The path of political reform in light of the Arab Spring Jordan as a model

Naser Mahmoud Tahboub

The University of Jordan, Amman – Jordan

naser_tahboub@orange.jo

Abstract

Six years after the so-called Arab Spring and its negative repercussions on Jordan, especially on economic, reform efforts emerged that formed foundations and rules that were later built on the foundations of political reform, namely parliamentary elections and party and party life. Election laws and the parties that organize them, and these foundations are represented in the legal and legislative environment that took place during the years of the Arab Spring to work to make them more harmonious through the implementation of constitutional amendments and the establishment of an independent commission. All these foundations led to a review of previous electoral and party experiences, as well as the laws governing party life and electoral processes, to benefit from them, leading to the 2016 elections, which were the culmination of political reform efforts over the past six years.

Keywords: regional circumstances, discussion papers, party currents, Islamic movement, and elections.

El camino de la reforma política a la luz de la Primavera Árabe Jordania como modelo

Resumen

Seis años después de la llamada Primavera Árabe y sus repercusiones negativas en Jordania, especialmente en lo económico, surgieron esfuerzos de reforma que formaron las bases y reglas que luego se construyeron sobre las bases de la reforma política, a saber, las elecciones parlamentarias y la vida de partidos y partidos. Las leyes electorales y los partidos que las organizan, y estas fundaciones están representadas en el entorno legal y legislativo que tuvo lugar durante los años de la Primavera Árabe para trabajar para hacerlas más

armoniosas a través de la implementación de enmiendas constitucionales y el establecimiento de una comisión independiente. . Todos estos fundamentos llevaron a una revisión de las experiencias electorales y partidistas previas, así como de las leyes que rigen la vida partidaria y los procesos electorales, para sacar provecho de ellos, dando lugar a las elecciones de 2016, que fueron la culminación de los esfuerzos de reforma política de los últimos seis años.

Palabras clave: circunstancias regionales, documentos de debate, corrientes partidistas, movimiento islámico y elecciones.

1. INTRODUCTION

The state of instability in the region affects Jordan and it is natural for there to be concrete steps to achieve comprehensive reform in Jordan, especially political reform, because Jordan has many characteristics that would constitute opportunities to move on the path of political and democratic reform.

In light of the political and sectarian conflicts in the region, and in view of the repercussions of these conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Yemen, several questions arise about the degree of strength of the institutional structure within the conflict countries in the region and the extent of cohesion enjoyed by state institutions, whether executive, legislative or judicial looking at the history of these countries in the democratic and institutional development shows the weakness, which eventually led to the state of explosion, whose negative repercussions are increasing as a result of regional and international interventions.

2. METHODOLOGY

The importance of the study lies in its attempt to shed light on the experience of political reform in a country surrounded by crises from various sides, of which political reform is one of its main pillars. Political Islam, and the need to expand the circle of political participation, through the development of the basic laws regulating this participation, the "election and party laws". The study focuses on the political system's dealings with the Islamic movement during the past years, as well as the development of election laws and parties, in addition to other factors that characterized the Jordanian situation and contributed to a state of equilibrium and stability.

The problem of the study stems from the fact that it examines several elements that contributed to Jordan's overcoming the difficult stage represented by the culmination of the so-called Arab Spring and the subsequent regional crisis that reflected on Jordan politically and economically. Therefore, the study seeks to clarify the effects of the region's conflicts politically, economically and socially and the most important elements necessary to build a strong state. Which would preserve its stability, which appears to be evident in the Jordanian case, namely: -

1. Legitimacy and its role in maintaining stability, which was lacking in the countries that came out calling for democracy as the first priority. This legitimacy was embodied in discussion papers.

2. Institutions that were created and contributed to framing political reform efforts, such as the Constitutional Court, the independent election body.

3. The development of legislation towards more democracy (election laws and parties).

4. The political system's response to social and popular demands and its dealings with the various movements and political forces, especially the Islamic movement, and the formation of the National Dialogue Committee and discussion papers that indicate and reflect the importance of legitimacy for the political system.

5. Non-interference in the affairs of other countries and keeping the Jordanian state within the limits of its capabilities in order to preserve its stability.

The study starts from a main hypothesis: that the authority and the political system play the most prominent role in determining the nature of the political movement and the developments of its scene. The political system has a positive relationship with the political actors in the street, such as popular and party movements that formed the main factor of stability.

There are other hypotheses that are summarized as follows:

• Jordan has benefited greatly from past experiences regarding national dialogues, which played an important role in overcoming this stage

• The popular movements that emerged during the outbreak of the Arab Spring revolutions were characterized by characteristics that prevented the development of these movements and increasing their influence in a way that could lead to negative results.

• Political reform in Jordan takes a gradual form, especially with regard to laws and legislation.

The study dealt with the period that constituted the real beginning of the return to democratic life in Jordan, which was the year 1989, where the study dealt with election laws in addition to the parliamentary elections from 1989 to 2016 and the position of the Islamic movement towards them as an indicator of the relationship between them and the political system, and the study focused mainly on the years The last six years and the internal and regional developments it has witnessed have an impact on Jordan.

The study relied on the analytical approach, which is the best method that can be used to study developments related to political reform and democratic transition during nearly three decades of events and developments, whose analysis and identification formed a way to find out the reasons behind Jordan's ability to maintain its stability

despite the security and economic challenges it faces. The study used many sources and references represented by the original sources such as laws, legislations, discussion papers and what is published in the official newspaper. The study also used many studies of a number of thinkers who contribute in the field of research in addition to a group of local and Arab newspapers, which included several analyzes and statistics.

3. RESULTS and DISCUSSION

The decline in the economic and living conditions of Jordanians and the rise in the poverty line are among the most important reasons for achieving concrete steps in political reform, and economic indicators point to a rise in public debt due to the crises in the region, reaching 25 billion dinars in 2016. In addition to that, the political and popular demands of the Jordanian street calling for accelerating the pace of political and economic reform and addressing the defect in many directions that exacerbated the public debt as a feasibility and the privatization mechanism for some national companies and the administrative and bureaucratic slack in many state institutions, which led to poor performance and the flight of investment capital (Homsi 2015), in addition to the internal conditions, there are the turbulent regional conditions in Syria and Iraq, which constitute a fertile ground for influencing Jordan, as the repercussions of the events in Syria and Iraq exacerbated the threat of extremism in addition to the political, economic and social impacts on Jordan, as the Syrian and Iraqi crises

negatively affected the transport sector and land trade. By closing the Iraqi and Syrian markets to Jordanian goods and services. These markets are among the most important markets for Jordan in the Middle East and North Africa. With the complexity of the Syrian political scene and the increase in violence between the regime and the factions on the one hand, and between the factions on the other side in a region bordering the Mediterranean, which is a link between Asia and Europe, Jordan's keenness to take a cautious stance that always persists in not aligning itself with one party at the expense of the other, despite the pressures. In the internal, regional and international levels, and among those who support the survival of the Syrian regime, and oppose it, Jordan has maintained a state of balance. Syria and its people (KHAITAN, FAHD. 2012).

Ultimately, Jordan had to take a clearer stand on the conflicts in Syria and Iraq to serve its interests and stability, while always maintaining its call for a political solution despite its compulsion to join international efforts to combat terrorism and extremism.

After talking about the political and security pressures caused by the regional circumstances, it is necessary to refer to the economic and social pressures and impacts caused by the crises in the region, especially the Syrian crisis, The total number of Syrian refugees on Jordanian lands reached more than a million and a hundred thousand distributed in the governorates of the Kingdom, and the cost of hosting the refugees was estimated at 2.9 billion dinars, as the pressure increased on various sectors to absorb this large number of refugees, as

the burden of the Syrian refugee burden on the sector increased. Health Ministry 253 million dinars per year, estimated at 864 million dinars, since the outbreak of the Syrian crisis (AL-MUHAISEN. 2014). It is possible to measure the health sector for the rest of the sectors such as services, municipalities, infrastructure and energy, as these pressures impede the implementation of development plans. Faced with these pressures, Jordan lives in a state of scarcity of aid from the United States, the Gulf States and the international community as a whole. The world is not providing what is needed to help Jordan bear the burdens of the refugee crisis, and it is not working to solve this crisis at the same time.

The constitutional amendments came during the past five years to demonstrate the possibility of change and progress towards reform, and the constitution witnessed the addition of several paragraphs and articles confirming the trend towards democratic transformation. The elections are held within four months, and in the event that they are not held, the dissolved parliament is called to convene. Among the constitutional amendments that strengthened the independence of the legislative authority was the establishment of an independent election body to manage and supervise the parliamentary and municipal elections, as well as the Constitutional Court, to adjudicate the constitutionality of laws, and the abolition of the Supreme Council for the Interpretation of the Constitution in addition to affirming the independence of the judiciary by explicitly stipulating this and forming the Judicial Council by law to handle all affairs Related to the judiciary.

There are other amendments that took place during the year 2016 which stipulated that the king would exercise his powers without the signature of the prime minister and the competent ministers, and the constitutional amendments allowed dual nationalities for ministers or members of Parliament and the election of the Speaker of Parliament for two solar years with the possibility of re-election[1].

We do not fail to refer to the outputs of the National Dialogue Committee that was formed based on the directives of King Abdullah II, as it paid attention to the issue of preserving the unifying national identity and emphasizing it in the face of sub-identities on the fixed position on the Palestinian issue, which is the most important regional factors that must be taken into account when talking about preserving the unity and stability of Jordan.[2]

3.1. Discussion papers of King Abdullah II

Discussion papers are one of the steps that heads and kings of states rarely take in their policy of governance. These papers came in the form of messages that defined the axes of reform and the royal vision for it, and these papers serve as a compass directed to reform and democracy.

1- The first paper (2012) entitled "Our march towards building a renewed democracy" focused on dialogue and accepting the other opinion without exclusion or marginalization, and strengthening the

principle of accountability by citizens in an objective manner by seeking the truth in that.

1- The second paper (2013) was entitled "Developing our democratic system to serve all Jordanians." The King emphasized citizenship, constructive dialogue and protection of the rights guaranteed by the constitution and the importance of reaching the parliamentary government through consultation with the parliamentary majority blocs and their requirements that were summarized in the emergence of effective national parties with clear programs and development The government apparatus worked to be supportive of ministers and change parliamentary norms by developing the internal system of the House of Representatives and framing the mechanism for forming parliamentary governments through consultation and consensus between parliamentary blocs.

3- The third discussion paper (2013) was titled "Roles await us for the success of our democracy." This paper sheds light on the roles of political parties, the parliament, the government and the monarchy, as well as the citizen's role. Legislative responsibility for laws and monitoring the performance of the government, and the role of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers is to prepare a four-year program of action aimed at prosperity and security for all citizens. As for the role of ownership, it emphasized the centrality and role of the head of state in the main tasks of protecting the state's security and heritage and the role of ownership in forming governments, The citizen's role is to engage in public life, develop the political party

system, enhance his participation in elections and hold governments accountable, and the importance of citizens expressing themselves and establishing a democratic society.

4- The fourth discussion paper (2013) is titled Toward Democratic Empowerment and Active Citizenship. The King focuses on enhancing popular participation and raising awareness among members of society. The King emphasized that the main goal of reform is to enhance popular participation in decision-making, through the approach of parliamentary governments, and the importance of the democratic empowerment program. This program will provide support for projects supporting a climate of transparency and accountability, entrepreneurial ideas, training programs, and all the tools available to citizens to become actors.

5- The fifth discussion paper (2014) came under the title "Deepening the democratic transformation, goals, achievements and political norms." In this paper, the most important achievements that have been achieved since the start of the Jordanian Spring were reviewed, whether institutional, legislative or judicial achievements.

The fifth paper also referred to what legislators must do in terms of developing laws that regulate political action in a manner that elevates to parliamentary governments, the government's role in developing the public sector and the government apparatus, and the need for political parties to continue developing their programs and regulations, strengthening and launching the capabilities of the

judiciary and promoting concepts Accountability, transparency and joint action between the legislative and executive authorities.

1- Sixth discussion paper (2016) came after the holding of the parliamentary elections under the title the rule of law is the basis of the civil state. This paper focused on the importance of applying the law with its principles to everyone, considering that women's law is one of the most important criteria for countries that are successful in achieving development and prosperity, by developing the performance of the government apparatus. And the judiciary, and fighting favoritism and favoritism.

2- The paper also clarifies the concept of the civil state, which is the state of institutions that separate the authorities and that refer to the constitution and the laws and are based on peace and respect for the opinion of others, and it protects its individuals and their rights without discrimination, preserves the rights of women and preserves the rights of minorities.

3- It is clear that discussion papers have continuously tried to show weaknesses in the relationship between the executive and legislative branches, the weakness of political parties' programs and the public awareness of their importance, weak government performance, legislative and oversight performance due to the absence of accountability and transparency, and finally the weakness of community institutions.

3.2. Street movements

The Jordanian movements were characterized by several factors that reflected on the Jordanian reality and made it pass the stage of danger.

• The Islamic Movement and the National Front for Reform, which focused its demands on political reform and constitutional amendments

• Nationalist and leftist forces and movements that differed with the Islamic movement and separated from the National Front for Reform. This shows that the unity of the protest currents is weak.

Left-wing, social and youth movements

• The National Progressive Movement and military retirees focused on strengthening the Jordanian national identity

• Movements emphasized the right of citizenship and not marginalizing any party or any of the Jordanian people

The different priorities of previous, ideological and intellectual currents and movements between Islamic, nationalist and leftist and their interpretation of political reform weakened the strength of their influence, as well as the spring chaos, especially in Egypt, Syria and

Yemen, which led to a decline in social and popular support for fear of a repetition of regional scenarios in Jordan.

3.3. *The nature of the relationship between the Islamic movement and the political system*

It is necessary to understand the nature of the relationship between the Islamic movement, in particular the Muslim *Brotherhood*, and the political system in Jordan, due to the controversy surrounding the understanding of the terms the religious state and the civil state, the implications of the rise of Islamic movements in the Arab Spring countries, and the dangers of *Takfir* and extremism.

In the beginning, the Jordanian constitution was able to preserve the principle of equality in rights and duties and respect for different religions, whether in terms of rituals or transactions. As the state stood on neutrality and did not support any of them at a time when there were many disagreements between these currents as long as these differences did not affect the religious and political side. The political equation is what determines the nature of the relationship between it and the state that has been flexible in dealing with it since the fifties. Its members are deprived of the rights of citizenship, work, and social and political activity (ABU RUMMAN MUHAMMAD. 2011).

Despite the transformation of the relationship between Islamic currents and the state since the 1990s and the weakening of the need to support the *Brotherhood* for several factors and the *Brotherhood's*

opposition to the policy of curtailment and to the Jordanian-Israeli peace agreements, the political equation and interests continued to govern this relationship, and despite the escalation of tension between the *Brotherhood* and the Islamic Action Front Party on the one hand and the government On the other hand, for several factors, including the party's interpretation of reform, objection to the election law and its vision of the weakness of state institutions and civil society, and the latter's closing the group's headquarters, but the party chose to participate in the elections, which indicates the party's desire not to escalate given the stage the region is going through and to maintain the state of balance and open lines. With the government, therefore, the new phase in the relationship between Islamists and the authorities is likely to have started with the beginning of the regular session of the parliament.

3.4. Elements of political reform - parliamentary elections and party life

The importance of consent and consensus with the 1989 election law is evident in that it opened the door to a political breakthrough, as these elections were followed by the issuance of the National Charter and then the Political Parties Law, thus the 1989 elections and their electoral system marked the beginning of the path of political reform and democratic transformation. Despite the agreement on that law and the emergence of calls to return to it after the one-vote laws, it is not suitable for this stage, as it does not

recognize the partisan component as a basic component of the political system and may lead to the isolation of one current in the political and parliamentary scene, and the current and future phase requires an election law that guarantees broad participation From different currents.

In the 1993 elections, a series of councils based on the one-vote system began, and many believed that one vote came to produce a parliament that does not stand in the way of the Wadi Araba treaty. Parliament, with its formation that it was in the 1989 elections, would not have passed the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, and this shows the role of regional conditions in influencing On the laws and legislations, the delicate situation that Jordan went through after the second Gulf War and its entry into peace negotiations with Israel as a result of the increase in political and economic pressures that Jordan was subjected to because of its standing by Iraq. Since 1993 electoral laws have enjoyed total consensus due to the absence of substantial changes to them, as they were sometimes boycotted and accused of impartiality at other times, and it is necessary to reach a parliament on which everyone agrees to bring about the required fundamental changes, such as abolishing the one-vote system, reconsidering the distribution of electoral districts and restricting the national list. In the event that it is returned with political parties so that it becomes a party list and the national list is an open list where the candidate b Voting for the candidate he wants, then reducing the number of members of the House of Representatives and maintaining the quota system in the House. Nevertheless, the current election law of 2016 is considered a

quantum leap compared to previous laws by leaving the one-vote system, and it also cuts the way significantly to opportunities to use political money to reach Parliament through The approval of the open list and the executive instructions issued by the independent commission confirm this. Among the most prominent of these instructions are those related to electoral campaigns? Executive Instructions No. 7 of 2016 demanded the necessity of disclosing the financial resources allocated for spending and their expenditures, setting a ceiling for spending according to criteria related to the size of the constituency, the number of voters and the cost of living.

After referring to the most important aspects of the election law, it is necessary to shed light on the active electoral movement, the first of its kind in terms of form and momentum in turnout from various political currents and at the individual and collective levels.

3.5. Forming electoral lists Difficulty

First of all, and being the first time that this electoral system has been applied, there are many difficulties facing the formation of lists. Although many familiar faces who had previously won the elections entered the election race early, the new system makes the papers in front of them and in front of other candidates scattered because of this scattering. Difficulty forming lists, the latter collapsing slowly due to several factors, the most prominent of which is the lack of confidence in the electoral street in the parliament over the past years, while the

other factor is the tribal and regional factor, which is the prominent feature of the elections in general. For clans, the districts were divided, and the clans and their areas of presence were in great proportion to the previous systems of dividing districts. Today, under the current system, there is active and intense work by the clans to agree on their candidates and prepare their lists, there are many tribes that have deliberately held internal elections to choose their candidates.

The third factor is the lack of clarity of the election law and the absence of an accurate understanding of it, which prevents clear strategies to deal with it in order to achieve positive results. The fourth factor affecting the formation of electoral lists is the waiting state that the candidates live in in light of the scarcity of program lists based on the unity of political color. The candidate remains confused about joining and forming lists (HOSNI WALID. 2016).

As for the last factor, it is the method of calculating the victory, as many partisans believe that the lack of a discount percentage and leaving the profit and loss accounts open between the various lists makes it difficult, since the list was to obtain more than one seat. All this leads to those wishing to run for the time to form the lists (AL-MANSI. 2016).

In general, the candidate's mentality is still under the influence of the individual candidacy system created by the one vote, which makes the idea of the lists unclear to him, and the fear of vote-seizing operations by powerful candidates who might control the lists also

affects, as well as political money, which is a feature. One of the characteristics of the elections in general and in various countries, not only Jordan, plays a prominent role. There are candidates with money who intend to form lists of figures who do not have much voting weight and thus do not constitute a competition for the owners of capital. At the same time, these figures may bring votes that push the list forward on the list ladder. The winner thus has money a role in crafting and shaping the lists.

The election law created a new electoral scene as a result of the expansion of electoral districts imposed, which imposes on the voter and the candidate a new model of dealing with regard to lists and expanding the area of communication. The tribal color also prevailed, as many tribes worked to conduct internal elections to choose their candidates for the elections (GHARAIBEH, RAHEEL. 2016).

One of the effects left by the election law also is the prevalence of individual propaganda within the list. The electoral campaign witnesses the emergence of pictures of the candidates individually in abundance, and it is evident that the candidates focus on individual meetings to attract voters to vote for them individually without focusing on voting for the list.

The reason for these behaviors is the method of calculating the victory for the list and the number of seats it can get, and it must be noted that the state of turmoil prevailed in the formation of the lists where we saw candidates from two different party currents in the same

list, which indicates the absence of a program based on ideological and partisan foundations, which reflects the weakness of political parties, which will be discussed later.

3.6. Run for election

Before going into the details of the candidates for the parliamentary elections, it is necessary to mention three types of candidates

1- The tribal, which is the most common in decades, due to the nature of society and the weakness of partisan life, and the absence of participation in lists formed according to programmatic foundations

2- Business owners who have the ability to spend on their election campaigns and this category of candidates will appear strongly and may be the most capable of continuing to compete in the future, as they are the ones who can spend with the expansion of electoral districts.

3- Politicians and thought leaders who are less fortunate and able to influence due to the dominance of the two previous types, but this type of candidate gains its importance from the need of money-holders and clan symbols for them to be the owners of political discourse in the lists, and therefore in many cases they are attracted to the lists to give them a political flavor.

With regard to party attendance in the elections, it must be noted that with the formal opening of the door for candidacy for the elections, waves of refusal to participate began to run, so the Reform and Renewal Party announced its decision not to run in the elections, as well as the Islamic Shura and Al-Risala parties. These parties attributed the reason for their change to the election law, which included Obstacles to political parties, and many of those who were reluctant to run saw that running in the election race needs great financial support, which seems unavailable in light of the presence of many candidates who are able to spend on their electoral campaigns, which makes running a risky.

Careful consideration of the lists announced by the coalition, which is led by the Islamic Action Front Party, brings us back to reading the relationship between the political authority and the Islamic Action Front, the political arm of the unauthorized group. Starting with the slogan, the National Alliance for Reform, it appears that the message addressed is that the government is not the one who talks about reform and raises its slogans. Only, just as replacing the slogan of Islam is the solution clarifies that the party seeks to adapt and develop according to the events and events of the region, and its lists that include personalities from different currents and sects show the party's openness to everyone for electoral purposes. Among the strategies reflected in the coalition lists also is the presence of prominent leaders in the same list in pursuit of Towards securing a single seat, and there is a chord of minorities that the coalition is trying

to exploit through the candidacy of Chechens and Christians on its lists.

It is clear that the Islamic Action Front party sought to take advantage of all opportunities that would enable it to obtain seats in parliament, by attracting dynamic figures to its lists, in addition to trade union figures.

The strategy of the Islamic center in running for the elections focused on building alliances with other political forces. The Islamic center implicitly allied with the National Congress Party. On the other hand, the tribal factor was strongly present in the nominations of the Islamic center, which appears to be more influential than the party factor in the voting process.

With regard to the nationalist and left-wing parties, which announced that they would run in the elections, they encountered the difficulty of forming a list bearing the name of the coalition that includes nationalist and leftist parties, and then came the financial factor that disrupted the running of the lists of nationalist and leftist parties.

As for the centrist parties, there are parties that worked to form coalitions among themselves and came up with lists, while other parties deliberately ran within mixed lists relying on the clan side. Indeed, many parties did not announce the names of their candidates through the media, and there are other parties also that participated in

the elections and their candidates concealed their party color. Preparations prior to registration confirm this, as tribal meetings were held to agree on the candidates.

So it is clear that the party currents participating in the elections tried to exploit the opportunities they have, each according to his capabilities. The Islamic movement participates heavily in trying to open up to all political and national forces and personalities, as well as the quota, to win the largest possible number of seats. Some parties suffer from disagreements and splits, so they try to ally themselves with capital, while the centrist parties focus on the alliance with capital and Islamists, as did a stronger Jordan party, as well as the tribal card. There, as mentioned above, many parties refused to disclose their candidates preferring to rely on the candidate's tribal color instead of the party color. And the politician.

In general, the organization of parliamentary elections in this turbulent regional circumstance and the adoption of a new electoral law that can attract various political currents and forces to participate, on top of which is the Islamic Action Front, is a reform achievement and the culmination of the progressive reform pursued by the political authority.

Also, the developments in the mechanisms of managing and supervising elections, represented by the efforts of the independent commission and the arrival of international missions to monitor

elections, are considered a bright spot in the history of political reform. And to go parallel in his reform plan.

In general, the political parties failed in their participation in the elections with the exception of the Islamic Action Front party, while the failure of the rest of the parties appears in their inability to present themselves in the elections, as the party candidates mostly refused to indicate their party orientation for fear of losing the tribe's votes, thus the parties missed an opportunity Elections to present their programs.

Looking at the elections and the results they produced, it is noticed that there is a phenomenon that has clearly begun to enter, which is accountability, or what can be called punishment of former deputies.

On the other hand, the alliances of the Islamic Action Front and the strategies it adopted in building the National Alliance for Reform have succeeded significantly.

Many points and conclusions can be drawn up looking at the overall electoral process, and these conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1- The conservative class and members of the tribes are still the top class in the parliament, and in the second class comes the business class who seek to preserve their interests with what can be approved of legislation, and they also have the financial ability to spend on their

election campaigns, and it comes in the third category, it is a category Partisans, ideologues and ideologists, who are the last group.

2- Women registered a remarkable presence. For the first time, 20 women succeeded in reaching the parliament, with the arrival of five women competing (AL-MANSI. 2016).

3- The effect of the method of calculating the victory on the results was clearly demonstrated, as there are many lists in which two candidates won a large number of votes exceeding the number of votes for candidates who succeeded in other lists given the fact that the list only got one seat.

4- The *Brotherhood's* participation in the elections affected the chances of many candidates. There are those who were not lucky enough to see them inside the council.

Political Parties Law Before talking about the characteristics of the political parties law that serve the partisan life and contribute to supporting and strengthening the emergence of parties, it is necessary to refer to the party laws that have passed to the parties since 1989, namely the 1992 law, the 2007 law and the parties law of 2012, and these three laws could not be responsive. Due to the ambition of the parties and the party life, the legislative development clarifies this, for example the 1992 law stipulated 50 persons as a minimum for the founding members in order to license the party in addition to the fact that the law made the right to dissolve the party under the authority of

the Minister of the Interior, and the 1992 law did not include any articles requiring the provision of financial support For political parties, as for the 2007 and 2012 law, the number of founding members has been raised to 500, which is an obstacle to party life, and the fact that the parties continue to follow the Ministry of the Interior and not include the party's right to access and circulate power is an neglect of the basic goal of the party, which must be mentioned in the definition .

With regard to the reference of political parties, many parties have called for the creation of an independent body to supervise the affairs of the parties or their affiliation with the Independent Election Commission so that it becomes the Independent Election and Party Authority,

As for the number of founding members, the Jordanian constitution stipulates the right of citizens to form and join parties regardless of their number, and with regard to party financing, government support must be subject to several criteria that the parties achieve to obtain financial support, which must be consistent with the standards achieved by the parties.

The Political Parties Law of 2015 included several developments, as the number of founding members was reduced to 150 instead of 500, and the reference for political parties became the Ministry of Political Affairs and not the Ministry of Interior.

It is necessary to refer here to the reality and challenges that partisan life and political parties face, which are the reasons for the weakness of the decline in the partisan situation in Jordan, which are represented by the following: -

1- The absence of an enabling environment for political parties. Laws and regulations that govern the work of political participation and public freedoms limit the role of political parties, in addition to the absence of activation of many constitutional provisions.

2- Political party programs are similar, as they are far from the economic and social reality in which society lives.

3- Personalization of political parties and their association with the Secretary General or the party leader.

4- The absence of an effective role for the parties in promoting their programs and ideas.

5- The citizens 'security concern, resulting from the accumulations of the past witnessed during the period of martial law, and the citizens' lack of conviction about the usefulness of political parties and their ability to present anything new that reflects positively on them.

In addition to the previous points, it is necessary to consider the situation experienced by the three party currents in Jordan, starting

with the nationalist and leftist parties, which are living in a state of dispersion and absence in the unity of the situation, especially in light of what is plaguing Syria and Iraq, which significantly affects the national parties in Jordan despite From the unity of reference for these parties, and as for the left-wing parties, they also need a more in-depth and comprehensive review of their programs, ideas and positions in order to be in line with the new reality in the region.

For their part, the Islamic parties live a gap between them, so we see the Islamic Action Front party alone in the scene, although there are two other parties, one of them in Parliament, but the absence of work and a coalition between these parties makes them divergent in positions and work.

It remains for us to refer to a phenomenon that is still present in the Jordanian partisan experience, which is the emergence of parties inside the authority and not from outside it and the pursuit of reaching it. There are Jordanian personalities who formed parties after he came to power, and the continuation of this phenomenon is confirmed by the continuing emergence of parties and political currents that may one day become parties. Political and despite the absence of any negative effects of this trend, it reflects the state of weakness and fragility that the partisan situation in Jordan lives in.

In conclusion, it appears from the above that the problem of political parties and party life in Jordan is a problem of three dimensions. The first relates to the government and political will,

while the second dimension represents the parties themselves, as they suffer in aspects related to democracy within the party and the weakness of this democracy, which appears in connection with the party's association with the person of its president or secretary general, With regard to the third dimension, which is represented by citizenship, it is summarized by not giving the latter the opportunity for himself to go through the partisan experience, or at least to allow the parties to display what they have and listen to them.

4. CONCLUSION

It is clear that the Jordanian state has the opportunity to achieve an advanced model of democracy as a result of the presence of factors and indicators that are considered opportunities that must be exploited and built upon, and to benefit from the gradual characteristic of the political reform process by developing legislation that leads this reform, whether the election law or the law. Parties, as well as decentralization laws and municipalities, which will play a role in enhancing political participation, especially since the experience of decentralization is a recent experience.

On the other hand, developments in the region impose new data that make it necessary to come up with more consistent and fair laws in order to prevent any repercussions that may affect the stability of the home front. Here it is important to look at the experiences of other countries and benefit from them in passing the stage. The similarity of

the government system in Morocco with the Jordanian regime. On the other hand, it is useful to study the efforts of civil society in Tunisia and benefit from them in developing the work system of civil society institutions in Jordan.

The importance of consensus also appears as one of the pillars of implementing the national line and strategies to combat extremism in all fields. Therefore, the highest levels of consensus and joint action must be achieved to implement a national strategy to combat extremism that naturally leads to passing the stage with its various challenges, hence the government's announcement of starting the implementation of a comprehensive strategy. Combating extremism is a catalyst that must be agreed upon.

In the same context, an effort must begin to establish a national consensus on the most important reform laws, especially the election law, and focus must be placed on improving the economic and social conditions of Jordanian citizens in all governorates in a balanced manner. Regional and security on the state of freedoms in Jordan.

When talking about national consensus, it is necessary to open channels of dialogue with all parties, bodies and political parties in order to ensure a national dialogue in which everyone participates and everyone adopts its outputs, and at the same time it is necessary to benefit from past experiences to overcome the current stage, in addition to pressuring the international community to address the

crises that arise. The region lives it and bears its responsibility in the

refugee crisis and supports Jordan in it.

REFERENCES

ABU RUMMAN MUHAMMAD. (2011). Conservative Secularism, the Jordanian Model in Managing the Relationship between Religion and the State, and the Friedrich Erbet Foundation, p.18.

AL-MANSI. (2016). the struggle of electoral lists fluctuated in the formation contract and the interests of the candidates, **Al-Ghad newspaper.** Issue 4304, p.8.

 DR. AL-MUHAISEN. (2014). Increasing the Syrian Refugee Movement and its Impact on the Infrastructure of Jordanian Cities, **Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper**, website http://www.alquds.uk/index.php/archives/155103.

GHARAIBEH, RAHEEL. (2016). Jordanian Citizen and Electoral Maps, **Al-Dustour Newspaper**. Issue 17585, p.16.

HOSNI WALID. (2016). faltering in forming the lists, which reflects negatively on the elections**, Al-Anbat Newspaper**. Issue 4015 p.5.

KHAITAN, FAHD. (2012). has the Jordanian position on the Syrian crisis changed? **Al-Ghad newspaper**, website http://alghad.com/.

The first discussion paper of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein 12/29/2012.

The second discussion paper, previous reference

The third discussion paper of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein 3/2/2013.

The fourth discussion paper of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein 6/2/2013.

The five discussion paper of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein, 9/13/2014.

The sixth discussion paper of King Abdullah II 10/16/2016.