

العنوان:	Students and the Tribes : The Impact of Modernization and political Transformation on University Students in Jordan
المصدر:	المجلة الأردنية في القانون والعلوم السياسية
الناشر:	جامعة مؤتة - عمادة البحث العلمي
المؤلف الرئيسي:	Tweissi, Basim
المجلد/العدد:	مج 5, ع 2
محكمة:	نعم
التاريخ الميلادي:	2013
الشهر:	شعبان / تموز
الصفحات:	9 - 48
رقم MD:	460107
نوع المحتوى:	بحوث ومقالات
قواعد المعلومات:	EcoLink, IslamicInfo
مواضيع:	المشاركة السياسية ، الجامعات ، الطلاب ، الأردن
رابط:	http://search.mandumah.com/Record/460107

Students and the Tribes: The Impact of Modernization and Political Transformation on University Students in Jordan

(*)Dr. Basim Tweissi

تاريخ تقديم البحث: ٢٠١١/٩/١٩

تاريخ القبول: ٢٠١٢/٧/٣

ملخص

تتناول هذه الدراسة الدور السياسي للعشيرة في المجتمعات الطلابية في الجامعات الأردنية، بهدف الوصول إلى تحديد مفهوم العشيرة في الثقافة السياسية السائدة في المجتمعات الطلابية، وتحديدًا في مجالس التمثيل الطلابي، وذلك بالاعتماد على منهج المسح الاجتماعي في ثلاث جامعات أردنية، وتستند الدراسة في إطارها النظري على نظرية الهوية الاجتماعية، ونظرية فجوة الاستقرار والتحديث السياسي.

ولقد توصلت الدراسة لوجود تأثير واضح للتحويلات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي شهدتها الأردن في العقدين الأخيرين، ولتطورات الإصلاح السياسي وانعكاسات الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي في التعبيرات والسلوك السياسي للطلبة. إن أهمية الدراسة تأتي من تحديد المفاهيم والقيم السائدة في الثقافة السياسية لطلبة الجامعات ومواقفهم من المرجعيات الثقافية والاجتماعية الأولية وفي مقدمتها العشيرة، من أجل ضمان استمرار الدور الإيجابي لهذه المرجعيات في البناء الاجتماعي، وحماية مسار بناء الهوية السياسية للدولة من انتشار الهويات الفرعية التي تجرد في المجتمعات الطلابية بيئة حاضنة لها.

التنمية السياسية في الأردن، الدور السياسي للعشيرة، الهوية السياسية، التحديث السياسي.

(*) قسم الإعلام والدراسات الإستراتيجية، جامعة الحسين بن طلال.

حقوق النشر محفوظة لجامعة مؤتة، الكرك، الأردن.

Abstract

This study addresses the role of tribes at Jordanian universities, particularly their influence in student politics and elections. Beginning with relevant Jordanian socio-political history and the tumultuous recent history of student politics on Jordanian campuses, its analysis addresses the characteristics and roles of tribes as observed by students. Ultimately, students self-perception and perceptions of others help to understand the developing role of tribes in their communities.

This study aims to identify the role of tribes among student communities at Jordanian universities through examining manifestations, expressions, and political and social behaviors among students, as well as the patterns of power distribution associated with the role of tribes. To do so, this study will rely on the perspectives of crises of modernization and political-social identity.

Keywords: Political Transformation, Student and Politics, Jordanian Tribes, Political Identity, Political Development in Jordan

Introduction:

University students are the most expressive social segment of the content and trends of social and political shifts in transforming societies. They are the most capable of daring to test the nature of political transformations and their trends. For this reason, understanding shifts among student communities with regard to their political behavior and values contributes to understanding the transformations of the larger society to which they belong.

Over the past two decades, Jordanian society has witnessed economic, social and political transformations with major impact on student communities. Economic restructuring, the retreat of the state's role in social welfare, and an increase in poverty and unemployment associated with economic and political modernization have all reshaped numerous social and political roles. These social and economic transformations have been felt by all segments of society, in particular student communities.

Manifestations of social retreat towards primary reference groups, including kinship-based, tribal and regional groups, a process often accompanying political transformations, have grown since the early 1990s. In light of this shift, student communities, which reflect these transformations, provide a significant example for understanding the role that tribes have come to occupy in political life.

Jordan is a semi-patriarchal society in which the father, the family and tribe have central roles of identifying the individuals' choices. Such a tribal system plays a major role in building, and, then, preserving the Jordanian state amid precedent ideological conflicts of the Arabs. Moreover, this system in effect offered Jordanian elite' positive values, which affected social life. Among those values are political tolerance, accepting the other, and concern about the dignity of individuals and societies.

The political role of the tribes as a fundamental authority to which individuals resort for a number of reasons; one being the weakness of political development represented by weakness of political parties and organizations along with the economic restructuring and the state's withdrawal from economic patronage. Universities were the platform that apparently that echoes all those transformations.

This study aims to identify the role of tribes among student communities at Jordanian universities through examining manifestations, expressions, and political and social behaviors among students, as well as the patterns of power distribution associated with the role of tribes. To do so, this study will rely on the perspectives of crises of modernization and political- social identity.

Research design

- Importance of the study and its goals

The importance of this study comes from exploring the Limited factors of the role of tribes among student communities at Jordanian universities through examining manifestations, expressions, political and social behaviors among students.

This study is concerned with following up students' political behavior during democratic transformation in Jordan (1990-2010) – a stage that witnessed the emergence of student councils and student representation. Meanwhile, it went through important changes (both political and economic) influencing public life and student groups.

This study seeks to achieve a set of scientific and social goals, including:

1. Identifying the development of the forms and substance of student participation in Jordanian universities.
2. Defining features reflecting the economic and social transformations and the crisis of modernization in the university institution in Jordan.
3. Defining the concept of tribes in student consciousness and practice.
4. Identifying features and limitations of the role of tribes in student behavior and the ways in which their power is distributed (representation, student violence and expressions of identity).
5. Recognizing the determinants and background behind the restoration of primary reference frameworks in student communities.
6. Defining the role of tribes and primary reference frameworks in culture and political values and their symbolic expression in the communities.

Research Questions:

This study is based on the central hypothesis which proposes that economic modernization and restructuring that Jordan has been experiencing since the mid-90s along with the slowing-down of political reform during the last two decades attributed to the growth in initial authorities with their sociopolitical dimensions.

Individuals de facto find themselves through those medium as a result of the weakness of political parties and organizations.

University student groups are these situations in miniature.

Accordingly this study tries to answer each of the following questions:

- 1- What are the features of the development of student participation in Jordanian political life?
- 2- Did the political transformations of tribe's role affect student groups in Jordanian universities?
- 3- What is the impact of restructuring, political reform, and political transformation processes on student participation in political life?
- 4- What is the impact of Middle East struggle and Jordanian-Palestinian relations on student participation in political life?
- 5- What is the social and political concept of the tribe among university students?
- 6- What is the relation between the tribe and the concept of political identity among university students?
- 7- What is the role of the tribe in student councils and student elections?

- **Methodology:**

This study utilizes an integrated methodology, based on the methodological framework of social anthropology and sociopolitical research. It also makes use of direct observation of three research populations: the student communities of the University of Jordan, Mu'tah University and Al-Hussein Bin Talal University. For the purposes of its research and to achieve methodological adaptation, this study utilizes the following research tools:

- **Semi- structured interviews:** This study adopted questionnaire-oriented interviews, conducted at fieldwork. Those interviews aimed at identifying the political concept of the tribe, analysis of the concept of the identity in political culture of the students based on discourse analysis of four areas:
 - Analysis of features (students' portrayal of the tribes)
 - Analysis of the roles of the tribes
 - Analysis of the image of the self
 - Analysis of the image of the other

The study included 42 semi structured interviews in the three universities. These were useful in obtaining information from primary sources, which provided the framework for analysis and the interpretation of relationships.

- **Focus groups:** These represented segments of the student community. The study included three focus groups at three universities. The role of the researchers was to facilitate discussion and record notes. Three focus groups were held.
- **Document and desk research:** This aspect included documents produced by student communities, institutions or relevant entities, in addition to the available literature and research.

I. Theoretical Framework

Literature review

A number of studies have addressed student communities at Jordanian universities from social, educational and economic perspectives but few have referred to the role of the tribe in university student's life.

"Jordanian Student Movements from 1948-1988 ⁽¹⁾ was the first systematic study chronicling the history of Jordanian student movements in higher education institutions in Jordan and abroad. The study addresses the origins and development of representative student entities, organized student movements, and student activism issues, including the influence of social and political conditions and the relationships affecting Jordanian student activism. While the researcher does not focus explicit attention on the role of tribes in university student life, there are references connecting tribalism to governmental requirements and illustrating their influence in the student arena. ⁽²⁾

Most studies addressing patterns of values among student communities in Jordanian universities indicate that social and political values change among university students, but that these changes are slow and practically imperceptible ⁽³⁾ According to existing research, the most important values represented among students between 1990 and 2005 were political, social and, in particular, religious. In terms of gender,

⁽¹⁾ Samer Khrino, Jordan students movement .1948 - 1998: history and development in Jordan and abroad, the new Jordan Center for Studies, Amman, 2000.

⁽²⁾ Khraino, 2000.

⁽³⁾ (Al-Batsh and Abdul Rahman, 1990; Al-Batsh and Al-Tawil, 1991; Al-Sarhan, 1994; Al-Tawil, 1993; AlMaklush, 1999; Jabr, 2000; Al-Badayna and Al-Qatamin, 2005).

studies show a tendency among males towards values of having an exciting life, accomplishment, freedom, social recognition, capacity and rationality, whereas female students tend towards peace, the judgment day, loyalty, self-respect and love. One study posits that Jordanian universities have not been positively affected by the transformations towards democracy that Jordan has witnessed since the early 1990s. This conclusion is most obvious in the continuing pattern of admitting students according to traditional criteria that do not guarantee the right of all students to higher education. This situation is reflected in the university environment and the composition of the student body. The study also argues that democratic transformations have not met the requirements of improving academic and political freedoms in terms of recruitment, appointment and promotion of faculty members at universities⁽¹⁾

As the phenomena of student violence in Jordanian universities has grown, more studies have been produced addressing social and political changes at universities, including.⁽²⁾

However, these studies only contain limited references to the political and social role of tribes in student communities and to their physical and symbolic substance.

One study of student violence in Jordanian universities⁽³⁾, covering six universities and a sample of 10% of the student population, found that among 14 motives for student violence in universities, kinship and tribe-related fanaticism rank third among respondents (62%) behind feelings of suppression and focus on academic issues⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Ahmed Khatib, higher education and democratic transition in Jordan, from book (group of authors, decade of democracy in Jordan 1989-1999), Amman, 2001.

(2) (Dirani, 1993), (Al-Makhariz, 2006), (Al-Sarayreh, 2006), (Al-Khatatna, 2007), and (Nawfal, 2008).

(3) Al Hawamdeh, Kamel student violence in Jordanian universities, conference of Students Affairs in Arab universities : future vision, Zarqa private University, 9 – 11 December 2003, Zarqa private University publications,2004.

(4)Al-Hawamdeh, 2003.

Among 13 male and female students punished by the concerned authorities in their universities, the researcher found that four of these cases included reasons connected to tribal events and conflicts⁽²⁾.

Another study sought to identify risk factors among university youth at individual, family, community and university levels, as well as to demonstrate levels of reckless behavior and self control. This study relied on a social survey including 4,000 male and female students from 19 public and private universities. The study concluded that the problem of violence among university students is a social product with multiple forms. In terms of values, the study revealed a lack of a sense of belonging among students characterized by feelings of alienation, lack of participation and isolation. Researchers found that 17% of students attribute conflicts to tribal "faza'a" [a rush to aid], 22% to defense of relatives, and 27% to provocation of a female relative (i.e. a female tribe member)⁽³⁾.

Theoretical framework

This study relies on three fundamental theoretical approaches that allow an analysis of the dynamics of the phenomenon under discussion. The political role of the tribe in student communities is a phenomenon with social, political and cultural dimensions, requiring us to draw on the social sciences and humanities, including political sociology, cultural anthropology and political development.

1- Social-political identity approach

At the end of the 19th century, Gustave Le Bon identified fundamental factors influencing group relations including beliefs, images, meanings and illusions about others in his book "The Crowd"⁽⁴⁾. In an atmosphere in which human and social sciences were dominated by the behavioral trend, theories of social norms and impression formation emerged. Afterwards, social psychologists developed the

⁽²⁾Al-Hawamdeh, 2003.

⁽³⁾ Albdaineh, Diab and others, 2009, Environmental risk factors in young Jordanian University academic, higher Council for youth, Youth leadership development center, Amman..

⁽⁴⁾ Le Bon, Gustave. The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind, Dover Publications, 2002

concept of interactionism, which holds that psychological and social characteristics of individuals change qualitatively through social interactions by means of thoughts, meanings and stereotypes .⁽¹⁾

Since the late 1970s, social and cultural knowledge have increasingly aided in understanding relationships between groups, as demonstrated with the creation of the following two theories of social identity. The inter-groups theory focuses on conflict analysis and individuals' focus on positively discriminating between their group and other groups. The self-categorization theory is generally built on analyzing the relationships between groups and the role of subcultures in determining the pattern of such relationships. Based on these relationships, discrimination, and fanaticism, differences between groups and their standards for evaluating others are created. A group's self-categorization functions by means of the level and type of identity it uses to describe itself and other groups and differs according to the motives, values and expectations of the individual as well as the social context. On this basis, group actions and processes are organized through joint self-categorization ⁽²⁾.

Feelings of external and internal threat begin to increase among primary groups such as kinship-based, tribal and regional groups, as well as groups based on settlement patterns, when they seem weak in the face of transformations ⁽³⁾ The feeling of external threat seems to be based on marginalization, to which the reaction is either withdrawal or attack. The feeling of internal threat is delicate and based on a fragile balance. The greater feelings of threat, loss of rights or marginalization become, the greater collaboration and assimilation within the reference group also become, to the point where individuals may lose independence and selfhood ⁽⁴⁾ .

⁽¹⁾Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann ,Thomas .Knowledge, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge Anchor Book : A division of Random House INC. New York ,1967.

⁽²⁾Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann,1967.

⁽³⁾ Layn, Linda, Home and Homeland: The Dialogic of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁽⁴⁾ Hijazi, Mustafa, social backwardness and human psychology oppressed, Arab Development Institute, Beirut, 1991.

2- Crisis of modernization and stability gap perspective:

The above perspective addresses impediments to political modernization, development, and transforming societies given that such societies face major crises while transitioning, most importantly crises of legitimacy, identity, participation, and distribution capacities of political institutions. Diffusing these crises can be achieved either through the political regime's competence and ability to face them by building strong institutions, or with the relapse of political modernization.

Samuel Huntington made prominent contributions to developing this perspective beginning with his famous article "The Change To Change," ⁽¹⁾. Huntington's premise is that social, economic and political modernization is born from instability. Economic development that leads to a rising cost of living crushes other social segments and creates social tensions whose fate depends on the power of political institutions. The blows traditional communities sustain in the absence of clear paths to modernization often cause such communities to relapse ⁽²⁾.

These developments create a so-called "modernization gap" between social and economic changes that are not usually accompanied by fair distribution capacity and the aspirations of transforming traditional communities. It is the gap between aspirations (i.e. demands) and the political regime's ability to meet them that creates patterns of frustration and political resentment, opening the door to a retreat into traditional frameworks of political expression, including primary reference groups such as regional, kinship-based and tribal groups. This gap can also create political instability and weak political institutions with fragile cohesion that are subject to traditional will ⁽³⁾.

The crisis of political participation among university students, reflected in the restoration of tribal, regional and kinship-based primary reference groups, is also part of the modernization crisis according Huntington and the perspective described above. While many students attempt to participate, there are no institutions that

⁽¹⁾ Huntington, Samuel. P, The change to change: Modernization, Development Politics, Comparative Politics, Vol.3, No.3, April 1971.

⁽²⁾ Huntington, 1971.

⁽³⁾ Alqasabi, Abdul Ghaffar Rashad, political development and democratic transition, political development and nation building, Cairo University, Cairo, 2000.

enable and regulate such participation. In this situation, described as “all sail and no anchor” by Huntington and Macaulay, social groups revert to their primary reference frameworks. In order for political regimes to diffuse this state of instability and address their crisis of legitimacy, they must stand still or follow the same technique by which the larger crisis of participation is diffused. In other words they must also resort to traditional and primary reference frameworks ⁽¹⁾.

3 – Symbolic interaction perspective

Symbolic Interaction focuses on two foundational concepts, symbol and meaning, which together indicate a level of mutual understanding between groups. More specifically, these concepts relate to systems of exchanging symbols among groups, with symbols highlight the differences between groups. The symbolic trend sees culture as a symbolic system, meaning that the culture forms shared systems of symbols and meanings. Clifford Geertz and David Schneider are pioneers of this trend ⁽²⁾. The symbol expresses an array of thoughts and meanings created in the minds of human beings through the process of cultural cultivation and social upbringing. It is an element of a community’s culture, and expresses some aspects of the social structure. In this way, the symbolic order intervenes directly in the formation of relationships between individuals and communities ⁽³⁾. The strength of symbols and their impact is determined by the strength of the social structure and its cohesion. The more severe the social pressure applied by the social structure on its members, the more effective and influential symbols become. This analysis holds in primitive, simple and civilized communities ⁽⁴⁾.

Symbolic interaction is based on the exchange of meanings through symbols that organize the experience of a community and create a shared heritage of meanings and

⁽¹⁾ Huntington, 1971.

⁽²⁾ Keesing, R.M , Theories of Culture: I N 3,OALO,AL,TO California1974.

⁽³⁾Amawi, Abula ,Consolidation of merchant class in Transjordan During the Second world war, Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell1988.

⁽⁴⁾ Hamed, alseed Ahmed:, the symbol and uniforms in Kuwaiti society: self-maintaining social and cultural rights, Faculty of Arts Journal, Unit of Science Publishing, Cairo University, Issue (2)1996.

symbols. This interaction contributes to producing the complex fabric of social thoughts, values and actions that people exchange in their daily lives ⁽¹⁾. Symbolic interaction presents an important framework for understanding the cultural format of tribes in terms of their symbols and signs. This framework is particularly important in student communities, as the daily life of students is full of communication that occurs through the extensive use of cultural symbols with social and political dimensions.

II. The evolution of student participation at Jordanian universities

The concept of student participation refers to student engagement in all of the formal and informal events and activities that fall within their professional interests, as well as student activism that contributes to the affairs of public life inside and outside the university campus. ⁽²⁾

Student representation, student groups, the formation of student public opinion, and students' political, social and cultural activities all lie within the framework of student participation. ⁽³⁾

The emergence of student participation in Jordan dates back to the early 1950s when, under the influence of political activism and political parties, calls emerged to establish a general union of Jordanian students. These calls, which included the organization of a Jordanian student conference (1953-1957), included students in secondary schools, Jordanian institutes and Jordanian students in Arab and foreign universities. These calls did not, however, succeed in forming a representative body for Jordanian students because of a lack of official recognition as well as the fact that their representation was not comprehensive ⁽⁴⁾. Additionally, these calls reflected conflict between the political movements and organizations and did not originate from initiatives within student communities.

⁽¹⁾ Harris, Howar and Lipman, Alan, Social Symbolism and Space Usage In daily life (Sociological Review. Vol 28.No2/1980)..

⁽²⁾ Alcock, Pete (Editor),The Student's Companion to Social Policy, Wiley-Blackwell; 1 edition 1997

⁽³⁾ Alcock, Pete.1997.

⁽⁴⁾Khrino Samer, Jordan students movement .1948 - 1998: history and development in Jordan and abroad, the new Jordan Center for Studies, Amman, 2000.

Nonetheless, this foundational phase for student participation witnessed achievements in the field of political expression. Student movements in the 1950s expressed political diversity and pluralism, alongside the capacity to plan, organize and participate in public life. The project of establishing a national Jordanian university emerged from student communities born in this stage.

The second phase of student participation started with the establishment of the University of Jordan in 1962, the first Jordanian university. Student participation assumed two main forms. The first form was a continuation of student engagement in illegal or unlicensed political activism, which represented an extension of political parties and organizations. The University of Jordan was home to many political movements and organizations close to the Palestinian resistance movement in the 1960s.

Most political organizations attempted to establish student extensions in universities, and there were a number of attempts to form a representative body of Jordanian students. According to the political climate characterizing this phase, most of these attempts were connected to regional political organizations and determined by cross-border political and organizational interactions.

This situation led to the emergence of student organizations in the Jordanian arena connected to the Fatah Movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Vanguard for the Popular Liberation War, the Arab Liberation Front, the Arab Liberation Forces, and the Jordanian Communist Party, among others.

The second form of student participation was legal student activism which the University of Jordan endorsed and encouraged. The establishment of the Deanship of Student Affairs in 1964 constituted the beginning of institutionalized official student participation through extracurricular and parallel activities, although it did not amount to searching for a representative student body. This progress continued until 1969, when the university administration attempted for the first time to establish a student union. Despite university efforts, existing political organizations thwarted the attempt. In 1972 the university administration attempted for a second time to found the union and the University of Jordan Student Union was indeed established. The Student Union was the first recognized student body representing all of the students

in the university and its board included 140 members elected directly by the students (1).

After the University of Jordan Student Union was dissolved three years later in 1975, a new pattern of student representation emerged under the name "Student Associations", with each association representing the students of an academic department. These associations spread to Yarmouk University in 1976 and to the civilian wing of Mu'tah University and to the Jordanian University of Science and Technology (JUST) in 1986.

Student participation during this phase was primarily characterized by:

1. Enhanced recruitment, both by Palestinian political organizations active in the local environment until 1970 and secret Jordanian movements after that date, as well as a strong recruitment drive by trans regional Arab political organizations, which controlled and branded the substance and forms of student participation during this phase.
2. A strong external political drive to recruit students and the institutional vacuum on the part of the universities weakened the development of student activism and local student participation. In other words, it was not possible for higher education institutions, which should be leading agents of community change for the youth segment, to develop local student participation with clear features, consistent with the course of social and cultural change, and contribute to leading that change.
3. The social and political expressions of tribalism were limited in the patterns of student participation, consistent with the nature of student relations and social and cultural change.
4. The rise of modernization during the 1970s and early 1980s, with the absence of institutions to nurture student participation, provided an opportunity for the return of primary reference groups: regional, tribal, and kinship-based groups. However, because of the impact of the oil boom on Jordan, this development did not reach a crisis level, allowing successive governments to meet the requirements of modernization. This situation postponed the deepening of the crisis.
5. This phase witnessed the birth of student Islamic activism, beginning in 1969 when the Muslim Brotherhood Movement established the first student union at the University of Jordan, the Muslim Students' Union. The role of the movement

(1) Khraino, 2000.

developed and became prominent in 1975, when students from the Islamic movement won the elections of the University of Jordan Student Union, culminating in the rise of one of the Muslim Brotherhood students to the presidency of the Union.

As a result of the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Jordanian political regime, the role of the Brotherhood among students expanded greatly in Jordanian universities during the 1980s, a period during which they controlled the student associations of most universities.

The third phase of the evolution of student participation began in the early 1990s and most of its features continue until the present day. This phase has witnessed the most important manifestations of migration toward regional, tribal and kinship-based primary reference groups.

The seeds of this phase were planted in the second half of the 1980s. After Student demonstrations of Yarmouk University in 1986, which marked the culmination of the search for rights-based student participation with political substance—leftist, nationalist and Islamist forces participated in the events of 1986—the presence of student forces with regional tendencies increased in the framework of the dynamics of internal relations (Jordanian-Palestinian). ⁽¹⁾ This increase occurred after disengagement from the West Bank and in the context of increasing political support for the Intifada, with repeated student clashes taking place in 1988.

In 1989, protests against Jordan's economic condition and its political background began in the city of Ma'an and spread to other cities in the south, echoing in Jordanian universities. A huge march was organized on the University of Jordan campus. Students from across the political spectrum participated, although the majority of participants were students from Jordanian tribes, who were compelled to protect the march fearing attacks from students unsympathetic to their cause. ⁽²⁾

The situation at the beginning of the 1990s indicates that student participation had begun to carry rights-based messages and to express profound social sentiments as a

⁽¹⁾ Satloff, Robert, *From Abdullah to Hussein: Jordan in Transition* (Oxford University Press), 1994.

⁽²⁾ Khraïno, 2001.

result of the difficult economic conditions. These matters would not end by administering student relations inside the university.

The following years witnessed the diffusion of this participation in terms of substance through transformations in the region and in Jordan. Perhaps the most important features of this phase appear in the retreat of student movements involved in traditional political activities, and the increasing power of local movements.

These local and regional transformations and the challenges they presented thwarted an opportunity for the development of sound student participation and opened the door for increased attachment to primary reference groups, in particular to tribes.

Perhaps the most striking expression of this change was the emergence of a wide movement, closely tied to official circles outside the university and to the deanships of student affairs inside it. This movement, the National Jordanian Student Assembly (Watan), was announced in 1991 as a competitor to the student movement of the Muslim Brotherhood, which controlled the student arena by the early 1990s and was the top organizer of student participation.

Watan represented the pinnacle of relying on tribalism and the reattachment of student communities to tribalism. Watan had a general assembly, an administrative council, an executive body and branches in the universities, colleges and institutes. Its goals included strengthening the Jordanian national identity and entity, consolidating the unity of its people and leadership, preserving the Arab identity of Palestine, and a commitment to democracy and political pluralism ⁽¹⁾.

The founding of Watan coincided with the beginning of democratic reforms in Jordan and its initial impact on the student arena included the emergence of officially decreed local unions at the University of Jordan, Yarmouk University and JUST in 1992, and at Mu'tah University in 1993. These local unions extended to the public universities that were established during the 1990s. While these representative entities were called "unions" at most universities, the representative entity of students in the University of Jordan kept the name "Student Council of the University of Jordan." Student associations also continued at Al-bayt University.

These local unions provided an opportunity to reframe student participation in accordance with new foundations, contributing along with other conditions to

⁽¹⁾ Watan; National Assembly for Jordanian students, Constitutional statement, Amman, 1992.

growing tendencies toward primary reference frameworks, in particular regional and tribal frameworks ⁽¹⁾. At this stage, nationalist and pro-Palestinian political powers withdrew from the student arena. These reforms coincided with the University of Jordan administration amending Student Council regulations in 1998 and introducing the “one person, one vote” system whereby each student would have the right to choose only one candidate. Previously, students could select a number of candidates in accordance with his or her electoral constituency representing the faculty. This amendment followed the national “one person, one vote” law of 1993 governing parliamentary elections, which has been described as depriving parliamentary life of much of its political substance. In addition to the “one person, one vote” principle, the 1998 amendments at the University of Jordan also decreed that half of the student council would be appointed, while the other half would be elected. ⁽²⁾

III. Transformations and the role of tribes in student communities

The transformations experienced by Jordanian society since the early 1990s have had a clear impact on restoring the role and social status of tribes in the context of the relationship between society and the state and in student communities in particular:

1- Restructuring and economic reform transformations

From the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, Jordan witnessed economic growth and wide socioeconomic changes driven by the regional economic transformations in oil-rich countries, the remittances of Jordanian expatriates in the Gulf countries and the growth in Arab and international aid to the Kingdom ⁽³⁾. Since the second half of the 1980s, economic growth and the course of modernization have begun to slow, but

⁽¹⁾ Boulbly ,Marion J.W, The Ideology and social Base of the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood: 1945-1993/ Toronto: University of Toronto- School of Graduate Studies- 1996.

⁽²⁾Jordan University Student Council directives issued by the Council of Deans, Jordan University, 1998

⁽³⁾ Layn, 1984.

genuine political modernization or the building of strong institutions did not accompany the initial growth ⁽¹⁾ .

From the mid-1980s until the early 1990s, economic crisis had grave implications for society. To compare, economic growth in the mid-1980s reached 6%, but between 1986 and 1993 the aggregate growth rate was negative 6.4%. Per capita income stood at \$1,650 in 1985, but had declined by 1993 to \$1,190 ⁽²⁾ .

These conditions led to inflation in the prices of both goods and services, unemployment, declining infrastructure development, growing poverty and slow administrative and legislative reform. This prompted the Jordanian government to pass a new wave of economic policies, focusing on restructuring and privatization. Some of these policies were carried from the late 1980s into the 1990s ⁽³⁾. The government introduced a triple reform policy that granted the private sector increased leverage through privatization, improved the investment environment, and increased the private sector's contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP), even though the public sector accounted for only 14% of the GDP added value in the early 1990s ⁽⁴⁾.

Jordan's restructuring process was conducted in two phases. The first lasted from 1996 until 2004 and involved the privatization and restructuring of public corporations or the introduction of strategic partners, as was the case with cement factories, Jordan Telecom, the portfolio of the Jordan Investment Corporation, the Public Transport Corporation, Amman Water and Sewage Authority and the Jordan Airport Duty Free Shops. The second phase involved most importantly the sale of the government's share in Jordan Telecom, Jordan Phosphate Mines Company, Jordan

⁽¹⁾Badran Ibrahim, Jordan's economy, future possibilities in the area, from the book (Hani Hourani, Khaled Al-wazani, Jordan's economy within regional framework, new Jordan center , Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Amman 1996 p. (349-376).

⁽²⁾Badran, 1996.

⁽³⁾ Reed Margaret, , the institutional preconditions for Privatization in those countries whose economy is based on the market, institutional significance for Jordan, from the book (Mustafa hamarneh, editor), the Jordanian economy problems and prospects, Centre for strategic studies, University of Jordan, Amman, 1991. (229-244)..

⁽⁴⁾ Taher Kanaan, Khaled wazani, the State's role economic in liberalization conditions Arab economies, Jordan case, 2006. (323-336).

Potash, the Jordan Silos and Supply General Company, agricultural products marketing companies and others ⁽¹⁾. Moreover, the second phase witnessed increasing effects toward integration into the global economy and a greater influence of conservative liberals on the economy, which led to the restructuring of many sectors, the shrinking of the State's role, the reduction of support to public universities, adopting a policy to sell state-owned land, and even the downsizing of the Jordanian army ⁽²⁾.

Despite revenues of JD 2 billion generated by restructuring, the process has not positively impacted the fight against poverty. Unemployment rates have increased and no significant achievements were made in the field of youth training and qualification ⁽³⁾. In addition, there have been serious problems with the State's budget deficit, Jordan's trade deficit, weak commodity production and rising corruption ⁽⁴⁾.

Overall, economic reform and restructuring policies, considered tools for modernization, have created unprecedented social conditions in the context of the development of Jordanian society, where a shrinking welfare state has accompanied a failure to provide strong institutional alternatives for civil participation. These conditions are an important reason for the return of tribes as a social force in Jordan. Tribes saw universities and student communities as appropriate places to address these transformations. The circumstances that led to the centralization of tribes as a defensive front among large groups in Jordanian society, in the context of reform and restructuring policies, primarily include:

- A widening gap between rich and poor. University campuses, especially in big cities, offer the clearest picture of this gap, which has created a sense of social discontent.

⁽¹⁾ Mansour, 2006.

⁽²⁾ Rashwani, Manar, Restructuring of the Jordanian economy . Unpublished Master Thesis , Al-albays University, 2003.

⁽³⁾ Mansour, 2006.

⁽⁴⁾ Rashwani, 2003.

- Growing recognition of the scope of corruption that has accompanied restructuring operations and resulted in new social segments with new lifestyles and different values ⁽¹⁾.
- Growing rhetoric linking the aims of economic reform and restructuring programs to endeavors to dismantle the state, characterized by the absence of effective institutions that enable participation ⁽²⁾

At this point, the question that arises naturally is: How did the economic transformations and restructuring contribute to increasing the role of the tribe in local communities? An answer to this question leads to reviewing the influence of the state's regression from its economic role on the local community particularly in the governorates. Privatization process of public sectors and the dramatic increase of unemployment and poverty weaken the position of local communities in governorates. This results in encouraging youth, who went through the mill, to look for authorities such as tribes which are seen as their outlet. University students groups transparently echoed those changes.

2- Transformations in regional conflict management and Jordanian-Palestinian relations

Student arenas in Jordanian universities offer the clearest picture of the effects of regional transformations and Jordanian-Palestinian relations; they also clarify how tribal and regional primary reference frameworks regained status.

During the unification of the two banks, Jordanian-Palestinian relations were characterized by social unity despite some economic and cultural disparities. The fusion between the banks progressed normally and political and social concepts were often built on ideological foundations, as no regional or tribal foundations played a significant role. This situation continued until the armed conflict of 1970 ⁽³⁾, at which point mutual polarization operations took place, as observed in the policies of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and its factions. These policies reshaped the Palestinian memory and promoted an imagined hostility against the Jordanian political regime and State based on the legitimacy of resistance. The Jordanian State was pushed to assume policies described as "self-defense," using measures to reiterate the Jordanian entity ⁽⁴⁾. Two prominent shifts in regional conflict

⁽¹⁾ Rashwani, 2002.

⁽²⁾ Tweissi, Basim, Jordanian press discourse analysis on reform issues, Doctorial Thesis, Arab Research Institute, Cairo. , 2006.

⁽³⁾ CSS: Center for strategic studies, University of Jordan, Jordanian-Palestinian relations "internal dimension ", 1995

⁽⁴⁾ CSS, 1995.

management regarding the Palestinian issue and their role in producing regionalism and tribalism include ⁽¹⁾.

1. King Hussein's July 1988 decision to disengage from the West Bank. His decision purportedly came as a response to the resolutions of the 1974 Rabat Summit and the wishes of the Palestinian leadership. This situation promoted a re-polarization process in Jordan with student communities as a primary arena.
2. The first Intifada in 1987 reignited feelings of Palestinian resistance, revitalizing fears among the Jordanian security establishment that such supportive feelings would have repercussions or be employed by other parties or interests that could cause security troubles. This situation prompted a return of so-called "self-defense mechanisms" that relied on the Jordanian entity, where tribal social expressions seemed easier and more effortless. Therefore, in difficult political situations, governments would resort to tribes to legitimize their decisions. Governors would collect signatures and endorsements from tribal leaders in governorates, demonstrating their support for government policies. Deanships of student affairs in universities would follow the same process with students in order to gain their support for official policies.
3. The Oslo Accords, with clear implications for internal relations, also directed a blow to Jordanian-Palestinian relations. Most prominently, Palestinian refugees living in refugee camps in Jordan and, secondly, Jordanians of Palestinian origin all felt estranged from the PLO and its factions and experienced a growing sense of isolation, which entailed grave political implications.

This reality highlighted three relationship patterns in the social and political behavior of the Palestinian community in Jordan manifested clearly among student communities ⁽²⁾:

1. Assimilation with the international discourse, led by the United States, regarding the settlement of the refugee issue. This growing discourse involved demands for complete integration, adoption of the "incomplete rights" issue, modernization slogans, and attacks on Jordanian tribalism as being "an impediment to progress in Jordan".
2. The drive to replace tribalism with regionalism. This pattern is weaker than the other two patterns and dates back to the 1970s and 1980s, but has found a new opportunity.
3. Assimilation into the structure of the Jordanian State and society by reclaiming tribalism. Many Palestinian families began to recover old family names, invent tribal names, or develop associations with their town or village of origin in Palestine, while others searched for kinship relations with Jordanian tribes and cities. Some families worked on developing relations and associations having local tribal expressions in the Jordanian context.

⁽¹⁾ (Layn, 1984), (Tweissi, 2006).

⁽²⁾ Tweissi, 2006.

3- Transformations of political modernization

During Jordan's political transition toward democracy, the country has witnessed a crisis of political modernization in the form of waves of progress— such as 1989-1993 and 1999-2001—as well as waves of regression—such as 1993-1998. During the period of regression the path of democratization was reversed, constituting a clear loss of the democratic gains that had been achieved during the first period of progress ⁽¹⁾ .

One element of the regression was the replacement of the 1989 elections law with the “one person, one vote” law in 1993. This move led to a boycott of the 1997 elections by some political forces. The 1993 press and publications law, considered a liberal law, was also replaced with another law issued in 1997 that limited freedoms of the press and led to the closing of 13 newspapers ⁽²⁾. A political crisis involving the role of professional associations escalated with attempts to marginalize their work, at the same time as the crisis and fragmentation of political parties continued ⁽³⁾. These transformations occurred in the wake of political events, notably the signing of the Jordanian-Israeli peace agreement.

During the second phase of progress, international and regional transformations rendered the process of democratic transformation devoid of substance and caused a renewed crisis in the process of political modernization. This occurred against the backdrop of a failed peace process, America's war on terror and occupation of Iraq, which led to the postponement of parliamentary elections and the limiting of public freedoms, as well as the emergence of a crisis of civil society ⁽⁴⁾ .

Poor management of these crises of political modernization and the inability of the official regime and community-based systems to diffuse them without harming the process of political transition caused political modernization to falter and created new crises amidst parallel conditions. Most importantly, the restructuring and economic reform programs as well as the demographic structure of the society were all conducive to the escalation of political modernization crises.

⁽¹⁾ Almasri, Taher, the reality of evolution of the democratic process in Jordan and prospects, from the book (group of authors, decade from democracy in Jordan 1989-1991), new Jordan Center publications. 2001.

⁽²⁾Werdam, Bater, civil society and the press in the face of publication law, (authors, case studies on performance of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan, Sinbad for publication. 2004.

⁽³⁾Abu Rumman, Hussein , problematic political and professional in the role of syndicates, from the book (authors, case studies on performance of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan, Sinbad for publication). 2001.

⁽⁴⁾ Hourani, Hani, civil society and governance in Jordan from confrontation to partnership, from the book (authors, case studies on performance of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan, Sinbad for publication) 2004.

Perhaps the most significant outcome of Jordan's political modernization crises is the fact that instead of working to integrate the primary reference frameworks of individuals and groups, political transformations re-politicized these regional and tribal reference frameworks, rendering a distorted political consciousness ⁽¹⁾

These crises impacted student communities in universities in a number of ways:

1. These crises did not provide the appropriate environment for building strong institutional frameworks for student activism. The student movement failed to create a general student union and local unions remained weak and ineffectual institutions.
2. The increase in the professional-political void in student communities, with a crisis clearly unfolding in the political culture of new generations of students.
3. The results of student union elections reflected the growing regional and tribal tendencies, and the increased use of symbolic expressions indicating these tendencies in daily student life.
4. The increase of student violence based on regional and tribal motivations.

In summary, the transformations and crises of modernization reproduced tribalism as a sociopolitical tendency at the same time that tribes receded as a social structure. This conclusion reveals the depth of the crisis of participation. Just as a foundational slogan of modernization proclaims "no taxation without representation", there is no social role for the state without participation. This holds particularly true in countries that base their legitimacy, as is the case in Jordan, on the poor's relinquishment of their political rights in exchange for material benefits provided by the state. The politicization of primary reference groups is not surprising in light of the slow response of political modernization, with university campuses and student communities a prime example.

Unstably political modernization process contributed to developing the role of the tribe in political life as can be instanced in "one-man-one-vote" law of parliamentary elections wherein university students transferred those social contradictions resulted from that law to universities.

Political isolation in the political settlement in the Middle East attributed to recapitulating the jargon of Jordan as alternative home for Palestinians. This increased the feeling among Jordanians that political reform will be through ending the Palestinian cause at the expense of Jordanians. This brought to the fore conflicting speeches among university students in Jordan.

IV. The concept of tribes in student communities

There are a number of factors that have shaped the concept of tribes in student communities. While some are based on external determinants bringing public life into the university, many internal determinants are linked to the crisis of contemporary Jordanian universities.

(¹) Almasri, Taher, 2001.

In order to understand the meaning and concept of “tribe” among students, the characteristics and roles cited by students in their discourse about tribes were analyzed and compared to the results of the youth sample in a survey about the political role of tribes. This process leads to an understanding of self-perception and students’ perceptions of others, which forms the basis of students’ understanding of social identity.

A. Analysis of characteristics

The study cited 24 characteristics of tribes mentioned by students. Each of these characteristics was repeated three or more times during interviews and focus groups with students. Each characteristic expresses an aspect of students’ understanding of the essence of tribes and their meanings. Often, students do not express reference frameworks or ideological positions to the extent that they express cognitive patterns formed by cultural and social conditions. The characteristics mentioned by students can be divided into three levels. Students say that tribes are:

- **First level:** origin, homeland, belonging, identity, integration and coherence, dignity, strength, descent, status, chivalry, family, social prestige, pride and honor.
- **Second level:** bigotry, isolation, a backward social pattern, racism, clashes and violence, regionalism.
- **Third level:** social strength, blood and kinship ties, location-based relationship, a group from the same region.

B. Analysis of roles:

In this context, the “roles” of tribes are their uses and functions as presented by students. A total of 15 major roles were repeated during interviews and focus groups, also falling into three levels: **First level:**

- Determines many behavioral and thought patterns.
- Provides protection and security to individuals.
- Determines the status of the individual among colleagues and others.
- Ensures the respect of others.
- The source of honor and sense of selfhood and strength.
- The foundation for defending the homeland.
- A tool to assist students.

Second level:

- A tool of the security apparatus.
- A tool of the deanship of student affairs and the university administration.
- Confiscates the right of the student to political awareness. - Creates violence, clashes and problems.

Third level:

- Tribalism has roles beyond tribes.
- Exercises social and cultural authority.
- Tribal tendencies are the climax of social development.

- Creates solidarity and cooperation among students.

Examining the characteristics of tribes mentioned by students in the first level clarifies the developing concept of tribes among student communities. This level focused on 14 descriptions and 7 fundamental roles conveying the social, cultural and political essence of tribes. This level points to a pattern of power building inside student communities based on tribes transforming from a social structure in the context of social development into a socio-cultural tendency with political expressions aimed at attaining interests. This becomes even more clear in the analysis of roles.

One serious development in the analysis of students' concept of "tribe" seems to be their understanding of the concept of homeland in two ways: tribes *are* the homeland according to their characteristics; tribes *are dedicated* to the homeland according to their roles.

Analysis of the characteristics and roles of tribes in the second level indicates a position composed of political and ideological substance expressing adversity to tribes more than it does cognitive substance. This level presents 6 descriptions and 4 roles, in which the descriptions of tribes are derived from its roles, expressing a position with different interests.

Finally, the third level offers meanings that express a more cognitive concept. These meanings were the least prevalent among student communities. This level described tribes in a context of social development and distinguished between tribes as a social structure and "tribalism", which advocates for interests and distorts social development.

Clearly the concept of "tribe" in student communities has become somewhat confused, absorbing many of the tribes' contradictions and issues, as well as being influenced by the crisis of Jordanian universities and the relations of students with public life.

This study also reviewed the results of an opinion poll on the political role of tribes in Jordan, which involved a sample of youth between the ages of 18 and

29. This sample represents both university students and non-university youth from the same age bracket. By asking respondents to identify the characteristics and roles of tribes, this poll helped to clarify this age segment's general definition of the concept of "tribe". The survey revealed that the four most important characteristics of tribes for youth are, respectively, a group from the same origin (14%), a group held together by kinship and blood ties (11%), a congregation of relatives (8.3%), and an extended family (7.5%). In terms of the roles of tribes, the four most important were resolving differences and reconciliation (21%), providing social and economic assistance to tribe members (20.4%), providing services (5.8%), and protecting the rights of tribe members (5.8%).

As for the role of tribes in relation to society, the most important were resolving problems and reconciliation (11.7%), assisting in social communication (8.1%), and aiding social unity (5.5%). In terms of tribes' role in relation to the state, engendering

loyalty, a sense of belonging and protection of the country ranked first (7.2%), supporting and sustaining the state second (5.7%), assisting the state in reform efforts third (5.7%), and assisting the state in resolving problems fourth (4.4%)

The results of the youth sample from the poll help to define the role of tribes with regards to two matters. The first is that polarization, tribal tendencies and their expressions are more prevalent among youth communities within universities than among other youth communities. The second is that the distortion of the concept of "tribe" is clearer in its political dimension, as reflected by the role of tribes in relation to the state, than in its social or cultural dimensions.

V. Tribes and identity in student communities

Student communities in Jordanian universities offer multiple meanings for social and political identity among students, as reflected in interviews and focus groups:

- Excessive tendency to categorize students, faculty members and university staff based on their regional and tribal backgrounds.
- Emergence of social and cultural fractions between students due to regional and tribal differences, sometimes generating rivalry and conflicts.
- Exaggerated fear of disparities between student groups based on primary reference frameworks.
- Forms of fanatic primary tendencies that express a pattern of social scapegoating by blaming others for all problems and misfortunes.
- Exaggerated drive to highlight superiority over other student groups: regionalism versus tribalism, tribalism versus regionalism and tribalism versus tribalism.

These determinants are clearly manifested in the analysis of meanings of tribalism that are contained in social and political identities and that are prevalent among student communities in terms of self-perception and the perceptions of others.

- Self-perception:

The student environment is among the social environments most characterized by self-expression via primary reference groups. Students convey the contradictions and express the social and political identity of their communities, often amplifying these contradictions and articulating them more clearly and boldly.

Self-perception has shifted from tribes as social structures to tribes as student groups, in other words the tribal tendency. In this context, tribalism seems to be a meaning that gives students personal and collective identity, in the same way as other regional sub-identities founded on political, cultural and social considerations.

Tribal self-perception has moved from tribal ties representing a personal identity to those representing a source of loyalty to the homeland. The process of developing tribal self-perception has been distorted; loyalty to tribes has been replaced with loyalty to the homeland, with no contradiction existing between the values of tribes and the interests of the State.

Self-perception among students assumes primary meanings of identity, manifested in the engagement of many students with matters related to origins and lineage. This is apparent in students' mindfulness to introduce themselves using their first and family names and to call and refer to each other by their family names. These perceptions

involve an attempt to prove tribal superiority, demonstrated by student conversations that are full of past and present stories and examples that attach prestige and superiority to their respective groups.

- **Perceptions of others**

The tribal identity is founded on a gradual annulment of sub-identities, such as tribe-subverting regional identities (e.g. the Palestinian regional identity versus the Jordanian tribal identity), local regional identities (e.g. the tribal identity versus local regional sub-identities in northern and southern Jordan), and tribal sub-identities (e.g. Al-Al-Ababid versus Bani Hasan, Al-Majali versus AlTarawneh).

The sub-identities discussed here are as numerous as the backgrounds found in student communities.

Comparing students' perceptions of others at the University of Jordan against those at Mu'tah University and Al-Hussein Bin Talal University clarifies how social stratification affects student identity, as well as the role of tribes and reference groups within tribes.

Sub-identities observed among University of Jordan students include national/regional identities (i.e. Jordanian and Palestinian) and sub-national identities (i.e. northern, central, and southern tribes). Sub-identities observed at Mu'tah University included northern, southern, Karak, and Tafileh tribes, while those at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University included primarily Ma'an tribes. A noteworthy distinction existed at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University between Ma'an city tribes and Bedouin, Al-Layathna, Tafileh, and Karak tribes.

This identity stratification, common among student communities, is fundamentally determined by the perception of others. As we have observed, these perceptions are founded on negation, division, a fragmentation in the process of forming primary reference groups, and the weak political culture surrounding concepts of homeland, citizenship and the State.

VI. Tribes and patterns of strength building in student communities The course of development of tribalism within student communities over the past two decades points to important strength-building patterns in which primary reference groups have exercised clear roles. These strength-building patterns include student representation in student unions, student councils and the phenomenon of violence among students.

A. Tribes and student representation

The establishment of student unions and councils in Jordanian universities since 1992 has provided an opportunity to test patterns of power distribution within student communities. Since then, local and regional transformations have caused tribalism to assume an increasingly important role in determining student representation.

Student elections in Jordanian universities are conducted according to regulations issued by the Council of Deans in each university. These decisions regulate candidacy, registration, campaigning, voting, result announcement and the assignment of roles within elected bodies. According to these regulations, the elections are held within constituencies represented by faculties or departments. In

other words, each student is entitled to elect as many representatives as there are members from his/her faculty or department. One was the University of Jordan between 1998 and 2008, a period during which regulations instituted the “one person, one vote” system and stipulated that half of the council members would be appointed by the university. In 2008, however, the university administration amended the regulations to have all council members elected by the students.

Standing of student representation institutions in Jordanian universities in 2011

University	Date of Establishment	Electoral participation 2011	Name of Student Body	Number of Members 2011	Dominant Student Forces
The University of Jordan	1992	62.8	Student Council	92	1- Politicaltribal 2- Political-Islamic 3- Tribal
Yarmouk University	1992	57.4	Student Union	60	1- Politicaltribal 2- Political-Islamic 3- Tribal
Jordanian University of Science and Technology	1992	60	Student Union	35	1- Professiona l-studentoriented 2- Tribal-political 3- Islamic
Mu'tah University	1993	68	Student Union	48	1- Tribal 2- Politicaltribal 3- Islamic
The Hashemite University	1998	-----	Student Council	58	1- Tribalpolitical 2- Professiona l-studentoriented 3- Islamic
Al-albays University	1996	55.69	Student Associations	40	1- Tribalpolitical 2-Islamic
Al-Balqa' Applied University			Student Union	-	-
Al-Hussein Talal University	2004	64	Student Union	42	Tribal-local regional
Tafila Techn University	2007	73	Student Union	34	Tribal-local regional

By monitoring student elections at three Jordanian universities (The University of Jordan, Mu'tah University and Al-Hussein Bin Talal University), this study has identified the most prominent roles played by tribes at various stages of the elections. These roles include:

1. Preparatory meetings

Approximately one month before the date of the elections, students begin to hold preparatory meetings at the level of tribes. The specific characteristics of these meetings depend on each tribe's size, how many of its members are enrolled in the university, and location. Calls for meetings are usually made by student leaders of tribal student opinion who are described as charismatic and as having strong presence among the students. These students must have the ability to moderate large-scale meetings, conduct conversations, and show aptitude to undertake these tasks; they are the elders of the student tribes. Generally older than their student colleagues and in their final years of study, these students must also be male.

Preparatory meetings usually take place in specific locations inside the University of Jordan and Mu'tah University. Location have become tagged by specific tribes, meaning, for example, that students from the Al-Hamayda or AlAbabid tribes at the University of Jordan have agreed on place where they meet daily and where there are always students from their tribe present. At Mu'tah University, students from Al-Bararsheh tribe meet on a particular street, and students from Al-Tarwaneh or Al-Sarayra meet in one of the squares. Preparatory meetings are often held in these locations.

Students at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University hold most of their meetings off campus, at tribal *diwans* in Ma'an or in surrounding towns and villages. Occasionally, students from other areas who have allied themselves with local tribes also attend these meetings.

2. Primary elections

Following a series of preparatory meetings, students organize primary elections within tribes or among tribes from a particular area or city. Students choose candidates from each constituency through consensus or, if necessary, internal voting. Constituencies are generally determined by the extent of student representation from

a particular tribe. Some tribes have switched to voting by secret ballot, using numbered tickets instead of open ballots or a public show of hands, as the latter methods caused many problems among the students.

3. Forging alliances

Research at the concerned universities into alliance-building processes during student council and student union elections has indicated the continued use of mechanisms dating back, in the case of some universities, more than ten electoral cycles. Alliances are usually formed along tribal, geographic and regional lines. Students sometimes forge simultaneous alliances on geographic and tribal foundations, such as alliances between northern tribes at the University of Jordan, alliances between Al-Ababid tribe students at the same university, alliances between Al-Tafileh tribe students at Mu'tah University, and finally alliances between Ma'an tribe students at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University.

The patterns of such alliances follow tribal tendencies and their roots, stretching back to the settlement patterns through which tribes were formed. These alliances should not be considered a shift in tribal structure or behavior towards urbanism since the foundations of alliances are fundamentally tribal. One example of this pattern of alliances is the case of the Bani Hamida tribe, spread across the Madaba, Karak and Tafileh governates. In the Mu'tah University elections of 2008 and 2009, the Bani Hamida tribes from Madaba and Karak joined ranks, while the Bani Hamida tribe from Tafileh joined the alliance of the Tafileh tribes.

Al-Hussein Bin Talal and Mu'tah Universities provide a vivid picture of the implications of tribal alliances in local communities surrounding the universities throughout history and their reflection on the electoral behavior of students from these communities. Examples such as the history of Karak's "eastern and western tribes", the relationship between Al-Tarawneh and AlMajali, and model Al-Hussein University itself all indicate strong signs of the power of these alliances. Tribal students from the city of Ma'an have formed an alliance with a section of students from Bedouin and Shoubak tribes, known as the "Al-Hussein Sons Bloc", since the Student Council was established in 2004. Another alliance known as "We Are All Jordan" brings together students from other tribes in the Ma'an Governorate with students from Tafileh tribes. Remaining students either belong to the "Knights of Change" group or are independent.

4. Campaigning and funding

Electoral campaigns with tribal tendencies have assumed a clear organizational dimension, in contrast with the 1990s when they were spontaneous. Elections of

student councils and unions in 2009 portray a vivid picture of the developed organizational awareness according to tribal determinants. This level of organizational development is evident in the conventions of meetings, leadership selection, formation of committees and provision of funding and support.

Most tribal student groups divided the electoral work between four or five committees: the financial committee to secure funding through student donations; the media committee to manage the electoral campaign, win support for and promote the candidates; the internal committee to run the affairs of the tribal student body; and the female students committee to secure the votes of female students.

Election results

In the three researched universities, the results of student elections over the last six cycles indicate a situation in which tribalism and the blocs and forces representing it has played a role competing with the Islamic movement. After its rise in the early 1990s, during which it replaced many political movements that had dominated the student scene, the Islamic movement's influence declined during this most recent period.

A review of recent results shows how tribal student forces have influenced student union boards formed during this period; identified forces fall within the following categories:

- I. Forces with political positions such as Watan
- II. Independent forces with professional and student-oriented goals, but utilizing and employing the tribal tendency
- III. Political forces that cautiously employed the tribal tendency, as the Islamic Movement did, to approach or ally with some tribal forces and run in the elections under their umbrella
- IV. Pure tribal blocs and alliances.

This situation is evidenced by Watan's presence in the University of Jordan since 1992 and its clear influence in elections between 1998 and 2008, conducted according to the new regulations whereby the entire student council was elected, but the "one person, one vote" system remained in effect. In the 2008 elections, Watan won 39 seats, the Islamic Movement 27 seats, and independent candidates 13 seats. Election day witnessed student clashes along tribal and regional lines ⁽¹⁾. Tribal student forces have also dominated the elections in Mu'tah University since the late 1990s, replacing the Islamic Movement, which had gained much power in earlier years. The trend of Islamic Movement regression continued in the 2009 elections,

(1) (Al-Arab Al-Yawm, 20 December 2008)

with the majority of Student Union seats ⁽¹⁾ distributed among students from Karak tribes—spread over a number of blocs and alliances—and five seats going to Al-Hamayda tribe students. It is noteworthy that the Student Union President at Mu'tah University over the last decade (1999-2009) has represented tribal forces, ⁽²⁾ with eight Presidents coming from Karak tribes.

Student communities at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University present a different picture of the influence of tribal forces. With an absence of student-led political forces and a limited presence of forces with professional concern to students, this student community has created another cover for tribal influence, as we see with the results of elections over six cycles. Usually, an alliance of students from Ma'an Governorate tribes, known as the "Al-Hussein Sons Bloc" wins two thirds of the seats in the Student Union, despite the fact that only 32% of students at the university hail from the Ma'an governorate. In the 2009 elections, the Bloc won 25 out of 42 seats. The selection of the President by the winners of the election is another example of tribal influence, as students from the city of Ma'an have controlled the Student Union presidency since its founding. ⁽³⁾ In other words, students from Ma'an tribes choose the Student Union president, taking turns between the main tribal alliances in the city. Students come to an agreement every year regarding coming Student Union presidency at meetings in their tribal *diwans*. ⁽⁴⁾

6 – The participation of the Islamic Movement

Students involved with the Islamic movement at Jordanian universities largely represent the student arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, with some additional Islamic movements and independent Islamists usually allying with each other. The Islamic

⁽¹⁾ The Mu'tah University regulations for the student union provide for a quota of four seats for female students on the union board, two seats for the humanities faculties and two seats for the sciences faculties (The Council of Deans, Mu'tah University, Regulations for the Mu'tah University Student Union, 2006).

⁽²⁾The presidents of the Mu'tah University student union between 1999-2009 were, in chronological order, Nader Al-Bkour, Asid Al-Thneibat, Uday Al-Saoudi, Khaled Al-Hawatmeh, Ali Al-Tarawneh, Jasem AlKhasawneh, Ayman Al-Ubeidin, Malek Al-Qarala, Muath Al-Dmour and Abdel Hamid Al-Ma'ayta.

⁽³⁾ The presidents of the Al-Hussein University student union represent the distribution of the presidency in turns between the same tribal alliances that have been dominant in the city for the past two decades AalKhattab, Al-Fanatsa and Al-Bazay'a, Al-Karashin, Al-Shamiya tribes and central tribes.

⁽⁴⁾ The presidents of the Al-Hussein University student union were, successively, Bilal Al-Zarkali AalKhattab, Ubada Farhan Al-Sayda, Husam Mahmoud Al-Fanatsa, Suleiman Breigeth Kreishan, Mohammad Taysir Al-Tahan and Rakan Al-Rwad.

movement began demonstrating its influence on student unions when they were established in Jordanian universities in 1992. It maintained its influence until 1998, at which point the Islamist presence began to recede. This was particularly true at the University of Jordan, when a 1998 amendment to Student Council regulations stipulated the appointment of half the members of the union. Due to this amendment, Islamists announced general boycotts of University of Jordan elections in most subsequent years.

Despite the boycott, some candidates from Islamic movements registered on independent lists and their success varied between universities over the years. An important conclusion is that Islamic movements, both inside and outside universities, were able to employ tribal ties to serve their own interests. In

particular, Islamic movements within student communities have been keen to create a sense of coordination and mutual understanding with tribes. This cooperation is in line with Islamist movement discourse, which does not oppose tribes, as well as the movement's realization of the strength of tribes and the extent of their influence within the student communities. Examples of Islamist-tribal cooperation include:

- The 2000 agreement between students from Islamic movements and tribal students, following the approval of regulations stipulating appointment to the Jordanian Student Council, to pressure university officials to retract the decision. The agreement was concluded between Islamists and students of a number of tribes (Al-Ababid, Salt tribes, Bani Sakhr, central tribes, and others) to hold elections outside the university framework. About 5,000 students participated in the subsequent elections.
- The nomination of students from large tribes, with extensions in multiple universities, under the tribe's sponsorship. This occurred with candidates of the Bani Hamida tribe in 2007.
- Intervention in disputes on the behalf of tribal students, for example during the 2009 University of Jordan elections when students from the Salt tribes disagreed with the Watan alliance over the presidency of the union. By allying with the Salt tribe students, the Islamic movement was able to leverage this dispute to serve its own interests.
- The alliance between the Islamic movement and students from the Tafileh tribes during the 2006 Mu'tah University elections. This alliance followed a series of meetings between the two sides.

The participation of the Islamic movement in the 2008 University of Jordan elections, following an amendment to the 1998 regulation amendment, can be seen as a strong return of the movement to the university after its boycotts over the previous eight

years, despite the fact that it won less than a third of the seats; it had not done that poorly since 1992 ⁽¹⁾.

II. Student violence and clashes

The history of student politics at Jordanian universities has witnessed a number of clashes due to regional and tribal forces. Although violence was observed as early as the mid-1990s, it only began to take the form of a clear phenomenon during the second half of the current decade.

According to Public Security statistics, 767 clashes and riots occurred between 1995 and 2007 at Jordanian universities, including 17 clashes in 2007, 82 in 2006 and 41 in 2005. Numbers reveal that the average number of annual clashes at Jordanian universities is around 64, or a clash every six days. ⁽²⁾ At the same time, Jordan's 2008 criminal statistical report showed that students were responsible for approximately 15 the country's crime that year. Felonies and misdemeanors against another individual constituted almost 20% of student crime, or 1564 crimes. During the same year, students committed 212 counts of aggravated assault, 771 counts of contempt and defamation, 333 threats, and 101 attempted murders. ⁽³⁾

The increase in student violence inside universities, particularly student clashes, indicates new patterns that have begun to have severe effects on the distribution of power inside student communities. These are not limited to the physical strength exercised during these clashes, and also reflect status, influence and presence.

Most previous studies from an educational and social perspective have argued that the most important reasons for the appearance of student clashes are tribal, along with the crisis of Jordanian universities. The results of a survey about university riots from students' perspectives concluded that there are 13 primary reasons for student violence. Interestingly, students hold university administration responsible for 11 of these 13 reasons. According to Ziadat (2007), there are erroneous understandings and

⁽¹⁾ The participation of the Islamic movement in the 2008 elections was to confirm the legitimacy of this movement's strong presence in universities. It obtained less than one third of the seats, and lost in its traditional strongholds of the Faculties of Science and Engineering (Fakher Daas, A Different Reading of the Results of the University of Jordan Elections, Al-Ghad daily, 27 December 2008).

⁽²⁾ Fahad Al-Kasasbeh, Director of Amman Security Department, comments to Amman Net Radio, 16 May 2008 (<http://ammannet.net>)

⁽³⁾ Public Security Directorate, Criminal Information Department, Criminal Statistical Report, 2008.

perceptions of tribal fanaticism among 84% of students ⁽¹⁾. Another survey of 6000 students came to the same conclusion, revealing that tribal dimensions are the second most important reason for student clashes and violence ⁽²⁾.

Understanding recent growth in student violence and clashes and connections to tribal dimensions requires distinguishing between the role of tribes on one hand and tribalism as a tendency and fanaticism on the other. The latter is responsible for impacting student communities, and calls for more attention to the phenomenon of fanaticism in student communities and its sources. One recent study indicates that the most prevalent form of fanaticism in student communities is nationalist (50.8%), followed by tribal (23%), religious (20%) and class-based (11.2%). A total of 72.3% of Jordanian university students have fanatical tendencies ⁽³⁾.

Symbolic meanings and daily life

The growth of tribal tendencies among student communities has been reflected in cultural patterns, most importantly in patterns of daily life, behavior and the symbolic meanings they contain. These patterns express a growing tribal tendency and do not end with expressions of kinship-related or tribal dimensions of social relations. Recent tribal patterns transcend those limits to include interactive meanings with political dimensions and patterns of power distribution within communities.

An examination of symbolic interactions with tribal meanings indicates the presence of confusion and distortion between two levels of symbols. These are symbols directly related to tribal culture and tendencies, while others become connected to tribalism. Many of the second type of symbols carry political meaning, for example symbols such as “homeland” and the State, which have become connected to tribes. On a social level, a connection has developed between tribes and symbols of social values such as dignity, masculinity, honor and others.

As for direct symbols of tribal culture and tendencies among students, the most important include symbols of tribe reputation and avoiding compromising that reputation: remaining committed to the Jordanian accent, the “daughters of tribes”

⁽¹⁾ Ziadat. R. (2007) Intolerance among Jordanian university students, PhD unpublished University of Jordan. Amman 2007.

⁽²⁾ Al-Hawamdeh, 2004.

⁽³⁾ Deiranieh, Abeer Naim. phenomenon of student violence and its manifestations among Jordanian public universities students and their relationship to the economic and social and academic factors, doctoral thesis, University of Jordan, Amman, 2003.

and their behavior in daily university life ⁽¹⁾, the search for origins and genealogy, and emphasizing family names.

Conclusion and recommendations

This study contributes to the identifying the impact of socio-economic changes, modernization and political reform on the permanently political culture of university students at Jordanian universities as reflected by the attitude of authorities -- notable among which is the attitude from the tribe.

By way of concluding, this study highlighted that the important developmental role of the Jordanian tribes in structuring the state and increasing the positive values of the behaviour of political elite is distorted among university students. Crises of restructuring and economic modernization along with fossilization and slowing down of political reform brought up the growth of tribal and prestigious authorities at the cost of the concept of homeland and state. This led to the growth of sub-identities to the detriment of national identity

Apparently, the concept of political tribe among university students experiences a feeling of confusion – a feeling that influenced the concept of national identity and the image of the self and the other into the bargain. It also affected the types of power building among university students as represented in the election of student councils.

In order to achieve political and cultural development among university students that contributes to the political modernization of the Jordanian state, this study recommends the following:

First: Offering enlightening programs that stress the political role of the tribes in social life along with their political role in building the Jordanian state.

Second: Offering enlightening programs inviting students to adopt the ethical and social values of the tribes and to abstain from relying on them while playing political roles.

Third: Embracing gradual procedures with university students to abstain from relying on tribalism in students elections and in different student representation forms.

⁽¹⁾ Female students stated in a number of interviews that the university provided them with opportunities to meet male members of tribes that they had no previous relationships with, and created a type of guardianship for them in the name of the tribe, as any male member of a tribe has the right to intervene in the affairs of a female member with the consent and gratification of her family.

Fourth: Making use of media and communication outlets, and student activities in developing political culture that enhances the concept of national identity and the concept of the state in lieu of tribal, prestigious and minor identities.

Fifth: The policy of admission adopted by Jordanian universities is in need of review in an attempt to integrate students from different governorates in different universities. Each university should not only admit students from only the surrounding areas. This contributes to enforcing processes of the concept of citizenship, national identity and loyalty and decreasing student violence.

Bibliography

Arabic Sources

- Abu Rumman, Hussein, Hroblematic political and professional in the role of syndicates, from the book (authors, case studies on performance of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan, Sinbad for publication). 2001
- Ahmed Khatib, Higher education and democratic transition in Jordan, from book (group of authors, decade of democracy in Jordan 1989-1999), Amman.2001.
- Albdaineh, Diab and Alqatamin, Ahmed. Social values prevailing among two generations at the Jordan society (Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training, T 21, Issue 40, P 171-2001). 2005.
- Albdaineh, Diab and Others, Environmental risk factors in young Jordanian University academic, higher Council for youth, Youth leadership development center, Amman. 2009
- Alkasabi, Abdul Ghaffar Rashad, Political Development and Democratic Transition: Political Development and Nation Building, Cairo University, Cairo. 2006.
- Alkhtatneh, Ola Ali, Forms of Conduct Mass Violence Students Registered at the Mutah University and its Causes from their Perspective, Master Thesis, Mutah University. 2007.
- Almasri, Taher, the Reality of Evolution of the Democratic Process in Jordan and Frospects, from the book (group of authors, Decade from Democracy in Jordan 1989-1991), New Jordan Center publications, 2001.
- Almkharir, Lafi Saleh, The phenomenon of Violence in Official Jordan Universities: Their Causes and the Role of the Pillars of Student Affairs at the

-
- Remediation, Doctoral Thesis, Amman Arab University For Graduate Studies, Amman. 2006.
- Altal, Shadia, The Value System to Yarmouk University Students, Yarmouk Research Journal. 2003.
 - Center for strategic studies CSS, University of Jordan, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations "internal dimension ", 1995.
 - Deiranieh, Abeer Naim, Phenomenon of Student Violence and its Manifestations among Jordanian Public Universities Students and their Relationship to the Economic and Social and Academic Factors, doctoral thesis, University of Jordan, Amman. 2003.
 - Hamed, alseed Ahmed: The Symbol and Uniforms in Kuwaiti Society: selfMaintaining Social and Cultural Rights, Faculty of Arts Journal, Unit of Science Publishing, Cairo University, Issue (2). 1996.
 - Hijazi, Mustafa, Social Backwardness and Human Psychology Oppressed, Arab Development Institute, Beirut.1991.
 - Hourani, Hani, Civil Society and Governance in Jordan from Confrontation to Partnership, from the book (authors, case studies on performance of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan, Sinbad for publication). 2004.
 - Ibrahim Badran, Jordan's Economy, Future possibilities in the Area, from the book (Hani Hourani, Khaled Al-wazani, Jordan's Economy within Regional framework, new Jordan center , Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Amman 1996 p. (349-376). 2006.
 - Jordan University, Jordan University Student Council directives issued by the Council of Deans, 1998.
 - Kamel Hawamdeh, Student Violence in Jordanian Universities, conference of Students Affairs in Arab universities : future vision, Zarqa private University, 9 – 11 December 2003, Zarqa private University publications,2004
 - Nofal, Sumayyah Abdul-Karim, Special Psychological Characteristics of Students who Participating in the Conduct of Riots in Jordanian Universities, Master Thesis, University of Jordan, Amman. 2008.
 - Rashwani, Manar, Restructuring of the Jordanian Economy . Unpublished Master Thesis , Al-albays University, 2003
 - Reed Margaret, The Institutional Preconditions for Privatization in those Countries whose Economy is Based on the Market, institutional significance for
-

- Jordan, from the book (Mustafa Hamarneh, editor), The Jordanian Economy Problems and Prospects, Centre for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, Amman, (229-244). 1991.
- Salem alnahas, Ahmed Youssef, The Jordanian-Palestinian Relations: viewpoint into the Jordanian people's Democracy.2001.
 - Samer Khrino, Jordan Students Movement .1948 - 1998: History and Development in Jordan and Abroad, the new Jordan Center for Studies, Amman.2000
 - Sarayreh, Naila Sulaiman. Reality of Violence among the Students of Jordan Governmental Universities: Mutah University, Jordan University, Yarmouk University, Master Thesis, Mutah University.2006.
 - Taher Kanaan, Khaled wazani, The State's Role Economic in Liberalization Conditions Arab Economies, Jordan Case: (323-336). 2006.
 - Tweissi, Basim, Jordanian Press Discourse Analysis on Reform Issues, Doctorial Thesis, Arab Research Institute, Cairo. 2006.
 - Watan; National Assembly for Jordanian Students, Constitutional Statement, Amman,1992
 - Werdam, Batter, Civil Society and the Press in the face of Publication Law, (authors, case studies on Performance of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan, Sinbad for publication). 2004.
 - Ziadat R, Intolerance Among Jordanian University Students, PhD unpublished University of Jordan. Amman, 2007.

English Sources

- Alcock, Pete (Editor),The Student's Companion to Social Policy, WileyBlackwell; 1 edition 1997
- Aruri, Naseer H. Jordan: A Study in Political Development 1921-1965. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1972.
- Amawi, Abula Consolidation of Merchant Class in Transjordan During the Second World War, Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell. 1988.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann ,Thomas .Knowledge, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge Anchor Book : A division of Random House INC. New York ,1967

-
- Harris, Howar and Lipman, Alan, (1980): Social Symbolism and Space Usage in Daily Life (Sociological Review. Vol 28.No2/1980).
 - Boulby ,Marion, The Muslim Brotherhood and the Kings of Jordan, '45'93 (South Florida-Rochester-Saint Louis Studies on Religion and the Social Order, V. 18 .1997.
 - Boulbly ,Marion J.W 1996, The Ideology and Social Base of the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood: 1945-1993/ Toronto: University of Toronto- School of Graduate Studies- 1996.
 - Huntington, Samuel. P . Political Development and Political Decay (Claude E (ed) Political Modernization, Belmont, Calif Elmont, Calif, Wadsworth) 238-277. 1971
 - Huntington, Samuel. P(1971) The change to change: Modernization, Development Politics, Comparative Politics, Vol.3, No.3, April 1971.
 - Jureidin and McLaurin , R.1984, Jordan ; The Impact of Social change on the Tribes , published with (C.S.I.S) D.C. Georgetown university , Washington papers No,108, vol. XII, 1984
 - Keesing, R.M Theories of Culture: IN 3,OALO,AL,TO California. 1974.
 - Layn, Linda e, Home and Homeland: The Dialogic of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 1984.
 - Le Bon, Gustave. The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind, Dover Publications 2002
 - Satloff, Robert, From Abdullah to Hussein: Jordan in Transition (Oxford University Press), 1994.