

Reasons for Reluctance to Participate in the Parliamentary Elections of the Nineteenth Parliament for the Year 2020 in the Jordanian Capital, Amman

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Abstract

This study aimed to reveal the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman. A questionnaire was developed for this purpose, which included (30) items distributed over four dimensions, each dimension representing a general reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections. The acceptable parameters of validity and reliability of the questionnaire were achieved. The questionnaire was applied to an available sample consisting of (1223) individuals who did not participate in the parliamentary elections in the Jordanian capital, Amman. The results of the study revealed that the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, were "the reasons related to the candidates," while it came in the fourth and final rank domain: "the reasons related to the Corona pandemic." The results also showed that the most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to voters was the fifth reason: "I did not find anyone to represent me in the parliament among the candidates." That the most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the candidates was the ninth reason: "The spread of corruption among members of the parliament in appointments and promotions". The most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the independent body was the reason (22), which states: "The independent body was unable to control candidates from using political money in the elections," and that the most common reason for refraining from participating in the parliamentary elections related to the Corona pandemic was the reason (29) and its text: "People's lack of commitment to health measures such as social distancing and wearing a mask." In light of the results of the current study, the researchers recommend finding effective formulas to ensure broader participation in the parliamentary elections, employing various social media to support and enhance participation in parliamentary elections, and tightening supervision and punishment to prevent the spread of practices related to political money, the existence of real and serious procedures to ensure the integrity of the elections, the development of awareness programs for the citizen on the basis for choosing a representative, the adoption of standards of morality, integrity and hard work of the candidate when voting, and conducting various studies on the issue of the reasons for reluctance to vote in parliamentary elections and their relationship to social, demographic and political variables.

Keywords: reluctance to participate in elections, parliamentary elections, nineteenth council, the capital, Amman

1. Introduction

Political participation in any society is one of the indicators of the maturity of this society politically and culturally. The high rate of political participation in a community indicates its progress and awareness of its political rights. It also shows a high level of democracy in it and the political culture of its people; political participation means the involvement of the individual, whether a man or a woman, in the activities of public life and all its fields, and the exercise of his civil rights guaranteed by the constitution and laws regulating political work. It comes voluntarily by the individual, reinforcing the values of popular political participation, specifically democratic

values, pluralism, and freedom of opinion (Al-Ayed, 2011). As one of the forms of political participation, parliamentary elections occupy a leading position in the concept of democracy, as it is a set of procedures through which individuals can participate in the decision-making process; this mechanism differs in terms of its importance and success from one country to another. Its path is controlled by the nature of the prevailing political system, political culture, in addition to the legal controls that frame it, the effectiveness of political parties, and various other mediating channels (Al-Tahat, 2020). To ensure the integrity and independence of the parliamentary elections in Jordan, the Independent Election Commission was established in 2012 by a royal will as an independent body concerned with managing and supervising elections without interference or influence from any party; since its establishment, the Independent Authority has run three parliamentary sessions, the first of which was the elections of the seventeenth council in 2013, then the elections of the eighteenth council in 2016, and finally the elections of the nineteenth council in 2020, which took place under the conditions of the spread of the Coronavirus, and it was stressed the need to hold parliamentary elections to take place on a predetermined date (Shakhanbeh, 2021). At nine o'clock in the evening on Tuesday, 10/11/2020, the Independent Election Commission announced the end of the voting process for the general parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament, the percentage of voting throughout the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan reached (29.90%), of which (34.12) for males and (26.11%) for females, while the number of voters was (1,387,711), including (749,630) males, and (638,081) females (the Commission Independent Elections, 2020). When comparing the results of the elections in 2020 with the results of the last parliament in 2016, we notice a clear decline in the participation of Jordanians in voting in the 2020 parliamentary elections by 6.1%, the participation rate in the last eighteenth assembly elections of 2016 was 36%, with (1,492,273) voters, out of (4,130,145) voters. This decline comes despite the unprecedented health measures through which government agencies sought to prevent the spread of the epidemic among voters, in light of a sharp increase in the number of infections and deaths due to the virus (Al-Juneidi, 2020). This result contradicted the opinion of the head of the Independent Electoral Commission, Khaled Al-Kalalkeh, who did not express any fears of low participation in the elections, and believes that it will not be less than the rate in 2016, which amounted to (36%). Perhaps it is worth comparing his words with a study announced by Al-Hayat Center "Rased" on the trends of voters, which revealed that (46.5%) will not participate in the elections and that (33.7%) of the sample that answered the poll confirmed their desire to participate, while (19.8%) have not made a decision yet (Mansour, 2020). Two months before the elections, Al-Hayat Center, which is the center specialized in parliamentary affairs, conducted a descriptive study on Jordanian youth to find out the Jordanian youth's orientations for the 2020 parliamentary elections; the results of the study showed that (45.9%) do not intend to participate in the parliamentary elections and that (28.4%) intend to participate in the parliamentary elections, while (19.8%) have not made a decision yet (Rased Center, 2021). According to the final results of the elections, the Independent Election Commission (2020) indicated that the voter turnout in the capital governorate, Amman, was the lowest among the other Jordanian governorates, where the capital Amman was divided into five electoral districts, the voter turnout was in the first district (14.8%), in the second district (13.9%), in the third (11.7%), in the fourth (25.6%), and in the fifth (17.5%). The elections were held within the lists law, which was approved in 2016, instead of the "one-vote" law that only allows one candidate to be chosen, in contrast to the lists law, which allows for more than one list to be contested by the one who wins the highest votes. Parliament includes two chambers: The Parliament The notables (appointed by the king and includes 65 seats) and the House of Representatives (elected and includes (130) seats) (Al-Juneidi, 2020). Thus, these numbers and percentages show a reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections in the Nineteenth Council of the year 2020, among Jordanians at the national level in general and in the capital governorate, Amman in particular. Omar (2020) indicated that the prevailing view of the majority today is a pessimistic view of political work, and perhaps the reluctance to participate in political work is due to the overlapping of subjective and objective reasons. The elections of the nineteenth Jordanian House of Representatives for the year 2020 faced complex challenges, the most important of which are (Mansour, 2020):

- The outbreak of the Coronavirus: Since the beginning of August 2020, the Kingdom has witnessed a significant increase in the number of local infections; There are real fears of an epidemic; Especially with the state of confusion and the decline in people's confidence in the official measures to control the epidemic; after it was one of the most successful globally in addressing it and limiting its spread, and this is a real problem; In such a season, direct meetings between candidates and their electoral bases spread on an almost daily basis.
- Reluctance to vote or boycott: Fear of the coronavirus outbreak is not the only challenge facing the current House elections; There are other challenges; Among them, there are growing popular demands, not to postpone it, but to boycott it completely.

The report was published on the controversy of political participation in the 2020 parliamentary elections. It addressed many important issues in the youth file and public work, and the main result confirmed by public opinion

polls in general, and studies similar to the reality of young people in the Arab world in general, that there is a state of frustration and congestion among young people, and their dissatisfaction with the current situation, politically and economically. This is reflected either through the behavior of the political boycott or through the culture of protest in the street, which has become a widespread practice since the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011 (Abu Rumman, 2021). The citizen's reluctance and intention not to participate in the elections did not come from a vacuum. It was accompanied by a frustrating atmosphere and the teachers' crisis, and the election law that the opposition criticizes because it reproduces representatives in the same way and allows political money to expand (Al-Fadilat, 2020). The voter has formed convictions of the failure of governments and their deception and evasion of their duties, which made him lose his sense of citizenship and belonging, as it burdened him by imposing many taxes and imposing unjustified fines and violations on him, and loading him more than he could bear, this led him to drop governments from his accounts until he came to the point of not paying attention to the calls of these governments. The repeated failures of the parliaments spoiled the democratic process, and only the name remained of it because the citizen no longer trusted any of the members of the parliament, which he did not achieve anything on the ground, except for his absolute belief that the results are being manipulated, which is being practiced to bring certain people to the council (Gerasa, 2021). Perhaps the gap is not limited to state institutions or to the deep doubts about the feasibility of political participation. However, there is also a deep gap today between the traditional political parties, including the opposition forces and a wide and wide segment of the youth generation today, those who believe that the discourse of political parties does not come close to their daily concerns, does not reflect the culture and aspirations of the new generation and does not see the proportion of their presence and representation in political parties as just and equitable. Instead, many of them declare that dealing with them within most parties is done as if they are decoration or beautification of the reality of the parties at the level of discourse, leadership, and communication with the street (Abu Rumman, 2021). Among the reasons that may affect the elections of the Nineteenth Parliament 2020 is the Corona pandemic; as Rased Center (2020) indicated in a survey study that (47.4%) of young people believe that the Corona pandemic will negatively affect the percentage of participation in the elections. Mansour (2020) believes that the idea of boycotting or calling for the postponement of the elections is not based only on the obstruction of the political horizon in the country and the decline in public freedoms. However, rather it is trying to mobilize its position based on fears of the increasing spread of the Corona epidemic due to the elections and going to the polls. However, the head of the Independent Election Commission, Dr. Khaled Al-Kalalkeh, assured that the elections would not be a focus of the transmission of infection. He was quoted in a television interview, "Participating in the elections is safer than going to buy bread or completing an official transaction. Also, the loss of confidence in parliament is an important challenge to participate in the parliamentary elections. Where the Jordanian voter believes that his deputies have not failed to perform their duties, whether legislative, oversight, or even service, which he elected them on the basis of their promises only; but they often provide cover for unpopular policies or decisions as well, and large segments of Jordanians blame parliament for its stance on the fabricated crisis between teachers and the government; Where he had no constructive role in resolving the crisis; Instead of easing tension or mediating impartially to resolve the crisis, he took a stance that broad groups considered against teachers (Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2021). Therefore, the Jordanian elections are taking place in exceptional circumstances; The nature of the competition in it is based, as it happened in previous times, on tribal or regional bases. The new law did not succeed in bringing about a real change in the voter's mentality or the nature of his thinking regarding the representative who can truly represent the country, and not personal, factional, tribal, or regional interests, as it stands now.

1.1 The Study Problem and Its Questions

The participation of Jordanians in voting in the 2020 parliamentary elections decreased by (6.1%), as the participation rate in the elections reached (29.9%), and (1,387) million male and female voters participated in the elections out of (4.64) million eligible to vote. When researchers reviewed the distribution of percentages and numbers of voters in the governorates, according to what was reported by the Independent Election Commission (2020), it was found that the Amman governorate was the lowest in its proportions among the governorates, as the capital Amman was divided into five electoral districts. The percentage of voting in the first district was 14.8, in the second district (13.9%), in the third (11.7%), in the fourth (25.6%), and in the fifth (17.5%). In light of the preceding, researchers have a motive to know the most common reasons for the reluctance of Jordanian citizens in the Jordanian capital, Amman specifically, to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020. The following questions emerged from this problem:

- 1) What are the main reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman?

- 2) What are the main reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to voters for the 19th parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman?
- 3) What are the main reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to candidates for the 19th parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital Amman?
- 4) What are the main reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Independent Election Commission for the 19th parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman?
- 5) What are the reasons for the most reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Corona pandemic for the 19th parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman?

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The current study aims at the following:

- 1) Reveal the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman.
- 2) Reveal the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, related to the Independent Election Commission.
- 3) Reveal the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, related to the candidates.
- 4) Reveal the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, related to voters.
- 5) Reveal the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, related to the Corona pandemic.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The importance of the study stems from the importance of its subject, which is the parliamentary elections and knowing the most common reasons for refraining from parliamentary elections. The importance of the study appears in the light of the following:

- The importance of its topic appears in the reluctance to participate in the 2020 parliamentary elections, as it appeared through the official statistics published by the Independent Election Commission about the low rates of participation in the parliamentary elections in general.
- The importance of the study stems from the importance of the geographical area that was chosen, which is the governorate of the Jordanian capital, Amman, where the electoral districts in Amman were the least participating in the parliamentary elections, except the fourth district in Amman.
- The importance of the study appears in selecting the sample. Citizens who did not participate in the elections were chosen to find out the most common reasons that made them refrain from participating in the representative elections, and this may increase the credibility of the current study.
- These studies may provide descriptive data on the most common reasons for reluctance to vote in parliamentary elections to assist in appropriate decision-making in this area.
- The current study results may help decision-makers in the Independent Election Commission. The Jordanian government develops appropriate programs to raise participation rates in the upcoming parliamentary elections in light of the knowledge of the most common causes and work on them with the relevant authorities.

1.4 The Limits of the Study

The study was applied within the following limits:

- Objective limits: revealing the most common reasons for abstaining from the 2020 parliamentary elections in the Jordanian capital, Amman.
- Human limits: The study was applied to an accessible sample of citizens in the capital, Amman, who did not participate in the parliamentary elections.
- Spatial boundaries: The study was applied in the capital governorate, Amman, in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
- Temporal limits: The current study was applied in the year (2021).

1.5 The Study Determinants

The generalization of the results of this study is determined in the light of the following:

- The psychometric characteristics of the study questionnaire are represented by validity and reliability.
- The integrity of the application procedures and the objectivity of the responses of the study sample members to the questionnaire

1.6 Idiomatic and Procedural Definitions

This study includes the following terminological and procedural definitions:

- **The Independent Electoral Commission:** The Independent Electoral Commission was established in 2012 as an independent body concerned with managing and supervising the electoral process without interference or influence from any party. The Independent Electoral Commission is responsible for managing parliamentary, municipal, and any general elections in accordance with the provisions of the law and managing or supervising any other elections assigned to it by the Council of Ministers at the request of the body legally authorized to conduct those elections, and the commission shall take the necessary decisions and measures to enable it to perform its duties with integrity, transparency, and impartiality. The commission is one of the fruits of political reform in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan under the leadership of His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein and expresses the official institution's response to popular demands. It has supervised three electoral cycles since its establishment (Independent Commission for Elections, 2020).
- **The voter** is every Jordanian who has reached (18) solar years of age and has the right to elect members of the parliament by the provisions of this law. The use of the right to vote for members of the armed forces while they are inactive service is suspended, and the civilian employee is excluded, and he is also deprived of exercising the right to vote if he is bankrupt, insane, imbecile, or interdicted (Election Law of Parliament, 2016).
- **Electoral constituency:** a part of the Kingdom for which a specific number of parliamentary seats have been allocated by the provisions of this law and the system issued pursuant thereto. The number of electoral constituencies is 15. The capital Amman has five constituencies, Irbid Governorate has four constituencies, the Zarqa governorate has two, and the Balqa governorate. Karak, Tafileh, Ma'an, Mafraq, Madaba, Jerash, Ajloun, Aqaba, Bedouins of the North, Central, and South have one district 15 seats were allocated to them in the parliament. In addition to (15) seats for the women's quota, at the rate of one seat for each governorate, the three Bedouin districts are treated as governorates (Election Law of the House of Representatives, 2016).
- **The Jordanian Parliament:** The parliament consists of members elected by secret and direct general elections, and the number of its members, including the president (130) members, and the term of the parliament is four solar years starting from the date of announcing the results of the general election in the Official Gazette, the king may extend the term of the council by a Royal Decree for a period of not less than one year and not more than two years, and the council is entrusted with two main functions: legislation and oversight (National Assembly, 2021).
- **Amman:** It is the largest city in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and its capital.

2. Previous Studies

Al-Khuzaei (2006) conducted a study that aimed to show the extent of Jordanian women's participation in parliamentary elections and find out why not reaching parliament through direct elections. The researcher used the survey method that adopted the results of the 2003 parliamentary elections. As indicated by the records of the Ministry of Interior, especially the part related to the participation of women in those elections, the results of the study showed the following: The number of cards related to females on which the name of the electoral district was fixed was (1,191.589), which is more than the number of male cards, and the percentage of registered females reached 51.3%, while the percentage of males reached 48.7%, and the number of electoral boxes allocated to females reached (2081), while the number of electoral boxes allocated to males reached (2023), and the average number of votes in the electoral districts in which females ran, where the average number of votes reached (36,116) votes for the moderate vote in the constituencies in which women did not run, which amounted to (16,667) votes, the percentage of female participation in the parliamentary elections was (30%) of the total percentage of those who participated in the electoral process, which amounted to (58.8%). Women not obtaining one seat in the parliamentary elections are the lack of women's support for women. The percentage of votes that women obtained in those elections was only 4% of the total votes, in addition to the social factor (customs, traditions, and clan), as the percentage of votes obtained by clan members (70%) of the total number of candidates, compared to (30%) of the votes obtained by independents and political parties, was helped by the one-vote law that led in practice. The

majority of the clan members, male and female, vote for the male clan member or clan candidate and the economic factor that led to the failure; The economic decision is in the hands of the man, even if the money is for the woman. In the study of Bukemish (2011) the parliamentary experience in Jordan was discussed, as Jordan is considered among the first Arab countries to adopt the parliamentary system, and that was since 1929. The fact that the system is a monarchy did not prevent the adoption of the parliamentary system, and the parliament in Jordan is called the National Assembly. It consists of two chambers: an elected council called the House of Representatives, 80 members, and another council called the Senate (Ayan), with 40 members appointed by the king according to specific specifications in the constitution. From its inception until 2000, the Jordanian parliamentary institution passed through two main phases: the first, extending from 1929 to 1984, and at this stage, the parliamentary institution had no influence on the work of the Jordanian political system, meaning that it was an ineffective institution. The second extends from 1984 until today, and at this stage, it plays the role of parliament, as it proposes draft laws and amends draft laws referred to it by the executive authority, in addition to activating its role in monitoring the work of the executive authority. In addition to the above, since the late eighties and early nineties, Jordan has witnessed shifts towards democracy and partisan pluralism, which made the Jordanian parliament include representatives from multiple parties, and there is no doubt that this pluralism has a direct or indirect impact on activating the parliament's role in the second phase. Al-Issa (2015) conducted a study aimed at revealing the reasons and motives for political participation in the parliamentary elections among the Jordanian tribes in the period between 1989 - 2103 by shedding light on the impact of clan, social, economic, and political factors on political participation through parliamentary elections (casting votes). The study sample consisted of (900) individuals from the northern, central, and southern Badia in Jordan. The study was carried out by observing the high participation rates in the Jordanian Badia, which contradicts the political theories in political participation. The study results concluded that the reasons for participating in the elections in the Jordanian Badia are due to several factors, the most important of which are the economic, social, and political factors, and the level of gender, age, and educational qualification does not affect political participation. The study of Al-Rawashdah, Khalil Al-Arab, and Al-Daj'a (2015) mainly aim to identify the difference in young people's attitudes towards political participation in light of some qualitative characteristics of university youth as gender, college, place of residence, and monthly income. The study was applied to a sample of (200) graduate students distributed in four scientific and humanities faculties, and the data was collected from them using a questionnaire, which covered the topics of political participation such as the field of parties, participation in parliamentary life, the level of democracy, trust in public institutions, and the preferred party. Appropriate statistical methods were used. The study's most important findings were: There are no statistically significant differences between the attitudes of young people in Jordan, due to the variables of gender, college, and place of residence, towards trust in public institutions and the nation. On the other hand, there are statistically significant differences between the trends of youth in Jordan, attributed to gender variables towards interest in political life. And the college variable is about participation in the parliamentary elections, about the preferred party, and the youth's assessment of the level of democracy in Jordan. And to change the place of residence towards the preferred party. And for the variable level of income towards the evaluation of party work. Al-Bdour's study (2016) aimed to reveal the upcoming parliamentary elections in Jordan. The paper dealt with several main points, including that the parliamentary experience in Jordan in 1956 carried a political struggle between the ruling establishment and the opposition forces of nationalism, leftism, and Islamism on various issues at the internal and external levels. The paper referred to the 2016 election law, which is based on the open proportional list system. In countries where there are strong and competing parties, the balanced list system means that each party forms a list that contains its candidates in the elections. According to the electoral system, one or more candidates are selected from the party list. The paper dealt with the division of electoral districts after issuing the royal decree approving Election Law No. 6 of 2016, where the Council of Ministers approved the draft system for dividing electoral districts into 23 electoral districts. The paper talked about the Independent Electoral Commission, which was established in 2011, one of the results of the reform movement that swept the Kingdom during the Arab Spring revolutions, which defines itself as an independent body concerned with managing and supervising the electoral process without interference or influence from any party. The paper concluded by referring to the expected volume of participation. During the previous sessions, the Jordanian elections witnessed a boycott by several political, societal, and clan forces, the most prominent of which was the Islamic Action Front, the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood. The party justified its boycott of the elections with several justifications, most notably the one-vote law. Abu Al-Adas (2018) conducted a study on the obstacles to political participation in Jordan on a sample of non-participants in the parliamentary elections of the Eighteenth Parliament. The study sample consisted of (310) individuals who did not participate in the elections. The results showed that political alienation is one of the most significant obstacles that lead to the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections. And that the respondents feel disappointed with the performance of the

House of Representatives, and the field of political awareness ranked last. Al-Tarwana's study (2019) aimed to know the effects of the Jordanian parliamentary election laws on political participation, in terms of participation and representation of political parties and women, in every electoral system used in the Jordanian parliamentary elections during the period 1989-2016. The study reached the following results: The diversity of electoral systems that passed through the Jordanian parliamentary life came from the pursuit of reform within the Jordanian state. Second: The election laws affected the level of political participation, especially the reality of participation, and the representation of political parties and women in the Jordanian House of Representatives, from the election of the eleventh parliament on November 8, 1989, until the election of the eighteenth parliament on 9/20/2016.

2.1 Commenting on Previous Studies

Previous studies dealt with various aspects of the subject of the current study, and the researchers did not find, through their review and research in previous studies, any study that dealt with the main subject of the study, which is the reluctance to participate in the elections in the Jordanian governorates with the lowest percentage of participation in the parliamentary elections, which is the governorate of the capital, Amman. When reviewing previous studies, it was found that some of them were limited to the participation of Jordanian women in parliamentary elections, such as the study of Al-Khuzai (2006), and some of them dealt with the topic from a historical point of view, such as the study of Bukemish (2011), and the study of Al-Bdour (2016), which examined the parliamentary experience in Jordan, some of them examined the reasons and motives for political participation in the parliamentary elections among the Jordanian tribes in the period between 1989-2103, such as the study of Al-Issa (2015), while some studies examined the difference in the attitudes of young people towards political participation in the light of some qualitative characteristics of university youth such as the study of Al-Rawashdah and Khalil Al-Arab and the Da'jah (2015), some studies dealt with the effects of the Jordanian parliamentary election laws on the level of political participation, in terms of participation and representation of political parties and women, in each electoral system, such as the Al-Tarwana study (2019). Perhaps the study of Abu Al-Adas (2018) is the closest study to the current researchers' study, as it dealt with the obstacles to political participation in Jordan on a sample of non-participants in the parliamentary elections of the Eighteenth Parliament. However, the researchers' current study was more focused on searching for the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, and the sample was from those who did not participate in the parliamentary elections.

3. The Study Methodology

The descriptive approach was followed, which is based on knowing the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, by knowing the points of view of non-participants in the parliamentary elections in the governorate of the capital, Amman.

3.1 The Population of the Study

The commission indicated that the number of voters for the general parliamentary elections in Jordan for the nineteenth council reached (4,647,835), of whom (2,200,456) were males and (2,447,379) were females. As for the governorate of the capital, Amman, the number of voters was (1,729,506); as for the number of non-participants in the parliamentary elections, according to the statement of the independent election commission, it was approximately (28,550) who did not participate in the elections, they were distributed among five electoral districts in Amman. The distribution of voters and non-participants in the elections to the five districts was as follows (The Independent Election Commission, 2020):

Table 1. Distribution of voters and non-participants in the parliamentary elections of the Nineteenth Council 2020 AD in the governorate of the capital Amman by electoral district

Governorate	Elective circle	Number of voters according to the final lists			Not participating in the elections	
		Males	Females	Total	N	Percentage
Capital Governorate Amman	first circle	157.345	164.707	322.052	4766	%14.8
	Second circle	219.171	224.110	443.281	6161	%13.9
	Third circle	127.140	138.986	266.126	3113	%11.7
	Fourth circle	137.499	145.868	283.367	7254	%25.6
	Fifth circle	196.363	218.317	414.680	7256	%17.5
Total		837.518	891.988	1.729.506	28550	

3.2 The Study Sample

An accessible sample of (4%) of those who did not participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth assembly 2020 in the capital Amman governorate was selected, and their number reached (1223) who did not participate in the parliamentary elections, the application was implemented electronically through an electronic link created through the Google Drive application and sent through social media to the study sample members during the year (2021).

3.3 The Study Tool

The researchers developed a questionnaire to determine the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth council for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, after referring to the theoretical literature and previous studies in this field, such as The study of Mirza (2017), Dwekat (2015), Al-Khawaldeh (2013), Al-Shara'a (2006), and Al-Hazima (2003), the questionnaire, in its initial form, consisted of (35) items divided into four dimensions: the reasons for abstaining from the elections related to the voter, the reasons for the abstention from the elections related to the candidates, reasons for abstaining from elections related to the Independent Commission, and reasons for abstaining from elections related to the Corona pandemic.

3.4 Psychometric Properties of the Questionnaire

a. **Validity:** To ensure the validity of the questionnaire of the reasons for abstaining from participating in the parliamentary elections, it was presented to (12) arbitrators specialized in political science, sociology and education, and after reviewing the arbitrators' amendments, the most prominent of which were: Deleting five paragraphs from the questionnaire, making some linguistic modifications, and standardizing the dimensions of the questionnaire to start with the sentence "Reasons for reluctance to vote related to...." The final questionnaire consisted of (30) paragraphs divided into four dimensions: Reasons for abstaining from elections related to the voter, and its items: (1-7), reasons for abstaining from elections-related to candidates, and its items: (8-16), reasons for abstaining from elections related to the independent commission, and its items: (17-23), and reasons for abstaining from elections Related to the Corona pandemic and its items: (24-30). To verify the construction validity indicators, an exploratory sample was selected using the available method, which consisted of (50) non-participants in the parliamentary elections from the capital Amman governorate, and they were not from the study sample, then calculate the correlation coefficients between the items and the dimension to which they belong, as it was found that all the items have statistically significant correlation coefficients, which are as follows:

Table 2. Correlation coefficients between the paragraph and the total score to identify the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections

Item	First dimension connection	Item	Second dimension connection	Item	Third dimension connection	Item	Fourth dimension connection
1	.472**	8	.712**	17	.666**	24	.829**
2	.708**	9	.861**	18	.641**	25	.740**
3	.871**	10	.740**	19	.850**	26	.798**
4	.802**	11	.753**	20	.878**	27	.801**
5	.557**	12	.631**	21	.893**	28	.520**
6	.829**	13	.524**	22	.594**	29	.715**
7	.597**	14	.579**	23	.761**	30	.746**
		15	.643**				
		16	.545**				

** Significant at (0.01)

b. Reliability: An exploratory sample was selected using the available method, consisting of (50) non-participants in the parliamentary elections from Amman's governorate. The reliability was calculated using the Cronbach's alpha equation for internal consistency, where the total reliability of Cronbach's alpha was (0.852), and the following Table shows the reliability ratios for the dimensions and the total degree.

Table 3. Repetition reliability coefficients and Cronbach's internal consistency reliability coefficients for the domains and the total score to identify the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections

N	Dimensions of the questionnaire	Internal consistency
1.	Voter-related reasons	0.823
2.	Reasons related to the candidates	0.841
3.	Reasons related to the independent body	0.878
4.	Causes related to the corona pandemic	0.827
The overall degree of reliability		0.852

3.5 The Questionnaire Correction Key

The questionnaire consisted of (30) items. A triple scale was developed to answer the questionnaire's items, where the rating ranges between the following: agree (3) degrees, neutral (2) degrees, and disagree (1), the high scores describe the common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, while the low scores describe the opposite, the performance was divided on the items to identify trends towards distance learning into three levels according to the category range that ranges between (1-3), which are as follows:

- The averages ranging between (1 - 1.66) indicate the low level of the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections.
- The averages, which range between (1.67 - 2.33), indicate the average level of the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections.
- The averages ranging between (2.34 - 3) indicate the high level of the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections.

3.6 The Statistical Methods Used

The following statistical methods were used:

- Pearson correlation coefficient was used to calculate the construct validity of the questionnaire items.

- The internal consistency coefficient "Cronbach's alpha" was used to calculate the construct validity of the questionnaire items.
- Arithmetic means and standard deviations were used to answer the five study questions.

4. The Study Results and Discussion

4.1 The Results of the First Question and Its Discussion: *What Are the Main Reasons for the Reluctance to Participate in the Parliamentary Elections for the Nineteenth Parliament for the Year 2020 in the Jordanian Capital, Amman?*

To answer this question, the arithmetic averages and standard deviations were calculated for the reasons for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, and Table (4) illustrates this.

Table 4. Arithmetic averages and standard deviations of the reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, arranged in descending order according to the arithmetic averages

Rank	Dimension No.	Reasons for abstaining from elections	Mean	STD	Level
1.	2	Related to candidates	2.57	.405	High high
2.	3	Related to the independent body	2.43	.454	
3.	1	Related to the voter	2.27	.390	Moderate
4.	4	Related to the corona pandemic	2.17	.498	Moderate

It appears from the results of Table (4) that the most common reasons for refraining from participating in the parliamentary elections of the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, were in the second dimension "the reasons related to the candidates", where the arithmetic average for this dimension was (2.57), with a standard deviation of (0.405), it corresponds to the high level. It appears from this result that the voters' reluctance to vote in the parliamentary elections is primarily due to the nature of the candidates. The people's lack of conviction about the candidates, and the loss of confidence between the citizen and the representative, as Gerasa Agency (2021) indicated that one of the most important reasons behind this reluctance and non-participation in the electoral process is the lack of trust between the voter on the one hand, and the government and representatives on the other, and their certainty that members of parliament are playing roles that are meant to protect their interests or protect their interests. They work for them as agents, or they complete numbers that have little value in the council, and they are robots that work with guidance. The third dimension, "the reasons related to the independent body," came in the second rank, where its arithmetic mean was (2.43), with a standard deviation of (0.454), and it corresponded to the high level. This indicates that there are many comments by non-participants in the elections on the Independent Election Commission and that it does not play its real role in delivering the appropriate representative to the council. Then came in the third rank, the third dimension, "reasons related to the voter", where its arithmetic mean was (2.27), with a standard deviation (0.390), and it corresponded to the average level, and finally came the fourth dimension: "Causes related to the Corona pandemic", where its arithmetic mean was (2.17), with a standard deviation of (0.498), corresponding to the mean level. It appears from this result that the Corona pandemic was among the challenges to participating in the parliamentary elections, but it was not one of the main reasons for reluctance to participate in the elections, the loss of confidence between the citizen and the parliament member in the Jordanian parliament, and the reason for the causes related to the Corona pandemic coming in the last place, maybe due to the safe and strict government measures on the need to adhere to public safety procedures, and to ensure the foundations of social distancing in election centers, and training election workers on public safety procedures, so this reason was not among the most important reasons compared to other reasons. The results of this question agree with the results of the Abu Al-Adas study (2018), where the results indicated that the respondents are disappointed with the performance of the parliament.

4.2 The Results of the Second Question and Its Discussion: *What Are the Main Reasons for the Reluctance to Participate in the Parliamentary Elections Related to Voters for the Nineteenth Assembly for the Year 2020 in the Jordanian Capital, Amman?*

To answer this question, arithmetic averages and standard deviations were calculated for the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to voters for the Nineteenth Council for the year

2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman and Table (5) illustrates this.

Table 5. Arithmetic averages and standard deviations of the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to voters for the Nineteenth Council for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital Amman, ranked in descending order

rank	Item	Dimension	Mean	STD	Level
1.	5	I did not find anyone to represent me in the parliament among the candidates.	2.57	.646	High
2.	7	Personal dissatisfaction with the integrity of the parliamentary elections	2.52	.668	High
3.	2	I see that the outcome of the parliamentary elections is predetermined.	2.36	.712	High
4.	1	Personal dissatisfaction with political action.	2.34	.680	High
5.	3	My personal priorities are far from elections and casting my vote.	2.23	.787	Moderate
6.	6	Lack of knowledge of the duties of the parliament in the state.	1.97	.848	Moderate
7.	4	I feel that my vote is of no value to the success and failure of the candidates.	1.89	.841	Moderate
The total score for voter aversion reasons			2.27	.390	

The results of Table (5) show that the most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to voters for the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, was the fifth reason: "I did not find anyone to represent me in the Parliament among the candidates." Its level was high, and it arithmetic (2.57), with a standard deviation (0.646), and the fourth reason came in the last rank: "I feel that my vote is of no value to the success and failure of the candidates," as its arithmetic mean (1.89), with a standard deviation (0.841), corresponding to the average level. The result of this question indicates that the most important reasons behind the people's reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections revolved around the people's dissatisfaction with the candidates, as they did not find a real representative for them in the parliament, in addition to the people's lack of conviction of the integrity of the parliamentary elections. Whereas, the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (2021) indicates that one of the most important challenges facing the Jordanian parliamentary elections is the loss of confidence in parliament. Where the Jordanian voter believes that his deputies have not failed to perform their duties, whether legislative, oversight or even service, which he elected them based on their promises only; but they often provide cover for unpopular policies or decisions as well. Large sectors of Jordanians blame the parliament for its position on the fabricated crisis between teachers and the government; Where he had no constructive role in resolving the crisis; Instead of easing tension or mediating impartially to resolve the crisis, he took a stance that broad groups considered against teachers. This is consistent with what was indicated by the study of Abu Al-Adas (2018), where its results indicated that the sample members are disappointed with the parliament's performance.

4.3 The Results of the Third Question and Its Discussion: What Are the Main Reasons for the Reluctance to Participate in the Parliamentary Elections Related to the Candidates for the Nineteenth Council for the Year 2020 in the Jordanian Capital, Amman?

To answer this question, the arithmetic averages and standard deviations were calculated for the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the candidates for the 19th parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman and Table (6) illustrates this.

Table 6. Arithmetic averages and standard deviations of the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to candidates for the Nineteenth Council for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital Amman, ranked in descending order

Rank	N	Dimension	Mean	STD	Level
8.	9	The spread of corruption among members of the House of Representatives in jobs and promotions	2.72	.518	High
9.	12	Candidates seek to serve their own self-interest.	2.65	.553	High
10.	13	The candidate's failure after winning, to monitor the government's performance.	2.65	.553	High
11.	8	The candidates are not the best.	2.59	.600	High
12.	14	Candidates use political money to get into parliament.	2.59	.578	High
13.	11	The electoral programs of the candidates are weak and do not amount to serving the citizens.	2.54	.668	High
14.	10	There are no candidates worthy to represent me.	2.53	.678	High
15.	15	The candidates' failure to raise issues of concern to the citizen in their electoral platforms such as poverty, unemployment, and nepotism	2.51	.658	High
16.	16	The candidate did not show his position on women's issues.	2.40	.701	High
The total score for reasons of reluctance related to the candidates			2.57	.405	

It appears from the results of Table (6) that the most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to candidates for the nineteenth parliament for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, was the ninth reason: "The spread of corruption among members of the House of Representatives in appointments and promotions." Its level was high, and its arithmetic mean (2.72), with a standard deviation (0.518), and in the last rank came the reason (16) and its text: "The candidate did not show his position on women's issues", where its arithmetic means was (2.40), with a standard deviation (0.701), corresponding to the high level. The results of this question show that the spread of corruption among members of the House of Representatives in appointments and promotions and the spread of *wasta* and nepotism among them led to the promotion or appointment of many through *wasta* at the expense of others, especially in light of the spread of poverty and unemployment among Jordanians, this increased the gap between MPs and citizens, as people consider them accomplices in the crime of poverty and unemployment. The members of the study sample who did not participate in the parliamentary elections believe that the candidates seek to serve their self-interest, and this led to their reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections, and this is consistent with what Abu al-Adas study (2018) indicated that members of the sample feel disappointed with the performance of the House of Representatives, which contributed to their reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections.

4.4 The results of the Fourth Question and Its Discussion: What Are the Main Reasons for the Reluctance to Participate in the Parliamentary Elections Related to the Independent Election Commission for the Nineteenth Council for the Year 2020 in the Jordanian Capital, Amman?

To answer this question, arithmetic averages and standard deviations were calculated for the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Independent Election Commission for the Nineteenth Council for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, and Table (7) illustrates this.

Table 7. Arithmetic averages and standard deviations of the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Independent Election Commission for the Nineteenth Council for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, ranked in descending order

Rank	N	Dimension	Mean	STD	Level
17.	22	The inability of the independent commission to control candidates from using political money in elections	2.55	.594	High
18.	20	I feel the lack of integrity of the independent commission's procedures in the elections.	2.54	.628	High
19.	21	I do not trust the information and results presented by the independent body.	2.47	.659	High
20.	19	The presence of other influential parties that control the decisions of the independent body	2.45	.638	High
21.	23	I see the inability of the independent body to protect the ballot boxes from tampering and theft.	2.36	.722	High
22.	18	Absence of representatives from political parties in the membership of the commission	2.34	.628	High
23.	17	The biography of the head and members of the independent body is not fair.	2.29	.653	High
The total score for the reasons of abstention related to the independent body			2.43	.454	High

It appears from the results of Table (7) that the most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Independent Commission of the Nineteenth Council for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, was the reason (22), the text of which is: "The inability of the independent commission to control candidates from using political money in elections," its level was high, with an arithmetic mean of (2.55), with a standard deviation (0.594), and in the last rank came the reason (17) and its text: "The biography of the chairman and members of the independent body is not characterized by integrity", where its meaning was (2.29), with a standard deviation (0.653), corresponding to the average level. This question indicates a large gap between the citizen and the Independent Electoral Commission, noting that the Independent Electoral Commission was established in the year 2012 as an independent body supervising the elections. It supervised three parliamentary elections, the last of which was the nineteenth session of 2020; the members of the study sample believe that the independent commission is unable to control candidates from using political money in elections, as they witness the phenomenon of buying votes directly and indirectly in their electoral districts, and not taking strict action against them. The study sample members feel the lack of integrity of the Independent Election Commission's procedures, and they do not trust the information and results presented by the Independent Election Commission. They believe that there are cases of fraud or lack of transparency in the elections' final results, which led to their conviction that their vote is neither presented nor delayed in the elections. Therefore, they refrain from participating in the parliamentary elections.

4.5 The Results of the Fifth Question and Its Discussion: What Are the Reasons for the Most Reluctance to Participate in the Parliamentary Elections Related to the Corona Pandemic for the Nineteenth Assembly for the Year 2020 in the Jordanian Capital, Amman?

To answer this question, the arithmetic averages and standard deviations were calculated for the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the nineteenth Corona pandemic for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, and Table (8) illustrates this.

Table 8. Arithmetic averages and standard deviations of the most common reasons for reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Corona pandemic for the nineteenth assembly for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital Amman, ranked in descending order

Rank	N	Dimension	Mean	STD	Level
24.	29	People's lack of commitment to health measures such as social distancing and wearing a mask.	2.40	.719	High
25.	27	The lack of a clear mechanism for elections procedures in light of the ban and the pandemic	2.31	.770	Moderate
26.	30	The lack of a clear mechanism for elections procedures in light of the ban and the pandemic	2.30	.796	Moderate
27.	24	The number of infections with the Coronavirus increased during the parliamentary elections.	2.29	.751	Moderate
28.	25	Lack of adequate protective measures during the voting process.	2.22	.745	Moderate
29.	26	Fear of infection with the Coronavirus.	2.20	.843	Moderate
30.	28	You contracted Coronavirus during the election period.	1.49	.735	Low
The total degree of the reasons for reluctance related to the Corona pandemic			2.17	.498	Moderate

It appears from the results of Table (8) that the most common reason for the reluctance to participate in the parliamentary elections related to the Corona pandemic for the nineteenth assembly for the year 2020 in the Jordanian capital, Amman, was the reason (29): "People's failure to adhere to health measures such as social distancing and wearing a mask", its level was high, and its arithmetic mean (2.40), with a standard deviation (0.719), and the last rank came with the reason (28): "I was infected with the Coronavirus during the election period," where its arithmetic mean was (1.49), with a standard deviation (0.735), its level was low. The current result of this question shows that there is a fear of participating in the elections under the conditions of the epidemiological situation of the Coronavirus in Jordan. The fear that people will not adhere to health measures such as social distancing and wearing a mask is justified, especially in light of witnessing the manifestations of gatherings in the markets before the parliamentary elections, so this reason came first among the causes related to the Corona pandemic. The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (2021) indicated that the elections for the nineteenth Jordanian House of Representatives for the year 2020 are indeed facing complex challenges. The most important of these is the outbreak of the Coronavirus. Since the beginning of last August, the Kingdom has witnessed a significant increase in local infections. There are real fears of an epidemic, especially with the state of confusion and the decline in people's confidence in the official measures to control the epidemic; after it was one of the most successful globally in addressing it and limiting its spread, which is a real problem. In such a season, face-to-face meetings and meetings between candidates and their electoral bases spread on an almost daily basis.

5. The Study Recommendations

In light of the results of the current study, the researchers recommend the following:

- The study came to include the largest segment, the citizens who are reluctant to participate in the elections, and this calls for those in charge of the elections, especially the independent commission, to stand on this important issue and to find effective formulas to ensure broader participation in the representative elections.
- Employ various social media to support and enhance participation in the parliamentary elections.
- The results revealed the spread of political money among the candidates for the parliamentary elections, which calls for the concerned authorities, especially the Independent Election Commission, to tighten oversight and punishment to prevent the spread of such practices, which were among the essential reasons that obtained high scores from the study sample members who did not participate in the parliamentary elections.
- The study sample members who did not participate in the parliamentary elections indicated the lack of integrity of the independent commission's procedures in the elections, and this requires real and serious practices and procedures to lay the foundations, rules, and procedures that guarantee the integrity of the elections, and to

convince people of the integrity of the results through real procedures whose results the citizen can feel on the elections.

- The results show that one of the most important reasons for reluctance to vote in the parliamentary elections is the spread of corruption among members of the House of Representatives in appointments and promotions and that the candidates seek to serve their self-interest. The interest of the nation over self-interest when selecting candidates.
- Conduct various studies on the reasons for the reluctance to vote in parliamentary elections and their relationship to social, demographic, and political variables.

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