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The Jordanian Parties' Law of (2022) and its Impact on Partisan and Political Life in Jordan

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Abstract

The study aims to investigate the amendments of the Jordanian Parties' Law of (2022) and to reveal its impact on Partisan and Political Life in Jordan. The study hypothesized a positive relationship between the law and partisan and political life in Jordan. The comparative approach and the systems analysis approach were used to achieve the aim of the study and to test its hypothesis. The study results showed that the hypothesis of the study is not valid as there are still several strict conditions included in the law restricting the political parties' members to effectively practicing their partisan and political life indicating that the Jordanian Parties' Law of (2022) is unexpected to fulfill its purposes. Therefore, the study provided some recommendations for amending some articles of the political party's law of 2022 that may have a direct impact on the effectiveness of partisan and political life in Jordan, such as the necessity of organizing the party in a way that allows all the party's members to engage in real participation and amending the parties' law to include criteria for providing financial support to the parties.

Keywords: Political parties' law of 2022, political parties, partisan participation, amendments, merging, financial support, penalties.

1. Introduction

Political parties are among the most important pillars of democracy, and a vital requirement for democratic behavior, and given the nature of the roles and functions performed by the parties, it was necessary to have legal frameworks regulating partisan life in all its aspects. However, the legal frameworks vary from one country to another, depending on the nature of its political, economic, and social experience, and the extent of its development. It is worth noting that the legal regulation of political parties is a relatively recent development, as the first models of organizations affecting the work of parties did not appear until the forties of the last century (Andreu, et al., 2020), after developed countries realized the importance of parties' life as an approach to managing their affairs, allowing the people through political parties to participate in decision-making.

Jordan is one of the countries in which the party organization has undergone significant developments. Political parties have appeared in Jordan since the establishment of the state in

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1921. the right to establish the parties in Jordan has been enshrined in accordance with the constitution and the laws regulating party work, and nine party laws have appeared since 1921 (AL-Shboul, 2021; Lust-Okar, 2001).

Several factors pushed for the need to pass a new law for Jordanian political parties in 2022. Such factors include the persistence of the political parties' demand to make fundamental amendments to the parties' law compatible with the spirit of change and development. The demand for the parties' law amendments is supported by the positive royal discourse towards political parties, in addition to the royal reform initiatives, including the Jordan First initiative, and we are all Jordan, the formation of the National Dialogue Committee, and the discussion papers through which the king called for the development and stimulation of political parties (Van Biezen, 2004). Also among the factors is the weak participation of citizens in the membership of political parties, and the parties achieving discouraging results in most of the parliamentary elections. Finally, we must refer to the waves of the Arab Spring, which prompted many political reforms in Jordan, including the adoption of a new law for political parties.

Subsequently, political parties' participation in Jordan is very important for democracy activation, which reflects positively on the country's development. because the political parties' participation has been ineffective, the parties' laws witnessed several amendments since the establishment of the Jordanian state. The parties' law of 2022 has been enacted considering the defects in the previous amendments in the Jordanian parties' law to improve the parties' law articles so that the political parties can be more engaged in the political life.

2. Significance of the Research

The Political Parties Law is one of the most important laws regulating political life in all countries. It regulates the provisions and procedures related to the establishment of political parties and their activities (Gauja, 2016). It also guarantees partisan pluralism and the freedom of individuals to establish and join political parties. Despite the many laws that regulated partisan life in Jordan, they did not reflect the reality of partisan life as the parties remained weak and distant from the circle of citizens' attention. This is attributed to the existence of many procedural and substantive problems that limit the effectiveness of political parties. The importance of this study comes to reveal the impact that the Political Parties Law of 2022 can have on partisan participation in political life and the expected level of participation in the coming parliamentary elections in 2024.

3. Research Objectives

The study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To explore the most important amendments to the Political Parties Law of 2022.
- To reveal the impact of the political parties' law on partisan and political life in Jordan.

4. Problem Statement and its Questions

Political parties are considered vital actors in democratic societies (Herrnson, 2009; Jones, 2010). Therefore, if a special law is enacted for them - it is not required in some democratic countries to issue a special law for political parties - then it should generally lead to the

effectiveness of those parties, and herein lies the problem of this study. Considering the repeated amendments to the Political Parties Law in Jordan, the latest of which was in 2022, it is expected from this law to increase the effectiveness of political parties on the local scene, especially at the level of political life and participation in parliamentary elections. Accordingly, the researcher will study the amendments, the provisions of the law, and their impact on the effectiveness of the Jordanian political parties at the previous two levels, based on two variables: the first is independent, which is the Political Parties Law of 2022, and the other is dependent, which is the level of political life practice and participation in the parliamentary elections. Thus, the study's main question can be formulated as follows:

What is the impact of the Political Parties Law of 2022 on partisan and political life in Jordan?

Several sub-questions branch out from the main question, the most important of which are:

Q1: *What are the most important amendments that the parties' law of 2022 included?*

Q2: *What are the substantial differences between the parties' laws of 2022 and the past parties' laws of 2012 and 2015?*

Q3: *What is the role of Jordanian political parties, in terms of partisan and political life, considering the parties' law of 2012?*

5. Research hypothesis

In answering its main question, the study starts from the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the political parties' law of 2022 and the increase in political parties' participation in partisan and political life.

6. Research Approach

Due to the nature of the study, it follows two approaches; the first of which is the comparative approach, which aims to identify the similarities and differences of the phenomenon under study. Therefore, studying the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 and comparing it, at least with the Political Parties Law No. 39 of 2015 and the Political Parties Law No. 16 of 2012 is sufficient to show the similarities and differences between these laws, and the impact of that on the effectiveness of political parties in terms of political life and participation in the parliamentary elections. The second approach is represented by the systems analysis approach, which is used to analyze the phenomenon and the most important problems it faces, as well as to identify its most important characteristics and how it affects other elements within the system. Therefore, this study discusses the parties' law of (2022) and its impact on the parties' political life and their participation in the parliamentary elections whether the impact is positive or negative.

7. Research Concepts

- **Political Party:** As for idiomatically, it is difficult to look at the party from a single point of view, as it is like other political phenomena that have multiple meanings. However, it can be said that there are three main elements that must be available when defining a political party, which is the existence of an organization characterized by generality and continuity, the presence of a program for the party to obtain the support of citizens, and

finally the party's endeavor to reach power (Römmele, 2005).

- **The Law of Political Party:** the parties' law is defined as systems based on state laws that determine the legal status of parties, the elements of party membership, and the specific conditions for parties to organize themselves and their campaigns and to manage their funds etc (Casal-Bértoa, et al. 2012; Janda, 2022).
- **Partisan participation:** it is defined as the activities that political parties practice to achieve the goal for which they were established, such as increasing political awareness and political recruitment, presenting the party's ideas, principles, and political program, trying to gain public support to win the elections and other activities (Gauja, 2016:63).

8. Literature Review

This section includes the previous studies that are related to the current study topic, and organized from the newest to the oldest, as follows:

1. The current partisan experience and its impact on Jordanian political life between 1989/2008, analysis and evaluation (Naamneh, 2015). The study aimed to identify the features of party life in Jordan and to identify the reasons for the decline in the effectiveness of political parties. The study found many reasons that led to this, including the Jordanian legislation on political parties and the need to amend them to activate Jordanian partisan life.
- 2 Democratic transition and its impact on the participation of political parties in Jordan 1989/2013 (Al-Khawaldeh, 2015). The study aimed to identify the factors that contributed to the process of democratic transition, identify the constitutional and legal framework regulating partisan political participation, and the obstacles to partisan political action in Jordan. The study reached several conclusions, including that the laws of political parties in Jordan did not meet the aspirations of political parties for political participation and access to power.
3. Laws regulating party work in Jordan, the requirements for review and change (Barakat et al., 2010). The study dealt with the Jordanian Political Parties Law of 2007 and compared it to the texts of the previous Political Parties Law of 1993, knowing the points of agreement and differences between them. The study also dealt with the impact of legislation regulating public action on the role of Jordanian political parties. Finally, the study dealt with the impact of the Political Parties Law of 2007 on the elections of the Fifteenth House of Representatives in 2007, and the composition of the House. The study achieved several results, the most important of which is that there was no positive effect of the Political Parties Law of 2000 on the participation of parties in the Fifteenth Parliament elections.
4. levels of participation and representation in the seventeenth Jordanian Parliament in 2013 (Al-Masaidin, 2016). The study investigated the level of participation in the seventieth Jordanian parliament in 2013, based on the election law that was approved in 2012. The study concluded that the new election law had a significant impact on the level of participation and representation in the seventeenth Jordanian parliament.

This study is differentiated from the previous studies in two aspects. First, the current study focused on the effect of the parties' law of 2022 on the Partisan practices and their authorities, and the political life represented in the participation in the coming parliament in 2024, while the previous studies were focused on the parties' effectiveness.

9. Theoretical Background

In the following, we will discuss the most important amendments included in the Political Parties Law of 2022, compare it at least with the previous parties' law of 2015 and the parties' law of 2012, and find out whether the new law represented progress or regression in the matter of developing and organizing party.

9.1 Conditions of Party's Membership

The 2022 law stipulated in Article 11/a that the number of party founders should not be less than 300 members. It is worth noting that the number of founding members according to the previous Jordanian political parties' laws ranged between ten members in Law No. (3) of 1954 and Political Parties Law No. (15) of 1955, fifty members in Law No. (32) of 1992, five hundred members in Law No. (19) of 2007 and Law No. (16) of 2012, and one hundred and fifty founders in Law No. (39) of 2016, and decreased to one hundred and fifty members in Political Parties Law No. (6) of 2015 and Political Parties Law No. (39) of 2016.

Among the amendments is article (6/b), which stipulates that the founder must have completed eighteen years of age. Here, many of the laws of political parties agree in various countries that the age of the founders must be determined not to exceed the age of legal maturity (18 years). This would create a strong link in the exercise of various political rights, especially between the voting age and the right to establish political parties, and it would expand the base of participation. On the other hand, others believe that accrediting the legal age for the establishment of political parties (18 years) may lead to avoiding the establishment of ineffective parties, due to the political immaturity of the founders of the party.

On contrary of the previous one (the parties' law of (2015) which did not limit a restriction of the party members' number for the governorate, the new law requires a specific distribution of the founders; the founders must be from at least six governorates, with at least 30 members for each governorate. However, this article renewed the article of the party members for the governorate stipulated in the political parties' law of 2012, which stipulated that the founders should be from at least seven governorates, with a rate of not less than 5% from each governorate. Nevertheless, this would violate the principle of citizenship, as a Jordanian citizen is a Jordanian regardless of his place of residence, and this can also be explained by a lack of belief in the unity of the homeland and considering it as a holistic unit. In addition, this condition would make it easier for the executive authority to infiltrate the parties to weaken them by encouraging and consolidating sub-identities, instead of working to merge them according to the principle of citizenship. The current law also stipulated that the number of women should not be less than 20% of the total founders, in contrast to the previous law, which did not specify the percentage of women among the total founders. Moreover, the current law added a new condition by the necessity to include at least one of the disabled persons in the party foundation membership.

As for the rest of the conditions for the founders, they remained unchanged as enacted in Article (6), including that the founder should be at least ten years old having Jordanian nationality. This is a reasonable period to test the extent of the loyalty of the naturalized, although, on the other hand, it reduces the possibility of parties' establishment by the naturalized persons. Also, among the conditions is that the founder should not be convicted of a felony, misdemeanor violating honor, or public morals, except for crimes of a political nature. In addition, he must have legal capacity. It was also stipulated that the founder should

be normally resident in the Kingdom, not be a judge, because the Code of Judicial Conduct prohibits a judge from having party affiliation, which may contradict the principle of the independence of the judiciary. The law also prohibits party affiliation for members of the armed forces, security services, or civil defense, as Article 30/c of the Law of Service of Officers in the Armed Forces of 2016 stipulates that officers are prohibited from joining political parties.

9.2 Party's Establishment and Licensing

The application for the establishment and licensing of a political party begins with submitting a written notification to the council secretary. As stated in Article (8a) those wishing to establish a party in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph (a) of Article (6)⁴ of this law must indicate in the foundation application the initial principles and ideas of the party.

Other amendments related to party establishment and licensing do not affect the core of the law. Perhaps the most important of them is what was mentioned in two articles. The first is Such principles aim to enable the party founders to carry out their preparatory political activities and promote the establishment of the political party, provided that the party founders apply for the establishment of the party upon completing the conditions stipulated in Article 6 of the Parties Law, within one year from the date of notification. if the conditions stipulated are not completed during the previous period, the applicants must stop practicing their activities, and they are not entitled to submit a new application until three months have elapsed from the date of this cessation.

According to Article (12/a), If the party's founding conference meets this law's conditions, the council must include the request to establish the party on its agenda to discuss, study, and decide within 30 days of receiving the notification that is stipulated in Paragraph (g) of Article (11). If the council does not issue its decision within the period stipulated in Paragraph (a) of this Article, then the party is considered legally established in accordance with the provisions of this law (Article 12/b). The Council publishes the decision to establish the party in the Official Gazette and two daily local newspapers of the most widely circulated newspapers. There is no difference between the party law of (2022) (Article 12/b) and that of (2015) (Article 14/b) in terms of the period identified for the council's decision-making to establish the party after receiving the notification from the party. It is (30) days for the two laws, and the party is legally established if the council does not issue its decision during the determined period (i.e. 30 days).

9.3 Dissolving of Party

According to (Article 35/a), the party may not be dissolved except in accordance with the provisions of its statute or by a final judicial decision in accordance with the provisions of this law. The Parties' Law of (2022) identified the cases in which the party can be dissolved. The Court of First Instance is competent to consider the party's dissolution suit filed by the Council in any of the following cases: 1) If the party violates the provisions of any of paragraphs (2) and (3) of Article (16) of the Jordanian Constitution⁵. 2- If it is proved in a criminal case that

⁴ Article (6): Associated with the foundation application: 1) a draft of the part basic system signed by the party's founders 2) A document of authorization signed by the founders in favor of three of them to submit the establishment application, and to follow up all necessary procedures at the official, judicial and other authorities until the party foundation, 2) A statement that includes the name of each founder of four syllables, his national number, his occupation, his position, his place of work, if any, his residence address and his signature, attached to it a copy of the identity card of each founder and endorsed by one of the authorized founders., 4) A certificate signed by the three authorized founders before the council secretary confirming the validity of the signatures of the founding members on the documents (Article 8-a). [In Arabic].

⁵ Jordanians have the right to meet within the limits of the law. 2. Jordanians have the right to form associations, trade unions, and political parties, provided that their goals are legitimate, their means are peaceful, and their systems do not contradict the provisions of the Constitution. 3. The law regulates the way associations, trade unions, and political parties are formed and monitors their resources. [In Arabic].

the party has an organizational connection with an external party, 3) if the party accepts funding from any party or person in violation of the provisions of this law, 4) If the party violates any of the provisions of this law and does not correct the violation in accordance with the provisions of Article (33) of this law.

The first three conditions in the party dissolving Article are the same in the three parties' laws: the parties' law of (2022), the parties' law of (2015), and the parties of (2012). However, the Parties' Law of (2015) added the fourth paragraph related to the party's violation of all provisions of the Party's law, and the Parties' Law of (2022) modified this paragraph in that the Parties' Law of (2015) identified one month for the party to correct the violation, while the parties' law of (2022) identified two months for the party to correct the violation according to the Article (33) of this law.

It can be noted from the fourth paragraph the seriousness of the role that the Council may play as there is no guarantee that the Council will not accuse one of the parties that its behavior is harmful to the independence, security, and national unity of the country. Also, the council may accuse the party of adopting undemocratic methods in achieving its goals, or of being financially or politically linked to a foreign party.

9.4 Merging of Party

The parties' law of (2022) allows the Jordanian parties to merge as long the parties keep the commitment to the law's provisions. In Article (32/a), one or more parties have the right to merge into an existing party or to merge with one or more parties to establish a new party in accordance with the provisions of this law. In this case, for the merging decision to take effect, the approval of most of the associate members is required (Article 32/b). The party's secretary must notify the council's secretary of the merging decision, provided that the notice includes the signatures of the parties' executive leadership, indicating the names of the merged parties and the name of the new party to be established (Article 32/c). The party resulting from the merger is required to meet the conditions stipulated in this law and enjoy legal personality (Article 32/d).

The parties' emerging article in the parties' law of (2022) provides more space of freedom to the parties to make their own decision in emerging without reference to the authority council to get acceptance. In this manner, the Parties' Law of (2022) is differentiated from the Parties' Law of (2012) which stipulated prior approval of the Parties Affairs Committee to accept the parties' merging, and from the Parties' Law of (2015) which stipulated notification of the Parties Affairs Committee, and the committee has to issue a decision of accepting or rejecting the party emerging to other parties (The law of political parties (2015), Article 30/b).

Although the Jordanian legislator granted the Jordanian parties more democratic rights in the merger of parties to practice more political authority and achieve more political goals, these expanded authorities remain under the government's control and do not exceed the authorities confined to one party, which put more restrictions on the political parties. In this regard, international covenants stipulate that the power to amend or merge the party's statutes is only available to the party, and the authority in charge of party affairs must resort to the judiciary if the amendment is inconsistent with the law or constitution.

9.5 Financial Support

Financial support has a fundamental role in establishing parties and their continuity and enabling them to carry out their various activities. Therefore, parties strive to provide permanent sources for their continuity. Nevertheless, some of the parties are unable to meet

their expenses, and thus may resort to illegal sources of support. In this context, many countries have established legal provisions strictly related to the sources of party support and put them subject to state control, and the arrangement of penalties in the event of proven legal violations (Al-Masaedin, 2018).

In this regard, one of the most important amendments to the Political Parties Law of 2022 is Article 24/a stipulates that the party must rely entirely on known, declared, and specific sources of funding for its financial resources. The party also has the right to accept declared, known, and specified gifts and donations from Jordanian natural and legal persons or other sources, if they are known and declared (Article 24/b). Contrary to the parties' law of (2012) which identified the financial ceiling support for the party as 50 thousand JDS annually, and consistently with the parties' law of (2015) the parties' law of (2022) let the financial ceiling support for the party be unlimited.

In general, the Jordanian political parties have two sources of financial support, the first of which is public (governmental) general support. This type of support has two aspects: indirect and direct governmental funding. The indirect funding is represented by exempting party headquarters from all government taxes and fees incurred on immovable funds (Article 26/a). Direct funding is what is allocated in the budget. According to Article (27/a), an item is allocated in the state's general budget to contribute to supporting parties from treasury funds, and the conditions for providing support, its amount, and disbursement procedures are determined by a regulation issued for this purpose.

Subsequently, the law of the Jordanian constitution specified conditions for providing this support, its amount, and procedures for its disbursement (Al-Masaedin, 2018: 147). By examining this system, we find that the financial contribution to support parties is irregular, deliberately due to the potential nature of the conditions set by the system for receiving this contribution. It should be noted here that this system restricted the disbursement of financial allocations to the salaries of workers, rent allowance for party headquarters, and operating expenses. However, the parties considered this system as a restriction on their work, especially since the disbursement aspects did not include the activities of political parties.

The other source of financial support is the special support provided by people, whether natural or legal. Returning to Article (24/a) of the Political Parties Law of 2022, we find that this funding is limited to gifts and donations from natural and legal persons. The legislator has set several conditions for these gifts and donations, the most important of which is that they must be of Jordanian origin. No funding, gifts, or donations from any external party is accepted. It is noted that the value of the donations in the law of parties of 2022 and that of 2015 is not determined as it was in the parties' law of 2012, which set the ceiling for donations at fifty thousand dinars.

It is noted that public or private support is not sufficient for partisan activity. Regarding public funding, the conditions set by the financial contribution system may prevent the support of many political parties. It is also not possible to guarantee that the law of the parties itself will not be amended and thus the parties will be financially restricted. When it comes to private financing, the issue of donations is variable and is governed by the wishes of the donors.

To ensure that the party does not receive any funding or donation from external parties, the law stipulated the imposition of oversight on parties. In this manner, the law stipulates in Article 28/b that the party annually sends to the council secretary, within three months from the date of the end of the fiscal year, the party's budget, and financial statements, in addition

to a statement signed by the party's secretary detailing the party's financial resources. The law also provided for depositing party funds in Jordanian banks (Article 25/b). In addition to that, the party must spend its money on the goals and objectives stipulated in its fundamental system in a way that does not violate this law (i.e. the law of 20122). Moreover, the law permits the council or whoever it delegates the right to view the party's accounts, audit its financial records, and prepare a report in this regard, provided that a copy of it is sent to the secretary (Article 29/a).

9.6 Penalties

The Parties' Law of (2022) restricted the freedom to promote an external political party and confined that just to the local parties. According to (Article 38/a), considering any harsher penalty stipulated in any other law, anyone who contributes directly or indirectly to promoting a banned party shall be punished by imprisonment for no less than one year and no more than five years and a fine of no less than (1,000) dinars and no more than (5000) dinars.

The parties' law of (2022) maintained the Jordanian rights to establish parties and join them (Article 4/a), and thus forbid anyone to attack them because of their political affiliation (Article 4/b)⁶ (Article 4 of the party's law of (2022)). Accordingly, to maintain this right for citizens, the law identified a penalty by imprisonment for not less than one week and not more than three months, or a fine of not less than (100) dinars and not more than (1000) dinars for those who pursue citizens to acquire this right (Article 39).

The funds obtained because of committing any of the previous acts shall be confiscated and transferred to the parties' item in the state's general budget. In contrast to the 2012 law, which stressed doubling the penalties for a member of the party leadership, it is worth noting that the 2015 law did not differentiate in terms of dealing with the penalties that party members receive when they receive money or donations, between being an ordinary member of the party or in its leadership.

10. Discussion

Although the Political Parties Law of 2022 has been enacted by a series of open government meetings with political parties and various forces of civil society (48), many of the articles of the law, in addition to the amendments it contained, are still without the parties' ambition. In general, the most important repercussions and effects of this law on Jordanian Parisian and political life can be summarized as follows:

Ignoring that one of the goals of political parties is the peaceful transfer of power, and concentrating, instead of that, on political participation as one of the most important goals of political parties, as stipulated in Article 3 of the Political Parties Law of 2022. However, this reveals that the legislator confined the parties' right to the peaceful transfer of power just in

⁶ Article 4 of the party's law of (2022):

A- Jordanians have the right to establish parties and join them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and this law. B- It is forbidden to attack any Jordanian, including infringement of his constitutional or legal rights, or to question him or hold him accountable, from any official or unofficial party, because of his affiliation or the affiliation of any of his relatives. C- It is forbidden to confront students of higher education institutions because of their affiliation partisan and political activity. d- Those who have been subjected to exposure in violation of the provisions of this article have the right to resort to the competent courts to lift the exposure and claim compensation for the material and moral damage. [In Arabic].

political participation indicating that political participation does not necessarily mean reaching and retaining political power, which can be considered one of the reasons for the weakness of partisan life in Jordan.

Given the Jordanian legislator's definition of the political party, it disagrees with the concept of political power by the political parties, especially at the level of the goal, whereby that refers to political participation. This manifests obviously in restricting the political participation in the political parties' decision to participate in the various elections that take place in Jordan in accordance with the provisions of the law (Article 3), without referring to accessing and retaining political power.

the parties' law of (2015) requires the party to provide Parties Affairs Committee with all party members at the beginning of each year (Article 13 / b), which raises the fears of many citizens and prevents them from joining political parties, and thus limits the effectiveness of political parties. Instead, the parties' law of (2022) does not impose that the party provides all its members to the council secretary. This amendment in the law of (2022) comes compatibly with what it stipulates that no citizen may be assaulted, questioned, held accountable, or his constitutional or legal rights infringed because of his party affiliation (Article 13 / a).

In the new law, a new mechanism was formulated for applying to the party's establishment, as it stipulated that the number of applicants should be at least 300, considering the conditions required for the founding member or affiliate of the party, who cannot be officials or workers in some specific sectors. This may aim to keep these sectors away from political tensions and impartiality. The law also considered the necessity of including different ages at the party. This change came with the aim of the parties, which strives to fulfill public polarization on the Jordanian scene. However, these amendments were met with objections from some political parties in two faces:

First, the law is strict in the matter of reducing the number of founders from 500 members (the parties' law of 2012) to 150 members (the law of 2015), and then to 300 members (the law of 2022) (49), holding the constituent conference and the mechanism for applying to party's establishment, and requiring a percentage of the presence of women and youth. some parties described these conditions as complex and a lack of understanding of the nature of partisan work. This change also affects the essential fundamentals of the licensed parties, especially considering the demand from the existing parties to rectify their situation within a specified period, otherwise either the party will be dissolved, or it must merge with other parties. Such restrictions will lead to the cause of parties to vanish due to their inability to meet the conditions stipulated in the law, or to forcibly go towards merging with other parties, which contradicts the specificity of partisan life.

Second, the exceptions contained in the law, which pertain to keeping some officials and preventing them from belonging to parties, is an unjustified condition in the law, as it reduces the national participation rates for which the parties were established. It must be emphasized that the work of parties is not contrary to the essence and nature of the work of the state. On the other side, keeping some institutions outside the idea of parties, such as members of the army and the judiciary, is desirable in preserving their impartiality due to the nature and sensitivity of the positions they occupy.

The new law expanded partisan participation within universities and institutions to encourage young people to engage in political practices, and to produce national leaders. However, this amendment was met with some objections, as some considered it an exaggeration of the

provisions of the law. Although this change aims to encourage young people to engage in partisan work and increase the base of the political parties, the negative image towards party work in the Jordanian community will mostly remain the same, since the reluctance to partisan work was accompanied by economic and political problems, most of which was the increase in unemployment and poverty rates, especially among the youth group.

The law is unique from the previous ones in activating the influential role of youth and women in the party and political work. However, some have questioned the real and active role of women and youth within the parties. This is because some parties believe that this change will produce parties, whose concern is to seek to achieve these objective determinants and conditions, disregarding the effective role of this group of members as competent leaders to practice party activities.

For the future vision, the new law is different from the previous ones in that it gave a wide space for parties to work jointly with each other through consortium, alliance, or merger by choosing strategies that are compatible with their organization and fulfilling their licensing conditions. Today, and according to this future vision, there are around 49 parties and 11 more under establishment. This indicates that, considering the presence of large numbers of parties, the provisions of the law motivate these parties, which are licensed or included in the founding list, to try to build bonds that unite them. Such bonds will assist parties to achieve their shared goals providing added value in terms of the national interest instead of multiple parties with less effect on the government.

In a related context to the above, many parties see that the current law will provide common ground for parties to engage in major dialogues and discussions, in which they are in accordance with the provisions of the law. The outputs of these dialogues will be large parties that represent mass bases, competing in the upcoming parliamentary elections. On the other side, some parties who oppose coalition or party merger believe that this strategy may weaken the work of the parties and reduce their use of political activities as they may be exposed to a specific agenda dictated by the government or otherwise be exposed to dissolution.

In a new shift in the party's work mechanism, the parties' register, and terms of reference were transferred from the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs to the Independent Election Commission, as a precaution in the future against the arrival of partisan ministers to the government. This new provision of transferring the responsibility of following up the affairs and actions of the parties to an independent administrative body will limit the interference of the influential that may occur in the future and boost the principle of transparency in dealing with everyone in this context.

despite some radical changes in the parties' law of 2015 that linked the parties' authority to an independent council concerning the party affairs rather than a committee affiliated with the Ministry of Political Affairs., the political parties still have a governmental nature due to the dominance of the executive authority over the formation of its members,

For financial empowerment, the law does not refer to any objective criteria to indicate the procedures for providing financial support to the legal parties, and the legislator suffices by referring to a system issued for this purpose., as a particular system should be issued under the law specifying the conditions of providing financial support to parties, its amount, and the special aspects of its disbursement. In this context, an item has been allocated in the general budget to support parties from the state's treasury funds.

The law was approved after deliberations in the parliament for three consecutive days. This was met with severe criticism by some forces and parties, and even by members of the parliament, that the law was not given enough time for discussion. In addition, some parties and specialists criticized the deliberation in that the discussions of this law did not expand to include partisans with extensive accumulated experience in general political partisan work. Expanding the imposition of penalties on party members and calling for contentment with what was stated in Penal Code.

11. Conclusion & Recommendations

The study dealt with the problem of the impact of the Jordanian parties' law of (2022) on partisan and political life. To answer the research problem questions, the study dealt with the parties' law of (2022) and its related amendments compared with the previous parties' laws of (2012) and (2015). The study has revealed many positive amendments that the new law included, such as linking them to an independent body instead of a committee affiliated with the Ministry of Political Affairs, increasing the percentage of women as founders of the party to 20% at least, and amending the election law in a way that guarantees the participation of parties in the parliamentary elections and their obtaining seats in the parliamentary. Despite the positive substantial amendments that the law included compared with the previous ones, Jordanian parties still have many restrictions that limit their effective role in political participation. Some of the restrictions that the parties had reservations about include the definition of the political party and the party's right to the peaceful transfer of power, not mere political participation.

Additionally, one of the reasons for the weak partisan participation in partisan and political life is related to the political parties themselves, such as the financial capabilities of the political parties, which represent a real obstacle to the effectiveness of political parties. In addition to the separation of political parties from citizens, and their failure to carry out the most important functions entrusted to them, such as political upbringing and political education, and the consequent reluctance of citizens to truly participate in political life, especially in parliamentary elections.

According to some restrictions included in the parties' law of (2022) against their Partisan and political life, some recommendations can be introduced:

1. Amendment of some articles of the parties' law of (2022), especially the definition of the party's law.
2. The law should forbid the party's members to change from one party to another. This phenomenon is very common in Jordan, which leads to weak partisan affiliation based on ideological foundations. For instance, some partisans in parliament become separated from his/her party and affiliate with another one. This behavior negatively affects the party's cohesion and its effectiveness.
3. Organizing the party according to ideological principles allow all the party's members to engage in real participation in all the party's organs that allow all party members to actively participate in managing the party's various organs, which contributes to keeping it away.
4. The law should include criteria for providing financial support, which must be consistent with the actual presence of political parties in the political arena. Among these criteria is linking the volume of support provided to parties to the number of seats and votes obtained by the party in the elections, which would increase the intensity of competition in the elections.

5. Considering many political parties, there is no diversity in political programs that meets this number, which calls for the need for the law to encourage parties to form alliances or merge.
6. The law should not be strict in imposing penalties that constitute an obstacle to citizens' participation in the law.

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Third: Constitutions and Laws

- 1) The Jordanian Constitution, Article (16).
- 2) Parties Regulation Law No. (3) of 1954.

- 3) Parties Regulation Law No. (15) of 1955.
- 4) Parties Regulation Law No. (32) of 1992.
- 5) Parties Regulation Law No. (19) of 2007.
- 6) Parties Regulation Law No. (16) of 2012,
- 7) Parties Regulation Law No. (6) of 2015.
- 8) Parties Regulation law no. (39) of 2016.