

The Effect of Tribal Identity on Youth Political Participation in Karak Governorate

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Abstract

Objectives: This study aimed to examine the impact of tribal identity on youth political participation in Al-Karak Governorate.

Methods: The study utilized a descriptive-analytical approach. The population consisted of 316,629 individuals in Al-Karak Governorate, from which a cluster random sample of 2,988 participants was selected, including 1,092 males and 1,896 females. A validated and reliable questionnaire was distributed to the sample.

Results: The results showed that Jordanian youth in Al-Karak perceive tribal identity at a high level, while their political participation was rated at a moderate level. Tribal identity was found to influence youth political participation in the governorate, with dimensions of tribal identity accounting for 76.5% of the variation in overall youth political participation.

Conclusion: The study recommends implementing awareness initiatives to encourage youth to overcome the negative aspects of tribal identity and addressing youth issues comprehensively to establish a foundation for genuine citizenship that transcends allegiance to specific groups or factions.

Keywords: Tribal identity; youth political participation; Karak Governorate; Jordan

أثر الهوية العشائرية في مشاركة الشباب السياسية في محافظة الكرك

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ملخص

الأهداف: هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على أثر الهوية العشائرية في مشاركة الشباب السياسية في محافظة الكرك. **المنهجية:** تم استخدام المنهج الوصفي التحليلي، وتكون مجتمع الدراسة من (316629) نسمة في محافظة الكرك. تكونت عينة الدراسة من (2988) مبحوثاً، تم اختيارهم عن طريقة العينة العشوائية العنقودية، منهم (1092) ذكراً، و(1896) أنثى. تم توزيع استبانة على عينة الدراسة، وتم التأكد من صدقها وثباتها.

النتائج: أظهرت نتائج الدراسة أنّ تصورات الشباب الأردني في محافظة الكرك للهوية العشائرية جاءت بدرجة مرتفعة، وأن مستوى مشاركتهم السياسية جاءت بدرجة متوسطة، ووجود أثر للهوية العشائرية في مشاركة الشباب السياسية في محافظة الكرك، وإن أبعاد الهوية العشائرية تفسر (76.5%) من التغير في المتغير التابع الكلي (مشاركة الشباب السياسية في محافظة الكرك).

الخلاصة: توصي الدراسة بضرورة القيام بمبادرات توعوية تُشجع الشباب على التخلص من السلبات التي تتعلق بالهوية العشائرية، وأن يتم التعاطي مع قضايا الشباب ومشاكلهم من الزوايا كافة، لإرساء قاعدة المواطنة الحقة التي لا تختزل الوطن في جماعة أو فئة معينة.

الكلمات الدالة: الهوية العشائرية، مشاركة الشباب السياسية، محافظة الكرك، الأردن.

Introduction:

Tribal identity is the most intertwined element in Arab societies, as it is what gives Arab society its well-known characteristic and distinctive feature. It has played an important role in forming social systems in many countries, and tribal identity still plays a role in political decision-making in many countries in the region.

Tribalism has contributed to the cohesion of Jordanian society and the preservation of its identity, authenticity, and cultural heritage through adherence to tribal values and customs that governed society and formed what is called societal democracy, such as freedom to express opinions, advice, and political participation. It is still the basic component of Jordanian society, as tribal identity is still an important part of the general culture of Jordanian society, as many members of tribes seek to resolve their disputes with others through Tribal customs (Marai and Al-Hais, 2023). Clans constitute a political concept that combines some of the characteristics of a political party, pressure groups, or interest groups. They seek to gain political power, participate directly in political decision-making, and also seek to influence political decision-making in a way that achieves their interests and demands. These are characteristics of interest groups by definition (AlTarawneh, and Abu Hmidan, 2023).

Heikal (2022) indicates that Jordanian clans are political in their roots due to their historical development and the strong tribe was transformed into a strong state under the leadership of the dominant tribe. At present, tribal leaders and sheikhs still exercise many tasks in political decision-making units. Naseer (2021) focuses on the fact that the tribal structure is one of the most prominent social components that imposes, by its presence, influences capable of controlling the formula of social and political relations in society, by formulating behaviors that oblige individuals to acknowledge them and adhere to their principles, which is called social facts. The laws of geography and history have contributed to framing these social facts with laws that control their emergence and formulation, and imposed on them a situation that cannot be escaped, which is living within the framework of a group of anthropologically diverse nationalities and races that formed its social fabric. (Temeiza, 2022) indicates that clans have political components and are active in political and social life, for historical, military, and cultural reasons, and reasons related to the nature of the clan structure itself, as the clan was and still is one of the most important components of the state.

Al-Suwailemeen (2016) indicates that Jordanian society believes in a number of positive values in the political, social, economic and administrative fields, as it believes in the values of democracy, equality, justice, freedom and modernization, and work and political participation through official channels linked to the state, and its legal procedures, and unofficial ones linked to the nature of the tribal structure and its followed culture. While Al-Mahasen (2003) indicates that Jordanian clans are distinguished by many positive roles and models that help state institutions in achieving their goals and plans and help in creating a kind of social, political and judicial balance in many of the issues and events that we are going through, which contributes to building a civilized model for the modern Jordanian state and the absence of any kind of imbalances that hinder the progress of achievements that are being made in Jordan.

Jarar and Al-Shalabi (2021) indicate that the national model presented by the clans in confronting all forms of social violence that emerge from time to time, was launched from themselves spatially and socially. The clans began in their regions when they refused for these regions to be hotbeds of social violence and lawlessness, and turned into a social and moral source that feeds political and social reform trends on the general national level. While Al-Akkash (2018) indicates that the momentum of the national positions undertaken by the clans in the fields of direct confrontation. In transforming the guest houses into offices for reconciliation and consensus, and in the keenness to hold meetings, gatherings and seminars, which can be inferred that it was and still is a workshop to refine the national character on this path. For more than one national consideration, the relationship between the clans and the government is derived from its broad and clear framework.

This relationship shows its prominent presence in the fabric of state institutions in general and the most prominent relationship between the clans and the security forces, and consequently between the clans and the police. Many successes have been achieved in the field of national security. It is fair and recognizable to emphasize that the clans had and still have a clear role, not from the perspective of seeking help from them, but rather from the standpoint of the solidarity

responsibility between the clans and the government and their positions in the advancement of society, fighting the corrupt, and assisting the security agencies responsible for protecting the people and the country (Reconciliation, 2009).

Khreisat (2019) focuses on a set of considerations that push clans to adhere to their general security duty. These considerations take their general concept from the tribal national spirit in most of its concepts originally within the list of the moral components of the clan, including chivalry, nobility, gallantry, and readiness to defend everything that is right within the framework of chivalry that rises above the clan's approach, which is a tribal interest in the first degree. In other words, it is a functional interest shared by the state and clans as a social institution that does not differ in its logic from any civil society institution. The clan in Jordan is still a basic institution in the social systems in the region, and it still plays an important and influential role in political decision-making, despite the fundamental changes that the countries of the region have witnessed at all levels. Over the past years, Jordan has witnessed widespread tribal quarrels as a result of political participation, and many Jordanians have been victims of them, and institutions and educational institutions have not been spared from all of this (Al-Abadi, 2015).

Tribal influence varies from one country to another. In some countries, the role of the clan is complementary and supportive to the role of the state, while in some countries it represents a major challenge to the state and its authorities. (Nasir, 2021) indicates that the traditional formula that views the relationship of power in Jordan with the clan as a fixed matter that permeates history and society over time is a formula that we need to rethink, not only in relation to the current situation, but also when evaluating the stages of the country's history.

In recent years, there has been much talk about the role of tribal identity, and it can be linked to the Jordanian citizen's lack of trust in the bodies regulating political life as a result of the accumulation of previous experiences in which the regulating authorities interfered in the course of political life (Dradkeh, 2016). Tribal identity can also be directly linked to the nature of the laws that control and direct the political process, specifically the voting system and the system of dividing electoral districts and representation. The absence of clear criteria in dividing districts and limiting the voter's right to vote for one candidate with multiple seats has led to strengthening the voter's loyalty to the candidate of the clan, family or region in the first place, which has led over the years to strengthening Tribal fanaticism and transforming competition from political to tribal or regional competition (Ghanem, 2019). Perhaps the weakness of the laws regulating political life has contributed fundamentally and over the years to establishing the phenomenon of tribal identity. There are many documented cases of tribal influence linked to political participation and competition between candidates or linked to the announcement of results.

Tribal identity can be linked to political participation for two main reasons (Al-Awamleh, 2020): The first is the Jordanian citizen's lack of confidence in the bodies organizing the electoral process as a result of the accumulation of previous experiences in which the organizing authorities interfered in the course of the electoral process. The second reason is directly related to the absence of clear criteria in dividing the constituencies and limiting the individual's right to vote for one candidate with multiple seats, which led to strengthening the individual's loyalty to the clan's candidate, which reinforces Tribal fanaticism, which led to the transformation of the competition in the elections from a political competition to a tribal or regional competition. Dealing with the phenomenon of tribal influence in political participation remained at its formal limit, as the state did not seek to raise the level of awareness, or strengthen the national identity instead of sub-identities, and tribal influence moved to universities with every electoral process for students, and elections are usually based on tribal, and in light of clear security interventions (Samara; and Maalouf, 2021).

Local election observers' reports and media reports recorded many cases of violence related to political participation in the electoral process. These cases ranged from verbal violence to individual physical violence and collective violence. Cases of shooting at candidates were recorded, as well as cases of attacks on ballot boxes by supporters of candidates. You can refer to the reports of the Integrity Coalition for Election Monitoring, the Civil Coalition (Rasid), and the reports of the National Center for Human Rights to view the details of these cases. In fact, the electoral violence that occurred in the Karak Governorate, specifically In Faqu'a District, it led to influencing the election results and resulted in the invalidation of these results by a judicial decision. Tribal influence and its relationship to political participation have contributed

fundamentally and over the years to establishing the phenomenon of community violence. There are many documented cases of violence related to election campaigns and competition between candidates or related to announcing the results, which in some cases reached the point of deaths as a result of violence, as happened in Karak Governorate in the 2010 elections (Al-Batoush, 2020).

The problem of Study:

Tribal identity has been one of the most prominent pillars of political stability that the government relied on in confronting internal and regional political crises, and in supporting and backing the Jordanian political system. Tribes have remained a loyal and trustworthy source for the head of the regime, who relies on them in sensitive institutions, especially the army and security services. They have formed a historical alliance factor with the state, and have become a major source that provides the regime with loyal soldiers that it relies on in the worst internal political circumstances. A large number of Jordanian historical figures have also emerged from them, who have participated in governance for various historical periods.

The problem of the study is represented in investigating the relationship between tribal identity and political participation; This relationship began to become clear as a result of relying on the single-vote law, which strengthened the "tribal option". The most prominent path that candidates take to reach a seat in the House of Representatives, and the electoral division that relied on geographical division rather than population density, in addition to the candidates' reliance on the social and tribal base to reach parliament, as political participation is focused according to tribal considerations rather than political, ideological or partisan considerations. The absence of party life in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which has gone through a number of stages, was characterized in most of its aspects by slow progress and was unable to draw the features and shape of Jordanian political life, and what it could constitute as an effective contribution to enhancing political participation. Accordingly, the problem of the study is determined by the following question: What is the impact of tribal identity on the political participation of youth in Karak Governorate? The study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate of the dimensions of tribal identity from their point of view?
2. What are the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate of the dimensions of political participation from their point of view?

Study importance:

The importance of the study stems from the fact that it focuses on studying the impact of tribal identity on youth political participation in Karak Governorate, which is one of the most important laws regulating political life. Hence, its importance comes from two aspects: the first is scientific and the other is practical:

1- The Scientific importance:

The scientific importance of the study lies in the endeavor to support the Arabic literature with an academic contribution that explains the role of tribal identity in youth political participation, but it has not been reflected in the reality of party life in it, as parties have remained weak and far from the circle of citizens' interest, due to the existence of many procedural and substantive problems that limit the effectiveness of political parties. The importance of this study comes from knowing the impact that identity can have on political participation from an important role from the youth's point of view.

2 – The Practical importance:

The practical importance of this study comes from providing a vision about the reactions of the various active political forces regarding the impact of tribal identity on youth political participation, so that these reactions constitute an assessment of political reforms that open future horizons for Jordanian political work. The practical importance of this study also lies in the fact that it represents a primary information base that can be used to monitor future developments in Jordanian political life, in addition to being, from a practical perspective, and with the results it reaches, one of the references for decision-makers in formulating public policies and taking appropriate steps to reduce the phenomenon of reliance on the tribal component, and to enhance the democratic approach. This pushes towards raising the state of political tension in a sensitive period in which the country needs national consensus and real political participation among youth.

Goals of Study:

The study seeks to achieve a set of objectives, the most prominent of which are:

1. Identify the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate of the dimensions of tribal identity from their point of view.
2. Identify the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate of the dimensions of political participation from their point of view?
3. Identify the role of tribal identity with its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) in political participation represented in (political development, political interest, political knowledge, political voting, political demands) from the point of view of youth in Karak Governorate?

Methodology of Study:

The methodology followed in the study is based on the descriptive analytical approach, which included a desk survey by referring to ready references and sources to build the theoretical framework of the study, as well as the statistical analytical approach to collect data using the study tool and analyze it statistically to answer the study questions and test its hypotheses.

Society of study:

The study Society consisted of a number of Jordanian families in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, with a total number of about (1,510,314) families (Department of Statistics, 2023). The population of Karak Governorate is about (316,629) people, or (4%) of the population of the Kingdom. The population of Karak Governorate is distributed as follows: (50.6%) males and (49.4%) females. The number of families is (63,490) families, with an average number of (5) individuals, compared to (8.4) individuals at the Kingdom level. The demographic dependency rate in Karak Governorate is (62.7%), which is lower than the general level of the Kingdom, which is (61.4%). (61.5%) of the population is concentrated in the age group of youth between the ages of (15-64).

Sample of study:

For the purposes of the current study, and due to the large size of the study community and the spatial distance between families, the study sample was selected using the cluster random sample method. First, the geographical units in Karak Governorate (Karak Qasaba District, Southern Mazar District, Southern Ghor District, Ay District, Fuqu District, Qatrana District) were divided, and the study sample was selected from families from residential neighborhoods within the populated areas in these neighborhoods. The study sample was selected randomly from the following districts: Karak Qasaba District Governorate, Southern Mazar District, Southern Ghor District, Ay District, Fuqu District, Qatrana District. A total of (3250) questionnaires were distributed to young people in Karak Governorate within the targeted statistical community, by the researchers and with the assistance of a group of students who have sufficient experience to implement survey studies. After the application process, (3029) questionnaires were retrieved after being applied to youth in Karak Governorate. After reviewing the retrieved questionnaires, it was found that (41) of them were incomplete with the required data, and therefore they were not approved for statistical analysis. Thus, the total number of questionnaires subject to analysis was (2988) questionnaires, constituting (96.00%) of the number of questionnaires distributed. These are appropriate percentages for the purposes of achieving the objectives of this study, given the large size of the study community, its spatial distance, the limited time available for application, and the difficulty of providing logistical capabilities available to researchers to select a larger sample from the statistical community.

Table 1 - Characteristics Description of the study sample.

Variable	The level	Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	1092	36.5
	feminine	1896	63.5
Occupation	Unemployed	379	12.7
	Private Sector Employee	895	30.0

Variable	The level	Frequency	Percent
	Public Sector Employee	1286	43.0
	Student	289	9.7
	Other	139	4.6
Place of residence	City	1531	51.2
	Village	963	32.2
	Badia	494	16.6
Qualification	Secondary or Below	202	6.8
	Intermediate Diploma	311	10.4
	Bachelor's	1979	66.2
	Postgraduate Studies	496	16.6

Looking at Table No. (1), it is clear that (63.5%) of the study sample were females, while the percentage of males was (36.5%). As for the variable of the nature of work, (12.7%) were unemployed, (30%) were working in the private sector, (43%) were working in the public sector, and (9.7%) were students. As for the variable of place of residence, most of the respondents (51.2%) were city dwellers, (32.2%) were villagers, and (16.6%) were Bedouin. As for the variable of educational level, (6.8%) had a secondary education level or less, (10.4%) had an intermediate diploma, (66.2%) had a bachelor's degree, and the percentage of postgraduates was (16.6%).

Tool of Study:

The questionnaire was used as a study tool, and consisted of three parts:

Part One: It includes the characteristics of the study sample in light of personal and functional variables (gender, Occupation, Place of residence, Qualification).

Part Two: It includes paragraphs from (23) that measure the independent variable (tribal identity), as the studies (Marai and Al-Hais, 2023; Heikal, 2022; Temeiza, 2022) were used as guidance. This part included (23) paragraphs divided as follows: the dimension of societal upbringing, measured by paragraphs from 1-4, the dimension of Tribal dependence, measured by paragraphs from 5-8, the dimension of Tribal affiliation, measured by paragraphs from 9-13, the dimension of Tribal customs, measured by paragraphs from 14-18, and the dimension of Tribal fanaticism, measured by paragraphs from 19-23.

Part Three: It includes paragraphs from (24-45) that measure the dependent variable (youth political participation), as the studies (AlTarawneh, and Abu Hmidan, 2023; Rashid et al., 2023; Nofal and Abu Hamoud, 2022), and this variable includes the following dimensions: the dimension of political development, measured by paragraphs 24-27, the dimension of political interest, measured by paragraphs 28-32, the dimension of political knowledge, measured by paragraphs 33-37, the dimension of political voting, measured by paragraphs 38-41, and the dimension of political demands, measured by paragraphs 42-45.

The weights of the questionnaire paragraphs were determined according to the five-point Likert scale, and in light of the arithmetic mean values of the paragraphs, the level of perceptions is high if the mean values are from (3.67-5), and the level of perceptions is average if the mean values range from (2.34-3.66), and if the arithmetic mean is less than (2.33), the level of perceptions is low.

Validity of the study tool:

To ensure the validity of the study tool, it was presented to (8) arbitrators from faculty members in Jordanian universities and those with experience and expertise. After receiving the responses, some modifications were made to the questionnaire paragraphs according to the instructions of the arbitration committee members, and the questionnaire was finally formulated.

Reliability of the study tool:

The reliability of the questionnaire was verified according to the Cronbach Alpha equation to ensure internal consistency

in its final overall form, and for each variable with all its dimensions, by distributing it to a survey sample consisting of (25) researchers from outside the study sample.

Table 2- stability coefficient.

Tool	Dimensions	Paragraph sequence	Reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha)
Tribal Identity	Societal upbringing	1-4	0.89
	Tribal dependence	5-8	0.90
	Tribal affiliation	9-13	0.86
	Tribal customs	14-18	0.87
	Tribal fanaticism	19-23	0.88
Youth Political Participation	Political development	24-27	0.89
	Political interest	28-32	0.87
	Political knowledge	33-37	0.82
	Political voting	38-41	0.83
	Political demands	42-45	0.88

The results shown in Table (2) indicate that all values of the stability coefficients are acceptable for the purposes of the study, noting that the acceptable internal consistency ratio is (0.60 or above).

Statistical processing:

To answer the study questions and examine its hypotheses, statistical methods were used using the statistical package (SPSS.22.1). These methods are: percentages and their frequencies, arithmetic mean and standard deviation, Cronbach's alpha, variance inflation coefficient, permissible variance test, skewness coefficient, and multiple and stepwise regression analysis.

Theoretical Framework

The reality of youth political participation is merely a reflection of the prevailing political reality in Jordanian society. Most political parties are formal and ineffective and lack programs and principles that can be applied on the ground. In addition, governmental political institutions have often become unable to formulate more in-depth programs to convince youth of the importance of party and political work, especially in light of the weakness of accountability, questioning, and serious oversight in all its ethical and legal forms, and the decline in the meaning of the rule of law and citizenship (Samara, and, Maalouf. 2021).

It is noticeable that most Arab countries, including Jordan, face youth reluctance to participate politically. This is due to a structural and cultural problem. The structural problem results from the structure of some political systems that are based on the rule of some individuals, families, clans and sects, without establishing a state of law and institutions, and without involving youth in decision-making or even influencing them. The second problem is cultural, resulting from the perceptions of individuals and groups of the concept of the state, system and institution, and perceptions of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, as the idea remains immature in people's minds. Therefore, it is assumed that the cultural structures in society should be analyzed and their roots and drivers identified, and then an attempt should be made to explain the culture of society towards the idea of citizenship, the state of law and institutions, and involving youth in decision-making (Nofal, and Abu Hamoud, 2022).

The process of institutionalizing political participation within a democratic environment is currently one of the most important challenges facing political systems, as it is the basis for any political, legal, economic and social reform. If the desired development is not based on broad political participation, its fate is often failure. Also, the high rate of political participation, especially for young people, gives more strength and legitimacy to the political system (Al-Suwailemeen, 2016).

Political participation is strongly linked to the subject of political, social and cultural upbringing. Political upbringing is a process of preparing the citizen to become qualified to participate in the political affairs of his society. Accordingly, political and social upbringing plays an important role in the citizen's understanding of his political rights, most notably his right to participate in decision-making. Upbringing contributes to creating the political citizen theoretically, and participation confirms his existence practically. Political participation is not a natural process that a person inherits, but rather an acquired process that the individual learns and grows during the stages of his life and his interaction within the reference groups to which he belongs (such as the family, educational institutions, political parties, the workplace, media institutions, and others (AlMajali, et.al, 2022).

Several factors have pushed towards the necessity of approving a new law for Jordanian political parties for the year (2022) and approving Election Law No. (4) for the year (2022), and perhaps one of the most important of these critical topics that must be integrated is the permanent impact of tribal identity on political participation, especially as discussed (2024) Alakayleh et al(2024) they discussed how the Jordanian political system, through electoral laws and reforms, continues to demand that political parties make fundamental amendments to the Parties Law consistent with the spirit of change and development, taking advantage of the positive royal discourse towards political parties and the formation of parliamentary governments, which appears clear through the royal reform initiatives, including the Royal Commission to Modernize the Political System, which pushed for the development and stimulation of political parties. Other factors include the weak participation of citizens in political party membership, and the parties achieving discouraging results in most parliamentary elections.

According to Salama et al. (2024) on political modernization efforts in Jordan highlights how reforms have failed to weaken tribal power or increase participation among youth and women. The electoral law, on the basis of which the elections were held for the year 2024 in Jordan, was criticized for its preference for independent candidates belonging to the tribes at the expense of political parties.

Bani Salamah (2022) provides a detailed exploration of how electoral boundaries are drawn to enhance tribal influence at the expense of broader political participation. Anyone who follows the electoral system in Jordan finds that it relied on (4) election laws to hold (9) parliamentary elections. The open list (bloc) system was adopted in the 1989 elections. Despite this, this law was subjected to demands to be amended to make it a modern democratic law. However, instead of progressing on this law, this law was subjected to a serious amendment in the 1993 elections in what was known as the one vote law (No. 15 of 1993). Which encouraged narrow loyalties such as tribal, family, sectarian, and regional at the expense of broader national options, and did not distribute seats in the House of Representatives among the governorates and regions according to population size, which created an imbalance in the fair representation of the population of the governorates and regions in the House of Representatives.

Despite the political modernization processes that the country has undergone, political parties have failed to deal with the social fabric of Jordanian society based on tribal foundations. All that the parties have produced is that they have tried to exploit tribal influence, so that the party strengthens members who have tribal influence and nominates them for elections. Also, the Jordanian citizen's feeling that the tribe is what achieves a degree of status for him makes him not view the process of his affiliation to a political party as a necessary requirement.

Tribes were and still are the strongest link in the process of expressing interests and therefore will remain a strong competitor to the parties. Jordan has maintained its tribal character and the tribe has remained a supporter of the political system and an important source in the structure of the military and security establishment.

Theories explaining the impact of tribal identity on youth political participation

The study is based primarily on the systems analysis approach of David Easton, where Easton is primarily concerned with the environment in which the political system interacts, whether the internal or external environment, and the pressures it contains, as the system attempts to receive those pressures and transform them into decisions and policies to adapt to... The two environments, and mobilize its various resources to maintain its survival and confront all the pressures facing it (Easton, 1957: 386). The study also focuses on the closeness of the relationship between the state and society. The state is in no way considered a group of structures and institutions that operate in a vacuum, but rather represents an arena for the interaction of various forces and groups that seek to maximize their interests. Therefore, the closeness of the state and society is considered one of the basic entrances to understanding political systems and the nature of Its work (Migdal, 2004).

This approach is one of the approaches on which the study is based, as it is based on “the main unit of analysis in approaching systemic analysis. The system is considered to represent a group of interacting and functionally interconnected elements with each other on a regular basis. The political system consists of four elements: inputs, transformation, outputs, and nutrition.” Reverse. In 1953, David Easton published the first building blocks of the concept of the political system in his book *The Political System*, which developed clearly in his scientific article published in *World Politics* magazine in 1965 and more clearly in his book *A System Analysis of Political Life* published in 1965, in which Easton sees Complex and complex political life must be simplified and viewed analytically on a logical, mechanistic basis as a set of interactions that take place within the framework of the political system on the one hand, and between it and its environment on the other hand. (Haddad, 2017).

Easton David believes that the system represents a group of interconnected, interconnected elements that interact structurally, functionally and on a regular basis, and any change that occurs to any element affects the rest of the elements of the system, and thus the entire latter is affected. Thus, he emphasizes the ability to adapt to changing situations and circumstances, and the ability to control change and control. In it (Al-Hourani, 2012). The system is part of every social structure that enters into complex relationships with the integrated social structure, and according to the systems analysis approach, societies and groups tend to be relatively continuous entities that operate within the framework of a broader environment.

These entities also have distinct boundaries that separate them from their environment, in addition to the fact that each of them tends to preserve itself through a set of different processes, especially when it is exposed to disturbance, whether from within or outside its borders with its broader environment (Jaber, 2014).

Therefore, according to David Austin, tribal identity is formed through (Al-Sharqawi, 2007):

First - Inputs: These are the pressures and influences to which the political system is exposed and push it to activity and movement. These inputs stem from the internal environment, such as an economic crisis or a change in cultural values that inevitably affects the political system, and demands (general or specific) constitute the most important pillar of the inputs, Hence, the task of meeting the demands requires support (the support of the masses, their loyalty, their support, and the use of their energies, as well as financing, etc.), which is the second important pillar of input.

Second - The conversion process: It is a process of absorbing demands into the legislative and executive structures of the system, and then sifting them to transform some of them into laws, decisions, and policies.

Third - Outputs: It is a process of responding to actual or expected demands and then issuing laws and decisions, or adopting policies. They may be positive, negative, or symbolic. Positively through meeting the demands, negatively through resorting to repressive methods to deter the claimants, and symbolically through Making promises, or arousing feelings of fear of the dangers of an external or internal threat.

Fourth - Feedback: It refers to the process of information flow from the environment to the political system about the results of its laws, decisions, and policies. Therefore, it is a process of interaction between inputs and outputs, and in light of it, the process of correcting the course of action of the political system takes place.

Easton asserts that the idea of tribal identity as an analytical framework, with its theoretical relationships and concepts

that have practical implications, represents a real starting point in the development of political studies. This analytical framework for the political system in its simplest form, as Easton sees it, is nothing more than an integrated circle with a dynamic nature of political interactions directed primarily towards the authoritarian allocation of values in society. This dynamic circuit begins with inputs and ends with outputs, and the feedback process links the starting and end points, that is, between inputs and outputs (Thabet, 2007). The study takes this approach by explaining tribal identity and considering it as an input according to this approach and its role in achieving political participation and considering that as an output according to this approach.

Previous studies:

A study (Alakayleh, et.al, 2024) aimed to identify Reform bills in Jordan, and identify obstacles and opportunities for political reform. The study relied on the systems approach, the legal-institutional approach, and the decision-making approach, and the study attempts to address the weaknesses and challenges facing the political reform process in Jordan. The study concluded that the opportunities for achieving political reform are represented by new constitutional amendments and new laws that regulate political life (political parties and election laws), and that there is an urgent need for political reform, which is the best alternative for the regime in the face of popular pressures, perhaps the reason for this is that Arab Spring regimes with minimal ability to “bend” or respond to change eventually collapsed.

A study (Salameh, et.al., 2024) that aims to identify the reform process and the reality of political modernization efforts in Jordan. The study used a systems analysis approach. The study reached results, the most important of which were: There are (4) royal committees that were formed to modernize the political system, how reforms have failed to weaken tribal power or increase participation among youth and women, Jordanians do not trust the government's encouragement to join political parties as a result of security measures and arrests. The repeated formation of committees without making any progress in the field of political reform led to the frustration of the Jordanian people. The regime believes that the cost of reform is too high, and prefers to maintain the status quo. Despite the new election and party laws, the security mentality that governs the decision-making process has not changed, The political modernization efforts and amendments that took place in 2022 do not strengthen the constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government, but rather they push the country towards a presidential system that does not fit with the Jordanian political reality.

The study (Abu Hammoud and Al-Awdat, 2024) aimed to analyze and evaluate the impact of the seriousness and effectiveness of the reforms and political transformations that Jordan witnessed, especially the period 2012-2020, and their repercussions on the reality of political participation, especially participation in the Jordanian parliamentary elections, one of the most important indicators for measuring the extent of the success of the reform. Political, framing and strengthening the democratic process. Two approaches were employed: The legal approach and the systems analysis approach to analyze. The study reached results, the most important of which were: that the political reform process in Jordan was not consistent with the components of the political, economic, social and cultural reality of Jordanian society, and did not achieve the goal it aspired to. The most prominent evidence of this is the decline in turnout rates for participation in the elections, and the increase in The crisis of citizens' confidence in the government and the House of Representatives, and the low participation rates in parliamentary elections in particular, the reluctance or great weakness to belong to political parties reflects the extent of the state of frustration and despair accumulated in various political, social and cultural circles, and reflects the strengthening of the growth of traditional sub-identities, and linking loyalty and belonging to the state in most cases and times with benefit. That is, the political reform process from 1989 until the present time did not contribute to creating actual democratic political constants and changing the reality of the traditional societal culture of tribalism and service to the Jordanian voter or citizen.

A study (Al-Zoubi, 2024) aimed to research the constitutional amendments of 2022 and the role of the Independent Election Commission in considering requests to establish political parties and following up on their affairs in accordance with the provisions of the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022. The study relied on the legal approach. The study concluded that the constitutional amendments of 2022 and the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 placed all stages of establishing political parties in the hands of one administrative authority, namely the Independent Election Commission, as it is

responsible for organizing the party process. The legislator granted broad powers to the Board of Commissioners of the Commission regarding At the stage of establishing the party and requesting the cessation of its activity and its dissolution in accordance with the provisions of the law, and without requiring it to give reasons for its decisions. The legislator adopted the method of prior notification to regulate the exercise of the freedom to establish political parties when submitting an application to establish the party and set conditions that the founders must meet upon submission, and the method of licensing in order to approve it and announce its establishment, and the legislator established a legal guarantee for the party in the event that the Council does not issue its decision within thirty days, so the party is considered, once it is declared legally established by the Independent Election Commission, and this approach may restrict and narrow this freedom, and by making the issue of forming political parties a matter of The reality is more complex.

The study (Marai and Al-Hais, 2023) aimed to identify the social structure of the tribe and its political role in Iraq and to identify the features of the tribal structure and its social nature in Arab society in general, and Iraqi society in particular. The researcher relied on the methodology of re-analysis of secondary data to achieve the goal, using the content analysis method for the writings conducted on the tribe and the social structure of the Arab tribe. The study reached the theoretical foundation of the concept of the tribe, identifying its dimensions and indicators, revealing the components of the tribal structure and its transformations in Iraqi society, identifying the patterns of Tribal fanaticism in Iraq, in addition to the role of the tribe in the political movement.

The study (Al-Assouli and Al-Amawi, 2023) aimed to investigate the constitutional amendments that came in response to royal directives to devote partisan work and prepare ways for developing political life, under a political reform program that rebuilds confidence in the government and the House of Representatives to find solutions to the crisis economic and political conditions that were exacerbated by the Corona pandemic. The study concluded that the emergence of political parties in Jordan and the recent constitutional amendments were different from what they were before, by changing the prevailing view in society about political parties, as there was a real intention for political reform, the most prominent of which was the Political Parties Law. The laws on parties and elections and the legislative frameworks related to political parties and their relationship with the Independent Election Authority, which was responsible for following up on their affairs, were in line with the royal directives to devote party work, and the constitutional amendments of 2022 contributed to expanding the circle of participation of women and youth.

The study (AlTarawneh, and Abu Hmidan, 2023) aimed to define political participation, forms of its application, identify democratic practices, and components of political participation in Jordan in light of the political reform process, royal discussion papers, and the role of communication and media as a major partner in this process. The study also discussed opportunities for achieving democratic empowerment in Jordan. The descriptive analytical approach and the systematic analysis approach were relied upon, and the study reached results, the most important of which are: that democratic empowerment can only be achieved through compatibility between the pattern of social, economic, cultural and political relations in society through achieving the rule of law and institutions, and that achieving the conditions for political, economic and social reform to enhance popular participation in decision-making is achieved through constitutional amendments and legislation that ultimately lead to parliamentary government as indicated in the royal discussion papers. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach, in addition to the systematic analysis approach.

A study (Bani Salameh, 2022) that aims to identify the divisions of electoral districts in Jordan, and the factors affecting the distribution of electoral districts, provides a detailed exploration of how electoral boundaries are drawn to enhance tribal influence at the expense of broader political engagement. The study used a combination of quantitative and analytical approaches. The study reached results, the most important of which were: the executive authority's control over the division of electoral districts within the framework of its hegemony and control over public policy, and the elections deliberately neglected population density and geographical criteria. The arbitrary electoral policy led to the loss of the credibility of the elections. In light of this, the study recommends the necessity of urgently implementing the electoral law that achieves the standards of distributive justice to raise citizens' confidence in Parliament and thus reduce the percentage of wasted votes to achieve a truly representative Jordanian parliament.

The study (Al Majali, et.al , 2022) aimed to identify the societal trends in the Karak governorate about political reform from the point of view of members of civil society institutions, as well as to identify the level of awareness of societal trends about political reform according to the elections law, the stages of political participation, the characteristics and requirements of political participation, and the degree of peoples' urbanization is measured by the criterion of their practice of democracy. Actual and real, and this practice is refined by what citizens enjoy in terms of awareness and awareness of their political rights. The existence of an impact of the variable of the election law on the perception of societal trends about political reform, and the presence of an effect of the variable stages of political participation in the societal trends about political reform.

The study (Heikal, 2022) aimed to identify the impact of Tribal fanaticism on the electoral practice process in rural society in Egypt. The study relied on the anthropological approach and the integrative approach in scientific research, as it combined quantitative and qualitative methods in obtaining empirical data. It reached the most important results: that Tribal fanaticism has a negative role in the electoral process and that this role crystallizes in: renewing problems between the tribe regularly in every election, which makes the elections turn into family battles and not political competition, and that Tribal fanaticism wastes the value of the elections and spoils their basic goals. Tribal fanaticism also contributes to increasing the rate of political participation. A number of problems prevail during the election period: such as defamation of other candidates, conflict over places to place banners and posters, tampering with banners and posters of other candidates and spreading rumors about them.

The study (Nofal, Abu Hamoud, 2022) aimed to identify students' attitudes towards political participation in Jordan and their contributions to it. A simple random sample of (1450) students from Yarmouk University and Philadelphia University, both males and females, was drawn from different specializations and academic levels. The study relied on the descriptive analytical approach, and the results of the study revealed the existence of statistically significant differences between students of the two universities in their attitudes towards political participation and the extent of their participation in political activities. The results of the study show that the extent of university students' participation in political activities is still weak, especially party activities, despite the participants' awareness of the importance of political participation in society and that their participation will be effective in changing the political reality.

The study (AlMajali, et.al, 2022) aimed to identify the impact of political parties on political life in Jordan. The impact of tribalism on the political process. The weakness of political parties and their tribal activities are seen as the main reasons for the failure of democratic reforms in Jordan. (380) Jordanian party members participated in this study, relying on a questionnaire and using quantitative statistics. The study reached the following results, the most important of which were: that political participation in Jordan is tainted by tribal and authoritarian tendencies. And that the tribal dimension has a great impact on party activity and elections.

Study (Temeiza, 2022) aims to identify the impact of clans and parties on mobilizing and directing voters in municipal elections in Palestine, from the point of view of municipal council members during the period (2005-2017) in the Hebron Governorate, which is one of the governorates with the most tribal structure. The study relied on the descriptive analytical approach. The study relied on a sample of (200) municipal council members. The results of the study showed that clans and parties have a role in mobilizing and directing voters in Palestine. This is due to the unity of the clan and its connection to political parties and the overlap between the clan and the party. It had an impact on the electoral process by directing its members not to vote for the Fatah bloc in the elections or to support those close to this movement.

A study (Al-Awamleh, 2020) aimed to identify the election laws that Jordan implemented after the democratic transition period from 1989 until 2016. A statement of several electoral laws and the role of these laws in representing political parties in parliamentary assemblies, as eight parliamentary assemblies were elected in accordance with their amendments. These laws included the application of electoral systems based on the open list (bloc) system of (1989). However, the most prominent of these laws and systems is Jordan's adherence to the one-vote law of 1993 and the mixed system, as well as the proportional representation system (open proportional list). The study relied on the legal approach and the systems analysis approach of David Easton. The study concluded that the laws implemented by Jordan, especially after 1993, did

not increase the representation of parties in parliamentary councils, despite the amendments they included.

Study (Maisum, 2019) aims to analyze the political role of the tribe in Saudi Arabia; The tribe is a traditional structure widely known in pre-industrial human societies. However, in many modern societies, it played a fundamental political role in the emergence of the national state. It includes several approaches, including: the descriptive approach and the historical approach. The study concluded that the national state and the tribe are in conflict in their principles and behaviors, as they are two lines that do not meet. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a good and important model for exploring the political role of the tribe, especially since this state model has the characteristics that qualify it for this, such as the fact that this geographical area was not exposed to any foreign colonization, and it is considered the largest gathering of Arab tribes, as well as the establishment of the Saudi state in a tribal Bedouin environment (Najd), and the contributions of the tribe in general to the establishment of this state.

The study (Jafoura and Abdel-Lawi, 2018) aimed to shed light on the political role of the tribe by discussing the relationship between tribal loyalty and political participation. The study relied on the integrative approach, which includes several approaches, including: the analytical approach and the comparative approach, because the requirements of the study require the use of such approaches, given the developments and transformations that the political process has undergone, which have strengthened or restricted the transition to political and partisan pluralism, and that loyalty to the clan or tribe in some Arab societies still exists despite the growth of the state bureaucracy and its apparatuses, as if political modernization, modernization and urbanization have not changed the reality of tribal influence. Rather, some political parties have come to rely on tribal loyalty in order to achieve political gains, and thus tribalism or solidarity within the scope of kinship and tribal relations has become a motive for political participation. In turn, the political behavior of individuals becomes an irrational voting behavior that expresses the growth of the spirit of Tribal fanaticism within the framework of a narrow political culture.

A study (Al-Ghanamien, et al., 2018) aimed to identify the reality of political participation among Jordanian university students. The study sample consisted of (530) male and female students, and a study tool was developed consisting of (40) items distributed into four areas: Political interest, political knowledge, political activity, factors of political participation. The results showed that the students' opinions about evaluating the reality of political participation among Jordanian university students were average in all areas, which were within the middle. The areas of the reality of political participation were arranged according to the students' opinions as follows: political interest, political knowledge, and political activity. The opinions of Students about assessing the reality of the factors of political participation are average.

The study (Al-Bashir, 2018) aimed to analyze the political role of the tribe in Libya; the study also seeks to clarify the nature of the political role of the tribe in Libya, and for this purpose the study reviewed the components and characteristics of the Libyan tribe in general and the development of its relationship with the ruling authority. The study relied on the descriptive and historical approach, and the study reached many constants related to the characteristics and interaction between the authority and the regime, despite the change in authorities, their tools and methods, but the duality of the state and the tribe makes the existence of the state and its cohesion fluctuate between these two affiliations, as the tribe does not rise to the level of the state because it is a primitive kinship organization, nor does the state absorb the tribe because it is a broader and higher idea than the tribe.

The study (Karim, 2017) aimed to identify the history of the political use of local tribal identity in Iraq. The study relied on the descriptive approach, the historical approach, and the decision-making approach. The tense and dual relations between the state and the tribes since the mid-nineteenth century have formed an important part of the modern socio-political history of Iraq. The study concluded that modernizing institutions, such as education and the army, in addition to the arbitrariness of the sheikhs and the impoverishment of the countryside, helped in the clear disintegration of the tribal structure. However, this did not completely erase the tribal thinking pattern. Rather, the tribal culture penetrated the urban fabric, so its masks multiplied, and it succeeded.

A study (Bani Salameh, 2017) aims to provide a comprehensive review of the political reform process in Jordan during the era of King Hussein and King Abdullah II from 1989 - until 2016. It also identifies the obstacles to political reform. The study used the legal-institutional approach, the decision-making approach, and the systems approach. The study reached results, the most important of which were: Political reform in Jordan is a popular demand, and the political reform process in the country has achieved some achievements, but these achievements were not sufficient to push forward real and lasting reforms. The study offers a number of policy recommendations. The most prominent concern is the need to make further constitutional amendments to consolidate the democratic principle of "people's sovereignty," limit the executive authority's access to other authorities, and reconsider the laws regulating political life, to build a state ruled by law.

A study (Bani Salameh, and El-Edwan, 2016) aims to identify attempts to form the Jordanian national identity since the establishment of the Jordanian state in 1921. It reviews the efforts of the Jordanian state, which was subject to internal and external, political, social, economic, and cultural conditions, and variables that led to changing the Jordanian national identity to include Religious, national, regional, ethnic and tribal. The study used functional theory and systems analysis theory according to David Easton, and the study reached results, the most important of which were: The regime was unable to address and resolve the issue of national identity, and these policies led to the state's failure to define, establish and maintain a comprehensive national identity for its citizens. Forming a national identity has presented a dilemma for Jordan since the establishment of the state. There is almost no known national identity. This situation calls for building the Jordanian national identity on stable and clear foundations to prevent its disintegration

The study (Al-Hourani, 2012) aimed to reveal whether the clan represents social capital for clan members in Jordanian society, by measuring the interest components on which clan loyalty is based, and the returns it provides to individuals, and then measuring the most prominent transformations that clan loyalty has undergone. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach, and the study sample included (3032) males in northern Jordan (Irbid, Mafraq, Ajloun, and Jerash). The results showed that the clan represents social capital, and that clan loyalty is still strong, and that all sample members from all economic levels have strong loyalty to the clan, regardless of their social status and work status as well. It also showed that the elderly is more loyal than city residents, and that the uneducated are more loyal than the educated, although they all have strong loyalty to the clan. embellishing its slogans through the party and the sect.

The location of the current study from previous studies:

Previous studies dealt with tribal identity and political participation, and some studies focused on the political role of the clan, while others dealt with the social structure of the clan and its political role, and the history of the political use of tribal identity. There was also a difference in the societies in which previous studies were applied, and the current study agrees with previous studies in addressing the role of tribal identity in political participation. Previous studies have shed light on some aspects related to the subject of this study, as some of them emphasized a number of matters, the most important of which are: the relationship between tribal loyalty and political participation, the impact of Tribal fanaticism on the process of political practice, and that the clan represents social capital for the sons of clans in Jordanian society. The study benefited from previous studies in defining the study problem, and in the method, procedures, and tool used, and in interpreting the results. The current study is distinguished from previous studies in the sample, as it was selected from young people in Karak Governorate. To the researcher's knowledge, there is no study that has researched the subject, and this is what distinguishes it.

Presentation and discussion of the results:

Answering the first question: What are the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate of the dimensions of tribal identity from their point of view?

Table 3- Means and standard deviations of tribal identity.

No	Dimensions of Tribal Identity	Mean ranks	Standard deviation	Ranking	degree of use
1-4	Social upbringing	4.08	0.55	2	High
5-8	Tribal dependence	3.80	0.68	4	High
9-13	Tribal affiliation	4.14	0.53	1	High
14-18	Tribal customs	3.64	0.79	5	Medium
19-23	Tribal fanaticism	3.86	0.65	3	High
1-23	Total average	3.90	0.52		High

Table (3) shows that the general average of tribal identity was (3.90), which means that the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate of tribal identity were high. By analyzing the dimensions of tribal identity, it becomes clear that the Tribal affiliation dimension ranked first with an arithmetic mean of (4.14) and a standard deviation of (0.53), followed by the societal upbringing dimension with an arithmetic mean of (4.08) and a standard deviation of (0.55), followed by the Tribal fanaticism dimension with an arithmetic mean of (3.86) and a standard deviation of (0.65), followed by the Tribal dependence dimension with an arithmetic mean of (3.80) and a standard deviation of (0.68), and in last place came the Tribal customs dimension with an arithmetic mean of (3.64) and a standard deviation of (0.79). This result is interpreted as the fact that clans are social components whose existence and positive aspects of compassion, connections and human relations we recognize. Despite Jordan entering its second century, sub-identities still take precedence over national identity. Tribal identity enjoys greater and stronger power than citizenship and belonging to the homeland. Tribes still have missions and seats in educational institutions, ministerial positions are still held on regional and tribal bases, and the state still recognizes tribal judiciary, which neutralizes civil judiciary in some cases. Members of some clans still hold senior leadership positions in the Royal Court, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Senate and others based on the prestige of their clans, not their competitiveness and merit. However, we should not deal with tribal identity as a political force or as an alternative identity to national identity. The growth of tribal identity has led to the frustration of the components of party work and the establishment of administrative, security and procedural obstacles that would strengthen tribal identity and belonging to blood ties, kinship ties and the name of the tribe.

The result of this study is consistent with the study of Al-Akaila et al. (2024). The results of which indicated that the Jordanian political system, through laws and electoral reforms, constantly prefers tribal loyalty over national or party affiliations. The results of this study also coincided with what was stated in the study of Salama et al. (2024), whose results indicated that constitutional reforms did not succeed in curbing the unruliness of tribal identity, and tribal identity remained a dominant force in determining the political participation of young people. The result of this study is consistent with what was stated in Bani Salamah's study (2022), which indicated that the distribution of electoral districts in Jordan contributed to strengthening tribal influence at the expense of broader political participation. Electoral laws reinforce tribal loyalty among young people, rather than encouraging broader political participation. It is also consistent with Beni Salama's (2017) study, which noted that constitutional reform initiatives did not address tribal dominance, which hampered efforts to increase youth political participation due to entrenched tribal influences. It is also consistent with the study of Salama and Al-Adwan (2016), which indicated that the Jordanian state struggled to form a cohesive national identity amid tribal and ethnic divisions.

Answering the second question: What are the perceptions of Jordanian youth in Karak Governorate regarding the dimensions of political participation from their point of view?

Table 4 - Arithmetic means and standard deviations of the level of youth political participation in Karak Governorate.

No	youth political participation	Mean ranks	Standard deviation	Ranking	degree of use
24-27	Political Development	3.61	0.57	3	Medium
28-32	Political Interest	3.57	0.59	4	Medium
33-37	Political Knowledge	3.72	0.55	2	High
38-41	Political Voting	3.51	0.64	5	Medium
42-45	Political Demands	3.75	0.53	1	High
24-45	Total average	3.63	0.51	-	Medium

Table (4) shows that the overall average of the level of youth political participation in Karak Governorate was (3.63), which means that the level of youth political participation in Karak Governorate was average. It is clear that the political demands dimension ranked first with an arithmetic mean of (3.75) and a standard deviation of (0.53). The political knowledge dimension came in second place with an arithmetic mean of (3.72) and a standard deviation of (0.55), followed by the political development dimension with an arithmetic mean of (3.61) and a standard deviation of (0.57). It was followed by the political interest dimension with an arithmetic mean of (3.57) and a standard deviation of (0.59), and in last place came the political voting dimension with an arithmetic mean of (3.51) and a standard deviation of (0.64).

This indicates the importance of youth political participation and their role in promoting democratic behavior, because they have the energy and ability to achieve, and although political participation, as some researchers see it, is one of the most important elements of the democratic concept, and youth must be taught this principle so that they realize its importance and its connection to their lives and the fate of their society, and realize its dimensions and the ability to perform it. This result can be attributed to the fact that youth at the present time are not involved in political parties that increase their awareness of the concept of political participation within the framework of democratic values that raise their level of awareness of political participation and protect them from involvement in tribal identity, and improve their perceptions of political participation objectively, and develop their competencies to play their positive role in political participation. This result also indicates that youth are reluctant to attend seminars and lectures for the purpose of political awareness, despite the large space available in universities and society to form a cultural political awareness among members of society, especially youth. This result also indicates a weakness in the role of political parties in promoting political participation, because the role required of political parties at this stage is large and very important to promote political participation.

The results of this study coincided with the results of the study (Al-Majali, et.al, 2022), the results of which indicated that political participation in Jordan is marred by tribal and authoritarian tendencies. The tribal dimension has a major impact on party activity and elections. The results of this study also coincided with what was stated in the study (AlTarawneh, and Abu Hmidan, 2023), the results of which indicated that effective political participation plays an essential role in achieving the conditions for political, economic and social reform to enhance popular participation in decision-making.

The results of this study also coincided with what was stated in the study (Al-Ghanamayin, et al., 2018), the results of which indicated that students' opinions about evaluating the reality of political participation among Jordanian university students were average.

Hypothesis testing:

The results in Table (5) show that the value of (VIF) for all variables was less than (10), and ranged from (2.305-3.480), and we also note that the value of the permissible variance (Tolerance) for all variables was greater than (0.05) and ranged from (0.287-0.434), so it can be said that there is no real problem related to the existence of a high correlation between the independent variables. And that the data follows the normal distribution based on the value of the skewness coefficient.

Table 5- Variance inflation factor, tolerance, and skewness test.

Variables	Tolerance	VIF	Skewness
Political Development	0.434	2.305	0.211
Political Interest	0.287	3.480	0.209
Political Knowledge	0.412	2.430	0.129
Political Voting	0.309	3.239	0.347
Political Demands	0.290	3.449	0.259

Table 6- Results of regression analysis of variance (ANOVA) to verify the validity of the model to test the study hypotheses.

Dependent variable	d. f	R Square R ²	F value	Significance level
Youth Political Participation	5259	0.765	*169.038	0.000
Political Development	5259	0.630	*88.113	0.000
Political Interest	5259	0.712	*128.221	0.000
Political Knowledge	5259	0.672	*106.137	0.000
Political Voting	5259	0.633	*89.499	0.000
Political Demands	5259	0.583	*72.564	0.000

*Statistically significant at the significance level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

Table No. (6) shows the validity of the study hypotheses testing model, and given the high value of (F) calculated above its tabular value at the significance level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$), the dimensions of tribal identity explain (76.5%) of the change in the total dependent variable (youth political participation in Karak Governorate), and also explain (63%) of the change in the dimension (political development), and also explain (71.2%) of the change in the dimension (political interest), and the dimensions of tribal identity explain (67.2%) of the change in the dimension (political knowledge), and also explain (63.3%) of the change in the dimension (political voting), and finally the dimensions of tribal identity explain (58.3%) of the change in the dimension (political demands). Based on that, we can test the study hypotheses. This indicates that the state has given attention to the political empowerment of youth, as it is the focus of youth and active citizenship, and that the state has a program of the Political Institute to prepare youth leaders in its two branches, the Youth Training Parliament and the Youth Training Government. The institute represents a national youth umbrella that translates the ideas and proposals of youth in public affairs and activates their role in the decision-making process, by embodying the model of parliament and government on the ground. Youth participation in political life is the most effective way to ensure the ability of youth to express their priorities and integrate them within local and national priorities and improve their reality and their effective participation in various fields.

The results of this study also coincided with what was stated in the study (Abu Hammoud and Al-Awdat, 2024), the results of which indicated that the political reform process in Jordan was not consistent with the terms of the political, economic, social and cultural reality of Jordanian society. The most prominent evidence of this is the decline in the rates of demand for Participation in the elections, and the growing crisis of citizens' confidence in the government and the House of Representatives. The results of this study also coincided with what was stated in the study (Al-Zoubi, 2024), the results of which indicated that the constitutional amendments of 2022 and the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 placed all stages of establishing political parties in the hands of one administrative authority, which is the Independent Election Commission, as Responsible for organizing the party process, the result of this study also agreed with what was reported in the study (Al-Assouli and Al-Amawi, 2023), the results of which indicated that the constitutional amendments of 2022 contributed to expanding the circle of participation of women and youth, and progressing towards the party parliament through the restoration of the national list. The results of this study also coincided with what was stated in the study (Al-Awamleh, 2020), the results of which indicated that the laws implemented by Jordan, especially after 1993, did not work

to increase the representation of parties in parliamentary councils, despite the amendments they included.

HO1 Main hypothesis: There is no statistically significant effect at the significance level ($0.05 \geq \alpha$) of tribal identity in its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) on youth political participation in Karak Governorate in its dimensions (political development, political interest, political knowledge, political voting, political demands).

Table 7- Results of multiple regression analysis to test the effect of tribal identity with its dimensions on youth political participation.

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Societal upbringing	0.153	0.053	0.186	*3.512	0.001
Tribal dependence	0.227	0.052	0.246	*4.388	0.000
Tribal affiliation	0.211	0.056	0.178	*3.790	0.000
Tribal customs	0.151	0.044	0.184	*3.406	0.001
Tribal fanaticism	0.354	0.054	0.367	*6.560	0.000

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

It is clear from the statistical results shown in Table (7), and from following up on the values of the (t) test, that the following sub-variables (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) have an impact on the political participation of youth in Karak Governorate, as the calculated (t) values were significant. This requires rejecting the null hypothesis that states that there is no impact of the variables of tribal identity on the political participation of youth in Karak Governorate.

Table 8- Stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict youth political participation in Karak Governorate through tribal identity dimensions as independent variables.

Variables Entered	R ² R Square	t .value	Significance level
Tribal fanaticism	0.670	*6.794	0.000
Tribal accreditation	0.719	*5.340	0.000
Tribal affiliation	0.732	*4.673	0.000
Societal upbringing	0.755	*3.963	0.000
Tribal customs	0.765	*3.901	0.001

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

To arrange the entry of variables in the stepwise multiple regression analysis, it is clear from Table No. (8) that Tribal fanaticism explains (67%) of the change in the dependent variable, and the Tribal dependence variable entered where it explains with Tribal fanaticism (71.9%), and thirdly the Tribal affiliation variable entered where it explained with the previous two variables (73.2%), and fourthly the societal upbringing variable entered where it explained with the previous variables (75.5%), and finally the Tribal customs variable entered where it explained with the previous variables (76.5%) of the change in youth political participation in Karak Governorate.

This result is interpreted as political modernization being part of a comprehensive and integrated national modernization system that includes the modernization and total development of all the state's joints, as youth participation in public life reflects the extent of society's progress and its renaissance in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, and their role is necessary to sustain the democratic experience and political development. Tribalism in Jordan is based on a social system, and this has a historical extension, and that no matter what amendments occur, no electoral law can curb tribalism in terms of its social framework and status. Despite that the Jordanian state places youth at the top of national priorities through constant guidance to create plans and programs that reflect the needs, desires, and future aspirations of

youth and the necessity of involving them in decision-making. Activating the role of youth in political activity in its various aspects, considering youth a force for change, is important in decision-making.

HO_{1.1} The first sub-hypothesis: There is no statistically significant effect at the significance level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) of tribal identity in its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) on political development.

Table 9- Results of multiple regression analysis to test the impact of tribal identity and its dimensions on political development.

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Societal upbringing	0.071	0.077	0.053	0.928	0.354
Tribal dependence	0.257	0.075	0.240	*3.407	0.001
Tribal affiliation	0.185	0.081	0.134	*2.269	0.024
Tribal customs	0.126	0.065	0.133	1.947	0.053
Tribal fanaticism	0.464	0.079	0.413	*5.889	0.000

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

It is clear from the statistical results shown in Table No. (9), and from following up the values of the (t) test, that the following sub-variables (Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal fanaticism) have an impact on political development, as the calculated (t) values were significant. This requires rejecting the null hypothesis that states that there is no impact of the variables of tribal identity (Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal fanaticism) on political development. And accepting it with regard to the variables (societal upbringing, Tribal customs).

Table 10- Stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict political development through tribal identity dimensions as independent variables.

Variables Entered	R² R Square	t .value	Significance level
Tribal fanaticism	0.570	7.895	0.000
Tribal dependence	0.616	4.065	0.000
Tribal affiliation	0.623	2.962	0.016

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

To arrange the variables in the stepwise multiple regression analysis, it is clear from Table (10) that Tribal fanaticism explains (57%), and the Tribal dependence variable entered where it explains (61.6%) with Tribal fanaticism, and finally the Tribal affiliation variable entered where it explained with the previous two variables (62.3%) of the change in political development. This result is explained by the fact that the modernization of the political system in Jordan, the constitutional and legal amendments, and the amendment of the election and party laws, all supported the youth with the aim of empowering them and enhancing their political participation. In addition, the reality indicates that the youth are distancing themselves and refraining from political activity through parties, and this has its reasons that may be related to the economic situation and the arrangement of youth priorities, and may be related to the nature of the parties and their programs directed at youth, which do not constitute a factor of attraction for them, due to their obsolescence and failure to keep pace with the modern requirements of youth and their current needs. This requires providing a suitable, diverse, varied and flexible environment that guarantees effective participation and active democracy.

HO_{1.2} - Second sub-hypothesis: There is no statistically significant effect at the significance level ($0.05 \geq \alpha$) of tribal identity in its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) on political interest.

Table 11- Results of multiple regression analysis to test the effect of tribal identity by its dimensions on political interest.

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Societal upbringing	0.160	0.071	0.114	*2.256	0.025
Tribal dependence	0.199	0.070	0.178	*2.857	0.005
Tribal affiliation	0.190	0.075	0.131	*2.531	0.012
Tribal customs	0.370	0.060	0.371	*6.181	0.000
Tribal fanaticism	0.400	0.073	0.340	*5.500	0.000

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

It is clear from the statistical results shown in Table No. (11), and from following up on the values of the (t) test, that the following sub-variables (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) have an impact on political interest, as the calculated (t) values were significant. This requires rejecting the null hypothesis that states that there is no impact of the variables of tribal identity on political interest.

Table 12- Stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict political interest through tribal identity dimensions as independent variables.

Variables Entered	R ² R Square	t .value	Significance level
Tribal customs	0.625	*7.734	0.000
Tribal fanaticism	0.690	6.264*	0.000
Tribal dependence	0.702	*3.152	0.001
Tribal affiliation	0.707	*2.998	0.004
Social upbringing	0.712	*2.659	0.012

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

To arrange the entry of variables in the stepwise multiple regression analysis, it is clear from Table No. (12) that the tribal norms variable explains (62.5%), the Tribal fanaticism variable entered where it explains with tribal norms (69%), the Tribal dependence variable entered third where it explained with the previous two variables (70.2%), the Tribal affiliation variable entered fourth where it explained with the previous variables (70.7%), and finally the societal upbringing variable entered where it explained with the previous variables (71.2%) of the change in political interest. Jordan is going through an important stage, and after completing all political, economic and administrative updates, this requires clear steps and sustainable work agendas and giving youth a greater space within various institutions and enhancing the values of justice and equal opportunities and enhancing accountability and the rule of law. The continuous calls by the official institution and the head of state for youth to engage in political life will have a positive and influential role, but we should not expect these developments to bring about a qualitative shift in this regard, as it is certain that such matters take a long time, and other conditions must be available to encourage youth to engage in political work.

HO_{1.3} The third sub-hypothesis: There is no statistically significant effect at the significance level ($0.05 \geq \alpha$) of tribal identity in its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) on political knowledge.

Table 13- Results of multiple regression analysis to test the effect of tribal identity and its dimensions on political knowledge.

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Societal upbringing	0.033	0.063	0.029	0.528	0.598
Tribal dependence	0.207	0.062	0.222	*3.343	0.001

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Tribal affiliation	0.234	0.067	0.194	*3.505	0.001
Tribal customs	0.120	0.053	0.145	*2.257	0.025
Tribal fanaticism	0.325	0.065	0.332	*5.018	0.000

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

It is clear from the statistical results shown in Table No. (13), and from following up the values of the (t) test, that the following sub-variables (Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) have an impact on political knowledge, as the calculated (t) values were significant. This requires rejecting the null hypothesis that states that there is no impact of the variables of tribal identity (Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal dependence, Tribal fanaticism) on political knowledge. And accepting it with regard to the variable (societal upbringing).

Table 14- Stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict political knowledge through tribal identity dimensions as independent variables.

Variables Entered	R² R Square	t .value	Significance level
Tribal fanaticism	0.582	*6.129	0.000
Tribal affiliation	0.654	*4.123	0.000
Tribal dependence	0.665	*3.952	0.000
Tribal customs	0.672	*2.975	0.009

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

To arrange the entry of variables in the stepwise multiple regression analysis, it is clear from Table No. (14) that the Tribal fanaticism variable explains (58.2%), the Tribal affiliation variable entered where it explains with Tribal fanaticism (65.4%), and thirdly the Tribal dependence variable entered where it explained with the two previous variables (66.5%), and finally the Tribal customs variable entered where it explained with the previous variables an amount of (67.2%) of the change in political knowledge.

This result is interpreted as the fact that the updates and laws aim to enhance political knowledge by providing young people with the knowledge and skills necessary for their engagement in political, party and public work in a constructive and positive manner. The texts included in the new Parties Law, especially in Article 4, constitute a real guarantee for young people to engage in political parties; Article 4 stipulates that (a) Jordanians have the right to establish and join parties in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and this law. (b) It is prohibited to harass any Jordanian, including infringing on his constitutional or legal rights, or questioning or holding him accountable, by any official or unofficial body, because of his party affiliation or the party affiliation of any of his relatives. (c) It is prohibited to harass students of higher education institutions because of party and political affiliation and activity. (d) Anyone who has been harassed in violation of the provisions of this article has the right to resort to the competent courts to lift the harassment and claim compensation for material and moral damage.

HO_{1.4}. Sub-hypothesis Four: There is no statistically significant effect at the significance level ($0.05 \geq \alpha$) of tribal identity in its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, tribal norms, Tribal fanaticism) on political voting.

Table 15- Results of multiple regression analysis to test the effect of tribal identity on political voting.

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Societal upbringing	0.088	0.081	0.062	1.088	0.278
Tribal dependence	0.361	0.080	0.317	*4.521	0.000
Tribal affiliation	0.009	0.086	0.006	0.103	0.918

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Tribal customs	0.300	0.069	0.290	*4.240	0.000
Tribal fanaticism	0.354	0.083	0.296	*4.364	0.000

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

It is clear from the statistical results shown in Table No. (15), and from following up the values of the (t) test, that the following related sub-variables (Tribal dependence, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) have an impact on political voting, as the calculated (t) values were significant. This requires rejecting the null hypothesis that states that there is no impact of the variables of tribal identity (Tribal dependence, Tribal dependence, Tribal fanaticism) on political voting. And accepting it with regard to the variables (societal upbringing, Tribal affiliation).

Table 16- Stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict political voting through tribal identity dimensions as independent variables.

Variables Entered	R ² R Square	t .value	Significance level
Tribal dependence	0.541	*5.112	0.000
Tribal fanaticism	0.607	*4.928	0.000
Tribal norms	0.632	*4.453	0.000

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

To arrange the entry of variables in the stepwise multiple regression analysis, it is clear from Table No. (16) that the Tribal dependence variable explains (54.1%), the Tribal fanaticism variable entered where it explains (60.7%) with Tribal dependence, and finally the Tribal customs variable entered where it explained (63.2%) of the change in political voting with the two previous variables. This result is interpreted as meaning that what is required today in facing the challenge of youth involvement in political and party work is a discourse from political parties that is able to convince youth to link their economic problems to their absence in decision-making institutions. The better and greater participation and better quality of youth who reach the government, decision-making centers and parliament, the more this contributes to a greater understanding of economic problems and youth crises, and a greater ability to solve these problems and crises. This result is also interpreted as the fact that parties did not play an influential role in political life, for many reasons, the most important of which I tried to identify, such as the weakness of party affiliation, which is attributed to the mentality of individuals and the low level of their awareness of the importance of party work, the weakness of programs, ideas and goals and their similarity, the absence of political thought that can provide national answers to many questions related to parties, the absence of parties that express a special national experience, and the absence of a clear vision of the challenges facing Jordan, in addition to the fact that the party experience in the past years has negatively affected the mentality of the citizen.

HO_{1.5} Fifth sub-hypothesis: There is no statistically significant effect at the significance level ($0.05 \geq \alpha$) of tribal identity in its dimensions (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) on political demands.

Table 17- Results of multiple regression analysis to test the effect of tribal identity by its dimensions on political demands.

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Societal upbringing	0.288	0.065	0.268	*4.400	0.000
Tribal dependence	0.109	0.064	0.127	1.698	0.091
Tribal affiliation	0.438	0.069	0.395	*6.311	0.000
Tribal customs	0.160	0.055	0.208	*2.883	0.004

Tribal Identity	B	Standard error	Beta	t .value	Significance level
Tribal fanaticism	0.228	0.067	0.252	*3.384	0.001

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

It is clear from the statistical results in Table No. (17), and from following up on the values of the (t) test, that the following sub-variables related to (societal upbringing, Tribal affiliation, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) are the most influential tribal identity variables on political demands, which requires rejecting the null hypothesis that states that there is no effect of the tribal identity variables (societal upbringing, Tribal dependence, Tribal customs, Tribal fanaticism) on political demands. And accepting the null hypothesis regarding the variable (Tribal dependence).

table 18- Stepwise multiple regression analysis to predict political demands through tribal identity dimensions as independent variables.

Variables Entered	R² R Square	t .value	Significance level
Tribal affiliation	0.488	*7.040	0.000
Social upbringing	0.555	*5.199	0.000
Tribal fanaticism	0.569	*4.078	0.000
Tribal customs	0.579	*2.988	0.001

*Statistically significant at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

To arrange the entry of variables in the stepwise multiple regression analysis, it is clear from Table No. (18) that the Tribal affiliation variable explains (48.8%), the societal upbringing variable entered where it explains (55.5%) with Tribal affiliation, and thirdly the Tribal fanaticism variable entered where it explained (56.9%) with the two previous variables, and finally the Tribal customs variable entered where it explained (57.9%) of the change in political demands with the previous variables. This result is interpreted as the fact that the legislation related to modernizing the political system contributed to increasing the participation of youth in political and party life and their desire to join political parties, and that the new parties law contained legislative texts related to guaranteeing the right of the Jordanian citizen to join political parties and protecting this right in addition to opening the door to practicing party work within universities and providing legal protection for party work. The active participation of youth in political life and their desire to join political parties means that we will have strong parties with programs related to all areas of life, and the electoral process will become a process of competition between programs and not between individuals, which means pushing for the best economic program that has the confidence of the majority to be the program implemented by the government formed by the parliamentary party majority. The amendments to the Election and Party Laws are positive updates in terms of giving opportunities to young people and women to participate in political and party life in particular, whether through the requirements for forming a closed party list in the Election Law, which allocated advanced positions for women and young people in the list order, or through the requirements contained in the Party Law, which stipulated that the percentage of young people under the age of 35 should not be less than 20% of party founders. Effective political participation is the key to finding solutions to all the issues and challenges facing young people, including economic and livelihood challenges.

Recommendations:

Based on the results, the study recommends a number of recommendations, the most important of which are:

1. Carrying out awareness initiatives that encourage young people to get rid of the negatives related to tribal identity, and to deal with youth issues and problems from all angles, to establish the basis of true citizenship that does not reduce the nation to a specific group or category.
2. Strengthening the role of political and social upbringing institutions - universities, schools, ministries, cultural and

youth clubs, media outlets, etc. - in spreading the culture of political participation among youth, expanding their critical and analytical sense, and accustoming them to bearing democratic responsibility.

3. That Jordanian political parties work to convince citizens of the importance and necessity of party work, and work hard to attract youth by formulating comprehensive party programs for the economy, politics, and society that serve youth and contribute to solving their economic and social problems, touching on the reality of their daily lives, and moving from the stage of theorizing to the stage of actual action.

4. Working to create a real partnership based on mutual trust between the government sector and civil society institutions that reject blindness and educate youth about the importance of political participation and stimulate and encourage youth initiatives.

5. Intensifying the Ministry of Political Development's communication with political parties and popular and youth movement cadres and opening dialogues with tribal and clan leaders in their regions, and pressuring towards deepening political participation by research centers and civil society institutions to enact an electoral law based on an electoral system that combines party lists and the open list system (the bloc) that Jordan followed in the 1989 elections.

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