitable or somewhat suitable for the Jordanian culture, compared to 55.6% who indicated that they are somewhat unsuitable or not suitable at all for the Jordanian culture.

As for the university students, 46.3% indicated that they were very suitable or somewhat suitable for the Jordanian culture while 46.6% indicated that they are somewhat unsuitable or not suitable at all for the Jordanian culture.

2.5.4 Political Parties' Contribution to the Political and Economic Reform

The survey then asked the respondents about how political parties could contribute to political and economic reforms. For that, 15.6% of the national sample and 13.3% of university students sample indicated that they could contribute to the political and economic reform by improving the economic conditions. Further, 15.3% of the national sample and 19.6% of university students indicated establishing effective political parties and encouraging political reform they can contribute to the political and economic reform.

25.2% of the national sample and 24.2% of the students' sample were not sure about how political parties can contribute to the political and economic reform. This could indicate that political parties do not announce their programs in an effective way to reach more Jordanians. It could also mean that Jordanians do not trust their performance to contribute to such reforms.

2.6 Democracy and Political Parties

2.6.1 Political Participation

The survey looked to assess Jordanians' interest in political parties. Both national and university students were asked about their degree of interest in political interest. For that, 89.6% of the national sample stated that they were somewhat uninterested or very uninterested in political parties, while only 8.2% were very interested or somewhat interested. Similarly, 86.8% of the university students' sample were somewhat uninterested or very uninterested in political parties as well, and 12% were very interested or somewhat interested in political parties.

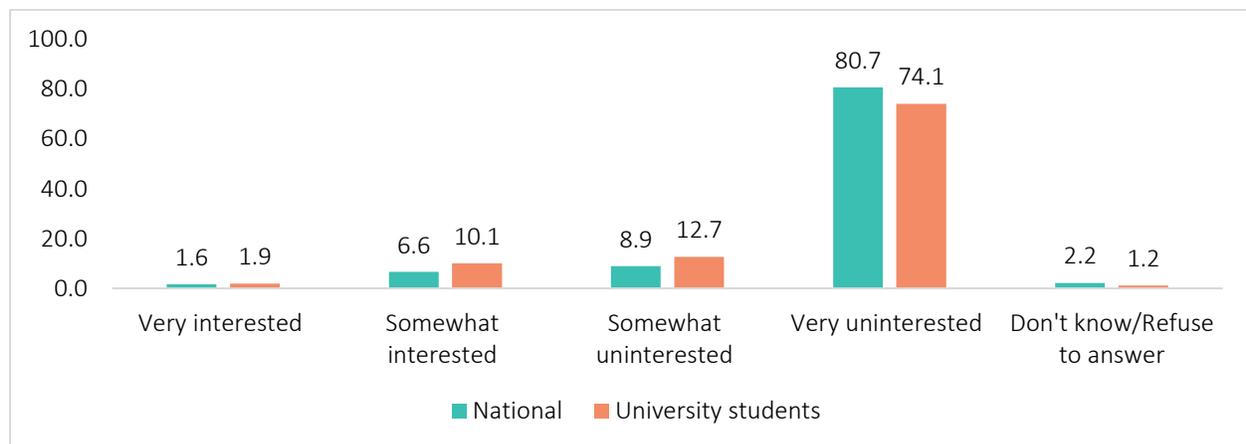


Figure 7: To what extent are you interested in political parties?

To discuss the willingness of the respondents to participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections in 2024 and municipal elections in 2025, both samples were asked about the extent to which they would vote for a political party in the parliamentary elections of 2024. The majority of both samples indicated they would definitely not vote for a political party (65.4% of the national sample and 63% from the university student's sample). Then, 23.1% of the national sample and 23.2% from the university students sample stated that they would definitely vote for a political party or probably would vote for a political party in the parliamentary elections of 2024.

Furthermore, 69.3% of the national sample stated that they would probably or definitely not vote for a political party in the municipal elections of 2025, while 24.2% believe that they would probably or definitely vote for a political party. Only 6.5% had no idea or refused to answer. The university students' sample was similar, as 70.6% would probably or definitely not vote for a political party in the upcoming municipal elections, as 32.1% agreed on probably or definitely vote for a political party.

The respondents were then asked about the extent to which they would be willing to vote should parliamentary elections be held the next day. The results show that 54.9% of the national sample and 51% of the university student sample would probably or definitely not vote, compared to 41.7% of the national sample and 46.1% of the university students' sample who would definitely or probably vote.

Consequently, 517 respondents of the national sample and 379 respondents of the university students' sample who would vote in such parliamentary elections were asked about their reasons. Over 30% of the aforementioned respondents believed that they would want to vote if the candidate is competent, trustworthy, and provides services and jobs, as 19.5% of the national sample and 22.4% of the university students' sample stated that it was their right to vote and participate in public life.

On the other hand, of those who would not want to vote, 49.7% of the national respondents and 48% of the university students' respondents believe that nothing will change. Another 9% of the national respondents and 22.2% of the university students' respondents are not interested in politics and elections. Additionally, 12.3% of the national respondents and 7.6% of the university students' respondents are not convinced of elections as a way to participate in public life. 44.7% out of 38 national respondents from the aforementioned sample stated that the candidates are not trustworthy, and 3 out of 6 university students from the sample agreed that candidates are not trustworthy as well.

2.6.2 Relevance and Challenges

As the respondents were asked about the most important issues facing Jordan, it was fair to ask them about the best systems to address those issues. To that end, 32.6% of the national sample supported a parliamentary system in which nationalist, left wing, centrist, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections. This was followed by 19.5% who identified a system where a strong authority makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition. An interesting 19.3% stated that a system governed by Islamic law without political parties or elections can solve the issues Jordanians face. Moreover, 9.1% agreed on a parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections, and

only 1.9% believed that a government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process can solve the issues facing Jordanians.

For the university students, the responses differed; 30.7% agreed that the system to solve the Jordanian issues is a system governed by Islamic law without political parties or elections. Another 25.8% preferred a parliamentary system in which nationalist, left wing, centrist, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections. Furthermore, 16.7% believe that a government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process can solve the issues facing Jordanians, while 9.5% would rather a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition. The minimum percentage of 2.6% believed that a parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections is a system suitable for solving issues. The respondents who had no idea or refused to answer gathered at 14.8%.

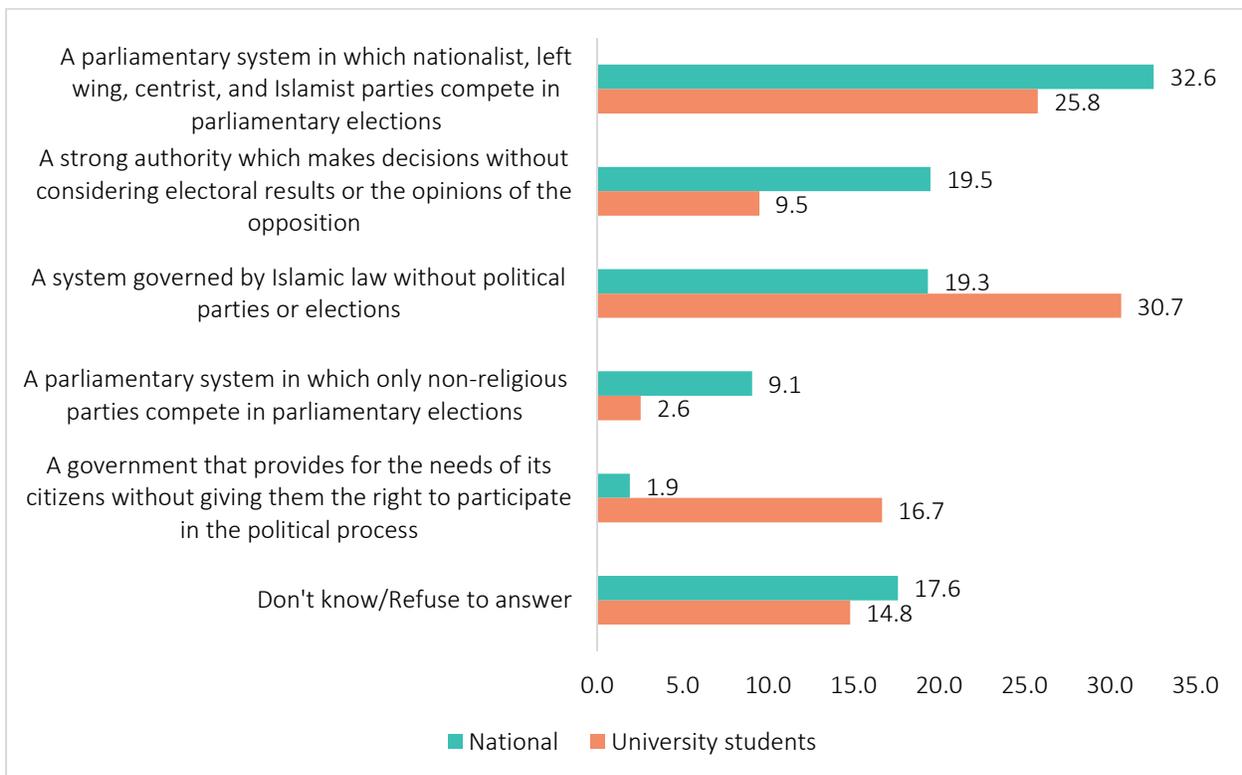


Figure 8: Which of these systems is best to solve issues you see as most important

It can be indicated that over 50% of the respondents from both samples believe that vote buying, nepotism, and bullying are very prevalent in elections – which hinder the efficacy and reputation of elections among Jordanian. In fact, 60.8% of the national sample believe that forcing to vote in a certain direction is very to somewhat prevalent in elections, and 34.8% stated that they find forcing to vote in a certain direction is somewhat or very rare. Additionally, 73.9% of the university students sample believe that forcing to vote in a certain direction is very to somewhat prevalent in elections, and only 21% stated that they find forcing to vote in a certain direction is somewhat or very rare.

2.6.3 Citizens: Parties and Ideologies

The respondents were asked to choose an option that expresses their point of view on three political parties that adopt approaches regarding paying the cost of school education. The results show that 77.6% of the national sample and 75.1% of the university students' sample supported a political party that advocates for primary and secondary school education to be fully paid for by the government. Of those who identified a party that advocates for shared coverage, they were asked about the percentage that parents should pay. The results show that 42.6% believe that the parents should pay 50%, and 10.9% stated 20% of education tuition.

When it comes to university education, 64.3% of the national sample and 65.8% of the university students' sample would vote for a political party that advocates for higher education to be fully paid for by the government, followed by 20.8% of the national sample and 22.1% of the national students' sample who would vote for a party that advocates for the option of higher education costs to be shared equally between parents and the government.

Following the same approach to identify the respondent's best option to support their view on healthcare expenses, 76.7% of the national sample and 79.7% of the university students' sample support that healthcare sector expenses are fully paid for by public funds, followed by 9.3% of the national sample and 9.2% of the university students' sample who would vote for a party that advocates for shared costs between individuals and public funds. They were asked to indicate the percentage that the individuals should pay. As such, 41.9% out of 117 national respondents believe that individuals should pay 50% of the healthcare expenses, followed by 14.5% who stated that 30% is the percentage that individuals should pay.

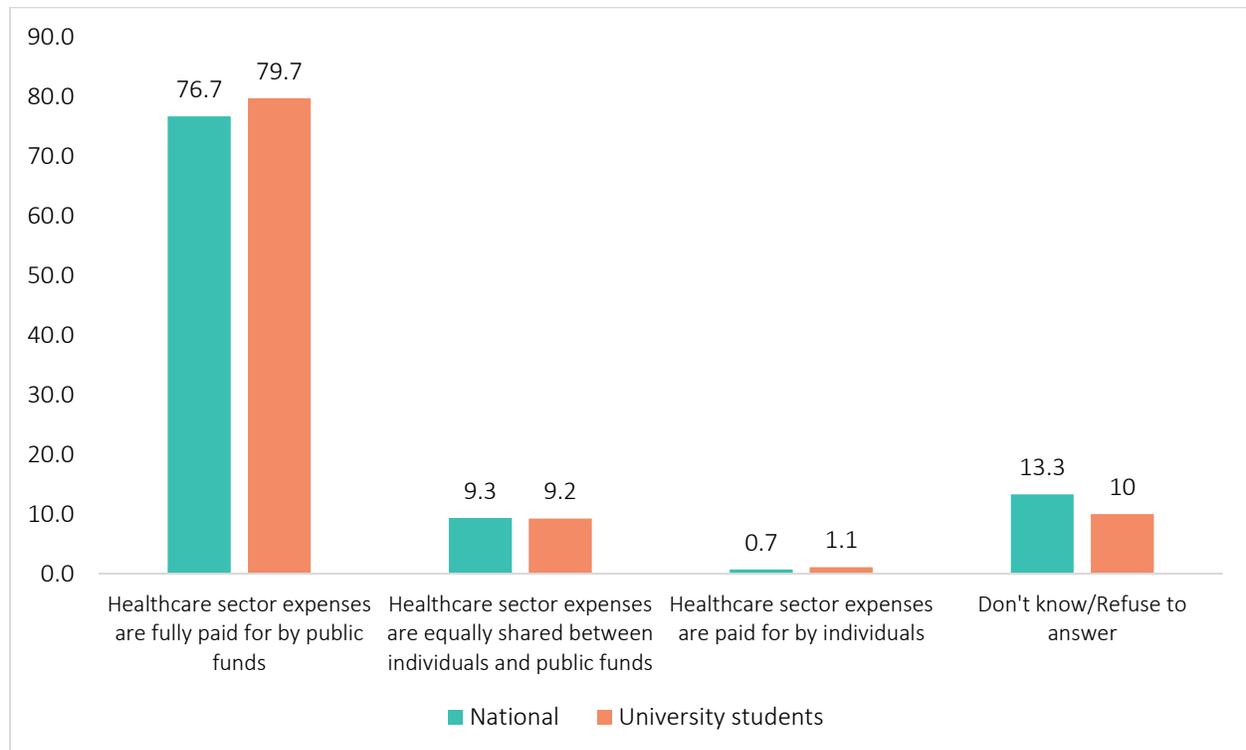


Figure 9: There are three political parties that adopt the following choices in regards to paying the cost of healthcare expenses, which are (read the three options). Which of them expresses your point of view on this subject?

Moreover, considering the cost of public transportation system expressed by the respondent's point of view, 52.7% of the national sample and 53.9% of the university students' sample support a fully government-subsidized public transportation system. On the other hand, 29.5% of the national sample and 30.2% of the university students' sample support a partially government-subsidized public transportation system, indicating they would vote for parties that advocate for such policies. Another 4.2% of the national sample and 5.5% of the university students' sample indicated they would opt for a political party that advocates for citizens to pay the actual transportation costs approach.

The respondents were then asked to indicate if they would vote for a party that advocates for the full preservation of the environment and or full economic growth at the expense of the environment, or somewhere in between. For that, 53.5% of the national sample and 56.2% of the university students' sample stated that they would vote for the one that balances the preservation of the environment with economic growth, followed by 26.4% of the national sample and 28.1% of the university students' sample who would opt for the full preservation of the environment regardless of economic growth.

The inclusion of women was the next scenario. When asked about which political party they would vote for, 37.4% of the national sample and 55.5% of the university students' sample stated they would vote for a party that advocates for more women inclusion in the political process, whereas 26.8% of national sample and 23.1% of the university students' sample would opt for a party that advocates for keeping the status of women inclusion in the political process as is now. Similarly, for the inclusion of youth in the political process, 64.3% of the national sample and 73.2% of the university students' sample indicated they would vote for a political party that advocates for more youth inclusion in the political process is preferable.

All the responds indicate that the majority would like to see a political party adopting policies that improve the educational sector, healthcare sector, transportation system, preservation of the environment and economic growth, more inclusion of women, and more inclusion of youth in the political process. Most of these orientations would increase government spending, meaning they would result in a bigger role for the government.

2.7 Future of Political Parties

2.7.1 Inclusion of Political Parties in the Government

In this section, the survey aimed to study respondents' perspective regarding the future of political parties in Jordan in terms of its role and inclusion in the government. To that end, the respondents were asked if they think that the role of political parties in the next 10 years will be larger than it is now, as it is now, or less than it is now. The results show that 18.5% of the national sample and 18.9% of university students sample indicated that the role of political parties in the next 10 years will be larger than it is now, 28.9% of national sample and 35.8% of university students sample indicated that the role of political parties in the next 10 years will be as it is now, compared to 27.5% of the national sample and 31.4% of university students indicated that their role will be less.

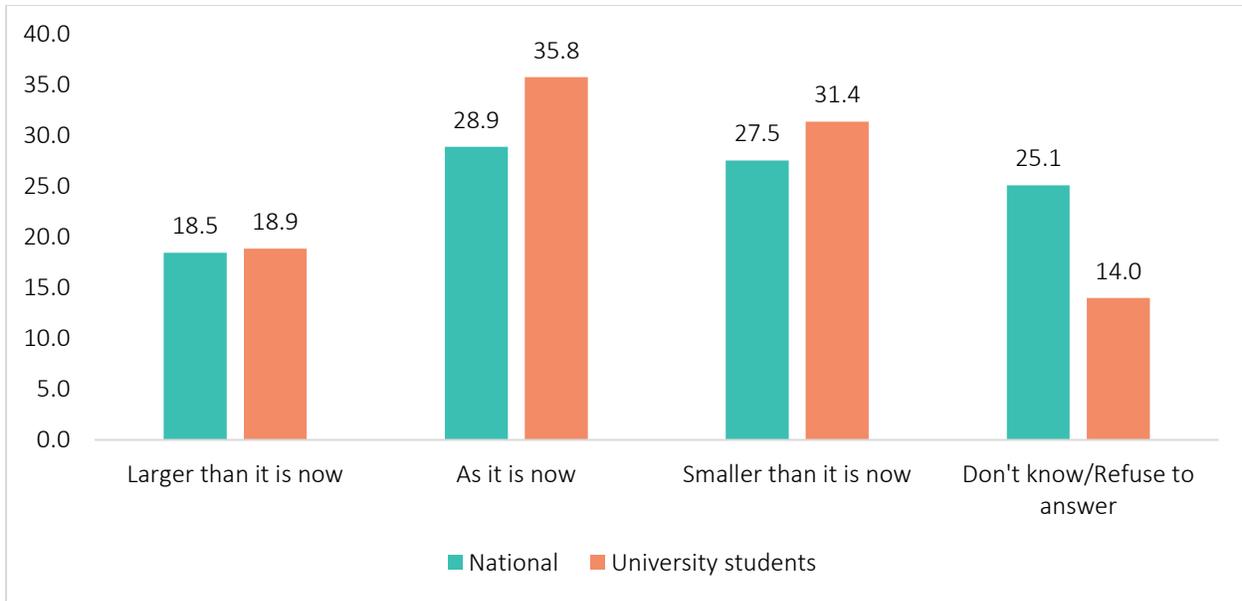


Figure 10: Do you think the role of political parties in the next 10 years will be larger than it is now, as it is now, less than it is now?

Moreover, 13.4% of the national sample and 18.7% of university students sample stated that political parties will be able to form a government in Jordan within 5 to 10 years. This was followed by 8.4% of the national sample and 13.9% of university students sample who stated they will be able to do so within 11 to 20 years, and 4.5% of the national sample and 13.6% of university students sample indicated that they will be within 21 to 30 years.

As the respondents found political parties incapable to address the issues they face, 39.6% of the national sample and 31.9% of university students sample indicated that the political parties will never be able to form a government in Jordan.

The survey followed up with those who indicated that they will never be able to form a government and asked them to probe their thoughts. For that, 41.6% of the national sample and 32.8% of university students sample stated that it was due to the ineffectiveness and weakness of political parties. Another reason is governmental initiatives and restrictions from the authorities, as indicated by 20.9% of the national sample and 16% of university students' sample. Other reasons included corruption, nepotism, and favoritism along with the lack of inconsistent aims, and community's lack of awareness and fear to participate.

2.7.2 Consulting Political Parties

The respondents were asked if they believe that the prime minister should consult with political parties represented in the parliament, or with all political parties to form their government, or should they not consult with any political party. For that 15.1% of the national sample and 23% of the students' sample indicated that the prime minister should consult with political parties represented in the Parliament. 23.6% of the national sample and 26.9% of the students' sample also indicated that the prime minister should consult with all political parties. However, 35.7% of the national sample and 29.3% of the students' sample maintained that the prime minister should not consult with any political party.

2.7.3 Impact of Political Parties

In order to bring about change, political parties need to attract the attention of Jordanians by focusing on their issues of interest. For instance, 49% of the respondents from the national sample and 50.2% of university students indicated that economic reforms and the reduction of unemployment and high prices are some of the most important issues political parties should focus on to attract Jordanians’ attention. Further, 11% of the national sample and 12.2% of university students sample indicated that political reforms and enhancing transparency and accountability is another important issue political parties should focus on to attract their attention.

There are also several other issues political parties need to focus on to attract the attention of Jordanians. This includes responding to citizens’ needs and working for the public interest (5.2% national and 8.2% university students); enabling the role of political parties to define their vision (3.3% national, 2.7% university students); and developing the educational and healthcare sectors (2.2% national, 1.9% university students).

Following that – and to gauge the impact of political parties on Jordanians and the economic and political reform, the survey aimed to understand the extent to which Jordanians’ attitudes toward political parties have changed over the past 12 months. As a result, the majority of respondents from both samples stated that their attitudes have not changed, as 91.6% of the national sample and 91.2% of university students stated their attitudes had not changed, compared to 4.1% of the national sample and 6.8% of university students whose attitudes have changed.

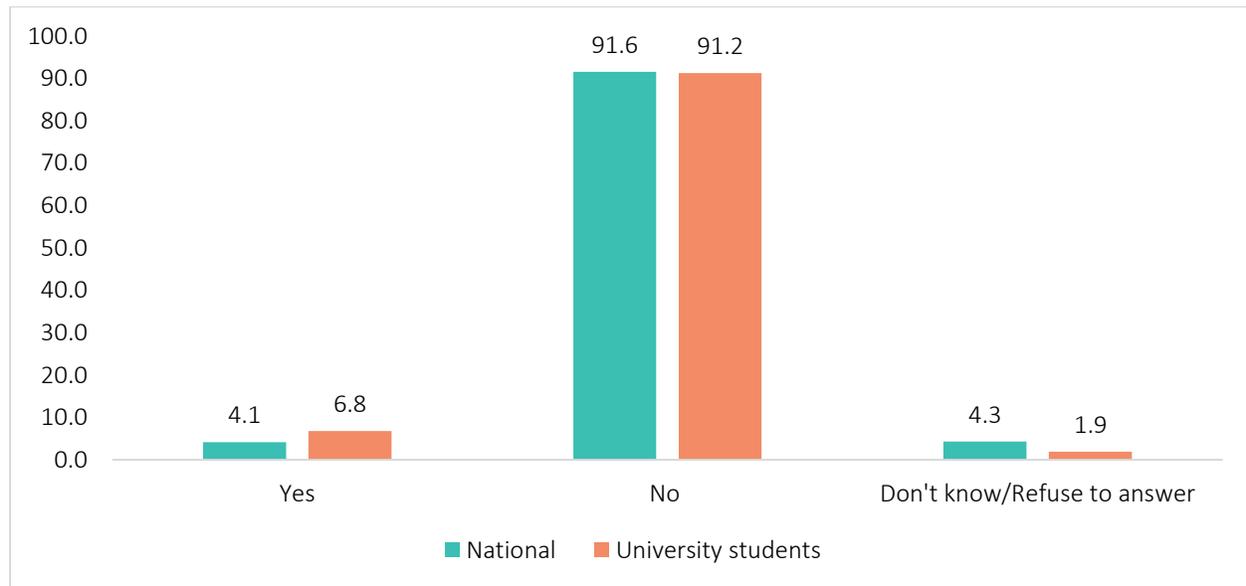


Figure 11: Have your attitudes changed toward political parties over the past 12 months?

Such results convey that political parties might have not yet planned new programs to shift Jordanians’ attitudes toward them, or perhaps it might be that Jordanians lack the political interest, as found through the second section of the survey.

Nevertheless, the survey followed up with the respondents who indicated that their attitudes have changed and asked them about how they have changed. The results show that 53.8% of the national sample and 84% of the students’ sample clarified that their attitudes have become much

more or somewhat more positive. On the other hand, 44.2% of the national sample and 16.1% of the students indicated their attitudes became somewhat more negative or much more negative.

This could be attributed to the new reforms through which university students enjoy a wider political sphere on university campuses.

2.8 Political Parties and Universities

2.8.1 Membership

In this section, the survey aimed to examine the level of political participation among university students only. The results show that an overwhelming majority (94.8%) of students stated that they were not currently a member of any association, party, or club, compared to only 4.1% who indicated they were members of such entities.

The survey also asked those who are members to identify the nature of association, party, or club. For that, 18.2% indicated they were members of health and sport clubs, 9.1% were members of student political party club, 9.1% were members of charity organization, 9.1% were members of law club, and 54.5% were members of other clubs.

2.8.2 Political Participation

The respondents were asked if they ever participated in student body elections on campus. The survey finds that 89.9% stated that they have not participated in such elections before, compared to 9.6% who stated that they have. Regarding participation in any event organized by a political party on campus, 97.6% indicated that they have not whereas only 1.7% indicated that they have. The survey followed up with those who have participated and found that 78.6% stated that they would not go again.

As for those who would not go again, they were asked if they were invited would they go, for which 86.5% stated that they would not. This shows a relatively poor experience with political party affiliated events. Further, 72.9% of the respondents somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the presence of political parties on university campuses while only 20.2% strongly support or somewhat support their presence.

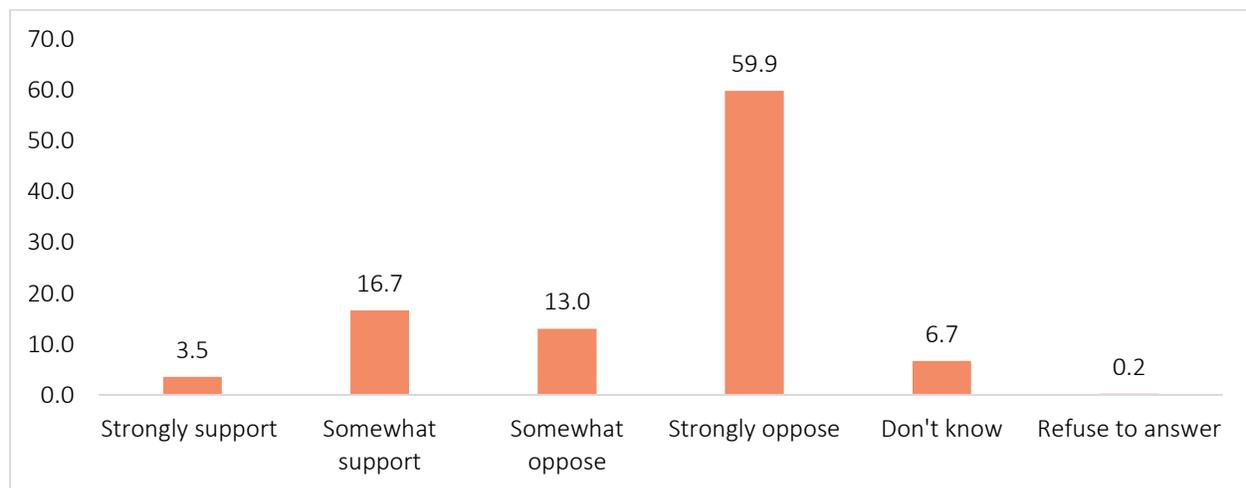


Figure 12: To what extent do you support the presence of political parties on university campuses?

Moreover, 19.5% strongly agreed or somewhat agreed that political parties are working on campuses to attract students to join parties in comparison with 73.9% who somewhat disagreed or strongly disagreed. In fact, 64.3% out of 810 respondents believe that nothing will entice them to join a political party. 807 respondents were asked about what would encourage them to join a student body-affiliated with a political party. The survey found that 68.4% of them stated that they do not care to join any party.

2.8.3 Freedom of Political Parties

When asked about what they believe would happen in an event someone was calling for a political party event on campus. The results show that 60.2% of respondents indicated that such a person would be questioned by the authorities while About 23.5% stated that they would not be questioned by anyone. This was a surprising finding and entails a low level of understanding and awareness of the recent reforms, which explicitly safeguard the freedom to hold such public meetings in public settings without any pushback.

2.8.4 Political Awareness

When respondents were asked about their awareness level regarding the recommendations put forth by the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System on youth and political parties, only 6.6% indicated that they were aware and have read them, followed by 12.9% who indicated they were aware but have not read them, and 79.1% who indicated that they were not aware of those recommendations.

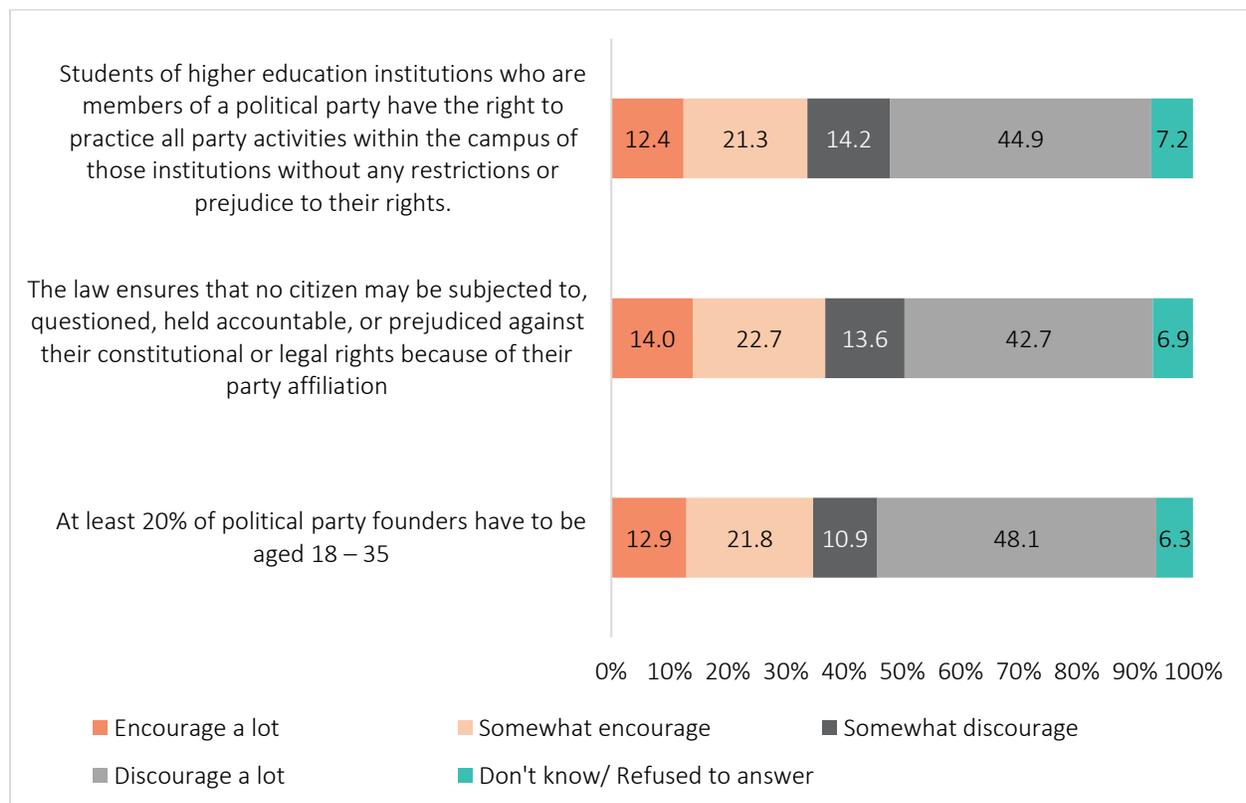


Figure 13: To what extent are the following amendments in relation to youth and political parties likely to encourage you to engage with political parties:

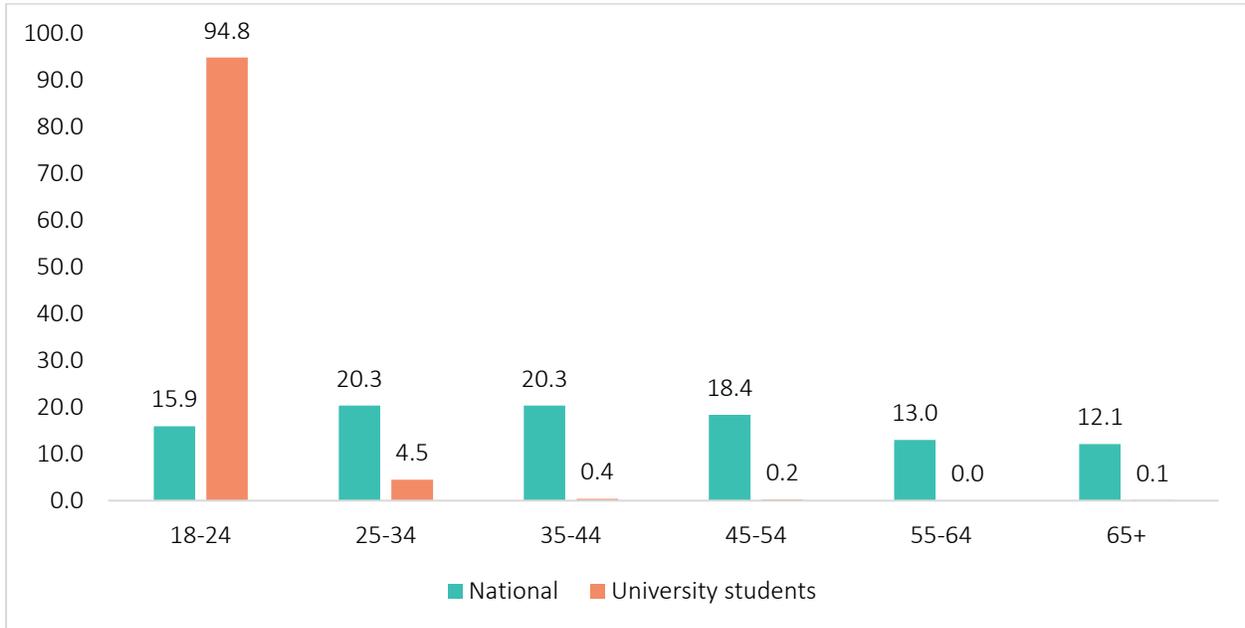
Furthermore, the respondents were asked to identify the extent to which youth and political party amendments would likely encourage them to engage with political parties. The results show that 59% indicated they were somewhat discouraged or discouraged a lot about the recommendation that “at least 20% of political party founders have to be aged 18-35”. Additionally, 56.3% of the students stated they were somewhat discouraged or discouraged a lot about that “the law ensures that no citizen may be subjected to, questioned, held accountable, or prejudiced against their constitutional or legal rights because of their party affiliation.”

59.1% of the students also indicated that they were somewhat discouraged or discouraged a lot about that “students of higher education institutions who are members of a political party have the right to practice all party activities within the campus of those institutions without any restrictions or prejudice to their rights.”

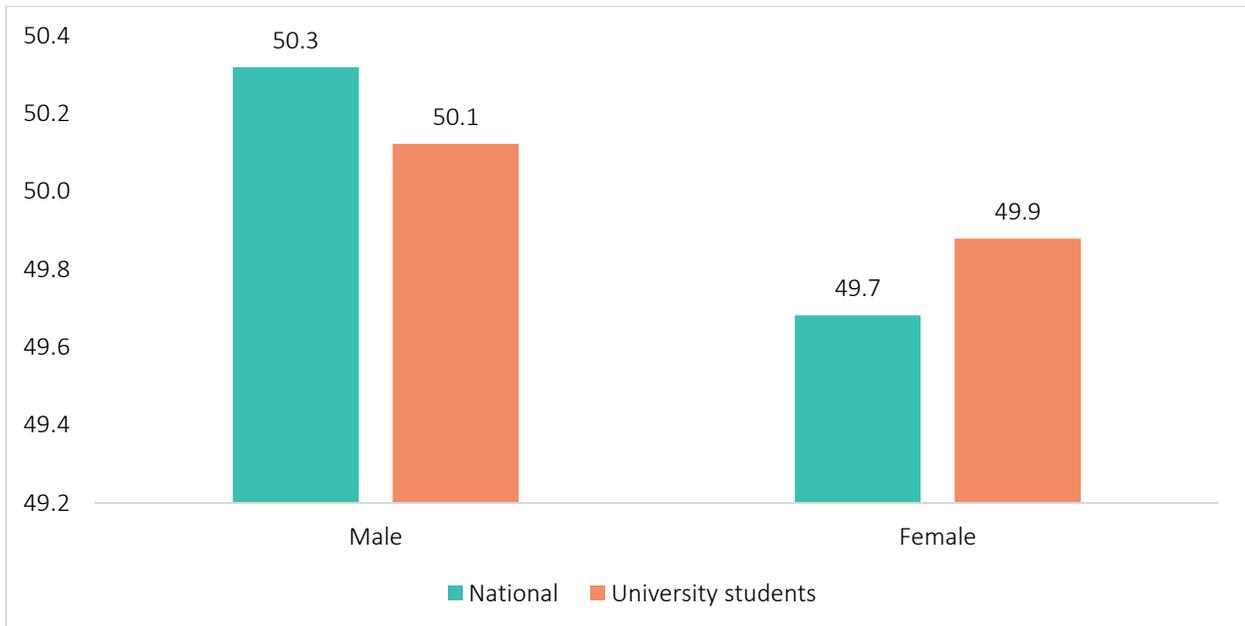
As such, the survey results show that university students demonstrated low political participation rates, as the majority were not a part of any political party and had not attended any event organized by them.

3. Demographics

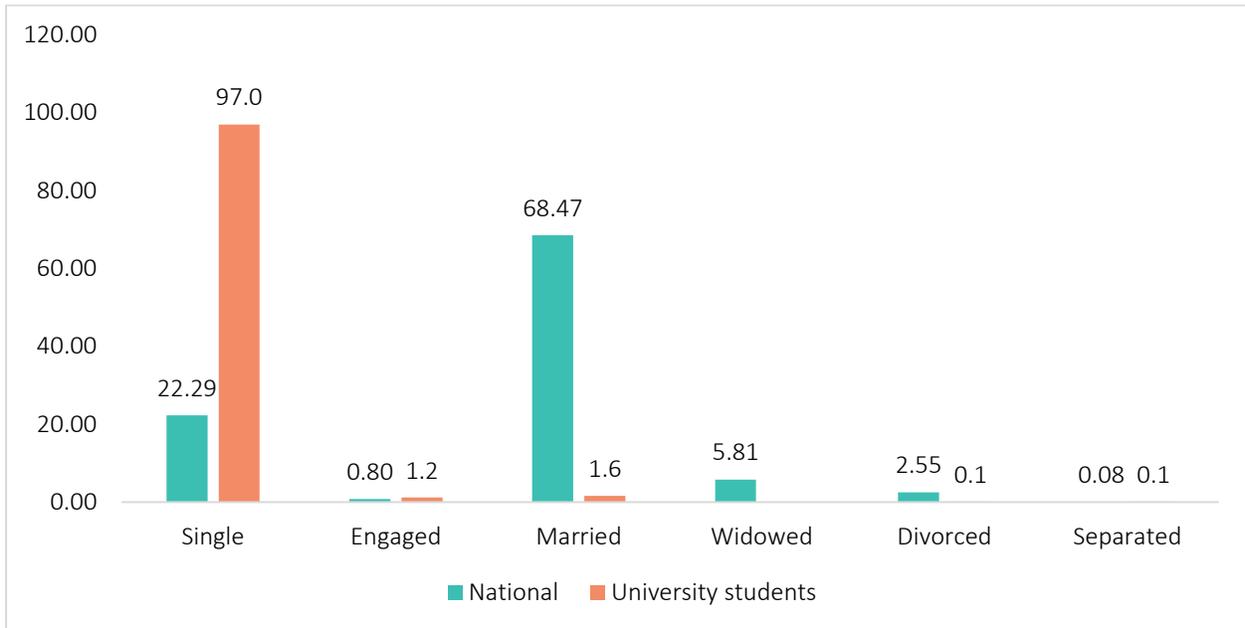
3.1 Age



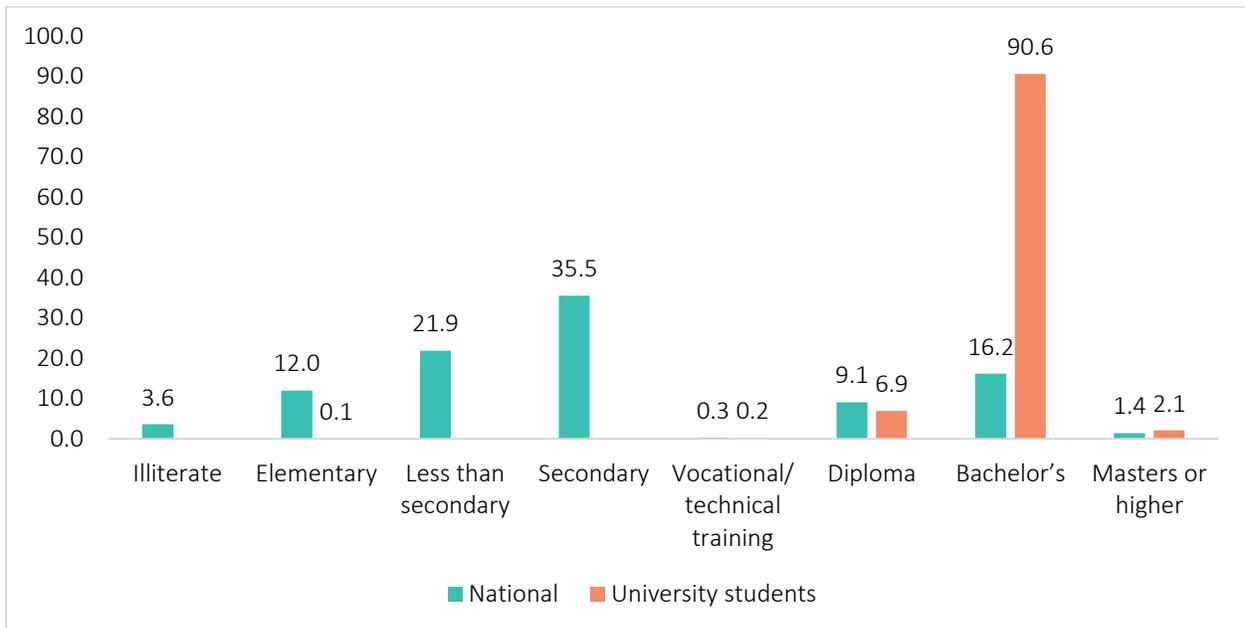
3.2 Gender



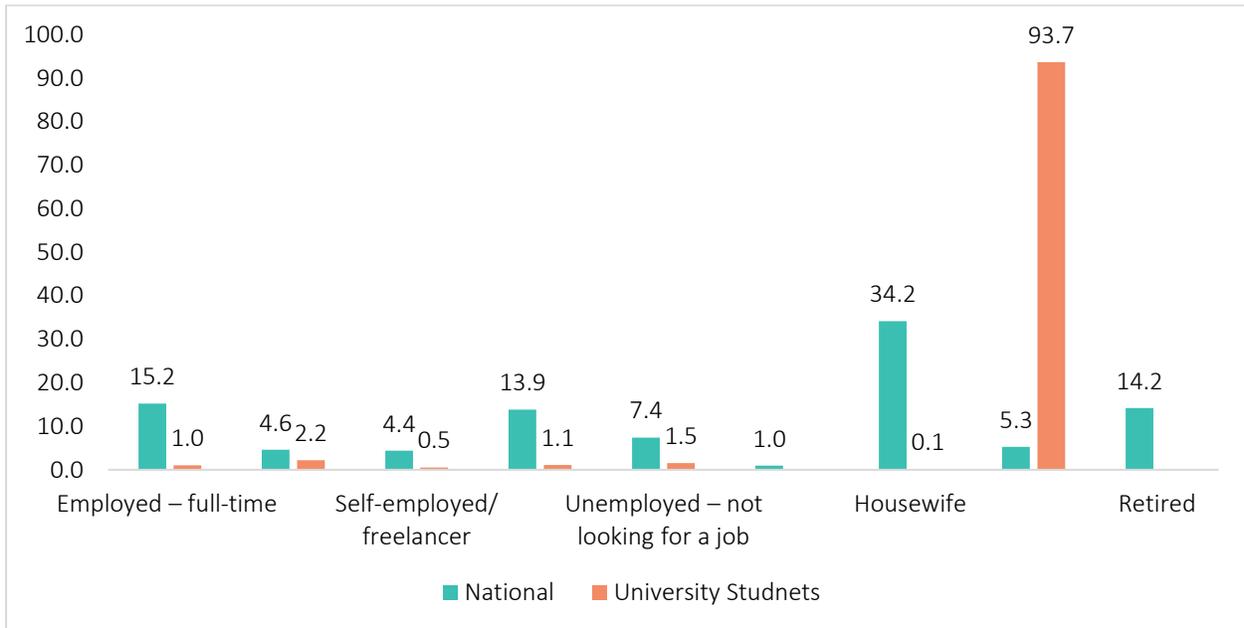
3.3 Marital status



3.4 Education level



3.5 Employment status



3.6 Governorates

