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POLITICAL PARTIES IN JORDAN FROM 1921 TO 2015, CREATION, EVOLUTION AND CHALLENGES OF A CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRATIC MODEL

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Abstract

The study focuses on the factors behind the weakness of political parties and their performance during the period 1921-2015. To get a holistic view on the factors in question, the research was based on both quantitative and qualitative data. The study then bases its assessment of political parties' weaknesses on their lack of representation in Jordan's parliament, their limited influence over public policy, and their unappealing public image (which is manifested by the number of votes the parties receive, the very little affiliation in their ranks, and the general rejection of the parties shown by the censuses conducted by the Centre for Strategic Studies of the University of Jordan). Political parties have never occupied more than 30% of the electoral seats in total (sum of all electoral seats won by political parties) in elections since 1989. Additionally, the vast majority of political parties have only a few hundred members. What elements are driving Jordanian political parties' weakness, then? The investigation's goal is to look at the numerous internal and external causes that obstruct political parties' growth and empowerment, as well as the variables that contribute to their low popularity. This study is supposed to offer light on the solutions available to political parties, as well as the political, institutional, and structural obstacles that must be addressed, in order for political parties to play their political and social roles. East following the democratic initiatives culminating in the Jordanian Spring, and the geopolitical and regional ideologies that resulted from political instability and persecution, the empowerment of political parties arrives at a critical historical juncture. Political parties are unable to form governments under the Constitution, and their power in parliamentary spheres is limited. Despite this, political parties have a small presence in parliaments and a low level of popular support. Despite various reforms to the political system, party system, electoral

system, and laws governing public and political freedoms, political parties continue to struggle to win votes in elections and gain the popular support needed to make changes. They claimed that the system would be democratised and that parliamentary governments would be established.

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to demonstrate the performance of political parties in the Jordanian political and social scene, as well as to analyse the various factors that directly influence their performance, whether during electoral times or in terms of public appeal. The research began after the Arab Spring, which inspired the Jordan Spring, in which Jordanians took to the streets to demand political and economic reforms. Political parties were among the participants in these public protests, in which they attempted to assert their power within the political system. It's important to remember that political parties haven't fully realised their potential in a democratic and pluralistic political system, despite the fact that legal and constitutional channels allow them to play a larger and more significant role in the country to some extent. Jordan is a constitutional monarchy (with King Abdullah II as the head of state)[1] and a parliamentary democracy, with the Jordanian parliament representing the legislative body with its two chambers. The Constitution, on the other hand, gives the King significant discretionary powers, limiting the powers of the executive and legislative branches. The Jordanian parliament is elected by universal suffrage, with political parties having complete freedom of expression. Governments, on the other hand, are not formed through parliamentary elections, but rather through a decision by the King, who, along with the Prime Minister, decides on the cabinet's composition. Political parties are unable to form governments based on the constitution, and their power in parliamentary spheres is limited. Political parties, on the other hand, have a small representation in parliaments and a low level of popular support [3]. Despite various reforms to the political system, party system, system elections, and laws governing public and political freedoms, political parties fail to attract votes in elections or win the popular support required for them to initiate changes they demand, such as system democratisation and the establishment of parliamentary governments. The premise back then was that political parties (at least some of them) wanted to strengthen their role and gain more popular support in order to gain broad parliamentary representation and use the legislature to effect changes in the political system. The fact that political parties have never had more than 30% representation in parliaments in their history, and that the vast majority of parties have fewer than a few hundred members, indicates that the work of political parties continues to be hampered. The study attempted to examine such roadblocks throughout the history of political parties. The research focused on both the historical context and the current reality of political party functioning. The analysis was then conducted on the Jordanian parties' past and present, focusing on legal, constitutional, political, social, and geopolitical factors that influenced their performance and overall performance. National, regional, and international factors have influenced and continue to influence political parties. These factors appear in each of the study's phases, which followed up on each of the factors identified as important in political party functioning. For several reasons, the historical context was critical in this study. On the one hand, political heritage influenced how political parties were perceived in society and how they behaved. Even though events from the 1960s are no longer present, society is not the same, and political actors are not the same, Jordan's political heritage and the impact of such factors and events continue to exist in the present. This was the case, for example, during the 1970 Civil War between the Palestinian guerrilla and the Jordanian regime, which marked the beginning of a divide between Palestinian liberation movements and conservative Jordanian forces that continues to this day [4]. As a result, political parties spawned by such Palestinian

organisations are viewed as a threat to the regime's stability and a threat to certain social groups. Jordan's past and present are inextricably linked. As a result, each section included a description of the socio-political situation and key events, as well as information on the political parties in power at the time, their agendas/ideologies, and election results. Then, in each era, an analysis of national, regional, and international factors and how they relate to the performance of the party's politicians. The study looked at the political system and power distribution, democracy and political freedoms, electoral laws and party laws, social perceptions of political parties, general performance of political parties, election participation, and behaviour from the Jordanian Parliament, as well as regional and international influence on the regime. As a result, the penultimate paper, which exposes the reality of political parties up to 2015, bases their observations on all factors that have played a key role in the functioning of politicians in the past and now.

2.0 Methodology

The study focuses on the three areas which were identified based on the analysis carried out on the political parties. Each of These three areas have their own indicators, which were used to reflect the behaviourand party commitment for each of these areas. The indicators were analysed in the following method

- Analysis of the statutes of the parties
- Analysis of the media of the parties (magazines, newspapers and web pages).
- Telephone and personal interviews with former partisans.
- Secondary sources: data and information from previous studies.

Since the political parties of weight and relevance are less than a third of the parties present on the Jordanian party map, this study focuses on only eight political parties, each two representing a political current. The parties were chosen based on the following criteria: their seniority, number of branches / size and popularity (measured in seats won in elections).However, it is important to clarify that the main criterion was the party's seniority, being that the survival of the parties within the era of martial laws and the era of prohibition of work partisan is an indication of the commitment and organizational strength of these parties. On the other hand, it limited the selection to two parties from each political current (ideological orientation), although others parties of the same ideology have an important weight and presence, but for practical reasons of the study, the selection was limited to the two oldest and most important parties of each current. The number of seats won clearly indicates the weakness of the parties and the few seats that they win (although in many cases they do not win because of the decision to boycott the elections). However, historically, these parties won seats and had a certain popular appeal.

The following table 1 represents the eight political parties included in the study. The size of the parties was obtained from studies carried out by the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs, and the majority of these parties refuse to admit the number of their members. However, it is important to underline the reality that these numbers are not precise, as most of these parties have a large part of their members as inactive actors, as indicated below, [5]

Table 1: Profile of Selected parties in Jordan

				Seats Won			
Name of the Political Party	Year of Start	Ideology	No. of Members	2003	2007	2010	2013

Islamic Action Front (IAF)	1992	Islamic	798	17	6	0	0
Central Islamic	2001	Islamic	508	0	2	1	16
National Current Party	2009	Central Liberal	1453	0	0	25	15
The National Constitutional Party	1997	Central / Programmatic reformist	534	0	0	0	0
Progressive Baaz	1952	Socialist Nationalist	576	0	0	0	1
Jordanian Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party	1952	Socialist Nationalist	526	0	0	0	1
Jordanian Communist Party	1951	Marxist-Leninist	525	0	0	0	0
The Jordanian Democratic People's Party	1989	Marxist-Leninist	578	0	0	0	0

2.1 Limitations of the Study

This study did not go into great detail about the party programmes, which were viewed as secondary in comparison to the other issues or study areas in this study. This is due to the fact that political parties do not win significant seats in elections, nor do they implement their programmes, nor do they use their programmes to influence government policies, nor do they use their programmes to recruit new members. The programme itself does not appear to be the key to the development of the parties' role in this phase, though programmes will undoubtedly play a role in the parties' empowerment and assumption of power. With the potential for party empowerment over time, a key area to investigate is the issue of Jordanian parties' programmes and agendas.

3.0 DISCUSSION

3.1 Political Structure

The study provided an in-depth examination of the political system and the power balance between legislative and executive branches. The general conclusion was that the Constitution establishes a head of state who has executive and legislative authority. The King appoints the First Minister, and the First Minister and the King appoint the ministers together. The King, as the Council of Senators points out, must ratify all laws. Because the King has the power to dissolve Parliament and the government, he has been able to postpone elections for many years. The King then concentrates power with the help of a select group of elites. Under these constructional arrangements, political parties are unable to develop and assume their roles in forming governments. According to in maculate Szmolka's proposed classification [2], the political system is "Autocratic Pluralist-Hegemonic Restrictive," which is defined as:

> [one] in which representative institutions have been established, based on pluralistic elections, but in which one or more relevant political forces have been relegated from political processes, and competition has been limited... [with] a lack of balance or counterweights between powers, or the presence of powerful actors with no political responsibility, or by actor formalities that centralise the institutional and political process to the detriment of representative institutions.

'These regimes recognise political parties and organisations; party system exclusions apply in relation to social cleavages; they do not hold periodic elections; there are some restrictions or manipulations of the right to vote; electoral system manipulations are used; and there is no power alternation. There are reserved domains and veto players; the election and renewal of government are not democratic; and the government has limited powers. Autocratic regimes have semi-parliament representatives, who serve as a forum for debate but lack legislative functions and controls. These rights are severely restricted when it comes to rights of association and syndication, press freedom, and access to alternative sources of information (Szmolka, 2011: 18-20). These observations reflect Jordan's reality and political system, which prevents political parties from alternating or assuming power. On the other hand, the regime's animosity toward ideological parties inevitably resulted in the marginalisation of such parties. In terms of confronting and competing with the government / regime, ideological opposition political parties are not on par in terms of controlling the establishment of parties, surveillance of their activities, interference in elections, drafting of laws electoral elections unfavourable to political parties, and general control over the relationship of parties with the street. Furthermore, the ease with which parliaments can be dissolved, elections postponed (formerly), martial laws imposed, certain ideologies / parties banned, and Szmolka, I. (2011): Democracies and authoritarianisms with adjectives: the classification of Arab countries within a general typology of political regimes, new laws passed through executive orders rather than parliaments confirmed that the anon system can foster political pluralism. The imbalance of power between the executive (represented by the King and the Council of Ministers), the limited role of the Council of Deputies, the vesting of broad powers in the figure of the King, and the failure to transform the political system into a parliamentary government all contribute to the restraint of parties that lack a legal and constitutionally clear path to power. According to Szmolka, the autocratic system is characterised by a lack of power balance and the presence of powerful actors without accountability, as well as policies that centralise the political process at the expense of representative institutions (Szmolka, 2011: 16). These characteristics can be seen in Jordan's political system, where the palace and government shape the country's internal and external policies without consulting political parties or civil actors, whether elected or not. Parties, for their part, face challenges in carrying out their political activities, despite being tolerated, and freedoms are not fully respected or protected. It's understandable that the party's politicians don't find an environment that encourages and supports the growth of party activity in these circumstances. The rights to assemble, express oneself, and hold an opinion are not fully respected because it is an autocratic system. The study looked at the evolution of laws governing such rights and came to the conclusion that such freedoms are generally censored. This inevitably affects the ability of athletes, political activists, and the general public to interact with one another and freely express themselves. In 2001, for example, a new Public Meetings Law was passed, confirming that Jordanians have the right to hold public meetings and marches. The law evolved over time, allowing citizens more freedom to organise and participate in meetings and marches. The 2011 version of the law removes the requirement that you wait for your organization's consent before marching, making it easier for the street to express itself. However, large demonstrations held over a two-year period (2011-2013) have resulted in a number of cases of repression in the coverage of these events, as well as some violence in their dispersal. Furthermore, society is inhibited from participating in such actions by fear of the consequences and intelligence forces' surveillance, confirming that the legal aspect and its execution are two separate issues. The Law of Publications and the Press, which governs the right to freedom of expression, has improved over time, granting more freedom and protection to journalists as well as the right of citizens to receive information and news. Confirmation of the right to freedom of expression, indication of the right of

parties to publish their publications, omission of restrictions on publication topics, reduction of the minimum capital of certain publications and confirmation of the right to information all indirectly support the activity of the party publicist. Parties can freely share their opinions and positions with their constituents in a free environment. However, it is important to remember that certain restrictions on freedom of expression exist, such as the prohibition against attacking real-life figures. The study documented media censorship, journalist arrests and imprisonment for publishing controversial articles, and the blocking of certain political parties, all of which indicate that political parties do not have a free and transparent space to communicate with the public. The study also claims that the government censored the press during critical periods. The media, for example, became more politicised following the signing of the Peace Agreement with Israel in 1994, criticising the government's decision to normalise relations with Israel. In response to media attacks, the government amended the law prior to the 1997 elections in order to avoid any criticism of government policies in electoral campaigns and to limit the exposure of opposition parties in elections [6].Then, and in general, it can be concluded that freedom of expression and communication are improving, but restrictions are still in place. The government, on the other hand, tries to sway the content of publications, with officers and security agents contacting editors and warning them against publishing politically sensitive material. It's understandable that Jordan was ranked 143[rd]out of 180 countries in the 2015 World Press Freedom Index because of these restrictions (Reports without Borders). The Association of Jordanian Journalists published a report on press and media freedoms in 2013 that revealed cases of restrictions on freedoms, censorship, work expediting, and publication bans. As a result, the country's media landscape is not entirely free or transparent, which has a direct impact on political parties' activities. Despite the fact that party publications are exempt from many of the rules that apply to nonpartisan publications, such as minimum capital, editor qualifications, and journalistic affiliations, the general caesura applies to all communications in the country, partisan or not. To persuade the public of their programmes and roles, political parties must have the freedom to debate, study, analyse, criticise, and recommend alternative policies.

3.2 Electoral process

The electoral system has also been identified as a major contributor to political party weakness, particularly since 1992. Despite the fact that electoral laws were improving and giving elections more transparency and independence, the main issue with the laws was not a treaty (until 2016 2). Initially, the Electoral Law of 1947 introduced a modern law that established a majority electoral system based on an electoral formula that awarded the most votes within multi-member constituencies to the candidate who received the most votes. The system favoured political parties by allowing voters to vote multiple times based on the number of seats allotted by the constituency. In the case of a four-seat electoral constituency, the voter cast a compromise vote for the tribal candidate / family candidate and the other vote(s) for partisan candidates. In fact, the Muslim Brotherhood Organization won 22 seats in the 1989 elections (out of 80). In 1993, when Parliament was not in session, the government amended the law to require that the Twelfth Council elections be held at its base. Despite the fact that most constituencies were multi-member, the electoral system was changed to a semi-proportional system, adopting the electoral formula of Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV), which limited voters' votes to only one per voter. When faced with a choice between an ideological candidate and a tribal/family candidate, the traditional voter, regardless of their ideological orientations, always chooses the second due to social commitment. This had an impact on the votes received by the parties, and their representation in the Councils has decreased since then. A new statute electoral was enacted on May 18, 2010, almost six months after Parliament was dissolved in November 2009, which changed the division of

electoral constituencies by introducing sub-districts. 2010 virtual elections (to which he colloquially referred to "imaginary districts"). The districts are divided into sub-districts. Small groups contributed to candidates' increased reliance on tribal relationships and family ties to win, which impacted partisans' performance even more. A new Electoral Law was enacted in 2012 during the tenure of the Council elected in 2010, which introduced a mixed electoral system. A total of 108 deputies were elected directly using the same SNTV electoral formula, while 27 seats were allocated for lists closed national elections using a proportional representation electoral system. Even if the closed lists tried to help the parties, the results of the 2013 elections showed that the parties only received 10 seats (of the 27 insane for the lists). As a result, the main complaint of political parties is the SNTV electoral formula, which does not allow parties to win votes in elections in a traditional society. Furthermore, the electoral constituency division is not seen as fair, with the distribution of electoral seats based on constituencies favouring those who support the regime. For example, Bedouin-populated areas, rural areas, and constituencies in the south have a pro-regime electorate (populated by tribes); these constituencies have a disproportionately large number of seats compared to their population. Meanwhile, the Electoral Law (No. 6 of 2016), which was ratified by the King and published in the Official Gazette No. 5386 of 15 March 2016, was assigned to the populated areas with the most politically active society (primarily Amman). The law replaces the previously rejected electoral formula with an open list proportional representation formula. 1 fewer seat, putting political parties' chances in jeopardy. The electoral system has not yet matured, as evidenced by the constant changes in constituency boundaries and the enactment of numerous laws, all of which are constantly modified. Changes from one system to another and from one formula to another that do not result in significant changes confirm that the changes are not based on unverifiable premises.

3.3 The Political System

The study contends that the laws governing the formation and operation of political parties acted as a barrier to their development throughout history. Despite the fact that the laws were reforming and improving, some features remained. The current version of the law maintains common rules (2015). Political parties were first registered as "associations" under the 1936 Association Act, indicating that the political nature of the parties had not yet been recognised by the political system. The Jordanians' right to meet and form associations and political parties (Article 16) was confirmed in the 1952 Constitution, with the political parties of the associations being distinguished. The Law on the Organization of Political Parties was enacted in 1954, and the Law on Political Parties was enacted in 1955, following the promulgation of the new Constitution. Political parties were not legally regulated until 1992, when a new Law on Political Parties was enacted, following the decision to dissolve them in 1957. Other political party laws were enacted as a result of the political reforms in 2007, 2012, and 2015. The laws were gradually improved, granting the parties more freedoms and rights. For example, the 2007 law mandated that a special section of the State's public budget be set aside for contributions to party financing (50000 dinars). The same law allowed political parties to publish periodicals, use official media, and prohibit citizens from being questioned, held accountable, or having their constitutional rights violated because of their political affiliation. However, a closer examination of the laws reveals that its provisions impose a number of restrictions. The parties' 'political' nature, for example, was not recognised until 1992. Parties were defined as organisations with policies that aim to participate in public life under the 2007 law, implying that they did not arise in political life. Although the laws of 2012 and 2015 acknowledge that political parties play a role in politics, no law specifically defines their role in parliaments or in the formation of governments. For another example, The Ministry of the Interior, on the other hand, has historically been

responsible for registering political parties, monitoring their activities and communication, and dissolving political parties (in cases of law violations), resulting in arbitrary government decisions in relation to vocal parties opposing government policies. The Committee on Political Party Affairs in the Ministry of the Interior, which included a member of civil society and the Delegate / General Commissioner for Human Rights, was established in 2012 and charged with examining requests for the establishment of political parties and the follow-up of their affairs. Although the Committee was chaired by the Ministry of the Interior and included other ministries in its membership, this provided more transparency in the management of party affairs. Although parties are allowed to have their own media, the versions of the laws from 2012 and 2015 do not mention the right of parties to use the official media. The Committee was transferred to the Ministry of Political Affairs and Parliamentarians in 2015, which was a positive step toward increasing the transparency of partisan management. The reference to punishing those who question the citizen, subject him to accountability, or violate his constitutional rights because of his partisan affiliation was removed from the 2015 version of the law. In general, the laws governing parties were improving and empowering parties, though the fundamental issue of parties' role in representing the people in Parliament was not addressed. If political parties want to grow, the legislative environment must support them and recognise their role in the political and institutional spheres, as well as their role in the circulation of power. Despite the fact that laws were improving and supporting political parties (for example, financially), the reality is that political parties are monitored, controlled, and censored, with little room for mobility in the political system. Jordan's political system is euphemistically described as a competitive multiparty system. Jordanian multiparty refers to the number of powerful and relevant parties that win votes but do not form governments or participate in them. In terms of the definition of competitive parties, while all legalised parties have the full right to compete in elections and anyone can beat the others to form a parliamentary majority, the reality in Jordan reflects a different picture, with parties winning a small and insignificant number of seats that do not allow for more than forming a parliamentary block.

3.4 Analysis and Criticism of Political Parties' Performance

Since 1921, political parties in Jordan have faced numerous challenges that have made it difficult for them to gain enough popular support to form majorities in parliament and begin reforms. Except for the experience in the 1950s, when political parties won enough votes in parliamentary elections to form a partisan government (the only one in the country's history), political parties have always faced obstacles to the development of their role, including civil wars, armed movements, coup attempts, martial law, and prohibition. Since 1989, the local environment has been prepared to allow the parties to resurface and operate. The remaining obstacles, such as society, the government's hegemony over Parliament, unfavourable electoral laws, and speech and party-organizing laws, among others, prevented political parties from improving their status or role in society. Parties have remained a taboo, a pastime, or a relic of a past rife with opposition and confrontation. Despite these negative aspects of the political environment, most parties did not attempt to be pragmatic in order to fit into the circumstances. Furthermore, despite the criticism levelled at them, the laws governing elections and party activities essentially allow parties to participate in elections, form lists, and organise campaigns in order to gain popular support. It is impossible to deny that political parties, their discourse, activity, organisation, and methods of communicating with the public, share some of the blame. Errors related to his social activities and behaviour in Parliament can shed light on the failures of political parties to fulfil their societal roles. To analyse the mistakes made by the partisans and their leaderships, include elements related to

partisan activity, or inactivity in some things, such as internal organisation, behaviour in the Council, and inter-party relations in this section.

3.5 Ideologies in Controversy and Regional Expansions

Political parties are divided into four main political currents, which have been kept separate since the 1950s. Islamists, leftists, nationalists, and conservatives / centric are some of the groups that exist. Despite the fact that these currents correspond to societal cleavages, such as those between Jordanians and Palestinians, conservatives and progressive forces, secularists and Islamists, each of these currents faces a set of challenges and disadvantages that separate society from the parties that follow its ideologies. On the one hand, nationalist parties such as the Republican Party of the United States and the Democratic Party of the United States As previously stated, they have an antiquated and nostalgic political discourse that does not reflect reality or current conditions. The momentum of Arab unification was lost in the 1960s (with the occupation of large Arab territories following the 1967 War), and the rhetoric of Arab unification and liberation is no longer effective in today's pragmatic and modern world. Ineffectiveness, cruelty, and inefficiency, on the other hand, the failure of nationalist regimes in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt fuelled public discontent with the nationalist ideology promoted by these parties, particularly Jordan's two Baath parties. Continuing to rely on an old, purely theoretical, and unrealistic discourse (due to current geopolitical conditions) without refreshing the ideas and proposals presented gives the impression that these Nationalist parties are relics of a turbulent past. In terms of the economic discourse of the leftist parties, socialism (as practised by the nationalist and leftist parties) or Communism (as practised by the Communist Party and Hashd) do not reflect the views of the majority of Jordanians. The failure of Communism on political, social, and ideological levels in many countries also demonstrated the ideology's ineffectiveness to Jordan's predominantly religious population. On the other hand, the main parties of this current's affiliation with Palestinian organisations (FDLP and PPLP) was a factor in the alienation of the Jordanian (indigenous) population, which rejected prioritisation of Palestinian issues over national concerns and feared the growth of Palestinian influence at the expense of the indigenous population. In general, these parties' controversial regional expansion, ideologies, high fragmentation, and internal conflicts contribute to the population's alienation from these parties and their inability to present themselves as an organised political force. It is worth noting that without However, a shift in the political discourse of some leftist parties has occurred as a result of the stagnation of leftist parties, whose presence and role have not evolved or changed for decades, as well as internal crises caused by regional governments and even more tensions with the regime. Instead of maintaining their staunch opposition to the government, the Leftist parties are softening their rhetoric and edging closer to the regime, possibly out of fear of disappearance. According to political analyst Usama Al Rintawi (Usama Al Rintawi cit. by Omari, 2013), some parties began to present themselves as allies to the government, defending their causes and adopting their speeches, rejecting, for example, the Monarchy Constitutional Commission's calls with totality (the Islamist initiative mentioned above). According to the analyst, some of the current's parties are becoming more conservative, leaning more to the right, and using a discourse that is diametrically opposed to their ideology.

In terms of central conservative parties, whether center-right or center-left, the majority of these parties do not adhere to a particular ideology or have programmes and platforms based on consistent political views, instead shifting their positions on policies in response to personal interests or regime pressures. Despite the fact that they all have internal statutes outlining their political programmes, their references to social, political, and economic issues are sloppy and do not belong to any ideological school. Its main advantage is the high social

profile of its members, who have political and tribal clout and are close to powerful politicians. Its pragmatism and ideological flexibility are also assets, as these parties are not bound by any rules and can change their rhetoric as needed. However, because the public associates these parties with their leaders rather than their organisations, people vote for and support individuals rather than parties. As a result, the party is essentially summed up in one person, rather than an institution, and its popularity, influence, and closeness to the regime are all dependent on it.

On the other hand, parties that adopt Islamic discourse and ideology, such as the IAF, They are the most widely accepted and popular parties on CalleJordana 56. The parties of this current are the most reflective of the realities and concerns of Jordanians, with their visions of political reform, social and economic development not only matching the culture and orientation of the majority of Jordanians, but also granting them even more acceptance because they are based on Islamic Sharia. It's worth noting that the IAF party's long history, close historical ties to the regime, and vast human and financial resources have allowed them to be close to Jordanians and have strong and applicable programmes and platforms. Political Islam and Islamist positions on sensitive national and international issues, on the other hand, not only caused a schism between the regime and the Islamic parties (most notably the IAF), but also a negative reaction from moderate forces in society. In the case of the OHM / IAF, their high popularity stems from their support for the Hamas organisation. In the Palestinian refugee camps 57, the presence of a large number of Jordanians of Palestinian origin in their ranks, as well as their unwavering support for the maternal organisation in Egypt, alienated a segment of the population from the OHM / IAF, who saw the Party as more Palestinian than Jordanian and rejected the prioritisation of supranational affairs and their compliance with outside agendas or orders. In this context, it's worth noting that ideological parties' regional affiliation with "Maternal" parties is another factor that influences the image and appeal of parties on stage. local. What is meant here is the continuation of a discrete patron-client relationship between regional parties and their offshoot national or direct association with the agendas of these Monteros parties, rather than the adoption of international ideologies and movements, as happened in the 1950s with the adoption of socialist, communist, and nationalist thought. For example, the extension of the two Baath parties (Syrian wing and Iraqi wing) had a negative impact on Jordan, because the Iraqi Baath Party had its critics, whether while in power under Saddam Hussein or in his dispersion, division, and current underground, where the mother's party's positions are reflected negatively on the Jordanian party. The same can be said of the Syrian Baath regime's atrocities and the dismissal of much of the nationalist rhetoric associated with the Baath. Not only did the maternal parties' behaviour influence public perception of the party's Jordanian branches, but some of them also acted as defenders of the Montero parties and prioritised their case. For example, the Progressive Baath party has been a part of many movements since the Arab Spring began, acting as a force for reform, but since the start of the Syrian conflict, the party has focused solely on Syria, ignoring the local situation (Identity and NIMD, 2014: 39).

This contentious regional expansion has an impact on national parties and tarnishes their image in the eyes of the population, or at least a portion of it. On the other hand, the prioritisation of the Cause Palestine's leftist parties, many of which were founded on the foundations of Palestinian organisations, and the relationship with them The FAI's close relationship with Hamas, as well as Hamas' prioritisation of the Palestinian cause, drives away a portion of the parties' trans-Jordan population. The relationship between OHM/IAF and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's organisation had an impact on the party's image and popularity. Although the party received support and a boost of esteem and hope with the euphoria of the Egyptian revolution and the rise of the Islamists to power, despite the party's

performance in power, the rebellion and the chaos that followed were a blow against the Islamists' great victory, whether in Egypt or Jordan. As a result, the Jordanian parties' contentious intra-regional relationship continues to be a problem, giving the regime reason to doubt their intentions and loyalties, and confusing the population about the priorities of their agendas and programmes.

3.6 Platforms and Programs

Another factor that contributes to political parties' unpopularity is their rhetoric and political programme. Whether ideological or centric/conservative, the majority of parties lack solid platforms and do not provide coherent and viable alternatives to develop the country and reform the system as they demand on a daily basis. Parties are, on the whole, old and out of date, and most of them refer to issues and topics of interest in broad terms rather than going into detail. According to a study conducted by the Centre for Strategic Studies in August 2015, most party programmes also include unrealistic proposals that do not correspond to the state's capabilities. This study focused on national and international issues in the programmes of the eight major political parties (Communist, Hashd, IAF, Central Islamic, Baath Socialist, Progressive Baath, National Constitutional, and Message). According to the study, the parties addressed the political issues that are important to the Jordanian people in a broad sense, such as the principle of political pluralism, the return of power, and the reform of electoral and party law so that you can carry out your activities more effectively. The programmes, on the other hand, took up the issue of rights and freedoms without going into detail about these rights or protecting them in their own way, and without distinguishing between political and civic rights, for example, reducing the issue to a very superficial level. They also failed to mention the mechanisms and methods for empowering civil society organisations. In terms of economic issues, no independent political programmes or alternative economic policies were presented or proposed by the political parties. Furthermore, they discussed economic issues in a superficial manner, offering no details or elaboration of their concepts or economic proposals. The parties' ideologies guided their proposals, with the current Islamic movement calling for the establishment of an Islamic economy, while the leftist and nationalist current He called for confronting imperialist forces without getting involved in the mechanisms. The same, as far as I'm aware, applies to the issue of investments and the budget deficit. In terms of poverty and unemployment, the programmes made no specific recommendations for addressing these issues and instead focused on criticising government policies. Women's issues, health, youth, and education were also addressed in broad terms, though Islamic parties went into greater depth in specific sections on education and youth. The main theme in the programmes was national security, with calls to protect the national stage, combat forces of division, uphold the rule of law, and promote trust in the state's institutions (Centre for Strategic Studies, 2015). If this is the case with the country's major political parties, you can get a sense of the quality of the other parties' programmes. According to a study conducted by Identity Centre and the Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (Identity and NIMD, 2014: 104), most Jordanian political parties' programmes are highly vague, general, and lack the details required for implementation. The matchmaking system does not work. It lays out clear and actionable steps for any necessary reform. This is evident in the case of the electoral system and the SNTV formula; despite the fact that almost all parties oppose it, the proposals put forward lack both necessary specifications and feasibility. Even the FAI, which insists on the electoral system of 1989, has changed its mind several times and now favours proportional or mixed systems. The government then took advantage of partisan gridlock to maintain the status quo in a number of areas (Identity and NIMD, 2014: 104). On the other hand, according to a study conducted by the Identity Centre in 2013, the programmes in general focus on supranational and political issues, which do not

correspond to Jordanians' priorities. When the Center asked Jordanians about their electoral concerns, the majority of respondents said they were more concerned about minor issues that affected their daily lives rather than national or international issues. Poverty, corruption, unemployment, social security, and changes in income and sales laws were prioritised. Political issues such as the Electoral Law, Council of Deputies regulations, political reforms and democracies, and freedom of expression were all secondary concerns (Identity enter, 2013). When these findings were compared to partisan platforms, there was a disconnect between party platforms and respondents' priorities. The economic aspect and the improvement of the standard of living are thus priority issues for Jordanians, and parties must develop their discourse and political programme if they want to improve their social attractiveness. According to Bondokji (2015) [9], it is necessary to establish committees of specialised interns responsible for writing policies in many parties in this regard. Interviews with 27 political parties were conducted by AL Quds Centre for Political Studies and CIPE in 2006 as part of a study to examine your programmes in depth. Only 40.9 percent of the parties said they have a comprehensive economic plan, and only 39.4 percent believe they have enough knowledge of Jordan's economy. Partisans explained that the lack of qualified economic specialists in their ranks, the weakness of the parties themselves, and the parties' prioritisation of the political are all factors contributing to the parties' weakness or lack of an economic programme. Furthermore, coordination between parties and public entities in relation to the issues is essential. Economic coordination was poor, with civil society and academic entities leading the way, followed by the Council and government entities. Political parties' economic discourse has not been able to break free from ideological foundations, and even if it were the free speech of the Hegemony of these ideological principles, the solutions presented appear weak and unrealistic. The parties' economic discourse is confined to ideological references and cannot be translated into economic concepts. According to the study, there are few specialised economic committees, and those that do exist are weak and lack the knowledge and skills needed to conduct economic research, as well as a database for the country's economy and the necessary cadre to implement economic programmes. The economic programmes are designed by partisans who are experts in politics but not in economics [10]. So there is a problem with the content of the match programmes, and the parties began to face problems in their transformation to focus on national problems with the beginning of Jordanese partisan activity after the beginning of national political work in the 1990s. Traditional parties (which are still controlled by their ideologies) and new parties formed after 1989 were unable to crystallise a new phase or new party status, as well as produce policy guidelines and frameworks that addressed the causes and national problems, resulting in a period of political hibernation controlled by external rather than internal factors. The majority of political parties have ambiguous agendas and have no influence over public policies and decisions. As a result, the parties continue to be viewed as ineffective actors by the general public [8]. This inability to see and write modern programmes is a result of a lack of vision. Election programmes that are not based on studies or practical programmes are reflected in elections. Electoral programmes are not always based on thorough research, analysis, coordination, editing, and harmonisation. Many political parties adopt ambitious electoral platforms with fiery slogans that are, at their core, hollow in the socio-political context. Party programmes feed these electoral programmes, which are perceived as rhetorical and antiquated, failing to persuade an ideologically and politically sceptical population. As a result, political parties must improve their ability to design economic and alternative policies based on current and relevant economic studies, communicate these economic visions to the public, or at the very least attempt to influence public opinion with their alternatives. The parties then come to the conclusion that while they refer to concepts in their programmes, they do not provide detailed mechanisms for their implementation, nor

concrete policies to propose and implement. This can be attributed to flaws in the program's writing, a lack of confidence in its implementation, the likelihood that few will examine the programme, the parties' and their programmes having little influence on the government and its policies, and the possibility that partisans who win seats will not necessarily respect and abide by the party's programmes and policies in parliament. Parties must pay 426more attention to the needs of their constituencies, especially in relation to the economic aspect, despite being more selective in the party cadre, establishing specialised committees, and cooperating with national and international economic institutions. Party programmes do not appear to play a role in attracting the masses and voters to the parties, either because they lack a programme that corresponds to national aspirations and concerns or because they simply do not know how to communicate it. Party programmes must communicate the wishes and needs of the population and clarify how and when to bring about these changes defendants in a society that values and prioritises social relationships and tribal, not only for social commitment but also for personal interest to achieve benefits and services with the arrival of influential figures to power, party programmes must communicate the wishes and needs of the population and clarify how and when to bring about these changes defendants in a society that values and prioritises social relationships and tribal, not only for social commitment but also for personal interest to achieve benefits and services

3.7 Jordanian Society

The study concludes that societal opposition to political parties is influenced by socioeconomic, political, ideological, and cultural factors. On the one hand, for three centuries, the prohibition of partisan activity fostered a culture of fear of partisan activity. Ideological parties opposed the regime and its policies, creating a divide between regime supporters and ideological supporters of political parties. Because there has never been a representative democracy manifested in the circulation of peaceful power on the part of the parties, and because the parties were never true representatives of the society in the institutional body, parties are still seen as political clubs without power or paper by a large portion of the population. His constant criticism of government policies is interpreted by the general public as a criticism of the regime itself, which is not always tolerated by the indigenous society surrounding the palace. When this traditionalism in the relationship between the "people and their patron" was combined with regional threats of radicalism, terrorism, and sectarianism, the society moved away from divisive partisanship. This is not to say that society does not have its complaints about government policies; however, for many of them, the loyalty of indigenous Jordanians and historically loyal to the Hashemite throne is a red line. Despite the fact that the regime's allies are the central and conservative parties, and the regime's political discourses are moderate, society does not affiliate with or support these parties due to a key factor in the country's political culture. Traditionalism in social relationships continues to influence voters' election decisions. Voters' election behaviour is dictated by their tribe, family, and social obligations. As a result, the parties attempt to run for office on a personal level in order to secure votes from their tribes and families rather than for their partisan political discourse.It gives the impression that these nationalist parties are remnants of a past full of confrontations and disappointments because they rely on an ancient discourse that is purely theoretical and unrealistic (due to today's geopolitical conditions) without renewing the ideas and proposals presented. The economic discourse of the leftist parties, whether socialism (as practised by nationalist and leftist parties) or communism (as practised by the Communist Party and Hashd), does not reflect the views of the majority of Jordanians. The main parties of this current's affiliation with Palestinian organisations (FDLP and FPLP) was, on the other hand, a factor in the alienation of the Jordanian (indigenous) population, which rejected the prioritisation of Palestinian issues over national concerns and

feared the expansion of Palestinian influence at the expense of the indigenous population. In general, these parties' controversial regional expansion, ideologies, high fragmentation, and internal conflicts contribute to the population's disconnection from them and their inability to present themselves as an organised political force. In terms of the central conservative parties, the majority of them do not adhere to a particular ideology or have programmes and platforms based on consistent political views, instead shifting their positions on policies in response to personal interests or regime pressures. In this context, it's worth noting that ideological parties' regional affiliation with "mother" parties is another factor that influences the image and appeal of local matches. In terms of programmes and platforms, most parties, whether ideological or centric/conservative political parties, do not offer coherent and viable alternatives to develop the country and reform the system as required on a daily basis. Match schedules are generally old and out of date, and most parties refer to issues and topics of interest in broad terms rather than going into detail. Most parties' platforms also contain unrealistic and non-realistic proposals. They correspond to the state's capabilities. In 2006, the Al Quds Centre for Political Studies and CIPE conducted interviews with 27 political parties in order to examine their programmes in greater depth. Only 40.9 percent of the parties said they have a comprehensive economic programme, and only 39.4 percent believe they have enough information about Jordan's economy. Partisans explained that they do not have qualified economic specialists in their ranks, the parties' own weaknesses, and the parties' prioritisation of the political aspect as reasons for the parties' weakness or lack of an economic programme. The problem of party structure and elitism in many of them continue to be obstacles to the country's development of party activity. The majority of today's political parties are elitist / cadre parties with little local support because they are unable to recruit members or mobilise supporters. Except for the IAF, most parties have weak internal structures and are dominated by their leaders, who are always the same candidates running in elections. Parties, likewise, suffer from a lack of internal democracy. The four political currents face similar challenges in terms of upholding democratic principles in their internal activities. These weak structures, individualism in decision-making, and internal rivalry (on a personal rather than a programmatic or ideological basis) not only obstruct parties from developing and assuming their role in society, but they also result in smaller internal divisions and partisan fragmentation. The previous sections discussed the various divisions that occurred within all current parties, with the vast majority of these divisions being attributed to leadership rivalry and complaints of individualism and oligarchy. These ongoing party splits, as well as the formation of new parties with few affiliates, have resulted in the presence of over thirty party politicians operating in their own headquarters but not in the Council of Deputies or in society. Financial issues must also be considered, as government subsidies are not always sufficient for parties to develop and expand. Although matches can legally invest resources to generate interest, the majority of parties do not do so. They also don't specify how to invest their resources or a sound financial plan to generate interest and profits in their statutes. Another important aspect of partisan activity to consider is your election behaviour, both in terms of electoral campaigns and election participation. It was previously stated that not all political parties participate in elections under their party's umbrella, preferring to run as independents and announcing - or not announcing - their party affiliation after being elected. In terms of electoral campaigns, the most traditional methods were used in the elections, such as posting posters or setting up tents in stores where potential voters gather to form social ties rather than debate and study the candidate's electoral programmes. When slogans and proposed programmes are more abstract than realistic, confined to an environment of catchy slogans, electoral campaigns are ineffective. Only five political parties have newspapers, whether online or in print, out of the 36 political parties that existed until 2015. (Communist; Popular Union; AIF; Hashd; Shure). Only about half of

Jordan's political parties have an awe page. Partisan newspapers, according to analysts, cannot compete with independent newspapers or calling nonpartisan voters, so many parties have decided not to publish their magazines or newspapers. In terms of the Facebook page, while the majority of the parties (minus nine) have one, not all of them are updated, and not all of them provide the necessary information or a mechanism for public interaction. In general, the parties' media are regarded as ineffective, with little public awareness and a lack of consistency. In general, the parties' communication strategies are ineffective, contributing to a widening of the gap between them and a deeper disconnect between them and the general public. These findings were shared with a number of studies and analyses that looked at match performance in general. Despite the fact that the observations were based on studies and censuses conducted by qualified and recognised centres, the analysis was more general than specific, examining the parties collectively and in broad terms rather than in detail. As a result, the study attempted to examine eight political parties in greater detail and depth, two from each current, in order to identify organisational failures and their possible links to the parties' unappealing popularity. According to Hans-JurgenPuhle (2002) [7], the electoral dimension has the greatest impact on party performance and evolution: the electoral match's interests; the party system; the party's organisation; policy formulation; and policy implementation. Puhle's observations, in combination with the analysis performed on the parties in the study's sections, guided the investigation of three aspects of the eight parties:

- The parties' internal organisation and functioning.
- Party activity / party functioning from the outside.
- The use of the media by political parties to communicate with the general public.

The novel study then looked at the representation of various societal interests by political parties, their election participation, political socialisation and opinion influence, citizen mobilisation, citizen education, its role as a link between the government and the public, their use of local organisations, cultural and recreational activities, and their ratio. In addition, the study looked at the internal organisation and structure of the eight political parties, examining the party structure and how the party is organised internally, which shed light on the relationships between the various levels of the party, the party's relations with the electorate, the level of internal democracy, the leadership and member profiles, and the methods that were used to conduct the research. To provide a holistic view of the inner workings of the focus matches, the level of adherence of members and party supporters, vertical and horizontal links, geographic decentralisation and ideological, fractionalization, internal democracy, the presence of specialised committees, the way drafting party programmes, and the profile of the leadership and members and their discipline were analysed. Finally, the direct and indirect means of communication, the communication strategy, the electoral campaigns, the presence of communication committees and experts, communication from the parliament, and communication decentralisation were all examined to provide a picture of how the parties communicate with the general public.

The analysis of the study parties' structure, internal functioning, activity external communication, and strategies for connecting with the masses revealed some leadership neglect in key areas for the development of the parties and their assumption of their role in society and politics. No party has a fixed communication strategy, literature of its own, clear plans on how they propose to achieve their objectives, or examples of their programmes when it comes to public communication (political or electoral). The use of social media networks is also not optimised; all of the parties in the study have a website, albeit with large differences in audience and news updates. Areas of deficiency were also identified in relation to the organisation and internal functioning of the parties, such as internal democracy,

freedom of expression, freedom of choice, and the use of competitive mechanisms in the decision-making process. Also noteworthy is the fact that most parties specify in their statutes who will not accept the party's external criticism and who will limit differences of opinion to smaller circles, resulting in a working environment with many taboos on the expression of opinions and self-criticism. Furthermore, ideological parties have rigid ideologies and political speeches, which can be attributed to the historical leaderships' control of positions of power and their inability to accept and incorporate the views of young people.

Finally, politicians in the matches should pay more attention to their activities and functions in society so that they can better connect with public recommendations. In general, the study concludes that the presence of factors such as legislative restrictions, insufficient electoral laws, autocratic political systems, significant regional and international influences, controversial political and ideological heritage, and immature partisan culture all prevent Jordanian political parties from developing. The anonymity created between the regime and political parties with more ideological representation and historical presence, on the one hand, wastes the result of years of confrontation and opposing ideological positioning, turning the process into a surface act that does not address the core of the problem. A conservative government proposes conservative laws, which are passed by a Conservative parliament, which is elected by a traditional and conservative population.

4.0 Conclusion

Transjordan, after the First World War, lacked the necessary elements to form a State and sustain the structures of the institutions of a State or an ideology on which the State is formed. After the arrival of the Emir and his collaboration with Great Britain, the process of building a constitutional state began. However, tribal culture formed a challenge for the establishment of a central state and fostering a political and social consciousness.An important step towards the construction of the State was the promulgation of the Organic Law of 1928 that stipulated the formation of a Legislative Council that represents the people. However, examining the Organic Law and the Statute of the Legislative Council of 1929, it is observed that the role of the Council was very limited. Legislative power was exercised by the Emir and the Council, and the laws could not come into force without the approval and ratification of the Emir. On the other hand, the Council included members of the executive body, indicating that there was no separation from the authorities.The political parties, for their part, did not have clear agendas or programs, and their composition and continuation depended on the figures in their ranks.

The study, main contribution is its focus on political parties from the inside, dissecting their internal edicts, communication strategies, internal relationships, ways of writing their programmes, intellectual weight, and ideological positioning, and relating these findings to the historical context of Jordan's partisan trajectory. In other words, the study did not stop at generalising that the Communist Party carries outdated ideological baggage, but it also examined this observation in the context of the party's historical context, as well as its organisation and internal functioning, to gain a better understanding of the challenges that the party faces in its efforts to re-energize itself. Nonetheless, other studies may be added to the research to broaden the scope of research on partisan activism in Jordan. Finally, it is important to underline that the study - with its part novel - targeted only eight political parties. Ideally, future studies can treat all political parties to advice in a holistic and complete way the partisan situation in Jordan. Jordanian political parties are expected to make some recommended changes so that can lead the political change and democratization of the country, instead of waiting for a change of wind of the regime or its sponsors. The political will - at least the public political will - of the King Abdullah II to support the parties

and gradually achieve the goal of forming governments MPs based on partisan majorities are present. The parties must translate this will in to a reality, and must start from within.

4.1 Recommendations

➢ The study suggests that the political system be made more democratic and pluralistic, that parliamentary governments' real vision be improved, that political party laws be improved to empower political parties politically, that they return to the majority electoral system of the one who wins the most, that society take a greater interest in and trust in the parties, and that regional systems be established (if such a recommendation were possible or realistic to begin with).

➢ However, the study recognises that the aforementioned factors, particularly the regional and international political situation, as well as the fear of true democracy and political pluralism leading to chaos and civil wars, will not change overnight. As a result, the study concludes that a "top-down approach" is unlikely to result in true change or reform.

➢ Any change initiative must take a "bottom-up" approach. Party politicians, particularly those from larger parties with more experience, should address their weak points from within so that social change toward partisan perception can occur. Only when political parties can persuade Jordanians of the importance, functionality, and role they play in defending Jordanians' rights will they gain more popular support, which will eventually translate into more votes and seats in parliament.

➢ In summary, the recommendations for parties address your ideological discourse, which needs to be renewed, your programmes, which need to be improved and written more scientifically and inclusively, your structures, which need to be modernised and democratised, and your relations between parties of similar currents, which need to be developed in order to form coalitions and mergers in order to achieve the largest and most powerful parties.

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