

# University Students' Survey on Political Modernization

Prepared for:

Politics and Society Institute

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معهد

السياسة والمجتمع

Politics & Society Institute

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## Introduction

Jordan has embarked on a multi-year project of political modernization designed to widen participation and shift parliamentary life toward platform-based parties. In June 2021, His Majesty King Abdullah II formed the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System, tasking it with drafting new election and political parties laws, recommending related constitutional amendments, and proposing measures that would specifically expand youth and women's participation. The Committee's mandate was explicit: move Jordan toward a parliament organized around programmatic blocs and currents, supported by legislation and institutions that make partisan engagement meaningful.

The reform package that followed centered on overhauling the electoral framework and party life. The 2022 Elections Law introduced a mixed system that gives every voter two votes—one for local district lists and a second for national party lists—and fixed the House of Representatives at 138 seats (97 local, 41 national). The same reform wave lowered the candidacy age to 25, raised women's representation through quota adjustments (including list-composition rules), and embedded design features intended to grow the role of parties over successive cycles. These steps were codified alongside a companion Political Parties Law and constitutional amendments passed in 2022. Collectively, they mark a deliberate transition away from purely local or tribal mobilization toward structured partisan engagement.

Modernization also reached university life. The 2022 Political Parties Law and subsequent government bylaw clarified and regulated student partisan activity on campus, aiming to normalize party work in educational settings while safeguarding academic order and rights. The regulations signaled official backing for student engagement in parties—long a sensitive space—by setting clearer rules for organizing, communication, and participation inside universities. These reforms were put to the test in the September 10, 2024 parliamentary elections—the first held under the new framework.

Building on this national reform context, the Politics and Society Institute (PSI) implemented a dedicated project, funded by the Embassy of the Netherlands, to engage Jordanian university students directly in the modernization process. As part of this initiative, PSI conducted a series of training workshops across public and private universities, focusing on political modernization, elections, and party life.

## About Politics and Society Institute

The Politics and Society Institute (PSI), founded in 2020 and headquartered in Amman, Jordan, is a pioneering independent policy research and analysis institution dedicated to shaping informed public discourse and driving evidence-based policymaking. Since its inception, PSI has established itself as a dynamic hub for research, dialogue, and strategic engagement, with a core mission of bridging the communication gap between decision-makers and society, particularly grassroots communities, civil society, and youth groups.

In an era marked by rapid political, economic, and social transformations, PSI strives to provide decision-makers with accurate, data-driven insights while amplifying the voices and aspirations of citizens. By fostering inclusive dialogue and producing actionable knowledge, the Institute plays a pivotal role in strengthening democratic governance, supporting political modernization, and promoting societal resilience in Jordan and the wider region.

PSI's work spans diverse thematic areas, including political modernization, democratic reforms, youth empowerment, gender equality, social inclusion, and regional dynamics. The Institute employs a multidisciplinary approach that combines quantitative and qualitative research methods, policy analysis, and participatory dialogue platforms to ensure research findings are translated into practical, impactful policy solutions.

PSI's competitive advantage lies in its ability to connect research with practice, transforming complex data into accessible knowledge that informs public debate and policymaking processes. The Institute regularly collaborates with leading international organizations, development agencies, and think tanks to design and implement initiatives that promote deliberative democracy and inclusive governance. These partnerships have positioned PSI as a trusted, credible, and innovative actor in Jordan's policy ecosystem.

## Executive summary

This survey, conducted by the Politics and Society Institute with support from the Embassy of the Netherlands, explores the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of Jordanian university students regarding political modernization, partisan work, and the evolving university environment. The study draws on a representative sample of 896 students across eight public and private universities, applying a rigorous methodology with a 95% confidence level and a margin of error of 3.72%.

The findings reveal broad support for Jordan's political modernization project, particularly reforms such as lowering the candidacy age and introducing a two-vote system. Nearly nine in ten students (89.6%) affirmed that modernization has positively impacted youth engagement in politics. At the same time, significant barriers persist, including fear of social or security consequences (29.3%), weak political awareness (29.1%), and low confidence in political parties (21%).

Despite recognizing the importance of parties—84.5% described them as essential institutions—youth involvement in partisan life remains limited. More than 90% have never participated in political party activities, and almost 70% did not review party programs in the 2024 elections. Gender disparities are stark: a vast majority (nearly 90%) perceive male students as more engaged than female students in political life and elections.

Within universities, most students acknowledged improvements in freedom and the role of administration in providing safer spaces for political expression. However, participation in campus elections remains modest, with 62.9% abstaining from the most recent student elections. Tribal currents dominate university political life, though students increasingly favor integrating parties with student currents to strengthen representation.

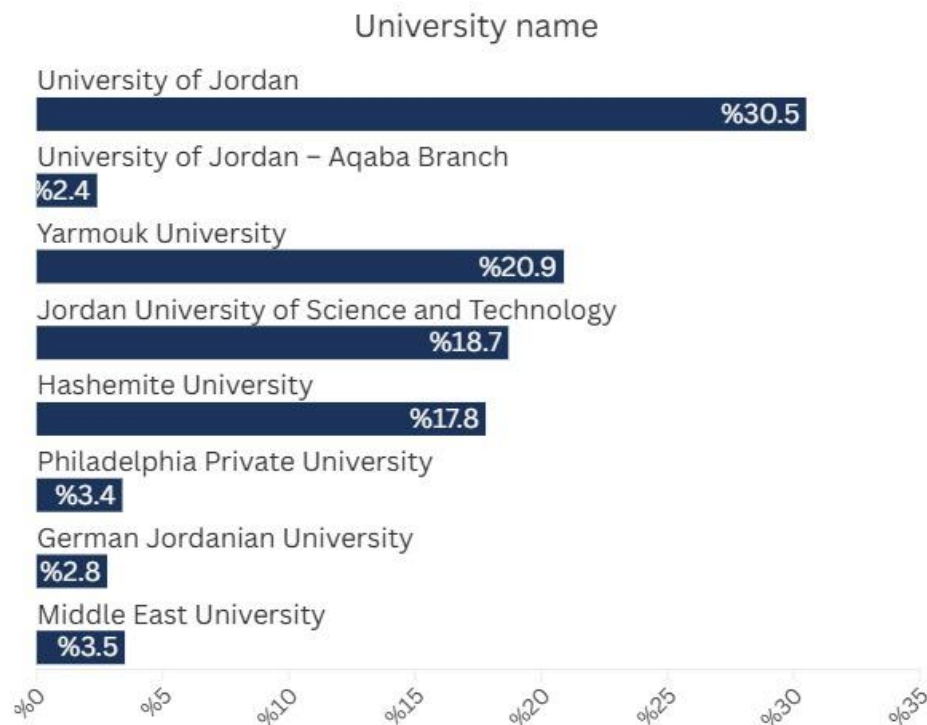
Looking forward, students overwhelmingly support reforms to university regulations, capacity-building for student unions, and stronger institutional mechanisms to link academic life with civic and political engagement. Their voices highlight both the progress achieved and the critical gaps that must be addressed for political modernization to take root among the next generation of Jordanians.

## Methodology and Sample Design

The study population consisted of all students from Jordanian universities (the study was conducted across eight Jordanian universities, both public and private), ensuring

representation across different geographical regions. The total sample size was set at 896 respondents, determined using the Simple Random Sampling formula with a 95% confidence level and a margin of error of 3.72%. To address disparities in student population sizes, adjustments were made to ensure adequate representation for universities with smaller enrollments. A non-proportional stratified sampling approach was adopted, with a minimum of 80 respondents per university, while additional respondents were allocated to larger institutions. To enhance the generalizability of the findings, statistical weights were applied based on the ratio of the total student population in each stratum (university) to the number of actual respondents from that stratum. The final distribution of the sample was as follows:

Note: Adjustments were introduced to ensure fair representation of universities with smaller student populations.



### Data Collection Tool and Procedures

A specially designed questionnaire was used as the primary data collection tool. It covered four main dimensions: (1) political modernization, elections, and party work; (2) the university environment, student activities, and political currents/parties; (3) students' political and partisan orientations; and (4) perspectives on the upcoming phase, along with a section on respondents' demographic information.

### Data Collection Process

Data were collected face-to-face on university campuses after obtaining the necessary official approvals. Fieldwork was conducted by a team of 18 trained enumerators supported by experienced supervisors, each with at least three years of data collection experience. Enumerators used pre-programmed electronic tablets to directly input

responses, reducing errors and ensuring efficiency. The data collection period extended from August 14 to August 28, 2025.

### Quality Assurance and Supervision

Enumerators received comprehensive training on data collection protocols, with an emphasis on neutrality, objectivity, and professionalism. The training also included practical sessions on the use of electronic tools, data entry procedures, and the study's objectives. Supervisors monitored fieldwork through unannounced visits, daily reviews of submitted data, and systematic documentation of the dates, times, and locations of data collection to ensure reliability and consistency.

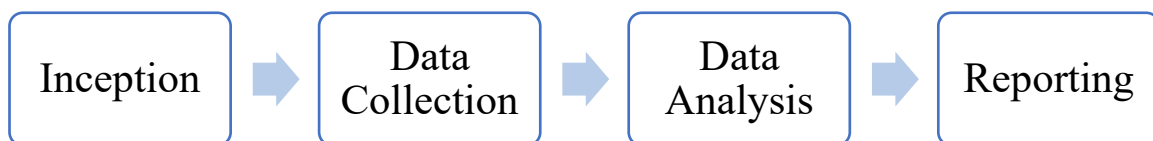
### Ethical Considerations and Data Protection

Ethical research principles were strictly observed. Before completing the questionnaire, enumerators read an introduction to each respondent, highlighting confidentiality, clarifying that participation was voluntary, and affirming that there were no right or wrong answers. Respondents' consent was obtained prior to proceeding. All members of the field team signed legal confidentiality agreements to safeguard the data, and secure, trusted applications were used for data collection and analysis to ensure maximum protection.

### Risk Management

To ensure the smooth implementation of the study, potential risks were identified along with mitigation strategies:

- Access challenges: addressed through early coordination with relevant authorities to secure permits and entry.
- Low response rates: mitigated by providing flexible scheduling and assurances of confidentiality.
- Data quality concerns: minimized through rigorous enumerator training and continuous verification of submitted data.



### Software Used

Program name	version	Definition
SPSS	V26.0	a program for quantitative data analysis; it will be used for analyzing quantitative data.
Cspro	V8.0	a program used for data collection; it will be used for collecting quantitative data.
MS Excel	Office16	one of the Microsoft Office suite programs, and it will be used for data analysis and graphical representation of data. Additionally, data can also be visualized using other specialized programs.
MS Word	Office16	one of the Microsoft Office suite programs, and it will be used for writing forms and research tools.

## Survey Findings

### Demographic Data

The demographic section of the questionnaire gathered information from the respondents. The results of this data are shown in the figures below:

All respondents are of Jordanian nationality. The sample is almost evenly split by gender, with 50.7% male and 49.3% female. In terms of age, the majority (73%) fall within the 18–21 age group, followed by 24% aged 22–25, and only 2% aged 26 and above. Geographically, most respondents come from Amman (34.5%) and Irbid (27.8%), with smaller proportions from Zarqa, Ajloun, Balqa, and other governorates across Jordan.

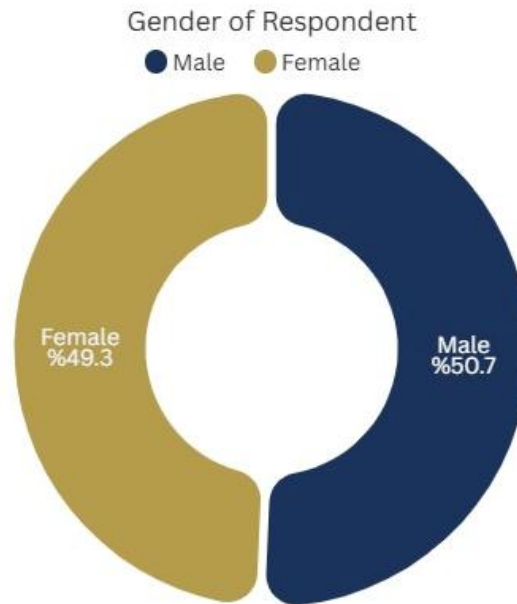


Figure 1 Gender Distribution of Respondents

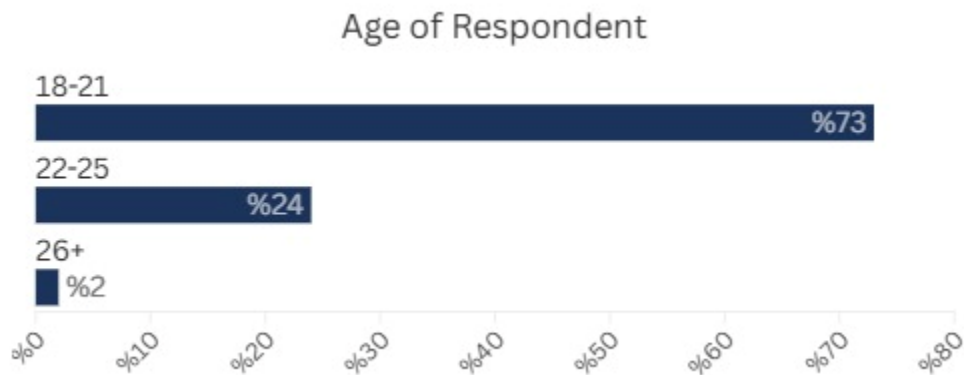


Figure 2 Age Distribution of Respondents

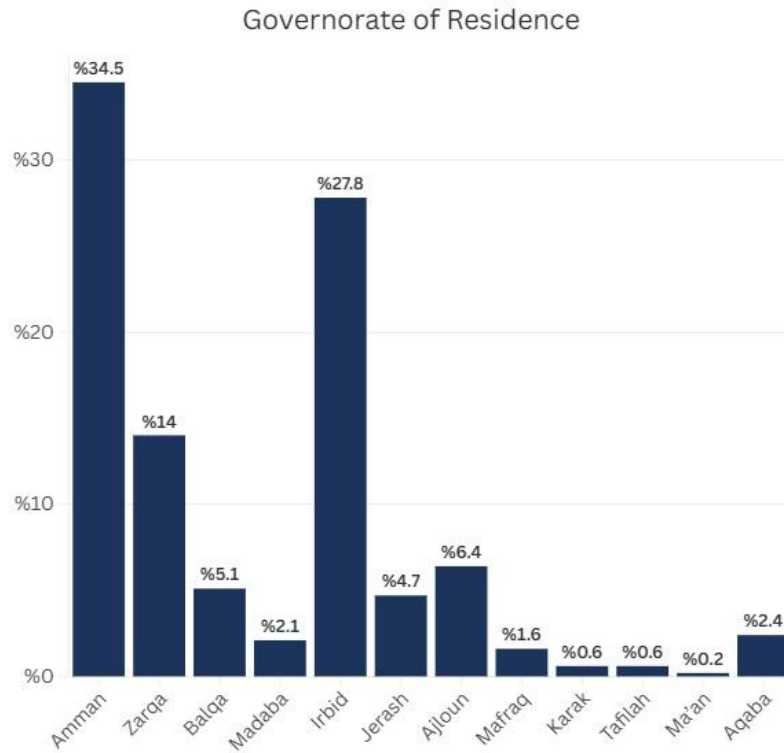


Figure 3 Geographic Distribution of Respondents by Governorate

### Section One:

Political Modernization, Elections, and Partisan Work focused on exploring students' perceptions of recent political reforms and their impact on youth engagement in public life. This section aimed to assess how political modernization and electoral changes are viewed in terms of promoting participation and strengthening partisan involvement among young Jordanians.

Respondents were asked: "To what extent do you agree with the following statement: Political modernization was a major positive turning point for the engagement of Jordanian youth in political and partisan work?" The results reveal that the vast majority perceive political modernization positively. A combined 89.6% either agree (64.4%) or strongly agree (25.2%). Only a small fraction expressed disagreement (7.2% disagree and 1.2% strongly disagree), while 1.9% reported uncertainty. These findings highlight a broad consensus among university students on the constructive role of political modernization in enhancing youth participation.

Political modernization was a major positive turning point for the engagement of Jordanian youth in political and partisan work

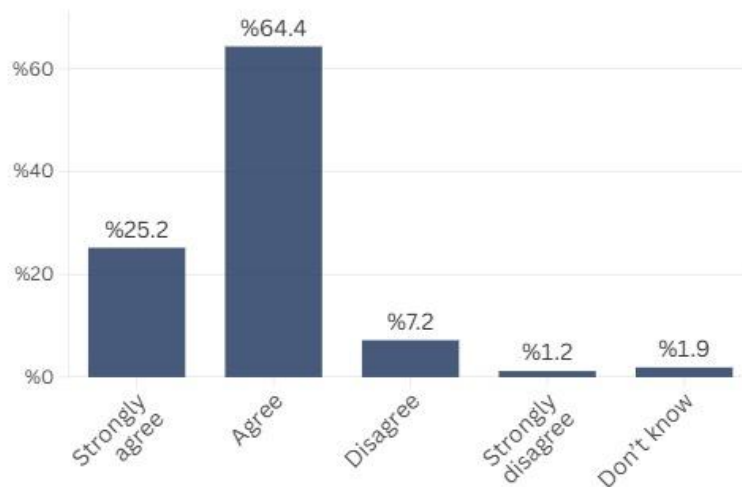


Figure 4 Perceptions of Political Modernization as a Catalyst for Youth Engagement

To understand the general perception of the respondents, this question allowed multiple responses, as students could select more than one factor that prevents them from engaging in partisan work. The following figure illustrates that the most frequently cited obstacles were fear of social or security consequences (29.3%) and lack of political awareness (29.1%). Additionally, 21% pointed to weak youth confidence in political parties, while 10.3% highlighted the priority of economic concerns. A smaller proportion (9.4%) indicated restrictions on freedoms within the university campus. Less than 1% of respondents stated “I don’t know” or refused to respond. These findings suggest that a combination of security-related apprehensions, limited awareness, and skepticism toward parties are the main barriers to youth involvement in partisan activities.

The reasons that prevent university youth from engaging in partisan work are

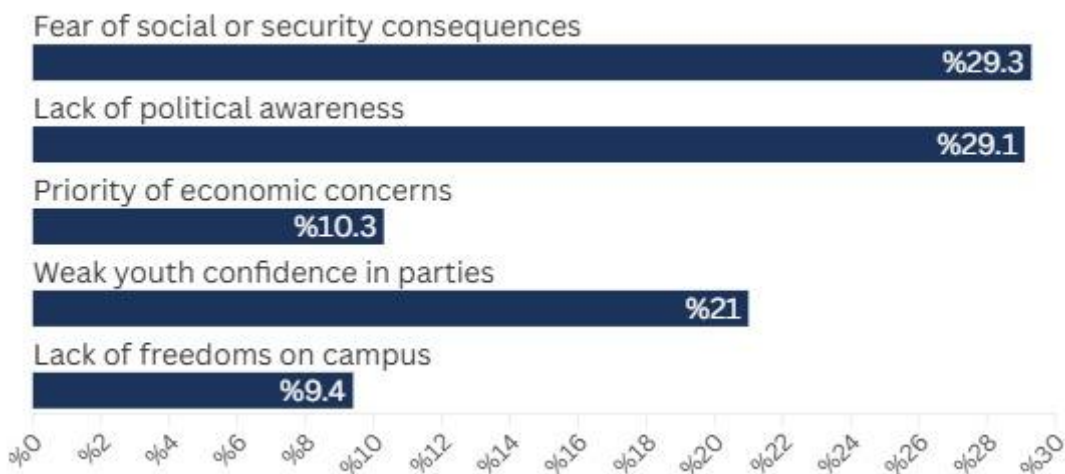
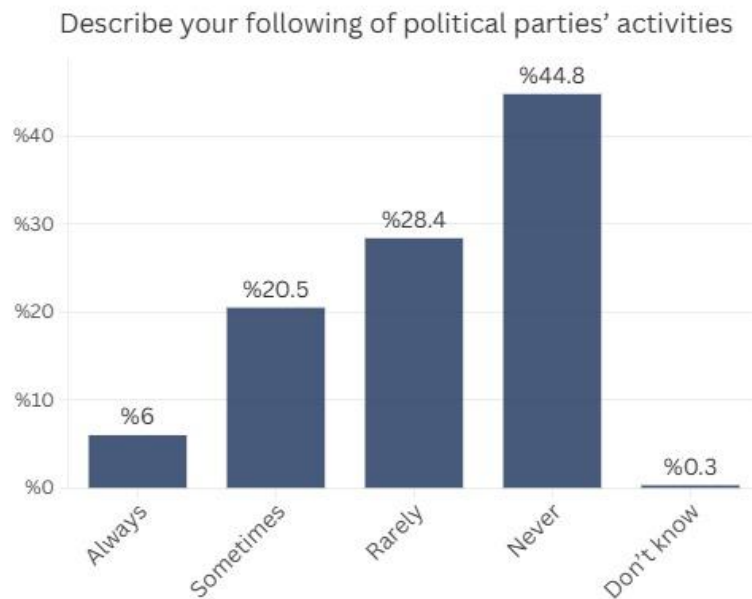


Figure 5 Barriers Preventing Youth from Engaging in Partisan Work

Regarding respondents' engagement with political parties, the results indicate generally low levels of active following. The following figure shows that 44.8% of respondents stated they never follow political parties' activities, while 28.4% reported doing so rarely. In contrast, only 20.5% said they sometimes follow such activities, and a very small minority (6%) stated they always do. Less than 1% expressed uncertainty ("don't know"). These results suggest that consistent attention to party activities remains limited among university students, with nearly three-quarters either rarely or never following political parties.



*Figure 6 Extent of Following Political Parties' Activities*

The following figure illustrates how respondents evaluated the most recent parliamentary elections on a scale from 1 to 10. The highest proportion (20.6%) rated the elections at 5, reflecting a neutral or moderate assessment. This was followed by 17.6% at 6 and 17.2% at 7, indicating a sizable share with moderately positive evaluations. Smaller but notable percentages rated the elections at 8 (12.1%) and 10 (6.7%), while 6.1% assigned the lowest score of 1. Overall, the distribution reveals a concentration around the mid-scale values (5–7), suggesting that respondents largely view the elections as moderately aligned with the orientations of political modernization, rather than strongly positive or strongly negative.

From 1 to 10 How do you evaluate the most recent parliamentary elections in terms of reflecting the orientations of political modernization

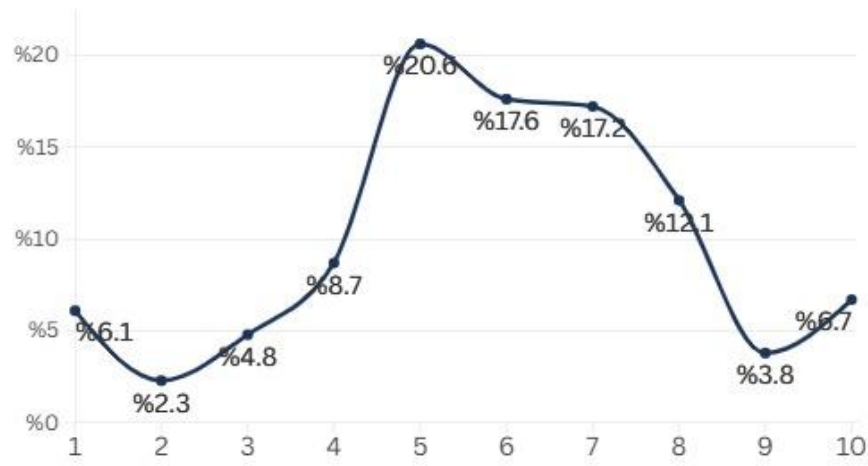


Figure 7 Evaluation of Parliamentary Elections in Relation to Political Modernization

Following this, respondents were asked about the perceived role of political parties in shaping political life. The results show that 55.3% stating they agree and 11.6% stating they strongly agree. On the other hand, 23% stated they disagree and 6.2% strongly disagree, highlighting that nearly one-third of respondents are skeptical of parties' effectiveness. A small share either refused to answer (0.3%) or stated "don't know" (3.6%). These results suggest that while a majority acknowledge the impact of political parties, a significant minority remain unconvinced of their influence on political life.

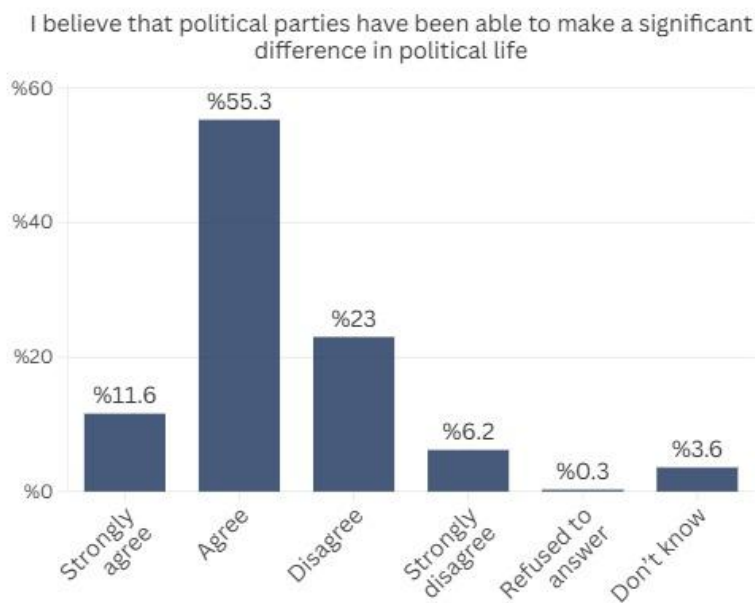
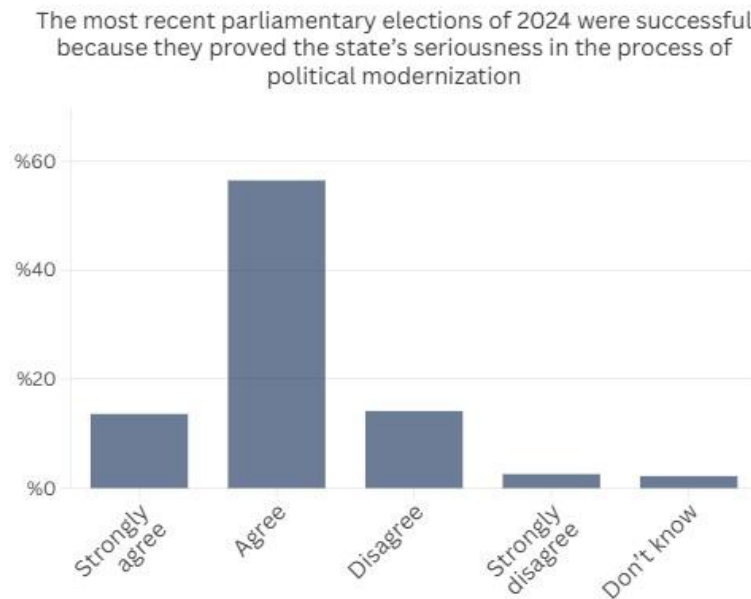


Figure 8 Perceptions of Political Parties' Role in Influencing Political Life

The following figure highlights respondents' evaluations of the 2024 parliamentary elections in terms of demonstrating the state's seriousness toward political modernization. A clear majority expressed agreement, with 63.4% stating they agree and 15.3% stating they strongly agree. Conversely, 15.9% stated they disagree and 2.9% strongly disagree. A small portion (2.5%) stated "don't know." Overall, these results indicate that nearly four out of five respondents perceive the 2024 elections as a credible reflection of the state's commitment to advancing political modernization.



*Figure 9 Perceptions of the 2024 Elections as an Indicator of the State's Commitment to Modernization*

When comparing respondents' views on constitutional amendments, the results show overwhelming support for lowering the candidacy age. Nearly half of the respondents (47.9%) stated they strongly agree, and an additional 45.4% stated they agree, bringing total agreement to more than nine out of ten participants. In contrast, only 5.7% stated they disagree and less than 1% strongly disagree. A negligible share (0.1%) stated "don't know." These findings suggest that the constitutional change is widely perceived as a highly effective measure in empowering youth and strengthening their role in political and partisan work.

Lowering the candidacy age in the Jordanian Constitution to 25 years has encouraged and strengthened youth participation in political and partisan work

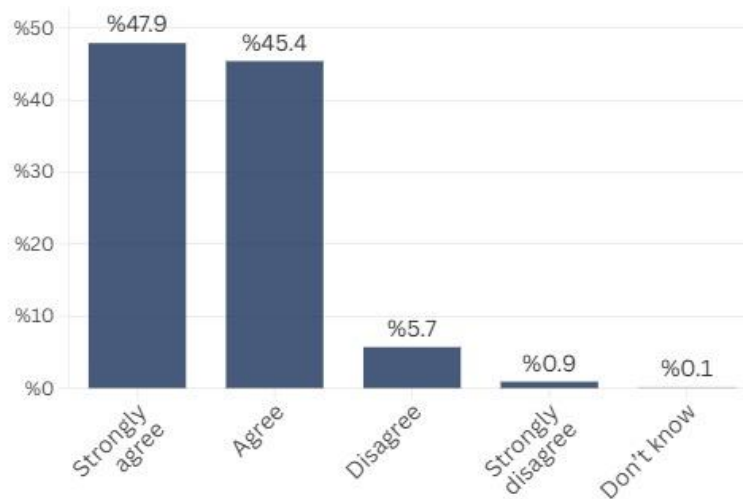


Figure 10 Perceptions of Lowering the Candidacy Age and Its Impact on Youth Participation

We asked students to identify the four strongest political parties from their perspective and to rank them from the strongest to the weakest. The question was phrased as follows:

This item was designed as a ranked-choice question, where respondents listed their first, second, third, and fourth choices. Such a structure not only highlights the party most frequently identified as the strongest but also captures the broader hierarchy of perceived strength. By considering all ranks, the question provides a more comprehensive view of party salience among students, allowing for the use of analytical tools such as the Borda Index, which integrates all ranked positions rather than focusing solely on the first choice. The results were as follows:

**First Rank (Strongest Party):** When asked to identify the single strongest political party, the Islamic Action Front (حزب جبهة العمل الإسلامي) dominates with 16.3% of weighted first-rank mentions. It is followed by the National Charter Party (حزب الميثاق الوطني) with 11.9%, while Irada (حزب إرادة) secures 4.9%. All other parties fall below 2%. This indicates that students primarily associate political strength with a narrow set of leading parties, particularly the Islamic Action Front.

**Second Rank (Second Strongest Party):** In the second rank, the National Charter Party gains relative prominence, appearing more frequently as a secondary strong party (16.5% Top-2 share when combined with the first rank). Irada also improves its position here, with students placing it as a solid alternative (9.6% Top-2 share). The Islamic Action Front continues to appear but less strongly than in the first rank.

**Third Rank (Third Strongest Party):** The third rank displays greater fragmentation. While Irada and the National Charter Party continue to appear, their shares are smaller compared to the top two ranks. Minor parties begin to show up in students' responses, but none gain significant visibility, highlighting the limited recognition of political strength beyond the leading three parties.

**Fourth Rank (Fourth Strongest Party):** By the fourth rank, responses become highly dispersed across a wide array of minor parties. No single organization dominates this tier. The Islamic Action Front and the National Charter Party still appear occasionally, but their shares are negligible compared to their dominance in the first rank. This pattern suggests that when pressed to name four parties, many students turn to lesser-known parties. Taken together, these results provide a clear picture of students' perceptions of political party strength. The weighted results confirm a concentrated hierarchy:

- The Islamic Action Front holds the highest overall strength, with a Borda Index of 22.9, dominating the first-rank choices.
- The National Charter Party follows as the second most prominent actor (Borda Index = 17.5), consistently appearing in both first and second ranks.
- Irada emerges as a notable challenger with a Borda Index of 9.6, gaining visibility especially in second and third positions.
- All other parties register marginal recognition, with Borda scores below 5.

The results highlight an extremely dispersed perception of emerging political figures. No single name achieves even 1% of weighted first-rank mentions, and the highest Borda Index barely exceeds 0.5. This indicates that students do not perceive clear or dominant emerging leaders; rather, recognition is scattered across a wide variety of names, reflecting both weak visibility of new political actors and limited consensus on future leadership among the student population.

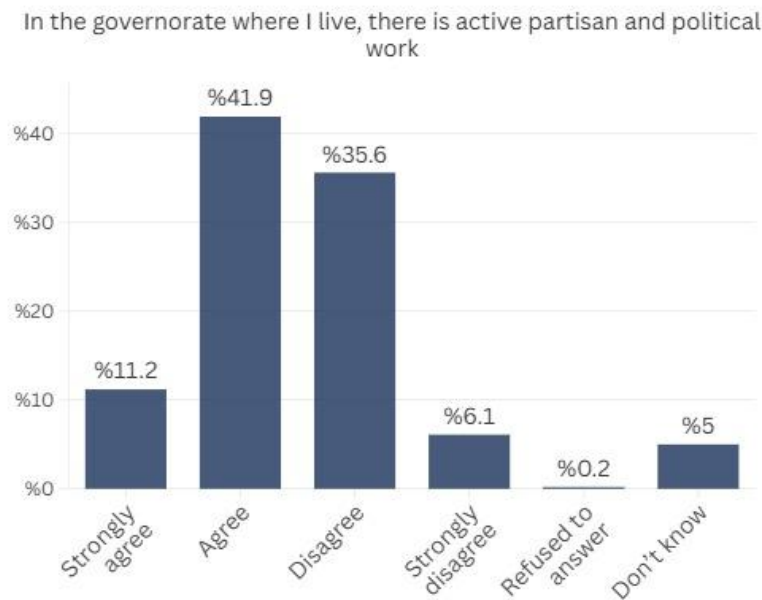
We asked students to identify four political parties that managed to reach the Jordanian Parliament and to rank them from the most to the least prominent.

As with previous ranked-choice questions, respondents could name up to four parties. This structure allows the analysis to highlight not only the most recognized first-rank party but also the broader distribution of awareness across additional ranks. The results were as follows:

- Islamic Action Front (حزب جبهة العمل الإسلامي) overwhelmingly leads, with a Rank-1 share of 17.3%, a Top-2 share of 20.9%, and the highest Borda Index (20.3). This suggests that it is by far the most widely recognized parliamentary party among students.
- National Charter Party (حزب الميثاق الوطني) ranks second, with a Rank-1 share of 5.5% and a Borda Index of 8.5, reflecting a moderate but significant level of recognition.
- Irada Party (حزب إرادة) appears in third place, with a 1.9% Rank-1 share and a Borda Index of 4.3, showing that while it is mentioned, its visibility is considerably lower.
- Labor Party (حزب العمل) and Workers' Party (حزب العمال) follow with minimal recognition (Rank-1 below 1% and Borda Index under 1.5).

Regarding respondents' perceptions of local political dynamics, the results reveal a divided picture. The following figure shows that 41.9% stated they agree and 11.2% strongly agree that there is active partisan and political work in their governorate. Conversely, 35.6% stated they disagree and 6.1% strongly disagree. A smaller share either stated "don't know" (5%) or refused to answer (0.2%). Overall, the responses suggest that while a slight majority recognize partisan and political activity at the local level, a substantial proportion

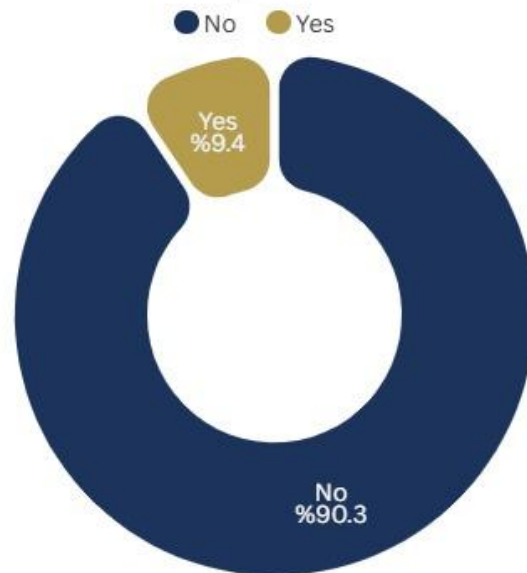
remain unconvinced, reflecting uneven perceptions of political engagement across governorates.



*Figure 11 Perceptions of Active Partisan and Political Work at the Local Level*

To follow up on the question of local political engagement, respondents were asked whether they had personally participated in campaigns or activities of political parties. The overwhelming majority (90.3%) stated no, while only 9.4% stated yes. A negligible proportion (0.2%) stated “don’t know.” These findings underscore the limited direct involvement of university youth in partisan activities, reflecting a significant gap between general political awareness and actual participation.

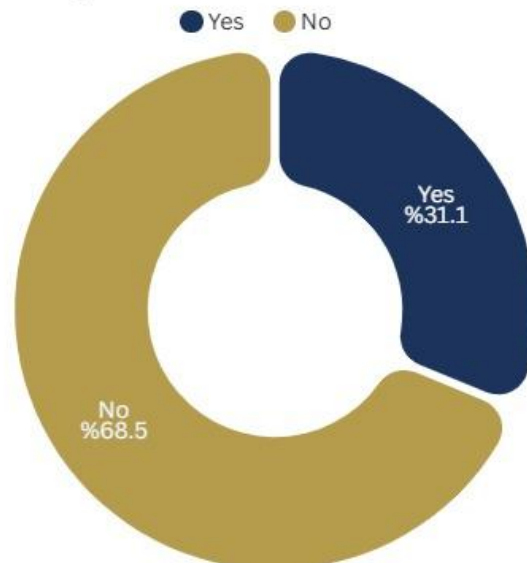
Have you ever participated in campaigns or activities of political parties



*Figure 12 Participation of Youth in Political Party Activities*

Regarding respondents' awareness of digital outreach, the results indicate relatively limited familiarity with political parties' social media activities. About one-third (31.1%) stated yes, while a clear majority (68.5%) stated no. A very small fraction (0.4%) stated "don't know."

Familiarity with Political Parties' Social Media Presence



*Figure 13 Familiarity with Political Parties' Social Media Presence*

The following figure demonstrates that a strong majority of respondents recognize the importance of political parties in advancing political work. Specifically, 63.8% stated they agree and 20.7% strongly agree. In contrast, only 12% stated they disagree and 1.7%

strongly disagree. A negligible share either refused to answer (0.2%) or stated “don’t know” (1.7%). Overall, these results highlight a prevailing belief among students that political parties are central and necessary institutions for developing political life in Jordan, despite the presence of a minority that questions their effectiveness.

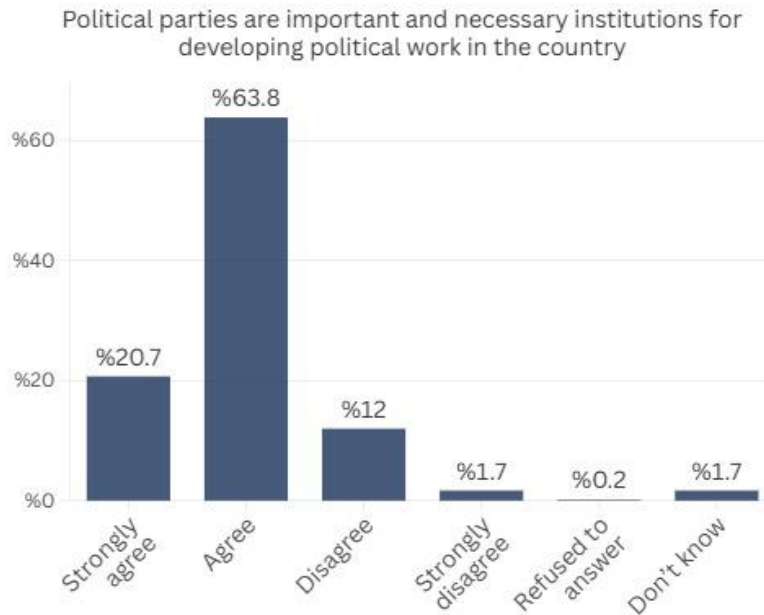


Figure 14 Perceptions of Political Parties as Essential Institutions for Political Development

When examining the interaction between partisan activities and the tribal structure in Jordan, respondents expressed predominantly critical views. The majority (64.1%) stated that the two are conflicting, while 30.7% stated they are consistent. A small fraction either stated “don’t know” (4.8%) or refused to answer (0.4%). These results suggest that most university students perceive tribal affiliations and partisan engagement as competing rather than complementary forces, underscoring a structural challenge to the development of political party life in Jordan.

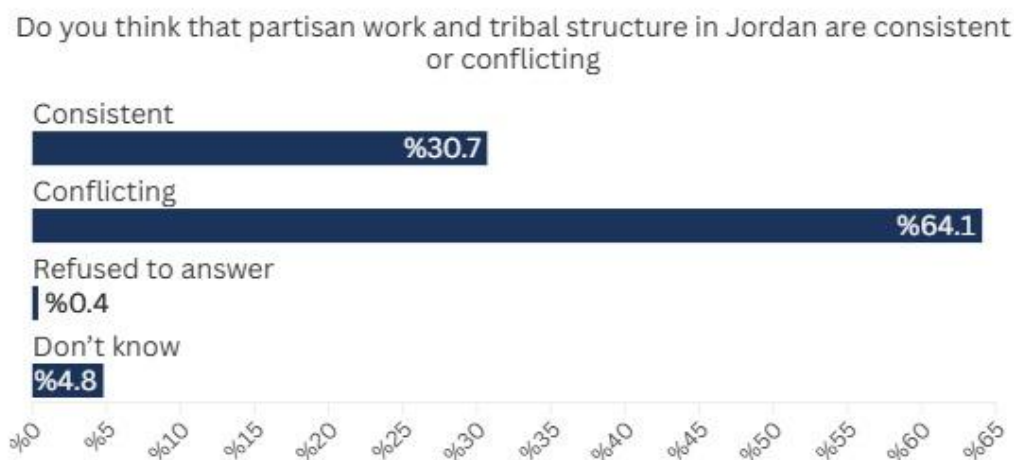
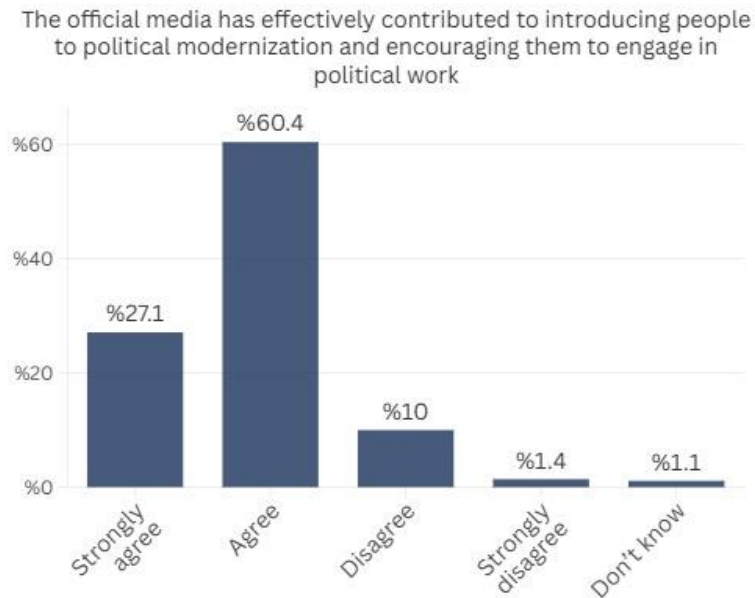


Figure 15 Perceptions of the Relationship Between Partisan Work and Tribal Structure

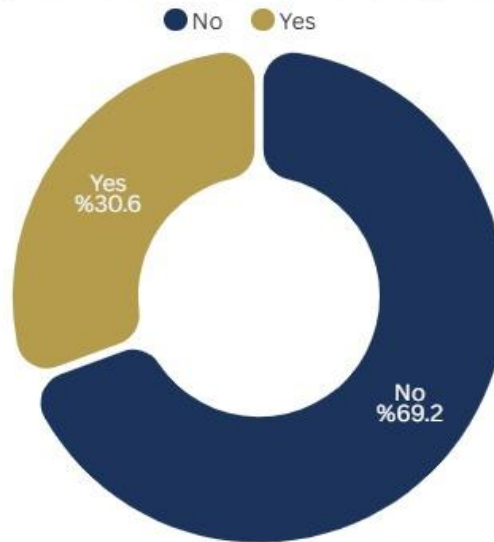
Only a very small share of respondents expressed uncertainty (1.1%) or stated strong disagreement (1.4%), while another 10% stated they disagree. In contrast, the overwhelming majority viewed official media positively. Specifically, 60.4% stated they agree and 27.1% strongly agree. Taken together, this means that almost nine out of ten respondents recognize official media as an effective channel for introducing the concept of political modernization and motivating citizens to participate in political life.



*Figure 16 Perceptions of Official Media's Role in Promoting Political Modernization*

The majority of respondents stated they did not review political parties' programs during the most recent elections, with 69.2% answering no. In contrast, nearly one-third (30.6%) stated they did engage with party programs, while a negligible 0.2% refused to answer. This distribution suggests that despite widespread exposure to elections, most students remain disengaged from parties' programmatic content, reflecting a gap between electoral participation and substantive party-oriented engagement.

Have you reviewed the programs and orientations of political parties in general in the most recent parliamentary elections



*Figure 17 Review of Political Parties' Programs During the 2024 Elections*

## Section Two:

### University Environment, Student Activities, and Political Currents/Parties

This section examines how the university environment shapes students' political awareness, activities, and engagement with political currents and parties. It considers the availability of campus freedoms, participation in student and partisan activities, and perceptions of political expression within academic settings. By analyzing these factors, the section highlights the role of universities as spaces for political interaction, dialogue, and the development of civic values among Jordanian youth.

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they had reviewed the amendments to the regulations on partisan activities and the modified university instructions. The findings reveal that 41.3% disagreed and 4.8% strongly disagreed, suggesting that nearly half of the students had not reviewed the amendments. In contrast, 34.6% agreed and 6.6% strongly agreed. Meanwhile, 12.5% reported "don't know" and 0.2% refused to answer. Overall, these results indicate a mixed level of awareness, with a substantial portion of students unfamiliar with the updated regulations.

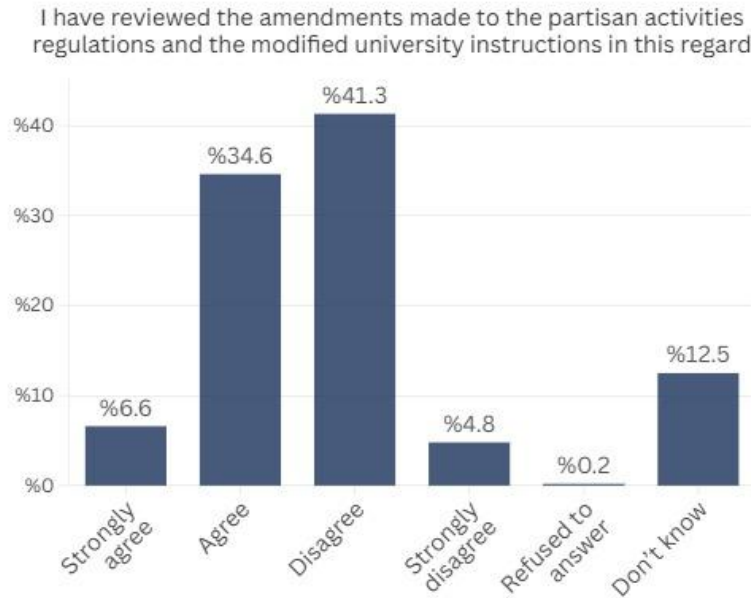


Figure 18 Awareness of Amendments to University Partisan Activity Regulations

The introduction of political modernization, alongside a revised system of student activities, was largely perceived as a positive shift within universities. More than three-quarters of respondents supported this view, with 63.4% agreeing and 14.1% strongly agreeing that such changes enhanced student integration into public and political life. In contrast, 16.8% disagreed and 1.8% strongly disagreed, while a small group (3.9%) indicated uncertainty. Overall, the data point to a prevailing belief in the transformative role of these reforms, though some skepticism persists among students.

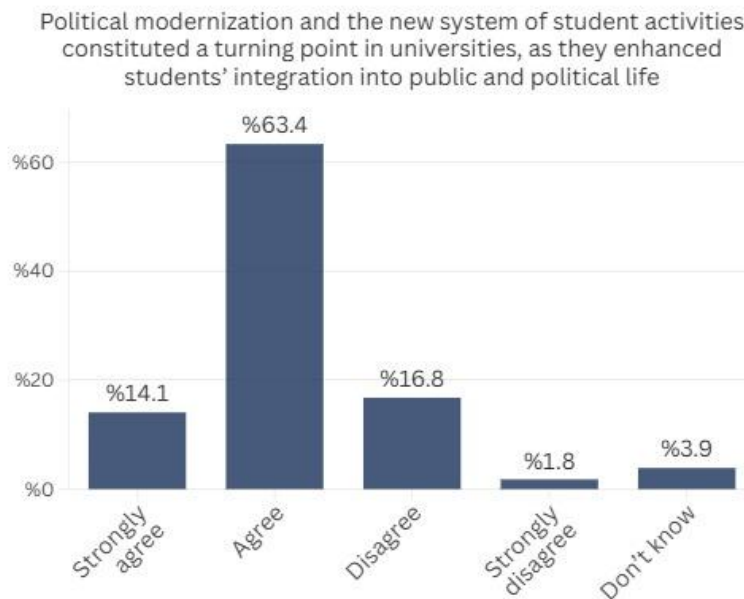


Figure 19 Impact of Political Modernization on Student Integration

The data reveal that student involvement in political or partisan training activities remains limited. An overwhelming 82.2% stated that they had not participated in such activities, while only 17.8% reported participation. A negligible share (0.1%) stated “don’t know”.



Figure 20 Participation in Political and Partisan Training Activities

Students expressed mixed views regarding the role of university administrations in ensuring a safe environment for partisan and political activities. While 57.2% stated that they agree and 14.5% strongly agree, a notable segment remained unconvinced, with 20.2% stating that they disagree and 3.7% strongly disagree. In addition, 4.4% stated “don’t know.” Overall, the results point to a generally favorable perception of universities’ efforts, but they also reveal persistent doubts among a significant minority of students.

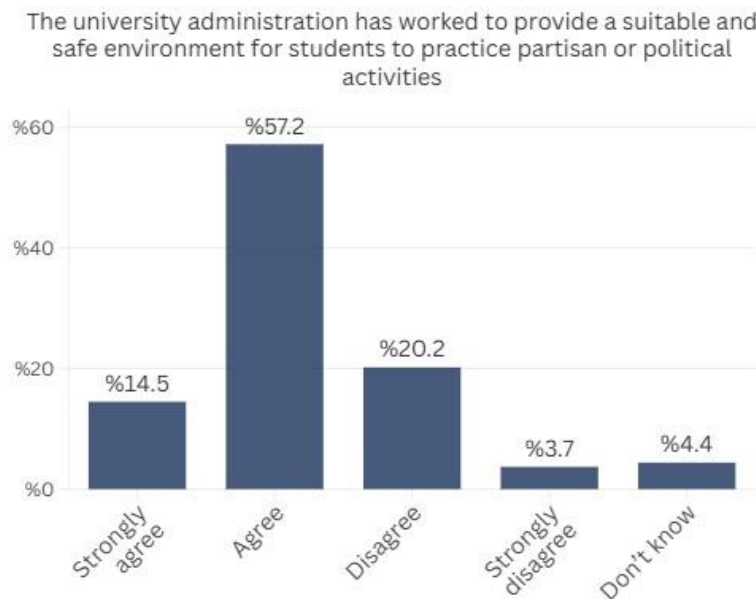
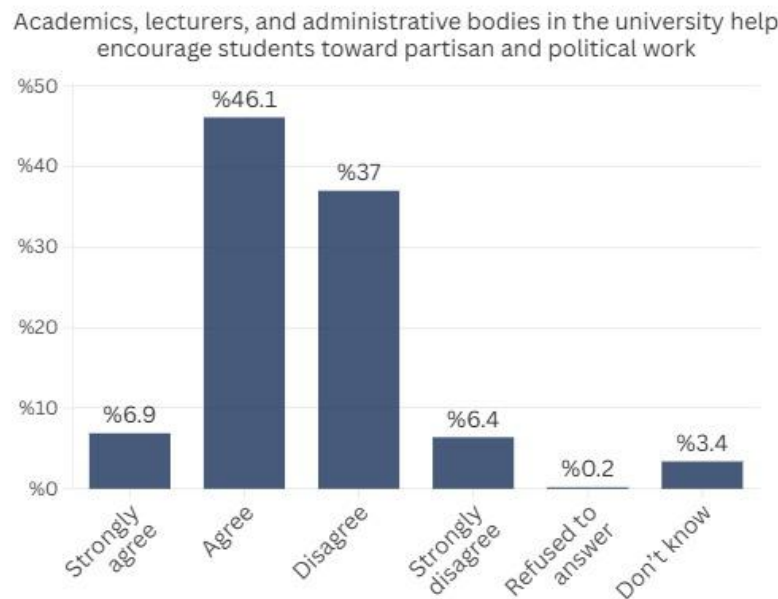


Figure 21 Perceptions of University Support for a Safe Political Environment

Opinions on the role of academics and administrative bodies in encouraging partisan or political engagement appear divided. Nearly half of the respondents expressed agreement, with 46.1% stating that they agree and 6.9% strongly agree. However, a substantial 37% stated that they disagree and another 6.4% strongly disagree. Meanwhile, 3.4% stated “don’t know” and 0.2% refused to answer. The results, therefore, reveal no clear consensus: although a plurality perceives encouragement from university staff, a large segment remains skeptical of their supportive role in fostering student political participation.



*Figure 22 Perceptions of University Staff Support for Partisan Engagement*

A clear majority of respondents perceived improvements in the level of freedoms on campus since the launch of political modernization. Nearly six in ten (59.5%) stated that freedoms had improved slightly, and another 20.7% stated that they had improved greatly. In contrast, 12% felt that freedoms had declined slightly, while 3.2% judged that they had declined greatly. A small fraction either stated “don’t know” (4.5%) or refused to answer (0.2%).

Has the level of political and public freedoms in universities improved since the political modernization process



Figure 23 Perceptions of Changes in Political and Public Freedoms within Universities

The vast majority of respondents agreed with the statement regarding gender differences in political and electoral engagement. More than half (52.5%) stated that they strongly agree, and an additional 37.2% stated that they agree. By contrast, only 8.8% stated that they disagree and less than 1% strongly disagree. A negligible share (0.7%) stated “don’t know.” These results suggest a strong perception among students that male participation in political work and university elections is noticeably higher than that of female students, highlighting gender as a significant dimension of political involvement on campus.

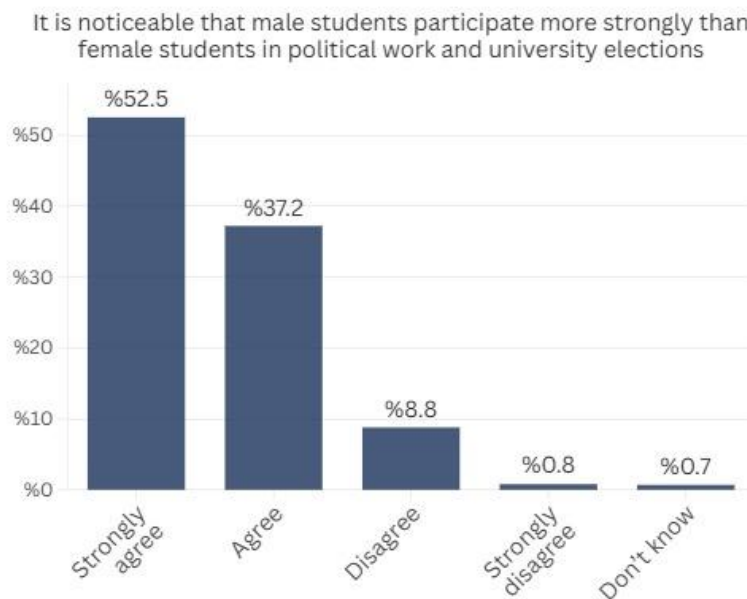
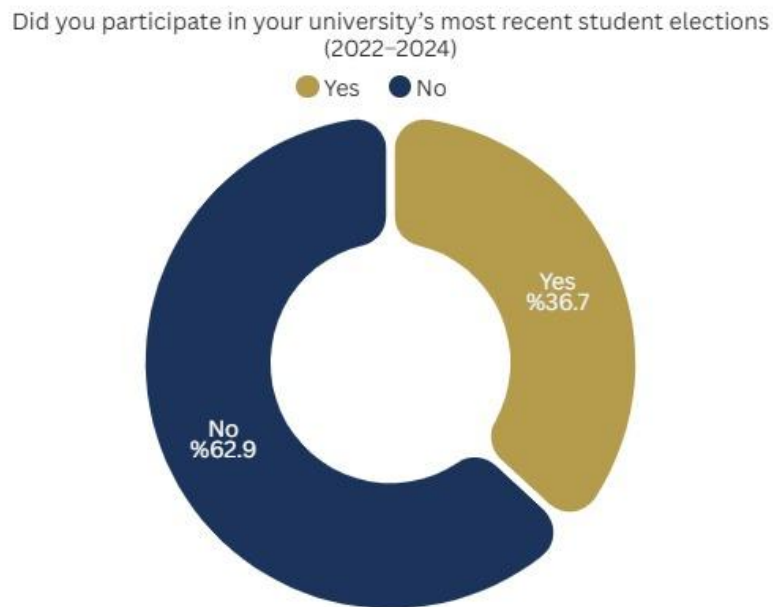


Figure 24 Perceptions of Gender Differences in Political Participation

The results reveal a clear divide in student participation in the most recent university elections. Nearly two-thirds of respondents (62.9%) stated that they did not take part, while just over one-third (36.7%) stated that they did. These findings suggest that although a significant minority of students remain engaged in electoral processes on campus, overall participation levels are relatively modest, with non-participation emerging as the dominant trend.



*Figure 25 Participation in Recent University Student Elections*

To understand the general perception of the respondents, the following figure illustrates how students evaluated the role of political parties in their university elections. A majority perceived the parties as active, with 37.6% stating that they were somewhat active and 25.8% very active. In contrast, 13.2% stated that they were not very active and 6.9% not active at all. Additionally, 11.6% reported that their universities did not hold elections, while 4.8% stated “don’t know.” When comparing the levels of activity, it becomes evident that positive assessments of party involvement substantially outweigh negative ones, though variation across universities remains significant.

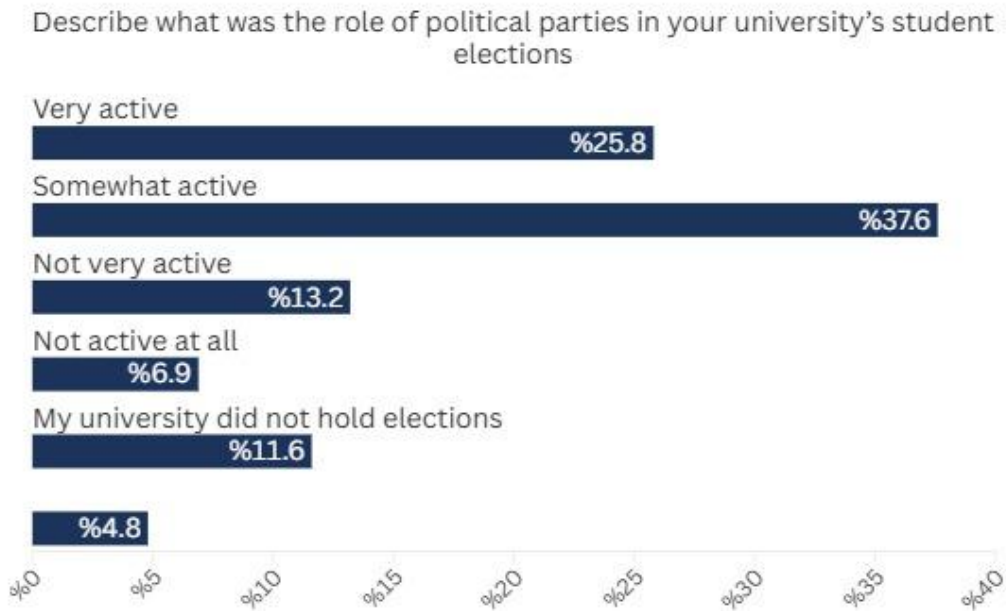


Figure 26 Perceptions of Political Parties' Role in Student Elections

Regarding respondents' views on the role of political parties in student elections, the results reveal a predominantly positive perception. The following figure shows that 56.2% described the role of political parties as positive, while 25.7% considered it negative. In addition, 12.6% reported that their universities did not hold elections, 5.2% stated "don't know," and a negligible 0.3% refused to answer. When comparing the positive and negative evaluations, it becomes evident that favorable perceptions of party involvement in student elections more than double the unfavorable ones.

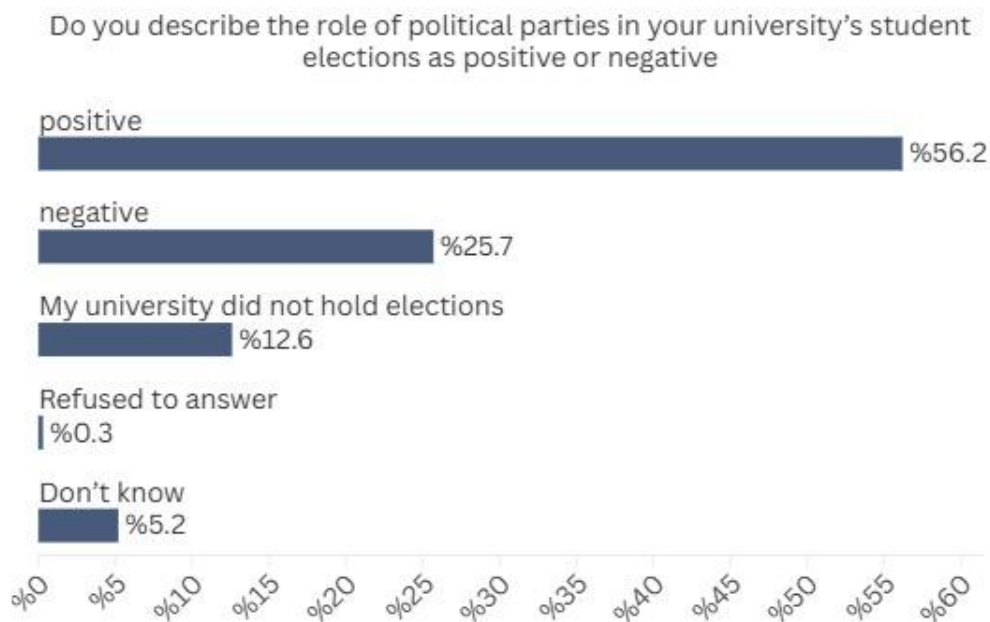
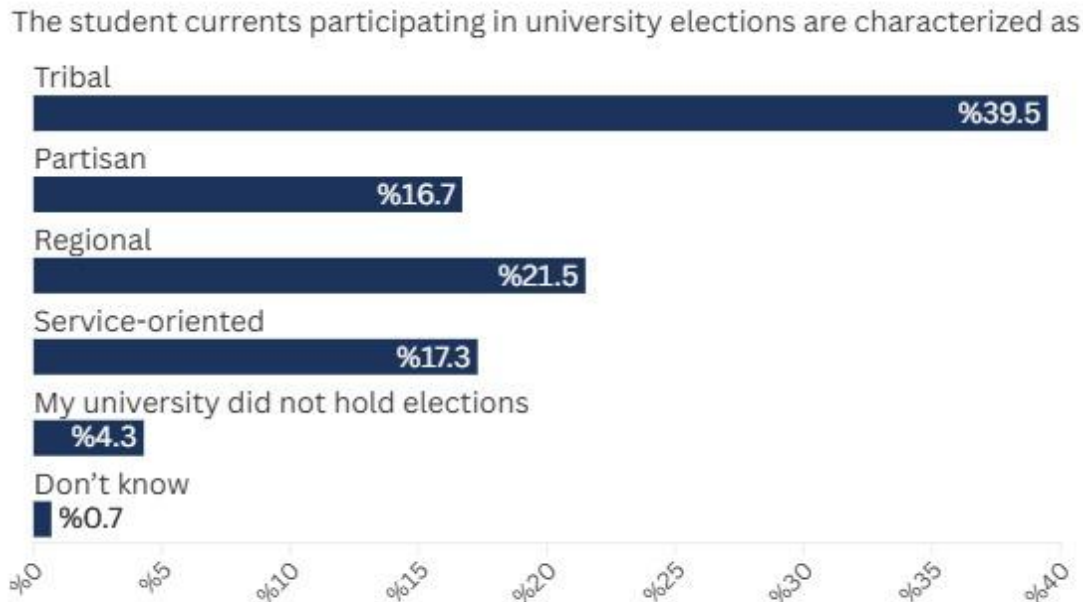


Figure 27 Perceptions of Political Parties' Role in Student Elections: Positive vs. Negative

The following figure illustrates how respondents described the main types of student currents active in university elections, with the possibility of selecting more than one category. Tribal currents were the most frequently cited (39.5%), followed by regional currents (21.5%). Service-oriented (17.3%) and partisan (16.7%) currents were also noted, though at lower levels. Meanwhile, 4.3% of respondents stated that their universities did not hold elections, and 0.7% stated “don’t know”.



*Figure 28 Types of Student Currents in University Elections*

The following figure illustrates how respondents ranked the main student currents in university elections across four levels of prominence.

**First rank (most prominent):** Tribal currents clearly dominated, with 53.2% identifying them as the most prominent. Regional currents (17%), service-oriented currents (12.8%), and partisan currents (9.6%) were far less frequently placed in this position.

**Second rank:** Regional currents took the lead here (36.8%), followed by partisan currents (27.8%) and tribal currents (24%). Service-oriented currents remained less visible (10.8%).

**Third rank:** Service-oriented currents (31.6%) and partisan currents (30.5%) were the most frequently ranked in this category, with regional currents close behind (28.3%), while tribal currents dropped sharply (9.4%).

**Fourth rank (least prominent):** Service-oriented currents dominated this category (44%), followed by partisan (31%) and regional (15.8%) currents. Tribal currents were least often placed here (8.9%).

When comparing across ranks, it becomes evident that tribal currents maintain dominance at the top of the hierarchy, while service-oriented currents are mostly perceived at the bottom. Regional and partisan currents consistently occupy middle positions, reflecting their mixed but visible role in student elections.

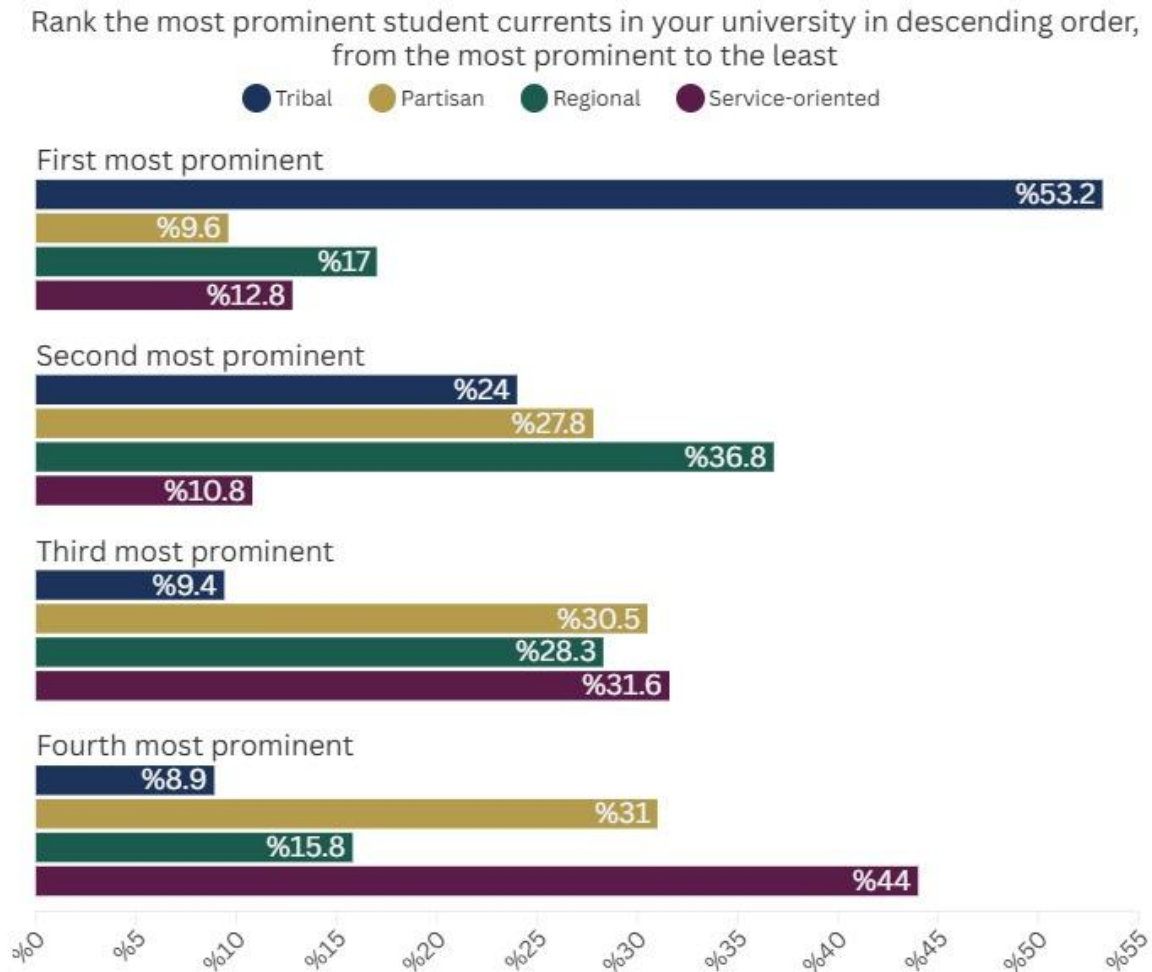
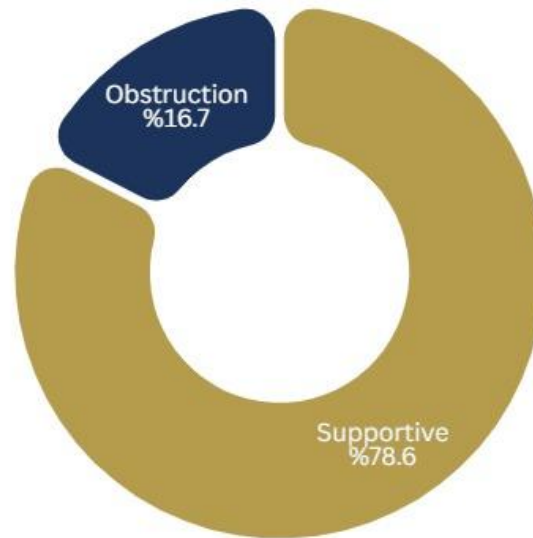


Figure 29 Ranking of Student Currents in University Elections

Regarding respondents' views of university administrations, the majority described the Deanship of Student Affairs as supportive of partisan and political work. Specifically, 78.6% selected supportive, while 16.7% considered the deanship an obstruction. Only 0.4% specified an alternative response, 0.3% refused to answer, and 3.9% stated "don't know." When comparing the supportive and obstructive perspectives, it becomes clear that most students perceive the role of the deanship as enabling rather than restricting political activity, although a notable minority continues to view it as a hindrance.

The role of the Deanship of Student Affairs in universities toward partisan and political work is



*Figure 30 Perceptions of the Role of Student Affairs Deanships in Political Engagement*

The following figure illustrates how respondents evaluated the impact of political modernization on students' orientation toward political and partisan work. A strong majority (78.1%) stated that students' orientation had developed positively, while 17.5% viewed it as having developed negatively. Only 0.1% provided an alternative response, 0.2% refused to answer, and 4.3% stated "don't know." When comparing positive and negative assessments, it is clear that favorable views substantially outweigh unfavorable ones, indicating that political modernization is widely perceived as having encouraged more constructive orientations toward political and partisan engagement among students.

Students' orientation toward political and partisan work since the modernization of the political system has developed



*Figure 31 Impact of Political Modernization on Students' Orientation toward Partisan Work*

The results indicate that fear was cited as the most prominent reason for abstention (37.4%). This was followed by weak political awareness (29.4%) and the perception that political engagement is not a priority (22.9%). Meanwhile, 9.9% attributed abstention to the weakness of political parties themselves. Only marginal proportions selected other reasons (0.2%) or “don’t know” (0.2%).

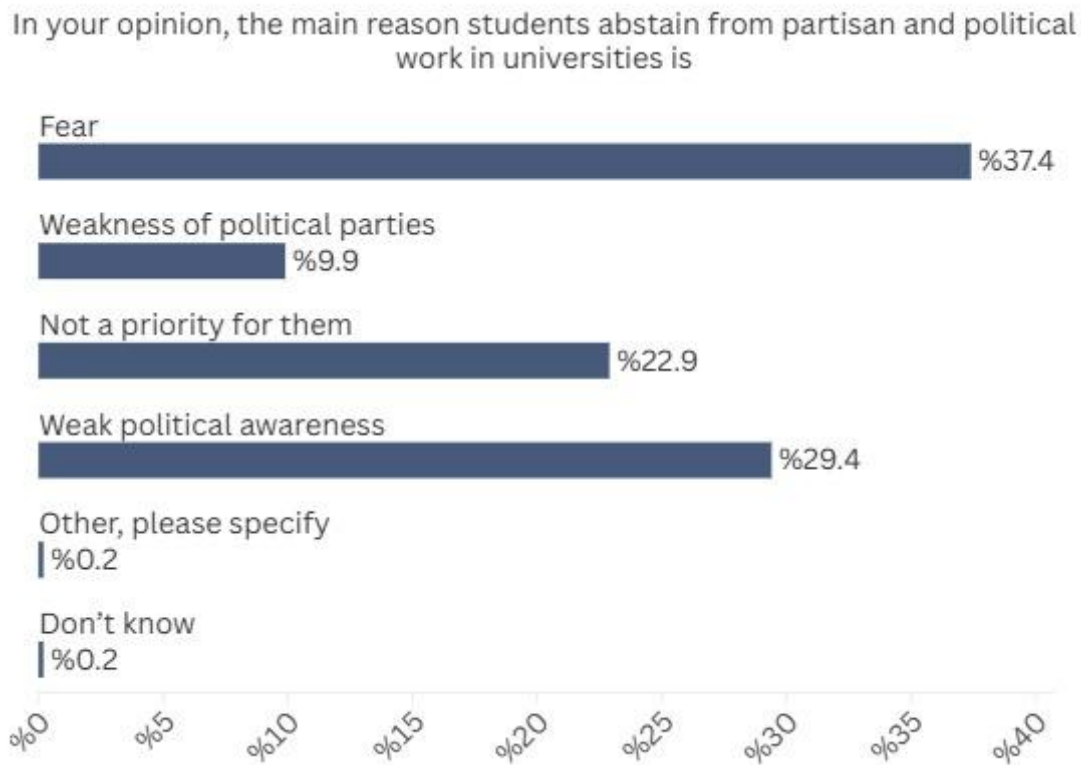


Figure 32 Main Reasons for Students' Abstention from Partisan and Political Work

### Section Three:

**Students' Political and Party Orientations:** This section examines students' broader political and partisan orientations, focusing on their attitudes, preferences, and alignment with different political trends. It explores the extent to which students identify with partisan currents, the factors shaping their political leanings, and how modernization reforms have influenced their choices. By analyzing these orientations, the section provides valuable insights into the emerging patterns of political identity among university students and their potential role in shaping the future of party politics in Jordan.

The following figure illustrates the extent to which students reported belonging to student currents in their universities. An overwhelming majority (91.5%) stated no, while only 8.4% stated yes. A negligible share (0.2%) refused to answer, and no respondents selected “don’t know.” When comparing these results, it becomes clear that formal membership in student currents is very limited, suggesting that while such currents may exist on campus, actual student affiliation with them remains marginal.

Do you belong to any student currents in your university

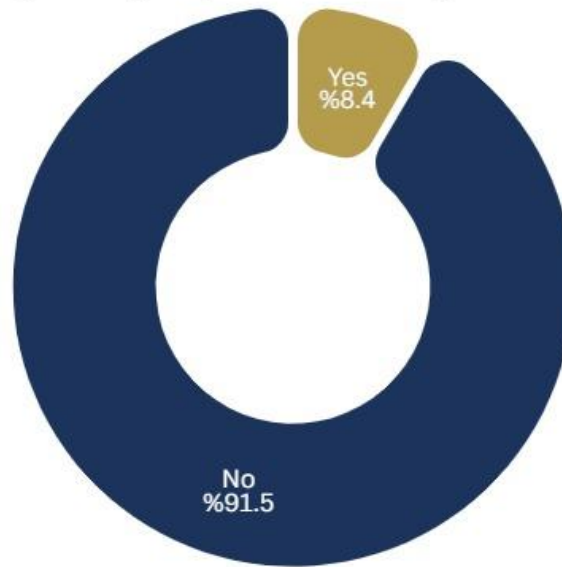


Figure 33 Membership in Student Currents within Universities

For the students who answered “yes” to the previous question, we followed up with them to explore the basis of their affiliation with student currents. The results show that the largest proportion (43.7%) attributed their affiliation to personal convictions. Meanwhile, 20% stated it was based on a service-oriented aspect, 17.6% on social and tribal background, and 15.8% on intellectual background. A small share (2.4%) stated “don’t know,” and none explicitly refused to answer. These findings suggest that, among the minority of students who belong to currents, individual convictions outweigh social or structural factors in driving their affiliation.

If you belong to a student current, it is based on

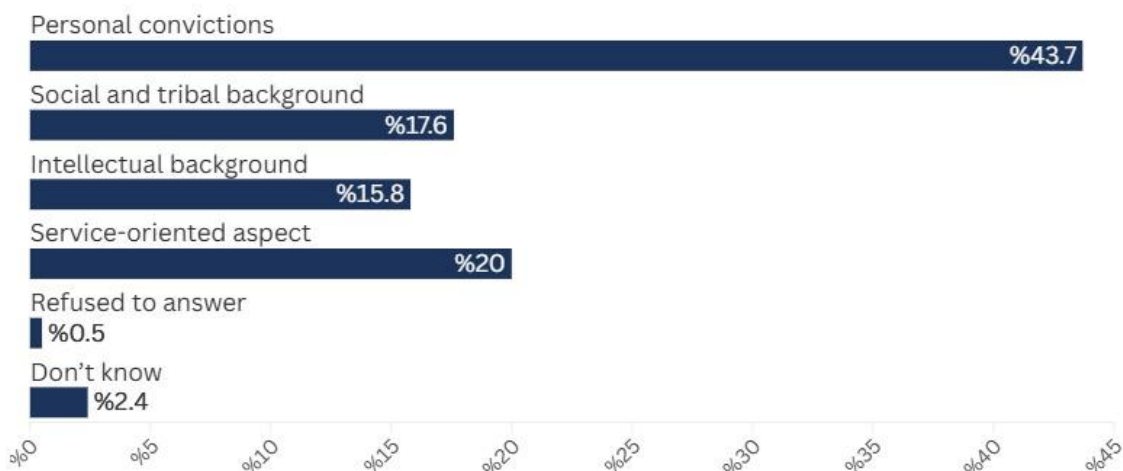


Figure 34 Basis of Affiliation with Student Currents

Expanding beyond student currents, respondents were asked about the basis on which they would join (or consider joining) a political party. Nearly half (47.6%) stated that such

a decision would be driven by personal convictions. Other motivations included service-oriented aspects (19.2%), intellectual background (17%), and social or tribal background (13%). Smaller proportions indicated other reasons (0.8%), refused to answer (0.9%), or stated “don’t know” (1.5%). When comparing these results, it is evident that personal choice and values remain the dominant factors, outweighing collective, tribal, or purely service-driven considerations in shaping students’ prospective partisan affiliation.

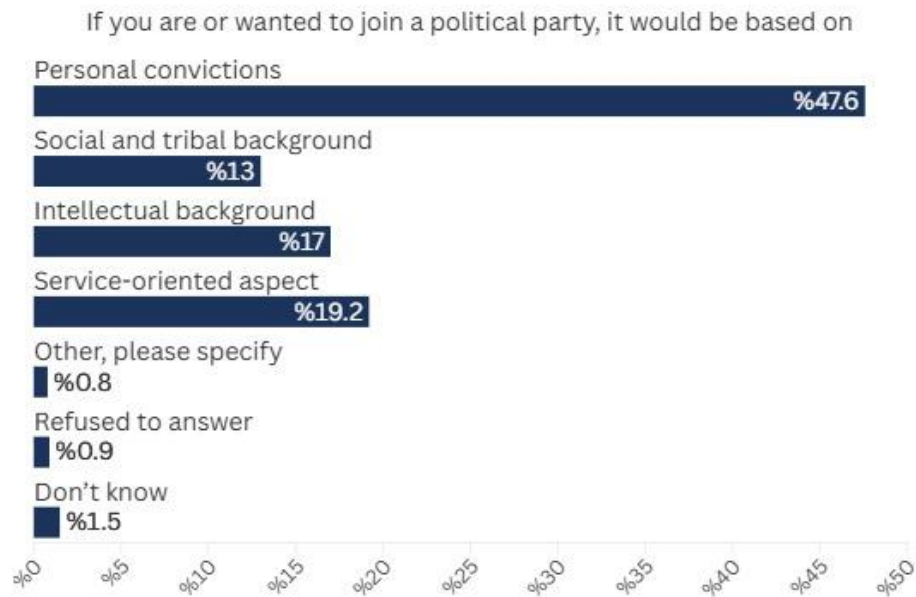


Figure 35 Motivations for Joining Political Parties

The following figure illustrates students’ preferences regarding the most suitable form of governance. A clear majority (55.8%) selected an Islamic-Democratic model, reflecting a desire to merge religious values with democratic principles. Meanwhile, 20.3% favored a purely democratic system, and 16.7% preferred an Islamic system. A smaller proportion (4.5%) supported a tribal form of governance. Minimal percentages chose other options (0.4%), refused to answer (1.6%), or stated “don’t know” (0.8%). When comparing these preferences, it becomes evident that hybrid governance models combining Islam and democracy hold the greatest appeal among students, while purely tribal or alternative systems remain marginal.

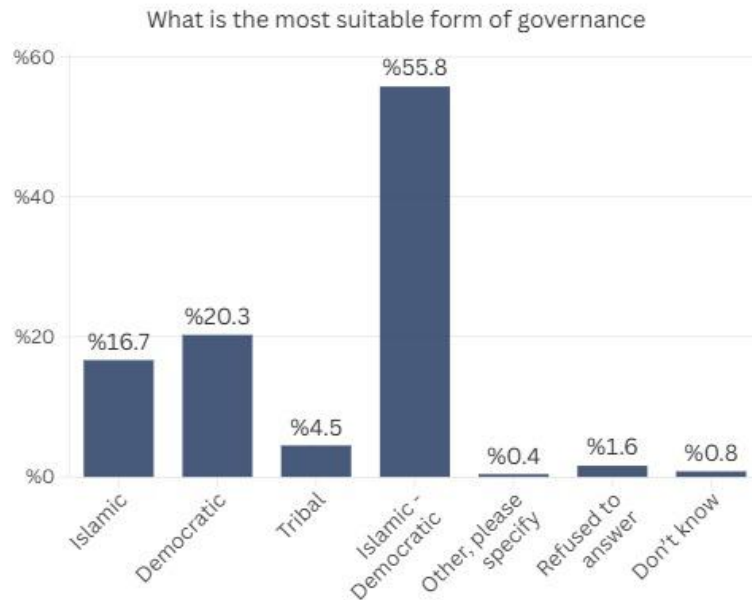


Figure 36 Perceptions of the Most Suitable Form of Governance

Regarding respondents' views on personal freedoms, the vast majority (70.4%) stated that freedoms should be restricted by religion and morals. A smaller proportion (17.3%) believed they should be restricted by law, while 7.3% supported the notion that freedom should be sacred and unrestricted. Additionally, 4.3% felt that freedom should be limited by social traditions. Minimal shares selected other (0.4%) or "don't know" (0.3%). When comparing these responses, it is evident that most students anchor their understanding of freedoms within moral and religious frameworks, while legal or unrestricted perspectives remain secondary.

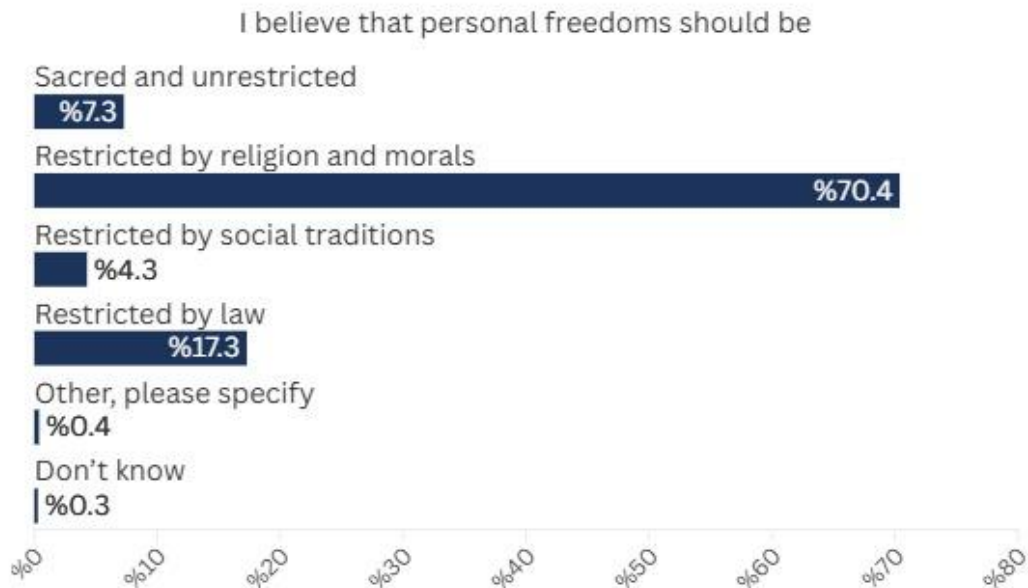
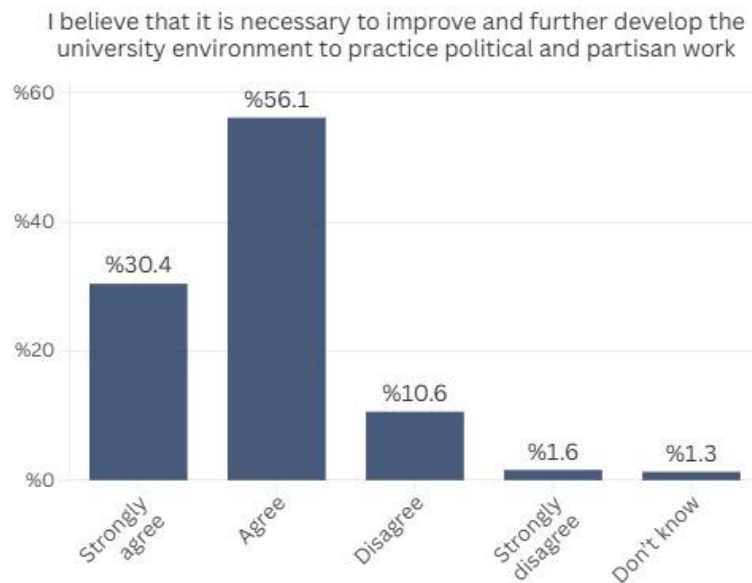


Figure 37 Perceptions of Personal Freedoms and Their Boundaries

## Section Four:

**Recommendations for the Next Phase:** This section presents students' perspectives and recommendations for the next phase of political modernization and partisan engagement. It highlights the priorities, proposals, and expectations voiced by university students regarding how political participation can be strengthened and how the environment for partisan work can be further developed. By capturing these insights, the section provides guidance for policymakers, universities, and political institutions on the reforms and initiatives most likely to resonate with young people and enhance their role in shaping Jordan's political future.

The following figure illustrates the extent of student agreement on the need to further develop the university environment for political and partisan work. A strong majority expressed support: 56.1% agreed and 30.4% strongly agreed. In contrast, 10.6% disagreed, and only 1.6% strongly disagreed. A small minority (1.3%) responded "don't know." When comparing supportive and opposing views, it becomes evident that nearly nine out of ten students recognize the importance of improving institutional frameworks and campus conditions to foster greater political participation.



*Figure 38 Enhancing the University Environment for Political and Partisan Engagement*

When asked about the availability of space for political and partisan work in universities, students expressed a noticeable divide. Overall, 61.8% agreed with the statement: 42.4% agreed and 19.4% strongly agreed, suggesting that many students see limited opportunities for political activity on campus and prefer greater emphasis on academics. On the other hand, a significant 36.8% opposed the idea, with 31.9% disagreeing and 4.9% strongly disagreeing, signaling that a considerable portion of students still value preserving room for political engagement. Only 1.3% remained uncertain.

I believe there is no horizon or space for political and partisan work in universities, therefore I call for greater focus on academic and scientific aspects

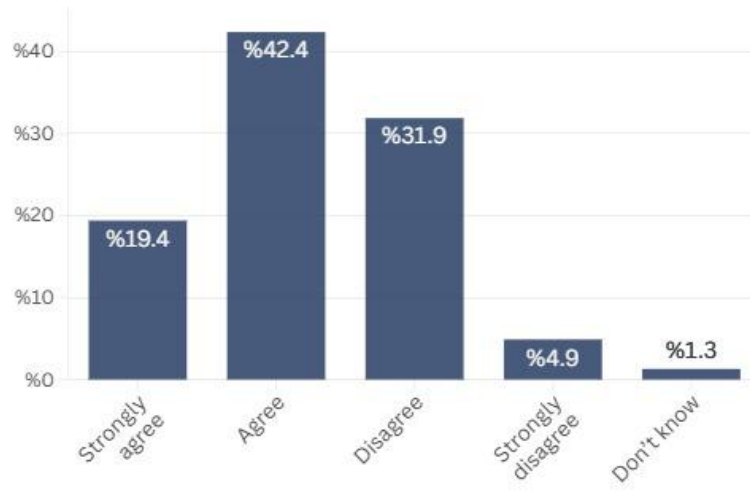


Figure 39 Shifting Priorities toward Academic and Scientific Focus

A closer look at the responses shows that the majority of students favor stronger integration between academic and political life. Nearly three-quarters endorsed the idea, with 58.5% agreeing and 15.3% strongly agreeing. In contrast, about a quarter of the sample expressed reservations: 20.7% disagreed and 4.5% strongly disagreed, while a very small minority (0.9%) indicated “don’t know.” These results suggest that while most students see value in aligning curricula with civic and political participation, a notable segment remains cautious.

It is necessary for universities to move toward linking academic curricula with greater student participation in public and political life

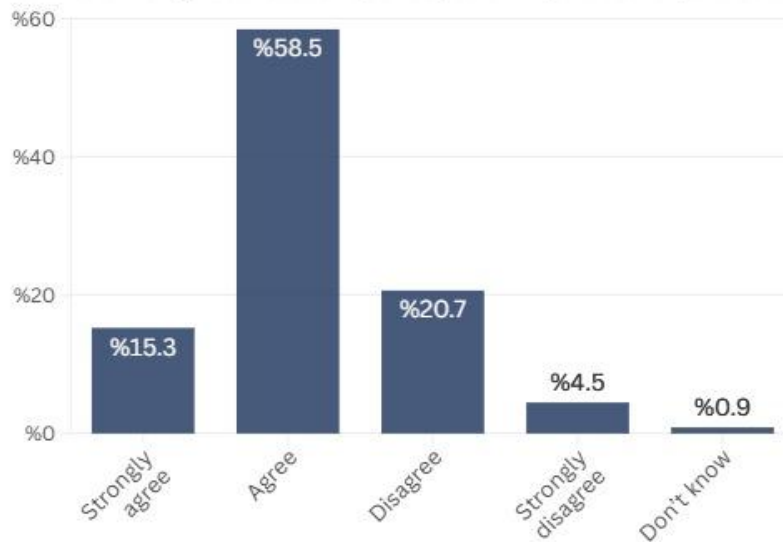
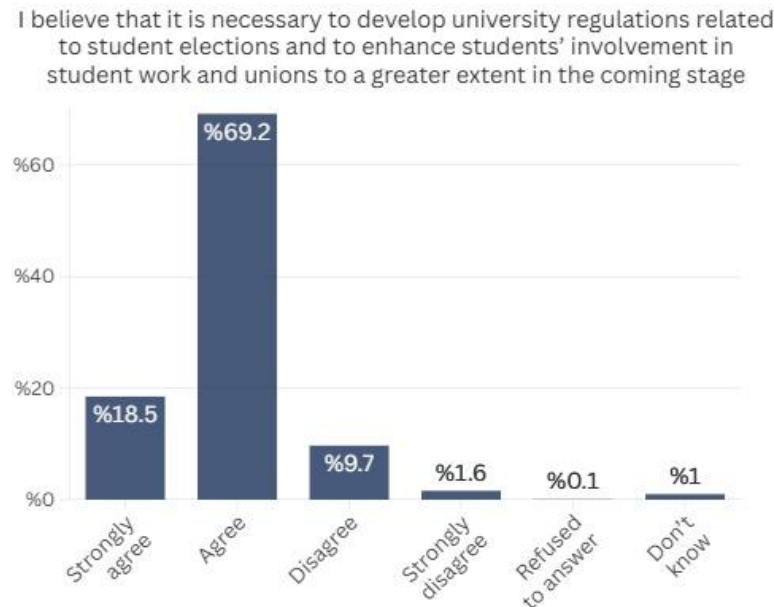


Figure 40 Integrating Academic Curricula with Political and Public Engagement

The data reveal overwhelming support for strengthening student participation mechanisms. A combined 87.7% of respondents agreed with the statement—69.2% agreed and 18.5% strongly agreed—indicating broad consensus on the importance of reforming university regulations to improve student elections and union activities. In contrast, a relatively small share expressed opposition: 9.7% disagreed and 1.6% strongly disagreed. Only marginal proportions either refused to answer (0.1%) or stated “don’t know” (1%).



*Figure 41 Developing University Regulations and Strengthening Student Union Engagement*

A strong majority of respondents endorsed the idea of holding student union elections tied to student currents across Jordanian universities. Specifically, 62.4% agreed and 18.2% strongly agreed. In contrast, 15.4% disagreed and 2.7% strongly disagreed, while minimal proportions refused to answer (0.1%) or stated “don’t know” (1.2%).

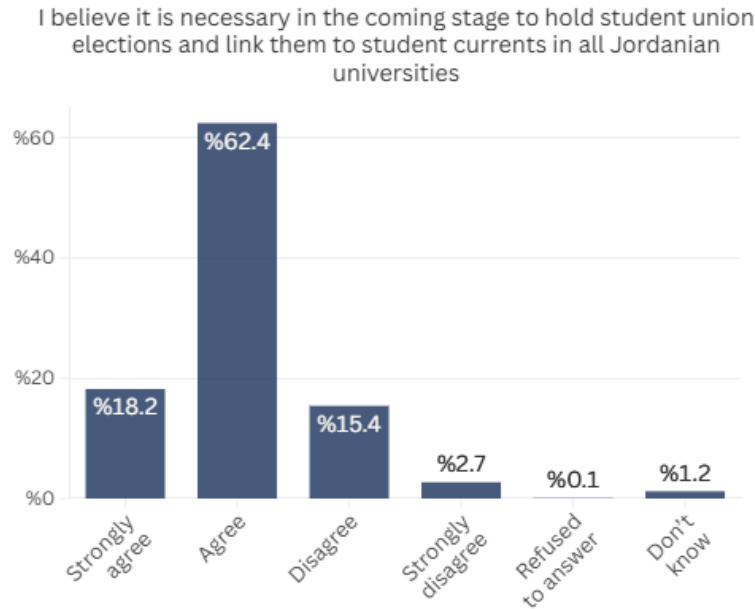


Figure 42 Linking Student Union Elections to Political Currents

Responses to this question show a striking consensus on the importance of capacity-building. More than two-thirds of the students (69.4%) agreed, and an additional 22.1% strongly agreed, making over nine in ten respondents supportive of providing targeted training. In contrast, only 6.7% disagreed, and a very small minority (0.4%) strongly disagreed. A negligible 1.3% indicated “don’t know.” Such overwhelming support suggests that students recognize the need for equipping unions, student currents, and administrators with practical skills.

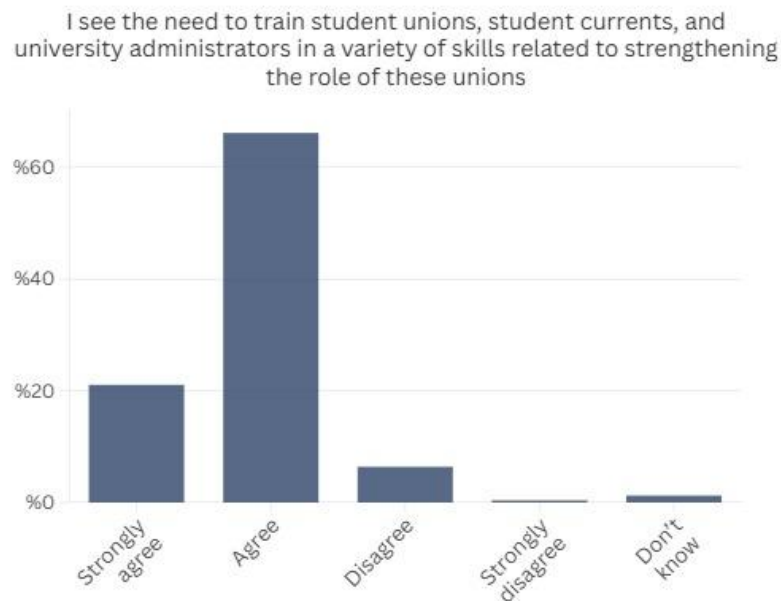


Figure 43 Capacity-Building for Student Unions and University Administrations

Student opinions on the anticipated success of political parties in the near future appear polarized. On one side, 45.7% of respondents agreed with the pessimistic view (37.4% agreed and 8.3% strongly agreed), suggesting skepticism about the ability of parties to deliver meaningful results. On the other hand, a slightly larger share, 49.8%, rejected this notion, with 41.7% disagreeing and 8.1% strongly disagreeing, reflecting cautious optimism regarding the future of partisan work.

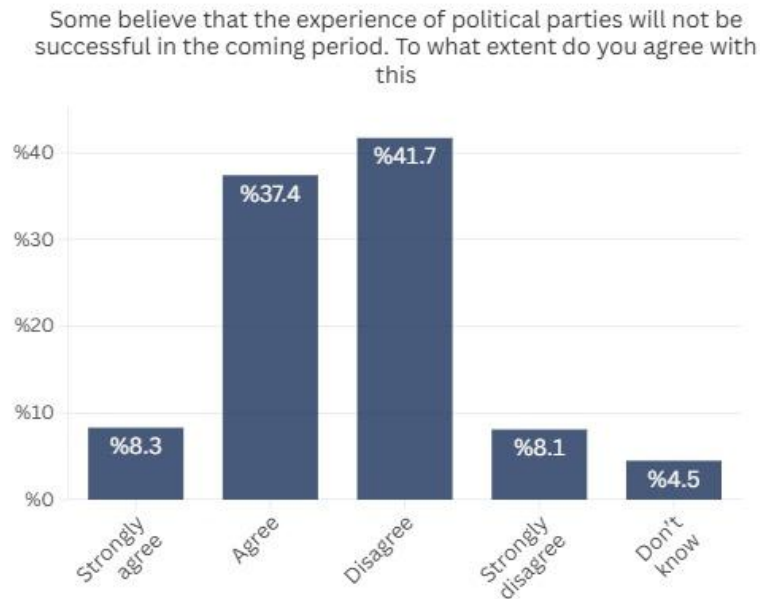


Figure 44 Perceptions of the Future Success of Political Parties

This question allowed multiple responses, and students identified a variety of priorities to strengthen the political and partisan environment in universities. The most frequently chosen factor was increasing awareness and training on the work of political parties, cited by more than half of the respondents (53.3%). A further 26.4% highlighted the importance of improving student freedoms, while 19.5% pointed to the need for developing the Deanships of Student Affairs. Only negligible proportions selected “don’t know” (0.4%) or refused to answer (0.2%).

I believe that improving the university environment for partisan and political work requires

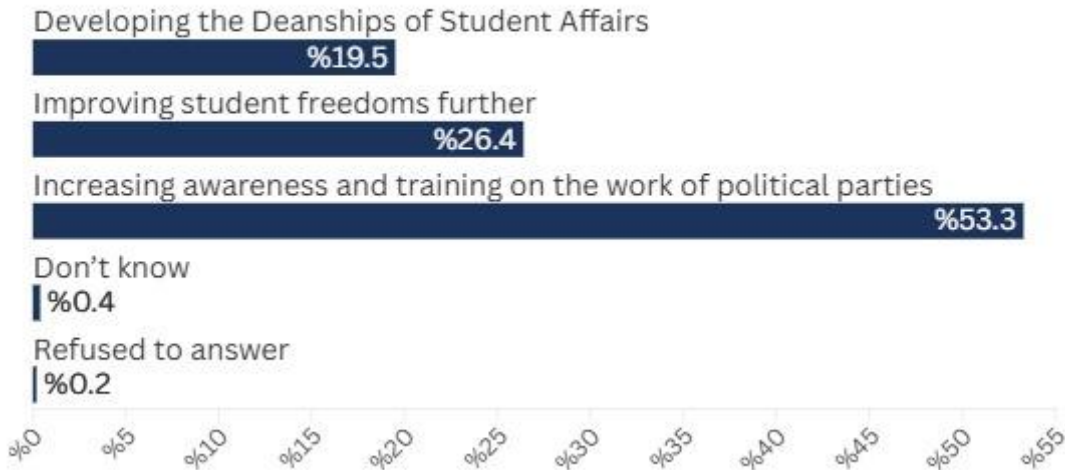


Figure 45 Key Requirements for Enhancing the University Environment for Political Work

When asked how student engagement in political and public life could best be advanced, the majority of respondents (68.8%) emphasized the importance of integrating political parties with student currents, reflecting a belief that meaningful progress requires closer institutional and organizational alignment. A smaller share (18.4%) pointed to the strengthening of student currents themselves, while only 9.4% highlighted the need to strengthen political parties directly. Minimal proportions either refused to answer (0.5%) or indicated uncertainty (2.9%).

I believe that enhancing students' involvement in political and public work must be achieved through

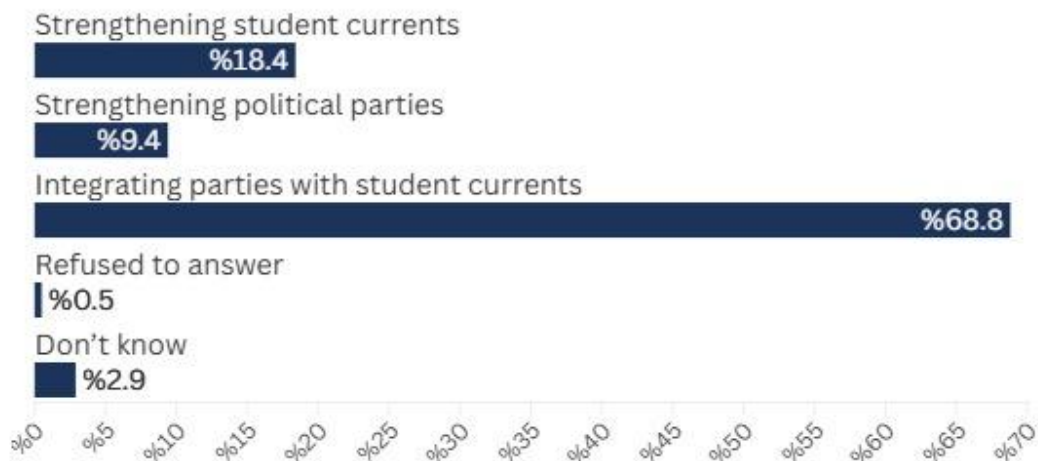


Figure 46 Preferred Approaches to Strengthening Student Involvement in Political Life

The responses reveal a clear tendency among students to favor strengthening the role of political parties in universities through practical activities. A combined majority of 79.5% expressed support, with 35.9% strongly supporting and 43.6% somewhat supporting the

idea. On the other hand, 11.9% somewhat opposed and 7.4% strongly opposed such initiatives, while only 1.2% were uncertain.

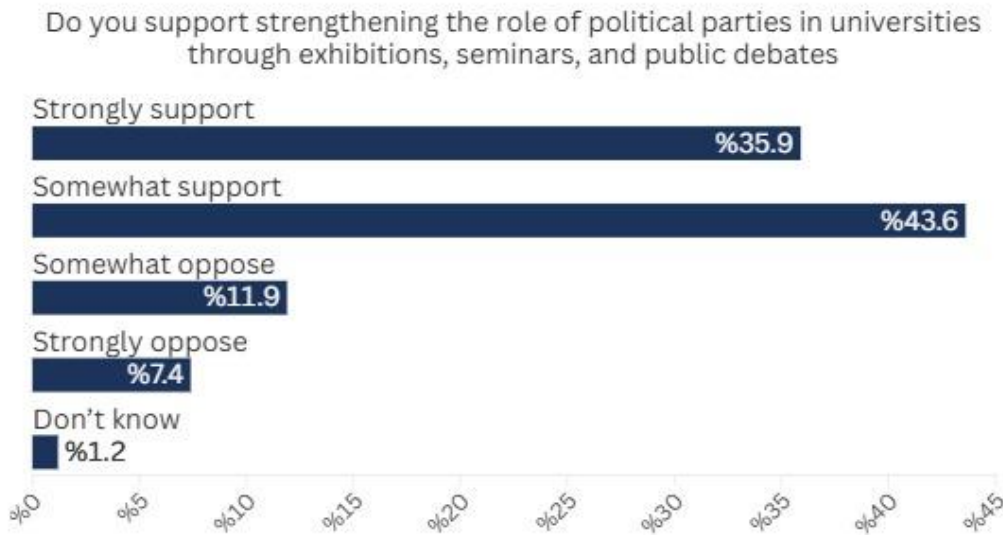


Figure 47 Students' Support for Expanding the Role of Political Parties in Universities

## Recommendations

To address the key challenges identified in the survey, the following recommendations are proposed to strengthen youth political engagement and improve the university political environment:

- 1- **Enhance Women's Political Participation**  
Address the significant gender gap in campus political engagement. With over 89% of respondents recognizing male dominance in participation, targeted programs should be introduced to empower female students, including mentorship schemes, leadership training, and incentives for women to participate in student elections.
- 2- **Strengthen Awareness and Political Education**  
Given that 29.1% cited weak political awareness as a barrier and 69.2% did not review party programs in the last elections, universities and political parties should collaborate on workshops, debates, and digital campaigns to improve knowledge of political platforms and processes.
- 3- **Encourage Active Youth Involvement in Party Life**  
With over 90% of students never having participated in party activities, reforms must move beyond legislative changes to practical outreach. Political parties should establish student branches, hold open forums on campuses, and develop direct engagement mechanisms tailored to young voters.
- 4- **Balance Tribal Influence with Partisan Development**  
Tribal currents dominate campus politics (53.2% identified them as most prominent), but students favor integrating them with partisan structures. Policies should incentivize cooperation between tribal and partisan groups, channeling tribal influence into constructive, programmatic competition.
- 5- **Institutionalize Student Participation**  
Nearly 88% support reforming student election regulations, and 81% back union elections tied to currents. Universities should adopt standardized frameworks for

student unions, ensuring transparent elections, inclusive participation, and stronger ties to national political parties.

6- **Capacity-Building and Leadership Training**

With over 91% endorsing training for student unions and administrations, capacity-building programs should be institutionalized, focusing on leadership, negotiation, and civic engagement skills to sustain a vibrant student political culture.