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Decoding Jordan's Political Party Landscape in 2022: Pre Political Modernization Stage

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Abstract

Objectives: The aim of the research is to identify the reality of Jordanian political parties at the beginning of 2022 AD, by revealing the size of Jordanians' participation in political parties, the size of female participation in political parties, and the size of youth participation in political parties. And revealing the extent of the spread of political parties in the governorates through the number of their headquarters. Methods: The research relied on the bulletins issued by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs at the beginning of 2022 AD as a study community, where the method of analyzing the content of those bulletins was based on the unity of the subject. Results: The research found that Jordanians' participation in political parties is low, and the female participation rate is 34.83% of the total number of affiliates to all parties. And that the volume of youth participation is one-third of the number of those affiliated with political parties, and that political parties are remarkably concentrated in the capital's governorate at the expense of the rest of the kingdom's governorates. Conclusions: The study recommends focusing on the importance of political parties in political action and democratic transformation in Jordan, enhancing the participation of women and youth and their involvement in political parties and the work of related programs, and working to represent political parties in all Jordanian governorates and spread among community circles.

Keywords: Political Parties, Democratic Transition, Jordanian, Political Action.

Introduction

Jordanian party life witnessed great challenges as a result of the various political conditions that the Jordanian state went through, which weakened the parties' ability to continue and be effective, and it came to the point that the circumstances and the political environment threatened the existence of party work in general, which made it between one of two options: adaptation and harmony with the situation. The existing political system to be part of the political system or a partner in decision-making centers, or the struggle to reach a mechanism that preserves the political process and regulates ways to participate in it, and this has led to a clear conflict of interests between some Jordanian parties and the political system.

Changes have occurred in the partisan scene in Jordan since 1989 and the events that followed that directly or indirectly contributed to the formation, licensing and emergence of parties. The number of licensed and operating parties in Jordan at the end of 2009 reached 16, while the number doubled during the last eight years until it reached 47 parties, meaning that the stage witnessed the formation and licensing of 31 political parties during the years 2010 and 2017, representing 36% of the total licensed parties in Jordan.

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From 2018 until 2022, 9 political parties were established as a stage witnessing the emergence of a group of modern political parties that are added to the total political parties in the previous stages, or 16% of the total number of parties, where the total of political parties until the beginning of 2022 reached about 55 a political party.

A Sociological Approach to Political Parties

There are several theories that have tried to explain the emergence of political parties, the most important of which is the institutional theory, which traces the origin of the parties to the conflict between the various blocs in the British Parliament, that is, the political parties appeared in the beginning from within parliaments in the form of organized blocs and groups of members of Parliament who are close in terms of intellectual and programs It developed over time and formed party committees of their supporters and supporters from among the people of society in order to mobilize support and vote for the candidates of those blocs that turned into political parties with time. Western countries, especially Britain and France, and this is what is known as the internal emergence of parties (Maurice DeVerger, 1977, p. 146).

The second theory says that political parties first emerged within society, and after their presence was strengthened and their popularity increased, they moved to Parliament and took power through elections. This theory links between the process of the emergence of parties and the existence of political, economic and social crises that some peoples and political systems were exposed to during the stages of their historical development, including Internal and external conflicts and wars and other political and economic crises that prompted some individuals to gather and form party organizations in order to increase their effectiveness and participation in political life.

The desire for some peoples and political systems during their historical development stages, including internal and external conflicts and wars and other political and economic crises that prompted some individuals to gather and form party organizations in order to increase their effectiveness and participation in political life, prompted the desire for independence and to get rid of colonialism or totalitarian regimes And the dictatorship of some national leaders and leaders and individuals to organize themselves and form political and partisan organizations to struggle and struggle for liberation and to confront the existing conditions and access to power (Abu Al-Far, 1979, p. 174)

As for the third theory, it is the development theory, which its followers see that the emergence of political parties, especially in the third world countries, has been linked to the political, economic and social transformations that those countries have gone through, which necessitated the participation of some elites and organized groups in the political process, in order to provide opportunities for them to implement their ideas and development programs. As the increase in the number of educated and educated people and the increase in political awareness in those countries led to an increase in the number of people who demanded to have a role in the political process and in making important decisions in society, which led to the emergence of groups and organizations with orientations (Sulaiman, 1989, p. 285)

Research Problem

The partisan community in Jordan has social, demographic, spatial and economic characteristics that must be studied and disclosed in order to identify the reality of these characteristics and the extent to which they need support and development in order to expand the base of partisan work and urge Jordanians to join political parties and practice political work through them, as groups

Contemporary modernity is an alternative to primary groups such as families, regional and regional. Hence, the study problem is formed in revealing the reality of political parties in Jordan by identifying the extent of Jordanian participation in general and the participation of both youth and females, as well as identifying the extent of the spread of the headquarters of political parties in the Jordanian governorates.

Research Importance

The importance of the research lies in dealing with the issue of the reality of political parties and revealing the demographic and spatial characteristics that make up the party community in Jordan, as this community needs focus by researchers and scholars because of its great role in achieving political and economic reform and consolidating the principles of democracy in Jordan. To the extent of the breadth of the base of political participation that is linked with the achievement of democratic transformation in a direct relationship that must be achieved.

Research Aims

The sub-objectives of the study resulted from achieving the main objective of the research, which is to "recognize the reality of the Jordanian political parties at the beginning of 2022 AD. The goal was achieved by achieving the following sub-objectives:

1. Disclosure of the extent of Jordanian participation in political parties.
2. Identifying the extent of female participation in political parties.
3. Identifying the extent of youth participation in political parties.
4. Disclosure of the extent of the spread of the headquarters of political parties in the Jordanian governorates.

Research Questions

The research sought to answer the questions of the sub-study in order to answer the main question of the research, which is "Between the reality of Jordanian political parties at the beginning of 2022 AD?" The question was answered by answering the following sub-questions:

- 1- What is the extent of Jordanian participation in political parties?
- 2- What is the extent of female participation in political parties?
- 3- What is the extent of youth participation in political parties?
- 4- What is the extent of the spread of the headquarters of political parties in the Jordanian governorates?

Literature Review

There are many studies dealing with political parties in Jordan, because the issue of parties is one of the areas that require researchers and scholars to conduct more studies with the aim of identifying their reality and the challenges they face and predicting their future. The following previous studies were as follows:

The study of Bani Amr, Hisham, 2019, entitled "The Nature of the Relationship between Parties and the Political System in Jordan", where the study aimed to identify the nature of the existing relationship between each of the national parties and the Jordanian political system, and depended on the factors that determine the forms and nature of the relationship during the time

period. Between 2010 AD - 2017, the study used a sample social survey method. Structured interviews were conducted with an intentional sample of the general secretaries of the Jordanian parties.

The study concluded that the nature of the relationship between the regime and the parties is volatile and has ebb and flow and is affected by the influence of attitudes and events on the Jordanian arena, and that the judgment on political participation is not in the number and abundance of parties, but in the effectiveness of party work and its role in political decision-making and policy-making, and the study concluded that it is necessary to Forming an independent body concerned with parties and following them up, enacting legislation that contributes to the development of partisan work, conducting awareness programs on the importance of parties and their active role in democratic transformation, facilitating the process of joining them, renewing party programs and removing them from the mantle of a single thought or a leading personality, establishing a comprehensive national program, and regulating work within The party in an effective institutional manner, and uses media and digital means to communicate with the Jordanian street to reach all segments of Jordanian society.

While the study of Ghazal Al-Haliq, in 2018, which was entitled “The Role of Political Parties in Activating Political Life in Jordan (1999-2016), a field study” aimed to identify the importance of the role of political parties in the process of reform and political development in Jordan between 1999-2016, and to reveal the most important obstacles to partisan work in Jordan, and the search for solutions that contribute to reducing these obstacles to enhance the role and effectiveness of political parties. The study employed the descriptive analytical approach, the historical approach, and the statistical analysis approach.

The study concluded that there is a weakness in the Jordanian political parties, and the absence of their role in the Jordanian political scene, as they did not reach the level of effective and influential parties in the process of activating political life in Jordan. The study recommended a review of the 2016 election law in terms of determining the percentage of seats for parties’ Political parties should not be less than 50% of the total seats in Parliament, with the aim of reaching a parliamentary government that reveals the essence of the parliamentary system.

Al-Khawaldeh’s 2015 study came under the title “Democratic Transition and its Impact on the Participation of Political Parties in Jordan (1989-2013),” which aimed to identify the nature of the democratic transition in the Jordanian political system and its impact on the participation of political parties since the resumption of democratic life, and to identify the factors that contributed to the process Democratic transition.

The study used the systems analysis method, and reached several results, the most important of which is that the democratic transition after 1989 came as a result of international and regional transformations and as a result of the internal factors pressing on the political system to avoid chaos and instability, and that the law of one vote came to limit the role of some partisan currents after the wide participation in the general elections 1989 AD.

While Al-Tamimi’s 2015 study came under the title The Impact of Partisan Pluralism on Political Development in Jordan (1999-2014) and aimed to study the impact of partisan pluralism on political development in Jordan in the period from 1999-2014, and to study the role played by political parties in Jordan to reach Political development by identifying the partisan and democratic reality.

The study used the systems analysis method, and the study concluded that it is not possible to talk about political development, including reform, change, development and modernization in the political and social life in Jordan in light of the clear weakness of the Jordanian political parties and the weakness of their programs and political discourse.

The study of the Al-Edwan, Abdel Halim Manna, 2014, which was entitled “Jordanian parties and political participation: nationalist and leftist parties as a model,” indicated that ideological parties include nationalist, leftist and Islamic parties. On the opposition, he even got involved in actions against the regime and overthrowing the government during his attempts to implement democracy and political participation in a phase that witnessed a war between the communist camp and the western camp, and the alliances accompanying this war in the Arab region and the accompanying national revolution, and the influence of Nasserist thought on the Jordanian political street, he overlooked The system of government in Jordan on the activity of the unlicensed nationalist and leftist parties, which established and participated in the first political and partisan pluralism after the election of the Fifth Parliament in 1956 and the formation of the first coalition government in the history of Jordan did not last long after the same parties contributed to ending the democratic experiment and participation, The nationalist and leftist parties and the system of government were unable to maintain political participation and alternate power in the defense of their positions and orientations until At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The study of Malouh Mufdi Al-Sleihat, 2012, tagged with “What is the degree of challenge facing partisan work in Jordan from the point of view of faculty members in the Department of Political Science and teachers of the National Education course in Jordanian universities” aimed at knowing the degree of challenge facing partisan work in Jordan, from The viewpoint of faculty members in the Department of Political Science and teachers of the National Education course in Jordanian universities, and whether there is an impact of the study variables (university, academic rank, specialization) in determining the degree of challenge. The study population consisted of all faculty members in the Department of Political Science and teachers of the National Education course, who were at the head of their work in the first semester of the academic year 2009/2010 in Jordanian public and private universities, who numbered (197), and 180 faculty members responded.

The results showed that the degree of challenge facing party work in Jordan from the point of view of the study community, with regard to the two areas of challenges resulting from the relationship of parties to society, and the relationship of parties to the government, came to a medium degree, while the degree of challenge resulting from the parties themselves was at a low degree, and confirmed The results of the study: There were no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 05.0$) for the variables of university and academic rank, while there were statistically significant differences for the variable of specialization in favor of the political science major.

What distinguishes the current study from previous studies?

Previous studies related to the topic of the current study focused on various aspects of the aspects related to political parties in Jordan. Hisham Bani Amr's study examined the nature of the relationship between the parties and the political system in Jordan, which came in the form of ups and downs according to the nature of the events taking place in the arena. While the study of Ghazal Al-Haliq came to identify the importance of the role of political parties in the process of reform and political development in Jordan between 1999-2016 AD, and to reveal the most

important obstacles to partisan work in Jordan, and to search for solutions that contribute to reducing these obstacles to enhance the role of parties' politics and its effectiveness.

Al-Khawaldeh's study focused on the democratic transition and its impact on the participation of political parties in Jordan (1989-2013) to identify the nature of the democratic transition in the Jordanian political system and its impact on the participation of political parties since the resumption of democratic life, and to identify the factors that contributed to the process of democratic transition. Al-Tamimi dealt with the impact of partisan pluralism on political development in Jordan (1999-2014) to study the impact of partisan pluralism on political development in Jordan in the period from 1999-2014, and to study the role played by political parties in Jordan to reach political development by identifying the reality partisan and democratic.

While the study of aggression dealt with the Jordanian parties and political participation: nationalist and leftist parties as a model, and while the study of Al-Sleihat aimed to reveal the degree of challenge facing party work in Jordan from the point of view of faculty members in the Department of Political Science and teachers of the National Education course in Jordanian universities, Where previous studies focused on dimensions such as political participation or obstacles facing the work of political parties, after political development and partisan transgression, and research on the relationship between parties and the political system.

While the aim of the current research is to identify the reality of Jordanian political parties at the beginning of 2022 AD, by revealing the size of Jordanians' participation in political parties, the size of female participation in political parties, the size of youth participation in political parties, and the detection of the extent of the spread of political parties in the governorates Through the number of its headquarters, and the research relied on the publications issued by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs at the beginning of 2022 AD as a study community, where the method of analyzing the content of those publications was based on the unity of the subject.

Study Methodology

Research Methodology: The study followed the content analysis method, due to its relevance to the nature of the research community, its achievement of the study's objectives, and its ability to answer its questions.

Research community: The study population consisted of publications issued by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs.

Research sample: The study sample was limited to publications issued by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs at the beginning of 2022 AD.

Research tool: The study relied on the topic unit tool, which is commensurate with the nature of the data contained in the study community.

The search limits

Spatial limits: The spatial determinants consisted in relying on the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs only.

Time limitations: The study was limited to bulletins issued at the beginning of 2022 AD only by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs.

Study Results and Analysis

First: The answer to the first sub-question: What is the extent of Jordanians' participation in political parties? Where the answer came as follows:

The number of members affiliated with political parties is an indicator of the extent of political participation in society, and the extent to which human rights are protected and the democratic approach adopted. Hence, focusing on the number of members affiliated with political parties in Jordan allows us to identify the extent of Jordanians' participation in political parties and thus reveal the reality of political participation in Jordan and the extent to which it is respected as one of the civil rights enjoyed by citizens in Jordan.

The number of Jordanian political parties at the beginning of 2022 AD, according to the introductory bulletins issued by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs of the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs, reached 55 political parties, and the number of those affiliated with these political parties reached 38,281 members, as the laws of political parties prohibited the affiliation of those under the age of 21 To Political Parties In 2015, this article was amended to ban those under 18 years of age from affiliating with political parties.

Likewise, the laws regulating partisan work prohibited affiliation to political parties who are affiliated with the diplomatic corps, the judicial corps, the security corps, and the military corps. Hence, the number of political party affiliations in Jordan is compared to the number of Jordanians who are allowed to join political parties, and there is no provision for prohibiting their affiliation. Whether for the age requirement or the legal text requirement, we find that the number of political parties affiliated with it is very few compared to the Jordanian society, which has reached nearly 10 million citizens.

When looking at the number of affiliates to political parties, we find that there is a discrepancy between the number of affiliates to each party, while the Jordanian United Front ranks the highest in number of political parties, with 2,631 affiliates, while 7 political parties fall into the category that includes from 1000 to less than 2000 Affiliate.

While the number of political parties that have from 500 to less than 1000 affiliates has reached 29 political parties, which is considered the most partisan segment when compared to other political parties. The number of political parties with less than 500 affiliates is 18 political parties.

When we look at these results, we find that the number of political parties is large if we look at the number of those affiliated with political parties, which explains the extent of dispersion that appears on the party category in Jordan, and indicates the extent of their inability to significantly influence the political arena, and indicates the need to activate Political development and clarification of the importance of parties in political work in order to urge societal segments to join political parties.

It also indicates how important it is to encourage the state and its institutions towards achieving a deliberate and planned political development that leads to an increase in the number of partisans by increasing the conviction of Jordanians of the importance of political parties in practicing political work in the next stage, which depends mainly on political parties instead of

relying on the regional and regional dimension and clans, and reliance on free and fair elections instead of direct appointment.

First: The answer to the first sub-question: What is the extent of female participation in political parties? Where the answer came as follows:

The number of licensed political parties until the beginning of 2022 AD amounted to about 55, after the establishment of five political parties was announced in the first month of this year. Of the total number of women affiliated with all parties, their number is 13,274.

Categories	The number of political parties	percentage
Secretary General females	4	7.3
Secretary General males	51	92.7
Total	55	100

Table No. (1) Distribution of Political Parties by Gender of General Secretaries

On the other hand, female access to the rank of Secretary-General or his representative was limited to only four women, out of 55 parties, and they are: HE Abla Abu Elba, Secretary-General of the Jordanian Democratic People's Party (Hashd), HE Mona Abu Bakr, Secretary-General of the Jordanian National Party, and HE Rola Al-Hroub, Secretary-General of the Stronger Jordan Party, and Dr. Rawan Al-Hiyari (representing the founders of the National Charter Party, which is one of the newly established parties, and you have been elected until this moment as its Secretary-General).

Number	Categories of parties according to female affiliation	number of parties	percentage
1	600 and above	1	1.8
2	From 500 to less than 600	2	3.6
3	From 400 to less than 500	4	7.3
4	300to less than 400	10	18.2
5	From 200 to less than 300	16	29.1
6	From 100 to less than 200	9	16.4
7	Less than 100 members	13	23.6
Total		55	%100

Table No. (2) Distribution of Political Parties According to Female Affiliation

The Justice and Reform Party ranks first in the number of female affiliations to the party, when compared to the rest of the parties in the number of female affiliations. The number of female affiliations to the party has reached 701 out of 1,768 women, i.e. they achieve 39.6% of the total number of party members.

The Freedom and Equality Party and the Jordanian United Front Party in the number of female affiliations come in second place, with 587 women affiliated with the Freedom and Equality Party out of 974 affiliates, or 60% of the total number of members affiliated with the party, while the Jordanian United Front Party The percentage of female affiliates to the party out of the total number of members affiliated with it constitutes 20%. The number of members reached 2,631, and the number of females was 528.

The number of political parties in which the number of women affiliated with the party is less than 100 is 13, while the number of parties to which more than 100 to 200 women are affiliated is 9, and the number of parties to which more than 200 to 300 women are affiliated is 16. More than 300 to 400 women are affiliated with 10 parties, and the number of parties to which more than 400 to 500 women are affiliated are 4 parties.

Hence, one-third of those affiliated with political parties in Jordan are female, which indicates the improvement in Jordanian women's participation in affiliation to political parties and the high degree of acceptance of women's involvement in party work. However, the figure indicates that there is still a need to work more to increase the number of females compared to with the male category, which constitutes the absolute majority of those affiliated with political parties in Jordan.

First: The answer to the first sub-question: What is the extent of the spread of political party headquarters in the Jordanian governorates? Where the answer came as follows:

Number	Governorate	number of headquarters	Percentage
1	The capital	63	31.7
2	Palqaa	16	8.0
3	Zarqa	25	12.6
4	Madaba	11	5.5
5	Irbid	30	15.1
6	Jerash	12	6.0
7	Ajloun	9	4.6
8	Mafrq	4	2.0
9	Karak	17	8.5
10	Maan	3	1.5
11	Tafelah	4	2.0
12	Aqaba	5	2.5
	Total	199	%100

Table No. (4) Distribution of Political Party Headquarters by Governorates

When studying the bulletins issued by the Directorate of Political Parties Affairs in the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs, we can learn about the size of the spread of political parties through the number of their headquarters at the beginning of 2022 AD, and we can identify the distribution of those party headquarters by governorate or party to which they are affiliated.

The number of headquarters of the political parties has reached 202, as these headquarters are spread in all governorates of the Kingdom, but this spread varies from one governorate to another, as well as between one party to another, but despite this number of political party headquarters, the majority of the party headquarters are stationed in the capital, Amman, where the number of headquarters reached 63, or approximately 31.2% of the total number of party headquarters.

While Irbid governorate occupies the second place in the number of party headquarters, which numbered 30, or 14.9% of the total number of party headquarters, and this corresponds to the

size of the population in Jordan and its distribution among the governorates, as Irbid governorate ranks second in population after the capital Amman, and comes Behind them is Zarqa Governorate, where 24 party headquarters are stationed.

While the Ma'an governorate comes in the lowest order, as there are only 3 party headquarters in it, while in each of the governorates of Tafila and the Mafraq governorate there are only 4 headquarters, and in the Aqaba governorate there are only 5 party headquarters.

Number	Categories of parties according to the number of their headquarters	number of parties
1	16headquarters or more	1
2	From 11 to under 16	1
3	From 6 to less than 11	7
4	2to less than 6	30
5	Only one headquarters	16
Total		55

Table No. (5) Distribution of Political Parties According to the Number of Their Headquarters

When comparing political parties according to their headquarters, 16 political parties out of 55 have only one headquarters, including 13 headquarters in the capital governorate, 2 headquarters in Irbid city only, and one headquarters in Zarqa city, and all of these headquarters are considered the main center of the political party that He is active through him and introduces himself in that headquarters.

While the Islamic Action Front party has 22 headquarters, or 10.9% of the total party headquarters, and occupies the highest political party in terms of number, and half of those headquarters, i.e., 11 headquarters, come in the capital Amman alone, followed by the Islamic Center Party and it owns 12 headquarters, and there is no political party It has its headquarters in all Jordanian governorates.

Study Recommendations

The study recommended the following:

- 1- Focusing on the importance of political parties in political action and democratic transformation in Jordan
- 2- Enhancing the participation of women and youth and their involvement in political parties and the work of related programs.
- 3- Work on representing political parties in all Jordanian governorates and spreading among the community circles.

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