

Received: December 2023 Accepted: January 2024

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.58262/ks.v12i2.376>

## The Impact of Jordanian Parliamentary Election Laws on Achieving Political Development for the Period (1989-2023)

Raafat Abdel Salam Tarawina<sup>1</sup>, Mahmoud Mohammad Al-Karaki<sup>2</sup>, Anas Mohammad Abdullah Al Tarawni<sup>3</sup>, Khaled Rakan Al Khraisha<sup>4</sup>

### Abstract

*Objectives: This study aimed to identify the impact of the Jordanian parliamentary election laws in achieving political development through the representation of all political components in the parliaments, which leads to an increase or a decline in the representation of political parties in the parliaments, participation rates in the elections, and constitutional reforms for the period (1989-1989). 2023). The method: The study relied on two approaches, the systems analysis approach, the study adopted David Easton's systems analysis approach (Easton, 1957). This approach is considered one of the most common approaches in studying political systems. According to this approach, the study examines the role of election laws in achieving political development, according to the elements of this approach: inputs, outputs, and nutrition. Reverse. and the legal approach which relies on the rules of law as a basis for studying political phenomena, and its pioneers confirm that building constitutional and political institutions on sound foundations is the essence of political development and even comprehensive development. Results: The elections that were held in (1989) according to the Elections Law No. (23) for the year 1989 are the open list system (the bloc) according to which the voter has more than one vote. This law was able to bring about political development, and through this law the political parties were able to participate in the elections and get good results. And the electoral laws implemented by the Jordanian state after 1993 and the amendments they contained did not work to achieve political development, as the percentage of party representation in parliaments was not increased. Conclusion: in the light of the results, the study recommended the need to reconsider the Jordanian election laws so that participation in the electoral process is limited to political forces and parties, and that the election laws include appropriate mechanisms in order to ensure adequate partisan representation in the House of Representatives.*

**Keywords:** Election Laws, Political Development, Political Parties, Jordanian Parliamentary.

### Introduction

Election laws are considered the main basis in which the masses are elected to the House of Representatives to draw the general features of the state and the form of its political system. Therefore, election laws in any country are of great importance as they are the most important foundations of democratic governance and the way in which the people can protect their civil liberties and individual rights against monopolization in power.

The election law, as indicated by Al-Majali (2021), is represented in the set of applicable legislation that results in the election of a representative of the people, such as Parliament, the People's Assembly, the Senate, or other political outputs that represent the people. Al-

<sup>1</sup> Aqaba University for Medical sciences, Jordan, Email: Rafat.tarawneh@amsu.edu.jo

<sup>2</sup> Aqaba University of Technology, Jordan, Email: malkaraki@aut.edu.jo

<sup>3</sup> Prince Al Hussein Bin Abdullah II Academy for Civil Protection- Al- Balqa' Applied University, Email: anastarawneh2@gmail.com

<sup>4</sup> Prince Al Hussein Bin Abdullah II Academy for Civil Protection- Al- Balqa' Applied University, Email: Khaled.khraisha@bau.edu.jo

Khawaldeh (2019) focuses on the fact that there is no standard electoral law on which countries depend, as it varies according to the diversity of the political composition of countries, and most of them adopt completely different electoral systems from each other.

Democratic countries attach great importance to elections and their laws and regulations. Because elections are the most effective and optimal means that democratic countries have known to freely choose rulers and representatives of the people (Abu Rumman, 2023). The need to pass election laws counteracts the repeated demands of political parties to pass a law compatible with the spirit of change and development, and motivates political parties to achieve encouraging results in the elections.

At the level of the Jordanian state, we find that it is one of the countries that tended towards building and strengthening democracy. Because it continues to preserve its political, social and security composition, Jordan is a country that cannot live in isolation from the world, especially in light of the various developments (Al-Awamla, 2020). And the follower of the electoral system in Jordan finds that it relied on (4) election laws to conduct (9) parliamentary elections, as the open list system (block) was adopted in the elections of (1989), and despite this, this law was exposed to claims to amend it to make it a modern democratic law (Tahboub, 2023). However, instead of advancing on this law, this law underwent a serious amendment on the verge of the 1993 elections in what was known as the Single Vote Law (No. 15 of 1993), which replaced the open-list system that allows citizens to elect a number of candidates equal to the number of parliamentary seats allocated. For his district, a new system restricts the citizen to electing only one candidate, regardless of the number of seats in his district, which ranges from two to nine seats (Al-Hawamdeh, 2017). While the election law for the year (2012) adopted the mixed system, while the election law for the year (2020) adopted the open proportional list system, and the aim of following these systems was to develop and develop political life in Jordan and to ensure the participation of all political spectrums in the political process in order to reach A representative council in which political development is achieved, which is represented by political parties (Atbeesh, 2016).

In parallel with changing the Political Parties Law No. (7) for the year (2022), which came as a result of the growing reluctance of citizens, especially youth and women, from political party work with all its implications (Al-Majali, et.al, 2022). Election Law No. (4) for the year (2022) has been approved, and through it, partisan seats will be gradually increased to reach (65%) of the members of the Council. The law gave each voter two votes, and required the presence of at least one woman among the candidates, in addition to the presence of a young man or woman (35 years or under) among the first five candidates, and reducing the age of the candidate to (25) years (Al-Hajaya, 2023).

Therefore, the study examined the impact of the Jordanian parliamentary election laws in achieving political development for the period (1989-2023), in light of the urgent need for a model electoral law conducive to political representation. choosing the political elite and legitimizing those in power; It promotes political accountability, which leads to political development.

## **Study Problem**

Since the stage of democratic transition and the return of parliamentary life in (1989) to the year (2023), Jordan has held nine parliamentary elections, relying on four electoral laws since the return of parliamentary life, as the (1989) elections were held on the open list system (block), and the election laws are between The years (1993-2012) adopted the one-vote system, while the election

law for the year (2012) adopted the mixed system, while the election law for the years (2016) and (2020) adopted the open proportional list system. Political parties won (37) seats out of (80) seats, and the elections after (1989) were characterized by a decline in the percentage of representation of political parties in parliaments. Party seats in (1997), and in (2003) (17) seats out of (110) seats, and in (2007) (8) seats out of (110) seats, and in (2010) (12) seats out of (120) seats, while in (2013) the number of seats reached (33) out of (150) seats, and in (2016) (24) out of (130) seats, and in (2020) the number of party seats reached (12) seats out of (130) seats.

Accordingly, the problem of the study is to analyze the role of the various Jordanian election laws that Jordan applied to achieve political development through the representation of political parties in parliaments. The role of electoral laws must contribute to achieving political development in Jordan and ensuring the participation of all political factions in the political process in order to reach a representative council in which political pluralism is achieved, which is represented by political parties.

### **Significance of the Study**

The importance of the study stems from the fact that it focuses on the impact of the Jordanian parliamentary election laws on achieving political development for the period (1989-2023). Hence, its importance comes from two aspects, the first scientific and the other practical:

#### **1- Scientific Importance**

The importance of this study comes from the fact that it deals with an important topic related to the study of the role of election laws in achieving political development and the representation of all political components in parliaments. The election laws play an important role in the access of political parties to parliament, and their participation with the political system in formulating decisions and enacting legislation and laws regulating political life. The importance of this study also stems from the fact that it measures a number of indicators related to achieving political development, which resulted from the electoral laws from the year (1989-2022), as these indicators represent the reality of the effects of changing the electoral laws on the ground. At the same time, this study opens the door to other similar studies. Finally, this study represents a modest attempt for researchers and students to benefit from, which makes it a tributary of scientific literature in political science.

#### **2- Practical Importance**

Achieving political development and increasing the representation of political parties in parliaments is a goal that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan seeks to achieve. Representing parties in parliaments to reach parliamentary governments within the framework of the political and economic reform process that Jordan seeks to achieve.

The practical importance of this study lies in the fact that it represents a preliminary information base that can be used to monitor future developments in Jordanian political life, in addition to being, in practice, and with its results, that it can constitute one of the references for decision makers in drawing up public policies and taking steps. suitable for activating political life and strengthening the democratic approach. On the other hand, this study presents the scientific material for researchers about the role of Jordanian parliamentary election laws in achieving political development in Jordan and the extent to which there is a real political will in the Jordanian political system to achieve political development, especially since these reforms came as a result of unstable regional conditions that cast a shadow over politics. The interior

of the Jordanian political system.

## **Purpose of the Study**

This study aims to:

1. Learn about the election laws applied by Jordan since the beginning of the resumption of the democratic transition in 1989 until 2023. The electoral law is one of the basic pillars of building democracy. It is the electoral law. The electoral law is the most important law related to democratic work and its practice. The electoral law is the attribution of political authority, and thus it is considered a means aimed at achieving political development. As a result, choosing the appropriate electoral system has negative effects. Different policies related to voting percentage, the presence of political parties in Parliament, and the participation of youth and women.
2. Statement of the role of the various election laws applied by Jordan in achieving political development through the representation of all political components in the parliaments, which leads to an increase or a decline in the representation of political parties in the parliaments, participation rates in elections, and constitutional reforms.

## **Method and Procedure**

**Systems Analysis Approach:** The study adopted the systems analysis approach of David Easton (1957), and this approach is one of the most common approaches in the study of political systems. According to this approach, the study examines the role of electoral laws in achieving political development, according to the elements of this approach: , outputs, and feedback, the election laws from the year (1989) until the year (2022), represent the (independent variable) inputs, and these inputs are (the election law of 1989; the election law of (1993) and its amendments, the election law of (2012) law The elections for the year (2016), the election law for the year (2022)), and as for the (dependent variable) the outputs, they refer to the achievement of political development from 1989 to 2023 through the percentage of representation of political parties in (9) parliamentary elections that were implemented in the |Jordan since General (1989). Thus, the interactive process between the variables of the study will indicate the extent of the increase or decrease in the representation of political parties according to the applicable election laws, which will lead to the possibility of analyzing the role of these election laws in achieving political development through the representation of political parties in parliaments.

**Legal approach:** This approach relies on the rules of law as a basis for the study of political phenomena, and this approach confirms its pioneers that building constitutional and political institutions on sound foundations is the essence of political development, and even comprehensive development. This study employed this approach in order to identify the nature of the Jordanian election laws after the resumption of the democratic process in (1989).

## **Terminologies**

**Election:** It is defined as: “a basic right for every citizen by virtue of which he can choose who represents him to exercise power freely and without affecting his will, and he also has the right to refrain from exercising this right.” (Al-Awamleh, 2020: 774). Election is defined procedurally: it is the process in which every Jordanian exercises the right to choose who will

represent him in the representative councils according to the law specified for that.

**Election Laws:** Defined as: “A set of electoral rules that define the rules and instructions for selecting a candidate, the conditions for the voter, the electoral period, the size of constituencies, the number of seats, the method of counting votes, and choosing the winners” (Al-Majali, 2021: 335). The election laws are known procedurally: they are the election laws issued in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which are (the election law of 1989; the election law of (1993) and its amendments, the election law of (2012), the election law of (2016), the election law of (2022)).

**Political Development Aims to:** “finding systems that allow popular participation in the political process and creating an administrative apparatus capable of effectively implementing policies that meet the demands of citizens and building democracy, including the establishment of political institutions, and the creation of a political culture that leads to partisan pluralism.” (Kazadri, 2015: 234) Political development is defined procedurally: a set of modifications that are made to the basic structures of the political system with the aim of increasing the ability of Jordanian political parties to adapt to internal and external changes in order to establish a state with a system that ultimately leads to access to the House of Representatives.

## Related Studies

- 1- A study (Bani Amer, and Alazmi, 2024) aimed to identify the development of the electoral process, election laws, and party trends. The study used a content analysis approach to understand the impact of election laws and party behavior on political development. The study came out with a set of results that there is a clear impact on the dynamic nature of the electoral environment, the impact of election laws on the behavior of parties, partisan positions on electoral processes, the effectiveness of political parties in elections, and confidence in political institutions, which work to strengthen democratic governance. The current study provides empirical insights into the behavior of parties and election laws, and the importance of informing policymakers, political parties, and civil society organizations about the reforms made to election laws, and promoting justice, transparency, and inclusiveness. It enhances trust, civic engagement and the protection of human rights, promoting a more inclusive democracy.
- 2- A study (Tahboub, 2023) aimed at reviewing the reality of party life, and the negative effects of successive party and election laws on party life. The study also presented the reality of the participation of political parties in the parliamentary elections, reviewing the characteristics and results of this participation. Partisan behavior shows the weakness of partisan life and its distance from the real practice of partisan and democratic work. The study concluded that party laws are considered the framework that regulates the partisan process and are important in facilitating registration procedures and practicing partisan work, and giving the political party a legal personality that enables it to exercise its financial, administrative and intellectual functions. And that the election laws have contributed to the process of declining partisan work, and this was evident through the one-vote law as well as the mixed system of 2012 and ending with the open proportional list system of 2016, and that the Jordanian election laws did not seek

to activate the role of political parties in order to establish parliamentary governments.

- 3- A study (Altarawneh, 2022) aimed at identifying the impact of election laws on the participation of Jordanian women in the elected local councils (municipalities and provincial councils (decentralization)) during the years (2017) and (2022). The study used three approaches: the legal approach, the analytical descriptive approach, and the comparative approach. The study concluded the following results 1. The Jordanian state has recently started adopting elected local councils. Specifically, in 2015, the government agreed to introduce (decentralized) governorate councils - before that there was only one type of election at the local level, which took place in the governorates, known as municipal council elections. 2. The electoral laws of the elected local councils stipulated a quota for Jordanian women in addition to the seats they obtain on the basis of free competition. 3. There was a discrepancy between the contexts of the municipal elections laws of 2015 and 2021 in the Local Administration Law, as they differed regarding the right of women to obtain seats in the municipal elections, especially after the abolition of the local councils of municipalities in the 2021 law, especially the Local Administration Law. Indeed, this was noticed when analyzing the numbers obtained by Jordanian women in the municipal elections of 2017 and 2022. As for women's seats in the (decentralized) provincial councils, the law (2021) related to local administration helped and encouraged them. It is a case observed when analyzing the numbers gained by women in the (decentralized) provincial council electronics.
- 4- A study (Al-Saleem, 2021) aimed at political parties on women's candidacy in parliamentary elections and their representation in parliaments during the period (1989 to 2016). The study used the systems analysis approach to analyze the relationship between its variables, where political parties represented the independent variable, while the percentage of women's candidacy for elections and the percentage of their representation in parliaments, and the approval of seats reserved for women in the election law and their increase represented the dependent variable. The study came out with a set of results that there is a limited effect between increasing the percentage of women's candidacy in parliamentary elections and political parties. And there is no significant effect between increasing the percentage of women's representation in parliaments and political parties, with a very limited exception related to the Islamic Action Front party in the 2016 elections. Likewise, there is no effect between allocating seats for women in parliaments and increasing their number and political parties.
- 5- A study (Al-Majali, 2021) aimed at revealing the impact of changing the parliamentary election laws on the process of political reform in Jordan, a comparative study (the eleventh parliament and the seventeenth parliament). Participation in elections, whether at the level of election or candidacy, the participation of political parties, and the participation of women. The study also used the legal approach to analyze the texts of laws related to the election law of 1989 and 2012. The study concluded that the level of participation in the parliamentary elections of 1989 and 2012 was high, while the participation of The political parties in the 2013 elections were less than they were in the year 1989, and in terms of women's participation in the elections, it was better in 2013, as women obtained (15) seats through the quota system and (2) seats through competition, and that the Jordanian election laws did not Contribute to the establishment of an elected parliamentary government, and that the bulk of political reforms remained confined to the framework of

participation in elections and the development of a system that guarantees women's access to parliament.

- 6- A study (Al-Awamla, 2020) aimed at identifying the electoral laws applied by Jordan after the democratic transition period 1989 to 2016; And an explanation of the role of these laws in representing political parties in the parliaments, as eight parliaments were elected in accordance with their amendments to several electoral laws. Jordan for the one-vote law of 1993 and the mixed system, as well as the proportional representation system (open proportional list). The importance of this study comes to analyze the role of electoral laws on the representation of political parties in parliaments, and to achieve this, the study relied on the legal approach and the systems analysis approach of David Easton, and the study concluded that the laws applied by Jordan, especially after 1993, did not increase the representation of parties in parliaments Parliament, despite the amendments it contained.

The current was distinguished from previous studies in that it clearly dealt with the impact of Jordanian parliamentary election laws on achieving political development for the period (1989-2023), as it dealt with the nature of election laws and systems since the return of parliamentary life in Jordan in (1989) until (2023) with Statement of the role of these laws in achieving political development through the percentage of representation of political parties in parliaments.

## **Literature Review**

The theoretical framework deals with the development of Jordanian parliamentary election laws during the study period, as well as research into the impact of these laws in achieving political development for the period extending from (1989 - 2023), which is as follows:

### **First. Election laws in Jordan from 1989 to 2023:**

Since the beginning of the democratic transition in Jordan in 1989, an attempt has been made to amend the election laws in order to achieve political development in Jordan. These laws are:

- a. The parliamentary elections for the eleventh Legislative Council were held in 1989, based on Election Law No. 22 of 1986 amended by Temporary Law 14 of 1989 (Al-Oweimer, and Al-Taweel, 2012).
- b. Parliamentary elections were held for the Twelfth Parliament in 1993, and for the Thirteenth Parliament in 1997, based on Election Law No. 15 of 1993. This law requires the voter to vote for one candidate in his constituency, regardless of the number of candidates. In it, in what is known as the "one vote" law (Alkhozah, 2011).
- c. As for the Fourteenth Parliament, the elections were held based on Election Law No. 34 of 2001, which maintained the "one-vote" system, but introduced several axes to it, which left the law vulnerable to a number of negative aspects. Especially the one-vote system, and the distribution of parliamentary seats (Aborman, 2017).

However, some considered the law one of the most important factors of democratic transformation in the Kingdom, as the necessary controls for the integrity of the election were increased, its procedures simplified, and its representation improved. These reasons are as follows:

1. In this law, the age of the voter was reduced from (19) to (18) years, which paved the way for greater participation of young people, and expanded the base of political participation (Toubat, et.al, 2019).

2. In this law, the number of parliamentary seats was increased from (80) to (110) seats, and the women's quota system was introduced, which guarantees Jordanian women obtaining (6) seats in the Parliament (Tbish, 2016).
3. This law dealt with defining the procedures that ensure the preservation of the secrecy of the vote of the illiterate, and the task of supervising the electoral process was assigned to the judiciary, and among the administrative procedures dealt with by the law was that the task of preparing voter lists was assigned to the Civil Status Department, and the Civil Status ID bearing the name of the electoral district was approved.

The citizen serves as an election card, as it was stamped with a special stamp when the voter exercises his vote, which guarantees the impossibility or difficulty of forgery, compared to the electoral card that was approved in the parliamentary elections before the issuance of a general law (2001) (Abu Rumman, 2014). Voters are allowed to cast their votes in any of the polling centers in their constituencies, and the process of counting the results is carried out in the same polling centers. , or the place in which he lives on the one hand, and to highlight the statement of the seriousness of the executive authority on the objectivity of conducting the electoral process in all its stages, and the government's keenness to be independent in a clear manner for the citizen, and all civil society institutions (Tahboub, 2023).

D. The parliamentary elections for the sixteenth Parliament were held based on the provisional election law No. (25) of 2012, which adopted the single, non-transferable vote system, and in light of it the electoral districts were divided into regions (fake district) (Toubat, et.al, 2019).

E. The seventeenth Parliament elections were held based on Permanent Election Law No. (25) of 2102. The law allocated (108) seats for local constituencies, (15) seats for the women's quota (Atiyat, 2017), and (27) seats for the general electoral district according to the system. Closed proportional lists, which is a permanent election law that is the first of its kind since 1989 (Abu Rumman, 2023).

Among the most prominent of his amendments is that (Al-Tarawneh, 2019): The electoral system shifted from a single-vote system, regardless of the number of constituency seats, to a mixed system that combines between one vote for the voter in the local constituency, and another vote for the closed proportional list at the level of Jordan, where it was allocated (108) seats for local constituencies, and (27) seats for national lists. The elections were held under the so-called Independent Electoral Commission, and the number of women's quota seats was raised to (15), so that the victory was calculated in favor of the candidate with the highest percentage of votes compared to the number of voters in its constituency

And the. Elections were held for the eighteenth and nineteenth parliaments, based on Election Law No. (6) of (2016 AD), and for the first time in the history of the Jordanian electoral system, the proportional representation system (open proportional list) was adopted (Altarawneh, 2022). The number of members of the House of Representatives was reduced from (150) to (130), and the number of constituencies was reduced from (45) to (23) constituencies, for which (115) deputies were allocated and (15) seats for the women's quota (Al-Khawaldeh, 2019).

g. Law No. (4) for the year (2022) and according to this law, party seats will gradually increase, starting from (30%) in the (next) twentieth Parliament, passing through (50%), and reaching (65%) over the next ten years. The law gave each voter two votes, according to a mixed electoral system, which adopts the closed proportional system for party lists, and the open proportional system for local lists, so that the voter on the general lists cannot change the order of the



candidates being approved by the party, while the voter in the local constituencies can vote for the preferred individuals. The candidates (Abu Rumman, 2023).

It stipulated the presence of at least one woman among the first three candidates on the general (partisan) list, as well as among the next three candidates, in addition to the presence of a young man or woman (35 years or under) among the first five candidates, in addition to the list including a number of candidates divided into half Local constituencies as a minimum, and that the number of candidates not exceed the number of allocated seats (41 seats) (Al-Hajaya, 2023).

The law reduced the age of the candidate to 25 years, and the place of residence of the voter is approved when drawing up a voter list, and the identity card as the only document for voting, in addition to not requiring the resignation of a public sector employee running for elections, stipulating ceilings for spending on the electoral campaign, and imposing penalties for electoral crimes and violations represented by using Political money, which carries a penalty of up to two years and cannot be exchanged for a fine (Tahboub, 2023).

## **Second. The Role of Election Laws in Achieving Political Development in Jordan During the Period (1989-2023)**

The election law is one of the basic foundations for building a democratic society. The election law is the most important law related to democracy. Democratic systems attach great importance to elections and their laws and regulations. The electoral system is one of the democratic means to assign political power. The appropriate electoral process entails different political effects related to the percentage of the vote, and the percentage of political parties' presence in Parliament.

Political parties are an essential component for achieving political development. It collects the interests of the public, and expresses them through proposing public policies and securing the necessary structures for political participation. In addition, parties train political leaders, and contest elections, to gain a degree of control over government institutions. When these parties obtain the majority of votes, they lay the organizational basis for forming the government. As for when the minority gets the votes, it stands in the ranks of the opposition, or forms an alternative to the government. It should be noted that the candidates seek to promote the interests of their party in the legislature, upon their success in the elections, as they represent specific work programs for policies that enjoy the necessary legitimacy, according to the authority bestowed on them by the voters. In parliament, deputies belonging to the party often merge into parliamentary groups or blocs, which is the main method used by parties to organize themselves within the legislature.

Jordan possesses many elements that contribute to the process of democratic transformation, and thus moving towards the comprehensive political development that individuals aspire to. These factors are based on legal structures: such as the constitution, election laws, political parties, political will, and societal and cultural ones. In their entirety, they represent pillars that clarify the nature of the foundations on which the democratic transition process in the Arab world is based (Nu'aimat, and Al-Dorou, 2016).

With the development of the internal and regional political situation, the Jordanian national movement arose, and partisan pluralism appeared, which worked to participate in the development and stability of political life in an important way. During the presence of a large number of politicians and political and partisan people, it worked on the development of popular,

institutional, parliamentary and military political thought, which was expressed by the members of Jordanian society in political work in Arabizing the army and national and Arab unity, strengthening independence and stability, preserving national and national gains, supporting the regime and establishing The first political pluralism at that stage (Nu'aimat, and Al-Dorou, 2016).

### **A. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with Election Law No. (22) Of 1986**

The parliamentary elections of (1989) were held according to the law amending the Elections Law No. (23) of 1989, the open list system (block), and according to this system, the Kingdom was divided into electoral districts, and each electoral district was given a certain number of seats, representing all the seats allocated to the House of Representatives There are eighty seats, and the law takes into account the reality of minorities in the Kingdom, in the eleventh House of Representatives (Frehat, 2011).

That the Islamic movement achieved good results in these elections by obtaining (25) seats out of (80) seats, as the election law of (1989) and its reliance on the open list system (the bloc) had the greatest impact in supporting the candidates of the Islamic movement; Because under this system, the voter has more than one vote (Al-Khazraji, 2015), and this enabled the voters to vote for the members of their tribes as well as for the Islamic movement (Al-Rantawi, and others, 2017). As for the nationalist and leftist movement, the 1989 elections were the first opportunity for the arrival of these currents To parliament, the nationalist and leftist movement won twelve seats (Nahar, 2012).

Here, it can be said that the elections for the eleventh House of Representatives produced a parliament that was fairly strong in its composition and in the manifestations of political pluralism in it, which was represented by various political and social currents. The open list system (the bloc), which Jordan followed in these elections, helped to support and encourage Political parties to participate in the electoral process and thus obtain good results and access to parliament (Al-Oweimer, and Al-Taweel, 2012). It is noted that the 1989 elections constituted a real opportunity for partisan presence in parliament, as the various political currents obtained 37 out of 80 seats, despite the ban on political parties for a long time, due to the open list system (the bloc) that Jordan followed it up with these elections, and under this system, the voter has more than one vote, which led to the support of political parties. (Alkhozahe, 2011).

### **B. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with Election Law No. (15) Of 1993 During the Period (1993-1997)**

After the 1989 elections were held on the basis of the open-list system, Jordan applied the one-vote law from the 1993 elections until 2010, and the parliamentary elections were held with the single, non-transferable vote system adopted by the Kingdom in the elections that took place in (8/8). 11/1993), according to the law amending the Elections Law for the year (1986), which abolished the list system and replaced it with the single, non-transferable vote system that gives the voter one vote regardless of the number of seats allocated to the electoral district, as the Kingdom was divided into 42 electoral districts and each voter has a vote One for one candidate, and this system had a clear impact on the electoral process and the nature of the group that will reach the dome of Parliament, as this stage indicates a weakness in party representation (Al-Oweimer, and Al-Taweel, 2012).

The Political Parties Law No. (32) of (1992) was issued, and thus parties returned openly to the Jordanian arena. Parties in this period can be classified into four currents (Tbish, 2016):

**The First Current:** nationalist parties: The Jordanian Socialist Arab Baath Party, the

Progressive Arab Baath Party, the Jordanian Arab Democratic Party, and the National Action Front Party.

**The Second Current:** religious parties: The Islamic Action Front and the Arab Islamic Movement (Doaa).

**The Third Current:** Marxist/leftist parties: The Jordanian Communist Party, the Jordanian Socialist Democratic Party, the Jordanian Democratic People's Party (Hashd), the Jordanian Popular Democratic Unity Party, and the Freedom Party.

**The Fourth Current:** liberal/centrist parties: The Jordanian Covenant Party, the Progress and Justice Party, the Jordanian National Assembly Party, the Al-Watan Party, the Vigilance Party, the Arab Democratic Unionist Party (Waad), the Future Party, the Popular Unity Party (Unionists), the Jordanian Arab Masses Party, The Jordanian Arab Constitutional Front Party.

The elections of (1993) represented the first opportunity to achieve political development and the return of political parties to the exercise of their role in this regard, but the parties did not play an influential role in political life, and legislative obstacles, such as the temporary election law of (1986), and the amended law of (1993). Despite the controversy that arose as a result of the government's approval of a new electoral law known as the "one-vote law" (every citizen has one vote, regardless of the number of seats allocated to his constituency), which is seen as a tool to curtail the role of political forces, including parties - especially the opposition - for the sake of affiliations. The Islamic Action Front party won (17) seats in the 12th House of Representatives, while the rest of the parties belonging to different currents got (16) seats, and we note here the decline in the representation of the Islamic Action Front party, which got (22) seats in the House of Representatives the eleventh in 1989 to (17) in the twelfth parliament in 1993; This is after applying the law of one vote (Al-Rantawi et al., 2017). Elections took place during the reign of Dr. Abdul Salam Al-Majali's first government, and during the reign of the Council, Prince Zaid bin Shaker's third cabinet, Abdul Karim Al-Kabariti's cabinet, and Dr. Abdul-Salam Al-Majali's second cabinet were formed. The council was chaired by Taher Al-Masry, followed by Saad Hayel Al-Surour (Abourman, 2017).

### **C. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with the Provisional Election Law No. (24) of 1997 During the Period (1997-2001)**

As for the thirteenth House of Representatives (1997), a Royal Decree was issued to hold general elections for the Thirteenth House of Representatives on 4/11/1997 in accordance with the Single Vote Law, Temporary Election Law No. (24) issued on 5/15/1997, according to which An amendment was made to the electoral system attached to the original law related to the division of electoral districts, and Article (39) was amended, as the power to extend voting was entrusted to the head of the Central Committee, in addition to Article (46) related to illiterate voting (Frehat, 2011).

The representation of the parties in this council was below the required level, as the elections for this council were held in light of most political parties boycotting the elections due to the continued implementation of the one-vote law (Al-Hawamdeh, 2017). The Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Action Front party led the largest and most numerous Jordanian political parties. Influence and influence - boycotting the 1997 elections after the government refused to meet its demands to participate in the elections, foremost among which was the abolition of the one-vote law. As a result, the political parties were divided between three

positions (Al-Tarawneh, 2017):

- 1. Boycott:** This was adopted by the parties of the Islamic Action Front, the Democratic People, the Jordanian Democratic Popular Unity, the National Action, the Jordanian Arab Constitutional Front, the Jordanian Arab Ansar, and the Popular Democratic National Movement.
- 2. Conditional participation:** with the government's approval to secure political conditions and real guarantees for the elections, which was adopted by the Jordanian Communist Party and the Future Party.
- 3. Participation:** This trend was led by the National Constitutional Party, which was formed in 1997 from the merger of nine parties from the center current.

Only (5) political parties officially participated in these elections and announced their candidacy in a partisan capacity. These parties are: the National Constitutional Party, the Arab Socialist Baath Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Democratic Left Party, and the Arab Land Party (Abu Rumman, 2002). Despite the participation of these parties, partisan representation in the House of Representatives has declined to only four parties out of (19) parties that formed the basis of partisan life in Jordan, where only seven deputies succeeded for these parties who had officially nominated themselves in the names of their parties (Al-Mseidin, 2015).

The most prominent event that took place during the thirteenth parliament period was King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein's assumption of his constitutional powers. After the death of King Hussein bin Talal, the National Assembly met with its two parts, notables and representatives, in a historic session, in implementation of Article (29) of the Constitution related to the King's oath of the constitutional oath before the National Assembly, and he took King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein took the throne of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on 7/2/1999, and Jordan moved to a new stage in strengthening relations with Arab countries, and proceeding to establish the foundations of development and justice by distributing gains (Al-Masry, 2017). Since His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein assumed his constitutional powers, His Majesty has been keen to establish a clear vision for comprehensive reform and the future of democracy in Jordan. He laid the foundation stone for the comprehensive reform process in various economic, political, social and cultural fields. domains, on transforming Jordan into a vital model in the region, a modern state of value and an independent and distinct entity (Toubat, et.al, 2019).

#### **D. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with the Provisional Election Law No. (34) of (2001) During the Period (2003-2007)**

Despite the continuation of the controversial one-vote mechanism, these elections were held based on the single, non-transferable vote system, according to the temporary election law No. (34) of (2001), and amended Law No. (11) of (2003), which included an increase in the number of Electoral districts to (45) constituencies and increasing the number of deputies to become (110) deputies. For the first time in the history of Jordanian parliamentary life, the role of women in political participation and their contribution to the decision-making process has been strengthened by allocating (6) seats for women while preserving their right to compete for the rest of the constituency seats (Mohsen, 2015).

Perhaps none of the Jordanian parties announced their boycott of the current elections. At the same time, the main observation in these elections appears in terms of partisan participation, represented in the decline in its declared participation, specifically in terms of the number of

candidates, especially with many parties resorting to forming electoral party coalitions, and distinction can be made within the parties that announced their participation in these elections through Putting forward candidates or supporting independent candidates, between two main trends: the opposition trend, which originally includes the parties that are members of the Higher Coordination Committee for Jordanian Opposition Parties, and the centrist trend close to power (Al-Khawaldeh, 2019). The partisan representation in the 14th House of Representatives (2003), which was limited to the Islamic Action Front party, as the party got (1) seat, while the nationalist movement ran in the elections for this house with (12) candidates, and the leftist movement ran in the elections with (10). candidates, but none of them succeeded in the elections (Al-Rantawi et al., 2017) and with this result, the traditional, leftist, nationalist, and centrist parties have disappeared from the political arena, because none of them reached parliament, and given the factors of overlap between the social and political factor, some candidates were able to win the elections for considerations Tribal, not partisan.

The Council approved several laws that were on the agenda of its sessions, including the Financial Disclosure Law, the Right to Information Guarantee Law, the National Center for Human Rights Law, the Landlords and Tenants Law, the Anti-Corruption Commission Law, the Prevention of Terrorism Law, and other laws, and the most prominent The events that coincided with the council were the announcement of the Amman Message, which is the embodiment of the vision of His Majesty King Abdullah II in defending Islam, which focused on tolerant Islamic values, and made it clear that Islam is a religion of tolerance and moderation, and the formation of a committee to set the national agenda, which formed a national consensus and strengthened Jordan's developmental and democratic march. Launching the We Are All Jordan initiative and establishing a youth body for it (Kharabesheh, 2016).

As for the political orientations, and despite the existence of a number of points of convergence between the various Jordanian political parties and trends through their declared discourse, especially with regard to supporting the Palestinian people and the Iraqi people in confronting the American occupation, as well as the consolidation of democracy in Jordan, and reform at all levels, the discrepancy Between these parties and the trends they represent is evident through the work mechanisms and the extent of closeness to the official concept and discourse with regard to these and other issues, as is the case with the centrist parties close to the authority and which proceed in their proposals from a national (Qatari) standpoint, in contrast to the opposition trend that includes the Islamic current. And the nationalist and leftist - the most revolutionary - who, in his Islamic and nationalist propositions, and perhaps internationalism, distances himself from the official concept and discourse (Al-Oweimer, and Al-Taweel, 2012).

#### **E. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with Amended Law No. (11) of (2003) for the Years (2007-2009)**

The elections for the Fifteenth Parliament took place after the issuance of the Royal Decree on 20/11/2007, and according to the Election Law for the Fifteenth Parliament, as there was no amendment to it, and the Fifteenth House of Representatives began its constitutional term on November 28, 2007 (Official Gazette 4869 issued on 28/11/2007), where it held its first session in an ordinary session on 2/12/2007, and a royal decree was issued to dissolve it on 11/24/2009 (Official Gazette 4998 issued on 1/12/2009) and it was dissolved two years before the end of its constitutional term. To hold early elections, the Council met during this period in two regular sessions and two extraordinary sessions (Abu Rumman, 2014).

As for the representation of political parties in the fifteenth House of Representatives (2007), it was very weak. Only the Islamic Action Front Party won these elections (6) seats and the Islamic Center Party with two seats. It can be noted that the representation of the Islamic Action Front Party declined significantly in these elections (Al-Rantawi et al. 2017). As for the rest of the leftist and nationalist parties participating in the elections, they could not win any seats in the House of Representatives, and the continuation of applying the one-vote law has increased the restrictions on the party's candidates, which led to this result. The most prominent event in this parliament was its failure to decide on important articulated laws, which led to provoking the press and public opinion, and the relationship between the House of Representatives and the Fourth Authority (the press) worsened. Some deputies' non-compliance with attending the parliament's sessions and absenteeism without excuse had negative repercussions among the public opinion, as a result. A Royal Decree was issued to dissolve the Council, and thus the Council will be dissolved before it completes its constitutional term. The elections were supervised by the government of Dr. Marouf Al-Bakhit, and the government of Nader Al-Dhahabi was formed during the Council's term. The Council was headed by Eng. Abdul-Hadi Al-Majali (Alkhozah, 2011).

The Jordanian economy was affected by the repercussions of the global economic crisis came late, as its effects began to appear at the end of the first quarter of the year (2009), and reinforced the repercussions of the crisis - which erupted in (2008) - on Jordan and the impact it left on the economies of many countries in the Arab region, especially the countries of the Council Gulf cooperation, where hundreds of thousands of Jordanian workers have returned to Jordan, and most of the investments destined for Jordan come from these countries. Where the crisis affected the economy faster than officials expected, so government reactions were delayed in facing its repercussions, and this explains the large rise in the budget deficit, and it is indicated that there was no collective behavior in dealing with its effects, so the decline of many investment sectors, especially the real estate sector, was recorded. And that Jordan was affected by the economic crisis as a result of the Arab Gulf markets being affected by it, as many Gulf countries stopped their investments in Jordan. Donors, especially America and the European Union, reduced the amount of their aid (Al-Tarawneh, 2019).

#### **F. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with the Temporary Election Law of (2010) During the Period (2010-2012)**

The government set 9/11/2010 as the date for holding the elections for the 16th House of Representatives, following the single, non-transferable vote system, and according to the temporary election law of (2010), the electoral districts were divided into regions (fake district) and each region was allocated one seat, and the number of Electoral districts for (45) and (108) electoral districts, and (4) new seats were added in each of the capital, Zarqa and Irbid governorates, and (12) seats (as a minimum) electoral quota for women (MacLeod, 2016), to enhance the role of women in political life and decision-making, and the number of members of the House of Representatives increased to (120) members, and the voter registration process was easy, especially for new voters, who reached the age of eighteen on the first of December of the year (2010) (Toubat, et.al, 2019).

As for the representation of parties in the sixteenth House of Representatives (2010), we note that the Islamic Action Front party boycotted the elections of this House in protest against the one-vote law (Nimri et al., 2012), and despite that, the political parties participated in these elections as the parties got (12) seats out of (120) seats (Al-Masaidin, 2015)

And the prominent events in this council were supplementary elections due to the death of Representative Rashid Al-Baraisa, according to which Mohammed Rashid Al-Baraisa succeeded. With the new constitutional amendments, the membership of Representative Sharif Al-Rawashdeh fell because he holds the nationality of another country, so supplementary elections were held for Representative Abdul Hamid Al-Rawashdeh to win, and the total number of draft laws and temporary laws completed by the sixteenth House of Representatives reached (19) laws, the most important of which was the new election law For the House of Representatives, according to which the number of members of the House of Representatives increased to become (150) members, and each voter was granted two votes, one for the local electoral district, and one for the general electoral district. In the era of the Sixteenth Council, the Arab region also witnessed many revolutions and coups (the Arab Spring), which included Arab countries (Al-Majali, 2021).

What happened in the arenas of the Arab world since the beginning of 2011 was an unprecedented phenomenon in its modern and contemporary history. And in a coincidence of time, the squares and streets of five Arab countries ignite, when the popular masses poured into them like torrential rains, calling for the overthrow of dictatorial regimes, and demanding democracy and their right to a decent life. Greetings of respect were raised to those who filled the streets, confronting the police machines of repression that the regimes used to protect themselves from the anger of the masses, and reduce their momentum on the path to eliminating them (Al-Hawamdeh, 2017).

These revolutions began with a peaceful, non-violent revolution in Tunisia, and the departure of President Zinedine Ben Ali to Saudi Arabia on January 14, 2011. The alternative, in a popular election play, was the arrival of political Islam movements, in alliance with what remained of the legacy of the previous regime, to power. Governance in Tunisia (Al-Tarawneh, 2019). Then it spread to Egypt and President Hosni Mubarak stepped down from power on February 11 of the same year. In another popular election play similar to what happened in Tunisia, the Muslim Brotherhood came to power in Egypt (Al-Ghabra, 2019). And a non-peaceful revolution in Libya, the beginning of the Libyan uprising, starting from the city of Benghazi, and the formation of the (National Transitional Council) on March 5 of the year 2011. And the issuance of UN Security Council Resolution No. 1973, on March 17, 2011, at the request of France, Britain, America and Lebanon. China, Russia, Germany, India and Brazil abstained from voting (Shehata, 2011). France, Britain and America carried out the first sorties on March 19, 2011. At that time, Hillary Clinton, US Secretary of State, called for killing or capturing Gaddafi. The conflict ended with the killing of President Muammar Gaddafi on October 23, 2011. Since that date until now, Libya has drowned in a sea of blood and continuous conflicts over regional and clan bases, and thus the introduction of takfiri movements to remain a pretext for foreign intervention. Most of what the Atlantic countries did is that they seized Libyan oil, disbanded the army and emptied its stores into militia stores, or exported it for a price to areas of tension in the Arab world. Most of what helped Libya was the appointment of a delegate to the United Nations who has no role but to manage the crisis while waving signs of a solution that will not come (Al-Madani, 2011). Then this peaceful uprising moved to Yemen, then it turned into a non-peaceful revolution until the regime was changed, and the peaceful movements continued in Bahrain, and in Syria the revolution is still continuing, as well as the protests in Iraq (Al-Qadi, 2019).

When the spark of the Arab Spring erupted in the region in 2011, the Jordanian regime had to be keen on managing the internal conflict in order to deal with Islamic parties and other opposition

parties. The internal conflict is between the "old guard", who are the old political elites or the old guard, on the one hand, and the new generation of neoliberal elites that have begun to appear in Jordanian parliamentary life, on the other. Focusing more specifically on the Jordanian Islamic opposition, King Abdullah's response to such currents is It clearly affected his relationship with the Islamic Action Front, the political wing of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan. Like his father, King Abdullah considered these Islamists to be part of the Jordanian social and political fabric. This position has put him in direct conflict with other heads of state, who have demonized the Muslim Brotherhood and blacklisted its leaders (Al-Khawaldeh, 2019).

Jordan was one of the countries that were affected by the repercussions of these revolutions, so the protests spread to the Jordanian street, calling for political reform, as the Jordanian political system felt the need to move to carry out reforms that meet the demands and aspirations of citizens, so the constitutional amendments came to forty-two articles that were considered to be the largest since the founding of the constitution in 1952 AD, The regime worked to combat corruption and legitimize the work of the authorities in charge of combating it, and to hold accountable all those who encroach on public money. In early 2013, the regime held parliamentary elections, which were different from previous ones by the presence of the list system in the electoral law, the establishment of an independent body to supervise the elections, and allowing institutions Civil society and international observers monitored the electoral process, in addition to the royal discussion papers, which expressed a comprehensive vision for political reform (Al-Hawamdeh, 2017).

In Jordan, the demonstrators' demands varied between a demand for a "constitutional monarchy" and a demand for "combating corruption", laws regulating life and improving the citizen's standard of living, but the regime is trying to surround them by making many constitutional amendments and laws that facilitate people's lives, and forming a dialogue committee to address their legitimate demands (Abu Rumman, 2023).

The Jordanian protest movements appeared in their social context before they took a political turn, and preceded the emergence of the wave of protests in the Arab region. The armed forces and the media. These tools represent effective means in disrupting the effectiveness of organizations, political parties, and non-governmental movements. These tools constitute means of loyalty and support for the regime in alleviating the pressures directed by those movements. The reactions resulting from the emergence of an unfamiliar situation in society, which opposes the directions issued by the authority, may lead to a state of instability - a situation that society does not wish to reach because of the specificity that characterizes the demographic structure of Jordanian society. This matter constituted a source of confusion in knowing the real role of those movements (Al-Majali, 2021).

Demand movements have increased in Jordan since the year (2010), reaching (139) demand movements, and it rose in the year (2011) to reach (828), and in the year (2012) it rose to (901) demand movements, and in the year (2013) it reached (890), and in the year (2013) it reached (890). (2014) the number of demand movements decreased to (474) and decreased in (2015) to reach (236). Despite the significant decline in the number of protests during the year (2017), the phenomenon of protests as one of the manifestations of social protests is still visible despite the decline in their numbers. compared to previous years. The protests for the year 2017 decreased by (20.4%) compared to what they were in 2016, which amounted to 288 protests. Protests continued to decline in 2018 compared to 2017 by 11%, as 203 protests were carried out (Al-Ghabra, 2019).



It seems clear that the duality of political and economic reform will register a continuous presence in the Jordanian political scene. This presence and its strength will depend on the level of internal performance in moving towards political reform as an entry point to a comprehensive economic reform that will be reflected in society as well as on the performance of the state. However, any political reform process in Jordan will have regional repercussions, especially on the Arab neighboring countries, and not every Jordanian political reform will be acceptable to countries that stood against the Arab Spring and want to erase its effects, and it is not expected that they will deal with any agenda based on political reform positively. In the same direction, the regional contexts will remain present and for an indefinite period in the Jordanian track, and will affect the way Jordan deals with the economic challenges it faces, and its consequences will appear on the nature of the political and economic stability that can be achieved (Al-Qadi, 2019).

G. Achieving political development in accordance with Elections Law No. (28) of 2012 during the period (2012-2015):

A royal decree was issued to hold parliamentary elections on October 4, 2012, and on December 23, 2013, parliamentary elections for the seventeenth House of Representatives were held on the basis of a permanent election law, the first of its kind since the return of parliamentary life in 1989, with the aim of avoiding the negative aspects of the parliamentary system. The one vote. These elections were held, which are the first to take place in the country since the rare constitutional amendments that took place in the context of the political reform process. (Al-Khawaldeh, 2019)

The largest part of the 23 Jordanian political parties participated, as (14) parties participated, presenting candidates on their behalf, whether in the national lists at the general district level or as candidates in local constituencies, while four other parties supported the process of participating in the elections without to present candidates on his behalf, while the Islamic Action Front Party, the Popular Unity Party, and the Life Party boycotted these elections, as these parties demanded the abolition of the one-vote law for seats allocated to local constituencies and the allocation of 50% of the seats for the general electoral constituency to political parties, that the political parties won seats within the list Closed proportionality was specific, as the participating parties won only ten seats out of (27) parties. (Al-Khawaldeh, 2018).

The number of Representatives seats was raised to (150) seats, and the electoral quota for women to (15) seats, one seat for each governorate and one for each of the three Bedouin districts, and (27) seats were allocated to the general lists, as the Jordanian state adopted a system in its parliamentary elections. A different electoral system from the systems I followed previously, so I adopted a mixed electoral system whereby the voter is given two votes, an individual vote in a local constituency, and a vote for a closed proportional list in a general constituency at the level of the Kingdom, and I consider this an important development that could open the door to improving the parliamentary weight of political parties And the Kingdom was divided into (45) local electoral districts, in addition to the general electoral district at the state level. (Al-Mseidin, 2018)

The prominent events in this parliament is that the seventeenth House of Representatives was elected amid an angry popular atmosphere rejecting the new election law, a political boycott of the Islamic movement and a wide segment of the electorate, but the percentage of participation

in the elections remained within the limits of the electoral participation of the sixteenth parliament (Al-Awamla, 2020).

This council suffered from many events, not because of its distinguished supervisory and legislative performance, but because of the behavior of its deputies under the dome, with which the Jordanians interacted and reached the point of shooting in the council. The issue of the legal quorum has become a problem that the parliament suffers from, as it was called the Council of Empty Seats, and despite its approval of (175) laws, the parliament did not give the legislation a sufficient amount of discussion and dialogue, rather it did not send to the government out of the 57 laws it proposed and worked on, only two. Just. The Council worked during three and a half years on economic, political, social and legislative laws over the course of four legislative sessions that began in March 2013 and ended with the dissolution of the Council in May 2016, some of which were important in determining the future shape of the Jordanian state, especially at the political and economic levels. Al-Rantawi et al., 2017).

The Jordanian Constitution was amended twice during the Seventeenth Council, the first was in (2014) when Article (67) was amended to stipulate that the Independent Election Commission be allowed to supervise any elections other than those for the House of Representatives and municipalities, and Article (127) was also amended, which limited the power to appoint leaders The army and intelligence are in the hands of the king without the recommendation of the prime minister, which the Muslim Brotherhood considered as limiting the powers of legislative institutions and contradicting the constitutional articles on the general mandate of the government, and it approved the constitutional amendments with the rejection of only 8 deputies. Economically, the Council approved a number of important laws, the most prominent of which was the Investment Fund Law, which sparked controversy on the day of its approval after the Council retracted a proposal to exclude Zionist companies from participating in the Fund's investments. However, that controversy highlighted the seriousness of the law that was approved and issued in the Official Gazette at the end of the month. last May. The law will operate outside the Jordanian investment laws, such as the companies and securities law and investment encouragement, in addition to granting the foreign investor exemptions from any fees, customs, or taxes that apply to the Jordanian investor (Al-Tarawneh, 2019).

The council also approved the partnership law between the public and private sectors, the economic projects development law, a amended law for industry and commerce, and the income tax law, which received wide interest and discussion inside and outside the council. In the end, everyone whose income is more than 12,000 dinars became subject to tax, while the exemption ceiling was set at 24,000. One dinar for every family, regardless of the number of its members, and one of the most controversial legislations was the "Civil Retirement Law" draft, which was approved by the House of Representatives and Senate, but the King rejected it because there was a constitutional suspicion in it, especially what stipulates granting members of the National Assembly (senators and Representatives) long-term pensions Life, and the Constitutional Court settled the controversy and issued a decision that the members of the National Assembly are not entitled to pension salaries, and the draft law returned again to the legality of the House of Representatives, but the Seventeenth House did not complete work on it, and the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Law was among the laws passed by the Seventeenth House twice Which also sparked widespread controversy, after the Council agreed in 2013 to exempt everyone who uses drugs for the

first time from the penalty of public right and imprisonment and transferring him to treatment in the specialized centers, he returned in 2016 and retracted the exemption, after the amendment was accused of inciting drug use and that it contributed to Increase its rates (Abourman, 2023).

#### **H- Achieving Political Development in Accordance with Election Law No. (6) Of 2016 During the Period (2016-2020)**

The elections for the eighteenth House of Representatives were held under the Election Law for the House of Representatives No. (6) of (2016 AD), which allocated (36) quota seats (3 seats for Circassians and Chechens, 9 seats for Christians, 15 seats for women, 9 seats for Bedouins) (The Independent Commission for Elections, 2016), which for the first time in the history of the Jordanian electoral system adopted the system of proportional representation (open proportional list), as the Independent Commission for Elections announced that it participated in the elections according to the report of the Independent Commission for Elections (266) electoral lists, distributed in 23 constituencies electoral lists, and the number of finally accepted list candidates reached (1252) candidates (Al-Majali and Kayali, 2016).

The elections of the eighteenth House of Representatives on (9/20/2016) took place on the basis of the proportional representation system / open proportional list, for the first time in the history of Jordan, in contexts related to an attempt to bring about real reform and democratic changes in the country. Especially after the intense dialogues that took place in the Jordanian political system, in terms of the demands of the national forces and the political opposition that began in the year (2010) to change the electoral law as well as the law of political parties, and to proceed seriously with the stalled reform process, and to be firm in combating rampant corruption, and to strengthen political control over the government, In parallel with King Abdullah II issuing his discussion papers starting in the year (2012), which formed the ground for dialogue in Jordan about the need to amend political legislation to serve political development by establishing parliamentary governments as an ultimate goal of reform, and with the mounting pressure and demands on the regime to make the required changes, a law was amended Elections in the year (2016), which included the abolition of the single, non-transferable vote system, the decision of the proportional representation system through the open proportional list system at the governorate level. And restricting candidacy to lists only, whether their owners are partisan or independent, with the aim of encouraging political parties to participate in candidacy and voting (Al-Awamla, 2020).

In parallel with changing the Political Parties Law in 2015, facilitating the process of establishing and registering political parties, reducing the number of founders, and changing the authority responsible for parties from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs. On the basis that these two laws contribute to providing an appropriate environment to enhance the role of political parties and encourage citizens to participate in the political process, and with regard to the participation of political parties in the parliamentary elections of 2016, 39 parties out of 50 participated in the elections. It is noted that the political parties won seats on the open proportional list was limited, as the parties participating in the elections got (24) seats out of (130), and perhaps this is due to the fact that the election law of (2016) did not contribute to increasing the representation of political parties in The eighteenth House of Representatives, although this law adopted the open proportional list system at the level

of the constituency, it did not work to create the appropriate conditions for the parties to bring representatives in a sufficient number of them to Parliament, as this system represented the absence of the threshold of decisiveness in representation, and its reliance on the system As the remainder is the highest for the distribution of the winning seats, and it also gives the voter the right to vote for several candidates within the list he voted for; This system worked to make competition within one list, and this naturally has negative consequences for the representation of political parties in the House of Representatives. It can be noted that the system of proportional representation (open proportional list) applied in Jordan does not require nomination for these lists on a partisan basis, in order to encourage and support parties political, as it relied on party lists to run for elections (Al-Adwan, Al-Azzam, 2019).

However, the new electoral law did not lead to enhancing the participation of parties and the formation of alliances and blocs, whether in the candidacy or in the work of the new parliament, and instead of the list representing a quantum leap in the electoral reform process and strengthening the role of political parties, the electoral list turned into a source of criticism of the law and popular condemnation. The process of forming the lists that the candidates faced difficulties in forming. The adoption of the open proportional list system, during the application of the law in practice, proved that this system has created competition between the members of one list that has reached the point of conflict and disagreement, just as those lists did not achieve their desired goal and were not based on the adoption of joint electoral programs by their members, so the competition was Individually, and this was evident in the electoral propaganda that was based on individual candidates, not on the list as a single unit. The formation of these lists is dominated by regional, regional, clan-tribal considerations, and others, at the expense of the partisan variable. Regarding the participation of political parties in the elections and the number of their winners, the numbers and sources have multiplied to the point of digital disturbance for the real participation of the parties in the elections or the number of winners among them; The Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs referred to this in an unpublished internal summary (Nasrawin, 2017).

The prominent events in this council is that it was elected in light of the lack of political interest in participation among many social segments, especially in major cities such as Amman and Zarqa, and the emergence of the phenomenon of political money. Some candidates or their supporters defied the law and stole a number of boxes in one of the polling centers in the Central Badia. I monitored the reactions of some of those who were unlucky and their supporters rioting and closing public roads, in addition to the return of the phenomenon of firing shots by some supporters of the winning candidates. The positive role of the Independent Electoral Commission has also emerged, but it has been delayed and slow in publishing the announcement of the results and replacing the workers in the committees, as 29 members of the committees were replaced in various parts of the Kingdom, and the failure to provide assistance facilities for people with special needs in the electoral process, which led to their weak participation in the electoral process. Polling (Al-Hayat Center, 2017).

### **I. Achieving Political Development in Accordance with Election Law No. (6) Of 2016 During the Period (2020-2024)**

The elections for the nineteenth House of Representatives were held, according to the Election Law for the House of Representatives No. (6), for the year (2016 AD), on (10/11/2020).

Despite the exceptional epidemiological, political and social conditions that the nineteenth House of Representatives elections brought about, the outputs of the new parliament were also exceptional in terms of the quality of the winners of the 130 seats in the House of Representatives, their walks, attitudes, and actions.

In light of the low participation rate, which reached (29%) in the elections of the nineteenth Parliament, the number of partisan representatives decreased to (12) parties, and no partisan female representative won a seat in Parliament. Only four parties were able to secure their seats in Parliament, namely: the Islamic Action Front, the Islamic Center, the Jordanian United Front, and the Jordanian Al-Wafaa, noting that the total number of party candidates was (397) candidates for the elections, representing (23%) of the total number of candidates in Jordan, which numbered (1690). Candidate and Candidate. The number of party lists increased by (30%), while the increase in the number of party candidates reached (35%) compared to the parliamentary elections (2016), according to (Abdullah, 2020).

The most prominent event in the elections for the 19th House of Representatives is the reluctance of the Jordanian street, caused by the low confidence of citizens in the parliamentary elections, which faced many challenges before they took place. The spread of the new Corona virus epidemic and the high number of dead and infected people was frightening. And that the election law is the greatest reason that led to the decline of the role of political parties in the Jordanian Parliament. The electoral list system and the citizens' having to vote for one list practically represents one vote, but in a different way. Two of them represented him at the governorate level, but the election law tipped the scales (Al-Majali, 2021).

What the election law imposed was that nationalist and leftist parties became obligated to run with a specific number of lists and with a specific number of candidates. Therefore, leftist parties only ran in constituencies in which they have mass bases, unlike the Islamic Action, which was able to run in a larger number of constituencies due to the existence of a base. They have a strong and regular fan base, as the religious base is wide in Jordan. 48 male and female candidates from leftist parties ran, including 7 female candidates in the 2020 parliamentary elections, compared to 16 male and female candidates, including 3 women, in the 2016 elections, but the results were very weak, in the year 2016 AD, they won only one seat, but in these elections They did not obtain any seat, according to the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs (Abu Rumman, 2023).

## **Results**

1. The elections held in 1989 in accordance with the Elections Law No. 23 of 1989, the open list system, according to which the voter has more than one vote. This law was able to bring about political development. Through this law, political parties were able to participate in the elections and obtain It achieved good results, and therefore this stage was considered the most important in the process of political détente, with the participation of political parties and their obtaining good results in these elections, which strengthened political pluralism in Jordan. Each electoral system has different political implications. Since the return of parliamentary life in 1989, Jordan has begun working to amend election laws in order to support political pluralism in Jordan. The parliamentary elections of 1989 were held in accordance with the law amending Election Law No. 23 of 1989, the open list system. according to which the voter has more than one vote, and this of course was

reflected in the political parties that benefited from this system, and in fact, as a result of this, the political parties were able to participate in the elections and obtain good results, and therefore this stage was considered the most important in achieving political development through. The participation of political parties and their obtaining good results in these elections, which strengthened political pluralism in Jordan.

2. Despite the issuance of the Political Parties Law of (1992) to make political parties legal and licensed under this law, the government has worked to issue the one-vote law on the basis of which the legislative elections of (1993) were held. This law has worked to strengthen Tribalism at the expense of political parties, as the representation of the Islamic current declined in these elections, and the representation of leftist and nationalist currents declined compared to what these currents obtained in the 1989 elections that were conducted on the basis of the open list system (the bloc) that was in the interest of the parties.
3. The indicators of political development declined in the 1997 elections, when the majority of political parties decided to boycott the elections in protest against the one-vote law and some other laws imposed by the government, which affected the representation of political parties in the House of Representatives. As a result of the strong opposition to the one-vote law, the government By issuing Law No. (34) for the year 2001, however, this law was disappointing, as this law kept the one-vote system unchanged, so the elections of (2003) came to confirm the real decline in political development, as the participation of political parties and their results in these elections were low. Compared to previous sessions, the main reason for this is the continued application of the one-vote law, as well as the division of constituencies into (45) constituencies and the lack of fairness in dividing these constituencies, which was reflected in the representation of political parties in the House of Representatives, and this applies to the general elections ( 2007), which were conducted according to this law, as these elections witnessed the worst result obtained by political parties, with the exception of the Islamic Action Front Party and the Islamic Center Party, none of the other political parties could obtain a seat in the fifteenth House of Representatives.
4. The political parties continued to boycott the electoral process under the pretext of continuing to implement the one-vote law without making any amendments to it. The political parties demanded the adoption of the proportional list to represent the parties. However, the government held these elections and did not heed the popular demands to change the electoral law, while the political parties that participated in the electoral process did not get good results; This is as a result of continuing to apply the single vote system. Thus, we find that the defects of the one-vote system became clear when reading the representation of political parties in the elected parliaments, where the most important of these defects was the weak representation of political parties in the parliaments, especially the small parties.
5. The government did not take any action to continue the dangerous decline in the level of political development despite its application of the mixed electoral system in the 2013 elections. The government used this system to increase the representation of political parties in the House of Representatives. However, these lists and nominations were not limited to political parties. Rather, the nomination for these elections was on a national basis and not on a partisan basis, as the results only resulted in winning (10) seats on the closed proportional list, and (23) seats on the open list. Thus, the political parties had won in the 2013 elections. Except for (33)

seats out of (150) seats.

6. Despite the amendment of the Election Law of (2016), which adopted the system of proportional representation (the open proportional list), the results obtained by the parties were the opposite of what was expected, as the parties obtained (24) seats out of (130) seats, this is a low percentage in relation to the representation of parties in the eighteenth House of Representatives. Instead of increasing the representation of political parties in the House of Representatives, he worked to reduce the representation of these parties, and this is due to gaps within this system represented in the absence of the threshold of decisiveness, and the voter is granted the right to vote for several candidates within the same list. And the competition became within the single list, and the nomination for these elections was not limited to party lists, and this in turn has harmed the representation of political parties in the House of Representatives.
7. In the (2020) elections, the participation rate decreased and reached (29%). In the nineteenth Parliament elections, the number of partisan representatives decreased to (12) partisans, and no partisan female representative got a seat in Parliament. Only four parties were able to secure their seats in Parliament, namely: The Islamic Action Front, the Islamic Center, the Jordanian United Front, and the Jordanian Loyalty. In voting in these elections, bearing in mind that the parties reject this idea, as the person who sells his vote sells himself, and about the reason for the decrease in the number of female candidates in the lists of the left-wing coalition compared to males, that the electoral law this time proved unbalanced, as it worked to escalate tribalism and demolish the power of political parties, the result was shocking and disappointing in terms of number and quality.

## **Recommendations**

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

1. The open list system (the bloc) that Jordan followed in the 1989 elections is considered the best system that Jordan followed. As it resulted in a somewhat strong parliament in political pluralism, the people and the national and political forces are still talking about this system and wishing for a return to it.
2. Reconsidering the Jordanian election laws so that participation in the electoral process is limited to political forces and parties, and the election laws include appropriate mechanisms in order to ensure adequate partisan representation in Parliament.
3. Reconsidering the Jordanian election laws so that political forces and parties participate in drafting these laws to ensure access to an electoral law that suits the Jordanian environment.
4. The political leaders of the political parties communicate with the youth group to integrate them into the frameworks of the political parties, and intensify the communication of the parties with the different regions in Jordan by holding seminars of a practical nature to confront youth problems of unemployment and poverty.
5. Intensifying the Ministry of Political Development's communication with political parties and popular and youth movement cadres, opening dialogues with tribal and tribal leaders in their areas, pressing towards deepening political participation by research centers and civil society institutions to pass an electoral law based on an electoral system that combines party lists and the majority system, and amending the law Political parties to stipulate the

representation of youth and women in the first leadership positions.

## The References

- Abdullah, F (2020) "Parliament 2020" without a party representative. What is the form of the women's supervisory and legislative role? Al-Ghad newspaper, 11/20/2020. <https://alghad.com/Section-137>
- Abu Rumman, H, (2014), The Impact of the Elections Law of 2012 and the Distribution of Electoral Seats on the Representation of Political Parties in the House of Representatives, Amman, Al-Quds Center for Political Studies. <https://www.alqudscenter.org/>
- Abu Rumman, H, (2017) The Impact of the Election Law of 2016 on the Structure and Performance of the Eighteenth House of Representatives, Al-Quds Center for Political Studies, Amman, Jordan. <https://www.alqudscenter.org/index.php?l=ar&pg=UFVCTEIDQVRJT05T&id=2368>
- Abu Rumman, N (2023) Election laws and political parties and their impact on party life in Jordan (1992-2022 AD), Journal of Political Science and Law, 36 (8): 254-289. <https://democraticac.de/?p=90108>
- Al- Al-Mseidin, Y (2018) The Impact of the Political Parties Law of 2015 on Partisan Participation in the Eighteenth Jordanian Parliament Elections in 2016. Journal of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 19 (1): 113-164. [https://jpsa.journals.ekb.eg/article\\_128825.html](https://jpsa.journals.ekb.eg/article_128825.html)
- Al-Adwan K; Al-Azzam A (2019) The Symbolic Significance of the Candidates' Lists for the 'Eighteenth Parliamentary Elections' and its Political Role in Enabling the Voters to Cast Their Votes, Humanities and Social Sciences Studies, 45 (2): 30-62. <https://archives.ju.edu.jo/index.php/hum/>
- Al-Awamla, R (2020). The Role of Election Laws in Representing Political Parties in Parliament in Jordan after the Democratic Transformation Period (1989-2016) Studies: Humanities and Social Sciences, 47(1): 772-789. <https://archives.ju.edu.jo/index.php/hum>
- Al-Ghabra, S (2019) The Arab Revolutions and Their Enemies, Dar RiyadAl-Rayes, Cairo. <https://www.noor-book.com/book/review/527417>
- Al-Hajaya, N, (2023), A reading of the new election law for the year 2022. <https://alqalahnews.net/article/306688>
- Al-Hawamdeh, K (2017) The Impact of the Jordanian Election Law on Electoral Behavior (The Seventeenth and Eighteenth House of Representatives: A Comparative Study), an unpublished master's thesis, Al al-Bayt University, Mafrq, Jordan. <https://lib.manaraa.com/books>
- Al-Hayat Center (2017), The final report on the outputs of monitoring the Jordanian parliamentary elections 2016. <https://www.rasedjo.com/ar/publications>
- Alkhozah, H (2011) Pros and Cons of the Temporary Election Law for the Jordanian Parliament: An Applied Social Study, Policy and Law Notebooks, Special Issue, 28-43. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/361053978>
- Al-Madani, T (2011), "The Fall of the Police State in Tunisia, Beirut, Arab Science Publishers. <http://www.credif.org.tn/PORT/doc/SYRACUSE/1833>
- Al-Majali, A, Al-Kayyali, A, Al hamed, J, Khater, A (2016) The Jordanian Parliamentary Elections of 2016, a political and statistical study, edited by Al-Hamad Al-Kayyali, Center for Middle East Studies, Amman. <https://search.emarefa.net/detail/BIM-813472>
- Al-Majali, J, Mahadee, M, & Adnan, Z. (2022) Political Parties, Tribalism, and Democratic Practice in Jordan. Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences, 49(5), 490–500.



- <https://doi.org/10.35516/hum.v49i5.3499>
- Al-Majali, S (2021) The Impact of Changing Parliamentary Elections Laws on the Political Reform Process in Jordan, a Comparative Study (The Eleventh Chamber and the Seventeenth Chamber of Representatives), *The Arab Journal for Publication*, 2 (1): 331-362. <https://www.ajsp.net/research>
- Al-Masaidin, Y, (2015), The Political Implications of the Electoral System in Jordan, *The Arab Future Magazine*, <http://www.caus.org.lb>
- Al-Masry, A (2017) Requirements and Obstacles to Forming the Parliamentary Government in Jordan, An Exploratory Study on Members of the Seventeenth Jordanian Parliament, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Middle East University, Amman, <https://search.emarefa.net/detail/BIM-763062>
- Al-Oweimer, W; Al-Taweel, H (2012) Jordanian Election Laws and their Impact on Political Reform Between 1989-2010, *University of Sharjah Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 9 (3): 277-307. <https://spu.sharjah.ac.ae/index.php/HSS/issue/view/63>
- Al-Qadi, Q (2019) The Impact of the Election Law on the Performance of Members of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Jordanian Parliament 2013-2016: A Comparative Study, Unpublished Master Thesis, Al al-Bayt University, Mafraq, Jordan. [https://web2.aabu.edu.jo/thesis\\_site/thes\\_dtl.jsp?thes\\_no=1219](https://web2.aabu.edu.jo/thesis_site/thes_dtl.jsp?thes_no=1219)
- Al-Rantawi, O; Omar, Z; Helmy, S, , Al-Amr, Q (2017), The development of partisan life in Jordan, an analytical historical study (1921-2016), Jerusalem Center for Political Studies, Amman. <https://www.alqudscenter.org/index.php>
- Al-Saleem, O (2021) The Impact of Political Parties on Women's Candidacy in Elections and Their Representation in Jordanian Parliaments 1989-2016, *The Jordanian Journal of Law and Political Science*, 13 (3): 185-226. <https://search.emarefa.net/detail/BIM-1338536>
- Altarawneh, B (2022) The Impact Of Election Laws On The Participation Of The Jordanian Woman In The Elected Local Councils (2017 And 2022) A Comparative Analytical Study, *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6(6): 3961-3974. <https://journalppw.com/index.php/jpsp/article/view/8104>
- Atbeesh, A, (2016), Jordanian election laws and their impact on the Jordanian political system for the period 1989-2016, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Mutah University, Jordan. <https://search.mandumah.com/Record/957167>
- Atiyat, A (2017) Jordanian Women Participation in the Parliamentary Elections of 2016: Field Study in Albalqa Governorate, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 7(3):109-122. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334225389>
- Bani Amer, H; Alazmi, F. (2024). The partisan participation in the Jordanian parliamentary election, *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development*, 12(2):1-12. <https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v12i2.3420>
- Easton, D, (1957), An Approach to The Analysis of Political Systems, *World Politics*,9(3):383-400 <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/abs/>
- Frehat, I. (2011). The Historical Development of the Election Laws in Jordan 1928 – 2011. *The Jordanian Journal of History and Antiquities*, 5 (4): 98-160. <https://archives.ju.edu.jo/index.php/jjha/article/view/3007/2650>
- Kazadri, H (2015) Political Development: Concept. Problems, components and mechanisms, *Algerian Journal of Social and Human Sciences*, 4 (2): 231-265. <https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/71085>
- Khawaldeh, S (2016) Women's Quota in the Electoral System and its Impact on the

- Representation of Jordanian Women in Parliament, 2007-2013, Sharjah Sociologists Association, 131 (33): 79-117. <https://search.emarefa.net/detail/BIM-720418>
- Khawaldeh, S (2018) The participation of Islamic political parties in the Jordanian parliamentary elections of “2016” The Islamic Action Front Party as a model, *Journal of Political Science and Law*, 4 (1): 70-97 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327906541>
- Khawaldeh, S (2019) The impact of the election law on the participation of Jordanian parties in the 2013 parliamentary elections, *Journal of Legal and Political Sciences*, 10 (3): 12-27. <https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/108474>
- Khazraji, T (2015). Modern political systems and public policy, a contemporary study in the strategy of power management, Dar Majdalawi for publication and distribution, 1<sup>st</sup>.ed, p.126. <https://www.neelwafurat.com/itempage.aspx>
- MacLeod, R. (2016). She Parliamentarian: A campaign for women MPs in Jordan. Praxis Series Paper No. 2. Oxford: INTRAC. <https://www.intrac.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Praxis-Series-Paper-2>.
- Mohsen, K. (2015). Election under Jordanian Legal Electoral System: a Comparative Study (Jordan, Britain, Germany), *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 5(2):281-302. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334825288>
- Nahar, G, (2012), The Impact of Political Parties on the 2007 Jordanian Parliamentary Elections, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 2 (16):121-133. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/>
- Nasrawin, L (2017) The Legal System for Political Parties in Jordan: A Comparative Study, *International Journal of Law*, 25 (3): 1-26. <https://qspace.qu.edu.qa/bitstream/handle>
- Nu’aimat, O., and Al-Dorou, K. (2016) “The impact of the party system on administrative control over the work of administration, an applied study on the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,” *Studies, Sharia and Law Sciences*, 43(1): 35-54. <https://archives.ju.edu.jo/index.php/law/article/view/7045>
- Shehata, D, (2011), “Drivers of Change in the Arab World,” *International Politics*, Al-Ahram Foundation, Issue 184. <https://democraticac.de/?p=1393>
- Tahboub, N (2023) Election laws and political parties and their impact on party life in Jordan (1992-2022), *Journal of Political Science and Law*, 36 (8): 254-289. <https://democraticac.de/?p=90108>
- Tarawneh, B (2019) Jordanian Parliamentary Elections Laws, and their Impact on the Level of Political Participation: A Study of Electoral Systems, *Humanities and Social Sciences Studies*, 46(2): 555-570. [dirasat.ju.edu.jo/HSS/Article/](https://dirasat.ju.edu.jo/HSS/Article/).
- Toubat, H; Mahafzah, E; Balas, H (2019) The Impact of the Electoral System on the Independence and Efficiency of the Jordanian House of Representatives, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 9(3):57-61. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332700424>