

The Effect of Electoral Laws on Political Participation and Economic Development in Jordan (2003-2019) *

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Abstract

The study discusses the effect of electoral laws on political participation and economic development in Jordan during the period (2003-2019). As the Jordanian state witnessed many legislative and executive measures that included amending the constitution and issuing many laws related to the electoral process, such as the age of the voter, the redistribution of electoral districts and the establishment of an independent body that oversees legislative, municipal elections, in response to the demands of political and development reform that have increased due to protest movements Against the negative outcomes of governments and parliament.

The study also reviews the system of administrative decentralization, which was issued in the Official Gazette after being approved by all the executive and legislative authorities in 2016, which will give advisory and executive roles to the local councils through the provincial councils in the Kingdom, which directly affects the decision-making process in determining the forms of economic management and distribution. Moreover, the implementation of projects on various administrative and development sectors throughout the country in an orderly manner, taking into account economic priorities, population density and contributing to the Female projects, and meet the needs of citizens in the cities, villages and camps and the desert and remote areas, through the provision of services required, and the availability of employment opportunities, and improve the lives of citizens.

The study was based on a basic hypothesis that "there is a relationship between the stability of electoral laws, the stability of the political system and societal satisfaction and the impact of this on sustainable development results." The study will use the system analysis approach, the institutional and legal approach, and the quantitative analysis method.

The study reached many conclusions and recommendations, the most important of which is that the stability of electoral laws is an important indicator of political development, and therefore affects the rate of political participation and the level of sustainable development on the one hand and societal satisfaction with the political system on the other hand, therefore on the official authorities, whether the government or parliament find a law A recent election compatible with the requirements of political and social reform, with the participation of intellectual powers and political elites that are keen on public interests and not narrow interests.

keywords: Electoral Laws, Political Reform, Political Participation, Sustainable Development, Political Stability.

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Introduction

The purpose of the elections is based on the concept of people's rule of the people in order to achieve the goals of public interests that should be reflected on individuals, society and all components of the state. This is related to factors related to the awareness of the political system and the executive, legislative and judicial departments. In other words, political reform is a changing process that must conform to the requirements of the modern state, which depends on the availability of standards of good governance that must be available at the political leadership of the state, represented by the serious and sincere will of the political system and its cadres, which must be elites and leadership competencies and from various sectors. The state is economic, social, security, educational, cultural, etc.

The responsibility of the political system is to find legal and regulatory frameworks to create an electoral system that can reach representatives of the people to decision-making centers, whether at the level of parliamentary or municipal representation or local councils and others and in various sectors that depend on the presence of councils or bodies representing members of the state or institution, Which means that electoral systems must be able to raise levels of departments in the public and private sectors, because development managed by the political system must be inclusive of all sectors of the state and not only limited to the authorities or public institutions in the state. From this standpoint, it must be a law and an electoral system that can achieve the general goals of the state, in order to reach the development of practical strategies and policies capable of achieving positive outcomes, according to the

plans drawn up that would reach the requirements of sustainable development to which civilized countries aspire. In light of this, it becomes clear that elections are the democratic means to assign the power of rulers.

It has an electoral system that represents a set of rules that determine how to implement and determine the election results. Electoral systems include a set of rules that govern all aspects of the voting process: the date of the election, who is eligible to vote, who is entitled to stand for election, how to distinguish and cast ballots, how to count the ballot papers, determinants of campaign spending, and the rest of the factors that may influence the outcome. The electoral systems work to convert the votes cast in general elections into seats for candidates.

Since the establishment of the Jordanian state and through the post-independence phase and then the return of parliamentary life in 1989 and until now, many believe that the election law is of particular importance in the Jordanian state, as it is the mechanism that must produce a power that represents the will of the people, and expresses its general trends in governance, administration, and economy Security, education, culture, education, and other fields that extend to all walks of life in the direction of strengthening the citizen's location, fixing the institutions' approach to defending citizens' rights and securing pastoral needs and services of various types and levels.

Given that the electoral law in Jordan has a direct relationship to political reform on the one hand, and it is also considered a significant indicator for expressing political participation among individuals, political parties and civil society institutions on the other hand, so the study will discuss the impact of electoral laws on political participation in Jordan. Where and within the general framework of the study, each of the following elements will be reviewed: the importance of the study, the goals and research problem, questions and hypotheses of the study, variables, study concepts and previous studies.

The first part of the research discusses the topic of elections as a theoretical study, in which both the relationship between elections and political participation, the elements of the electoral process, and the types of elections will be clarified. As for the second part of the study, a historical review will be made of the most prominent stages of the electoral process in Jordan, for each of the parliamentary elections, local administrations such as municipalities and decentralization, and will analyze the effect of the economic variable on the electoral system in Jordan. Finally, the effect of the electoral legal system on political participation will be reviewed by comparing and analyzing the proportions of parliamentary elections and local administrations since the last two sessions of each.

1-1: Study Problem:

The issue of the study is based on discussing the nature of the electoral laws and their roles in the political development process in general and the executive system in the local administrations in particular, on the one hand, and the reflection of the laws on improving the economic reality and infrastructure in Jordan on the other. Where the electoral process of the Jordanian parliament and municipalities over two decades ago was based on temporary laws, all issued by the government after the dissolution of the House of Representatives without the legislative authority having any roles. In 2015 and 2016 both the decentralization law and the electoral law were issued after the approval of the legislative authority As a non-temporary law. The study will discuss the role of electoral laws in Jordan since 2003 until the end of 2019 since the elections in 2003 were the first in the reign of King Abdullah II and the first in the so-called "quota of women" which is still going on so far.

Therefore, the problem of studying is to know the relationship between the effects of electoral laws and the extent to which they achieve the goals of sustainable development in the political field, and their reflection on the areas of development in the light of the quantitative analysis of electoral laws, as well as clarifying the extent of its impact on political participation and societal satisfaction.

1-2: Study Questions:

Through the above, the study seeks to answer many of the following questions: -

- 1- What is the relationship of electoral laws in Jordan during the years (2003-2019) with the level of political participation in the parliamentary and municipal elections? Is there a relationship between the issuance of electoral laws by the executive authority (temporarily) and the levels of community participation in the electoral process?
- 2- To what extent do electoral laws reflect the development process in Jordan?
- 3- Is there a relationship between electoral laws in Jordan, declining rates of inflation, unemployment and investment, and increasing the size of the country's high indebtedness?
- 4- Will the decentralization law (provincial councils) contribute to achieving the goals of sustainable development?

1-3: Study Objectives:

Based on the study problem and the questions mentioned above, the study seeks to achieve the following goals: -

- 1- Clarifying the role of the nature of electoral laws in Jordan on political participation during the period of study limits.
- 2- Discussing the role of electoral laws in the political reform process and its impact on the desired sustainable development.

3- Knowing the reality of the role of electoral laws and government measures on political stability and societal stability.

1-4: Study Importance

The *scientific* importance of the study lies in clarifying the role of electoral laws in Jordan in the process of political reform on the one hand and clarifying their effects and dimensions on the requirements of sustainable development on the other hand.

As for the *practical* importance of the study, it lies in identifying the positive aspects that the Jordanian state must build strategically, and in formulating policies and taking the necessary measures to link it to the development of interim plans to enhance the development approach in the political, administrative, economic and social sectors. So that the results of the application of legal rules and the tools for applying them are continuously evaluated so that they are excluded when using the updated means related to the required development strategies and plans.

1-5: Study Hypotheses:

The study relies on a significant hypothesis that "There is a correlation between the role of electoral laws and their outputs in Jordan and their reflection on the process of political reform and the desired sustainable development."

1-6: Study Methodology: -

The study will use the system analysis approach, the institutional and legal approach, and the quantitative analysis method. Where the study uses the systems analysis approach when reviewing the reality of the inputs necessary for the development process in the political, administrative and economic aspects and addressing them within the framework of the administrative decision-making process to know the resulting outputs that are reflected in sustainable development. In addition to using both the institutional approach and the quantitative analysis when discussing the electoral laws on which the elections were held during the study period.

1-7: Study Limits:

- 1) Limit of boundaries: Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
- 2) Limits of objectivity: electoral laws (parliament, municipalities, decentralization), the executive branch, political development, administrative development, economic development.
- 3) Time limits: The year 2003 is the beginning of the study because the year in which the parliamentary elections took place during the reign of King Abdullah II. The study extends until the end of 2019, which is the last electoral law on which elections took place until the date of this study for the year 2020.

1-8: Study Variables:

Independent variable: the Role of Electoral Laws in Jordan.

Dependent variable: Political Participation and Economic Development

1-9: Study Concepts:

Election: It is the procedure by which citizens express their wills and desire to choose their representatives in Parliamentary Councils or local administrations, such as municipalities, advisory councils, etc. The elections are in accordance with internal and external regulatory bodies in order to achieve transparency and away from any influences that affect the election process and results. (Pomper, 1967.480).

Electoral System: It is the method and rules for counting votes to determine the outcome of the elections that organize the electoral system, according to which the votes of the voters turn into seats. (Pomper, 1967.481).

Political Participation: Is derived from freedom of expression, assembly, and party affiliation. The ability to participate in the management of public affairs; the opportunity to register as a candidate, the election campaign, the election, and fill the position at all levels of government, based on international standards, where men and women are entitled through human rights norms as set out in humanitarian law and World Human Rights Day, and from In terms of equality, full participation in all aspects of the political process. However, the problem remains clear when applying and practicing, as it is often difficult to exercise this right compared to the required positive outcomes. (Cain, 2003.43)

Political party law: In many countries of the world, there are usually laws that regulate and record the work and role of political parties. Where the executive provisions of the Political Parties Law can be of great importance in setting the framework for the political participation of women at various levels and activities, whether in parliamentary elections, local councils or party organizations, for example, in the field of parties, if parties are required to practice internal democracy and employ transparent nomination procedures through primary elections, party rallies, or the selection of local candidates or similar options, generally women will have a better chance of appearing as candidates. On the contrary, the highly centralized parties that are tightly controlled by a few leaders or an organization with the aim of serving or interests of well-known personalities of men who have traditional ideas in turning a lower number may choose a large number of women as candidates representing members of the public body, especially men in parties. (Essays,2018.4)

Economic Development: is the process by which the economic well-being and quality of life of a nation, region or local community is improved according to targeted goals and objectives.

1-10: Previous Studies:

Several previous studies dealt with the subject of the study. They were published in scientific journals, and the most prominent of these studies will be reviewed to determine the extent of the difference between those studies and this study.

Whereas, since the end of the eighties of the last century, interest has increased in the study of democracy and political development in Jordan, as a result of the stage of democratic reconciliation that resumed in 1989, when a number of studies emerged that dealt with some aspects of political development such as democracy, political participation, political parties and professional unions. Among these studies, for example, those that discussed topics about the attitudes of Jordanians towards political participation, the role of parties, unions and civil societies in political development, parliamentary election laws and their impact on political reform, and other relevant studies.

In their study entitled "The Jordanian Parliamentary Election Laws and their Impact on Political Reform (1989-2010)", the researchers, (Walid Al-Weimer and Hisham Al-Tawil), reviewed the most important electoral laws issued during the study period. The study discussed the most prominent positives and negatives are included in the laws, such as increasing the number of parliamentary seats, increasing the number of "quota" seats for women, reducing the age of the voter from (19) years to (18) years, and adopting a personal card instead of the electoral card. The study also showed a number of negatives that resulted from the electoral laws during the study period, such as maintaining the one-vote law, which encouraged narrow tribal and regional loyalties, and the lack of distribution of the number of parliamentary seats based on the population, which affected the fairness of the distribution in the representation of the population, especially in Large provinces. (Al-Weimer,2012.28)

In another study, entitled "Political Development in the Aftermath of Democratic Détente in Jordan", the researcher (Abdul Majeed al-Azzam) discussed the role played by formal institutions such as parliament and unofficial parties such as political parties and unions in the process of political development in Jordan is still weak and ineffective, and that the prevailing political culture in Jordanian society It also remains an obstacle to democratization and political development. Where the researcher tried in his study to answer a set of questions represented in how civil society institutions, political parties and parliament deal with the process of democratization and political development, and what are the obstacles facing these institutions to play an active role in political development? Moreover, to what extent does the prevailing political culture in society help in the process of political development? In this study, the researcher used the descriptive-analytical method. The study concluded that what has been achieved in the process of democratization, from the beginning of the stage until the end of the time limits of the study, is still weak, due to the weakness of civil society institutions, the weakness of parliament, traditional social heritage, and the prevailing political culture, And the existence of some constitutional and legal restrictions that marginalize the role of society and parliament institutions. The study presented several recommendations that may contribute to creating the appropriate climate for the success of the political development process, the most important of which are constitutional and legal reforms that enhance the role of civil society institutions, especially political parties and professional unions, and limit the operational authority's overpowering them, and promote a democratic and partisan culture that guarantees the activation of the role of these Institutions in the political development process. (al-Azzam,2006.384)

In a study titled "Jordanian Parliamentary Elections Laws, and their Impact on the Level of Political Participation: A Study in Electoral Systems" the researcher (Bashar Al-Tarawneh) discussed the implications of the Jordanian Parliamentary Elections Laws on the level of political participation, in terms of participation and representation of political parties and women, in each An electoral system that was used in the Jordanian parliamentary elections, during the period 1989-2016. The study reached the following results: First, the diversity in the electoral systems that passed in Jordanian parliamentary life came as a result of the pursuit of reform within the Jordanian state. Second: The election laws have affected the level of political participation, especially in the reality of participation, and in the representation of political parties and women within the Jordanian parliament, from the election of the eleventh parliament in 1989 to the election of the eighteenth assembly in 2016. The study recommended that the 2016 electoral system be considered in terms of setting a (numerical ratio) to encourage the participation of political parties in Parliament, as well as preserving the right of women's participation in election laws, either individually or in lists. Promote the participation of youth and women in the membership of Jordanian political parties to ensure their participation and representation in the parliament (Al-Tarawneh,2019.147).

Finally, despite the importance of the above studies, this study will discuss the impact of electoral laws on political participation on the one hand and economic development on the other. Where the study will discuss many main and subsidiary topics related to electoral laws, the extent of the participation of Jordanian citizens in the process of parliamentary elections, and evaluation of laws related to local councils such as the Municipalities and Decentralization Law during the period of study limits (2003-2019), and provide many scientific indicators that will clarify The extent of compatibility of the legislative laws related to the elections and their impact on the process of reform and modernization, whether in the process of political or economic development.

2: Elections: a Theoretical Study:

The electoral process in modern countries, which is characterized by societal pluralism, is an integral link in the formation of the national identity in it, as it contributes to forming the national identity through systematic policies that work to approve an electoral law that guarantees the coherence and elaboration of this identity and the removal of influences that call for fragmentation, division and depending on sub-specifics.

The approval of the method of choosing the electoral system in the countries of democratization is considered an important decision and it is subject to political and social considerations as it contributes to the process of building the identity of citizens, as it has a role in deepening political and social integration.

It is worth noting when studying electoral systems and comparing them with optimal systems or negative electoral systems. We will find in many scientific studies by those interested and specialists, that authoritarian systems based on sub-affiliations and narrow interests, in general, call for the introduction of a regional majority system or a form of a mixed system with a tendency to the components of the system based on the individual majority. The reason for this stems from the need for these systems have a legal cover to stay in power through elections without losing power. However, at the same time, they do not want to allow any social-political integration between the components of society or the establishment of a real party life based on an internal democratic structure and social programs resulting from currents Political and intellectual (Macedo, 2005.37).

On the other hand, specialists in the field of political systems consider that the system of "proportional lists" It is the most used system for the election of legislative bodies and local councils and the most electoral system used in the world, where the proportional system is applied in more than (90) countries in various forms, especially democratic countries. In general, the main advantages of applying the proportional electoral system in countries that deal with this system are represented by the following:- (Bawn, 2003.14,18)

- Its achievement of justice distinguishes the relative system. Every list participating in the elections gets a number of seats equivalent to the percentage of votes obtained. The other advantage is that it leads to a parliament that reflects political and intellectual pluralism in society and where the weak parties are represented. All directions have a tangible presence and ensures. The relative system has strong opposition in Parliament, and this is one of the facts of democratic systems. The last advantage is to encourage voters to cast their votes as long as the majority does not hold all seats.
- The proportional system based on the open list allows the voter the freedom to choose from the candidates in the list and not to be restricted in the sequence mentioned in it, and this is what brings it closer to the individual system where the voter can choose an individual in a list without other candidates.
- The proportional system is the most guaranteed to achieve the principle of political representation. It enables political parties to participate in political decisions more effectively than is found in other systems, and it establishes a real pluralistic political system based on political interests, political and intellectual differences between parties.

2-1 The Relationship between Elections and Political Participation:

Literary concepts related to political participation are related to everything related to political and administrative decision-making and resource control at all levels. Therefore, political participation is a direct or indirect behaviour whereby the individual plays a role in the political life of his society in order to influence the decision-making process. It is one of the mechanisms of democracy in a society that allows the restructuring of the structure of society and the system of power in it. Therefore, it is the basis of democracy and an expression of the sovereignty of the people. Political participation is linked to the concern for public affairs and the participation of citizens in achieving it. Therefore, it is an expression of citizenship and must be based on equal rights for groups and for women and men on an equal basis and the ability to enjoy and exercise these rights.

In light of this, a key question is generated: Is there a correlation between the proportions of elections and political participation? Political literature confirmed that it is not always necessary and that the rates of participation in elections have a direct correlation in political participation. This is due to the fact that the concept of consent to the political system of laws and electoral elites may lead to a failure to go to the polls. For this, we must distinguish between a confusion between participation in elections and participation in the political process for several reasons:

- Those who participate in the election process are the public of citizens, who participate in the selection of candidates for parliament and local councils and others, such as unions, but therefore the general public does not participate directly in the making of strategies and the political process in the state. Therefore, the size of participation in elections does not necessarily have to be related to political participation because political participation does not stop only when selecting the electorate.

- Often, some express political participation through opposition and not to participate in elections. However, after that, you find a group of opponents who enter into political participation through appointment to the executive and legislative centers, which means that the elections do not necessarily always reflect the level of political participation, but it is an indicator of multiple indicators in measuring political participation.

- Sometimes ideological pressure groups, economic interests or social centers are used to boycott the elections in order to form a phased opposition front in order to reach immediate interests or postponed goals. Then they enter the various decision-making positions and thus become defenders of the path of the political system or the legislative authorities and local councils. This also indicates that participation in elections does not necessarily reflect societal satisfaction with the degrees of knowledge in political participation in its theoretical and practical concepts.

Examples include many currents and political parties as many of their leaders or members to boycott participation in elections. However, some of them participated in the political process by appointing a minister or in the Senate, or to achieve the interests for their families.

Therefore, in light of the preceding, a significant question is generated related to the study of the election law in relation to the subject of the Jordanian study case. What is the benefit of studying the electoral law and political participation in Jordan?

There are several advantages to studying the electoral system in the Jordanian state when identifying the extent of the impact of electoral laws on the political life of society and state institutions. Among the most prominent of these reasons or advantages are the following: -

There are several advantages to studying the electoral system in the Jordanian state when identifying the extent of the impact of electoral laws on the political life of society and state institutions. Among the most prominent of these reasons or advantages are the following: -

Through the electoral law, we can know the level of cultural, social and political awareness of the society in which it is applied, and if the state is the “political, cultural, and legal aspect of society”, the election law that produces the authority that leads the state and manages its institutions and controls its basic joints represents the content of this authoritarian form and its political values and concepts Social and ethical. (Lijphart, 1999.38,42)

- The election law leads the components of society, individuals and groups, to broad and effective aspirations and directly, to establish the concept of citizenship, social harmony, and belonging to the identity of the state. (Ibid, 1999.42)
- The production of an authority that represents, as far as possible, all public opinion trends. This is a relative, not absolute, issue because any electoral law as long as it is a "positive law" has advantages and disadvantages. (Crisp,2007.1463)

2-2 Elements of the Electoral Process:

The electoral process is based on several pillars or the following main elements: (UNDP, 2000.63-69)

- Electoral law and system:
It includes a set of rules that govern all aspects of the voting process: the date of the elections, who is eligible to vote, who is entitled to stand for election, how to distinguish and cast ballots, how to count the ballot papers, determinants of campaign spending, and the rest of the factors that may influence the outcome. Political election systems are defined in the constitutions and election laws, and electoral committees usually implement them and more than one type may be used for different positions.
- The voter :
The voter is the person who is qualified to carry the secretariat of responsibility, representing the people in the Legislative Council or local councils, such as municipalities, advisory councils, etc., and who is chosen according to many conditions such as professional competence, ability to assume tasks, the burden of the council to be elected, fairness, and honesty, and it should also have a basis Popularity you choose safely, without exploiting or using any unlawful method to gain victory in the vote.
- Candidate for the elections :
He is the person who is qualified to bear the trust responsibility and representation of the people in the elected council, which is chosen according to many conditions such as professional competence, ability to assume tasks, the burden of the elected council, and fairness in integrity. He must have a popular base that he chooses in his safety, without exploiting or using any method. It is illegal to reach win the vote.
- Electoral Areas:
Electoral areas or districts mean a geographical area divided administratively into (city, district, village) according to the law or the electoral system announced by the competent authorities, which are affiliated to a governorate or a specific region, and through which the representatives of the regions in the councils are chosen.
- Polling Box:
It is the box in which the votes of the voters are collected. After the voter enters the voting room, which is supervised by an official committee formed by the administrative rulers, within certain legal conditions, he folds the ballot paper and puts it in a closed glass box, sealed by the administrative governor. After its completion The legal period of voting, the formed committees are required to open the boxes, sort the votes, check them, and then send the results to the administrative governor, who in turn announces the official results and the names of the winning candidates.

2-3 Elections Types:

There are many types of elections in place and according to political systems, whether royal, presidential or parliamentary:

- **Electoral proportional representation:**
This electoral system is common among many countries, which is represented by giving parties a certain percentage of the number of seats in Parliament based on the percentage obtained by the votes in the ballot box.
- **Party-list System:**
In this electoral system, voters vote for parties rather than for individuals, after which the party's body determines the people who will occupy parliamentary seats and represent their constituents.
- **Multiple Electoral System:**
In this system, the candidate is a winner if he obtains the largest number of votes regardless of the percentage of his votes out of the total number of votes; even if it is less than 50 percent, were in this system, it relies on the principle of electoral districts that nominate one elected member while allowing voters By casting only one vote during the polling process.
- **Electoral Majority System:**
With this system, the candidates must obtain the majority of votes in order to win the elections, so that the percentage exceeds 50 percent through the vote of the candidates with one vote. The first of the voting process is to choose from among them, and the winner of the elections will be in who gets the most votes in this round. (Clark, 2006.684,687)

3. Jordanian Electoral System: General Study

3-1 Historical review

Since the establishment of the Jordanian state in 1921 until the independence of Jordan in 1946, five parliamentary elections have taken place during the years of 1921-1946 in the elections of 1929, 1931, 1934, 1937 and 1942. Parliamentary electoral life began in Jordan early, and that was after a year of independence.

The following partial will be discussed parliamentary councils since the independence of Jordan in 1946, the election of the Parliament in 1947, and the elected parliament in 2016.

- The election of the first parliament in October 20/1947 headed by Hashem Khair, head of the Arab Renaissance Party. Among its members were Saeed Al-Mufti, Abdel Halim Al-Nimr, Shafiq Irshaidat and Akef Al-Fayez.
- The second parliament was elected on April 20, 1950, and that was after the amendment of the constitution, which came after the union between the eastern and western banks, and the council continued until 3/5/1951. Then the council was dissolved due to its lack of approval of the state budget bill in that year on the one hand, and the lack of cooperation between the legislative and executive branches on the other. It is worth noting that the council was then chaired by Omar Matar and Saeed Mufti. (Frehat,2011.137)
- On September 9 1951, the third parliament was elected and continued until June 22, 1954, when it was dissolved due to its opposition to government policy and its lack of cooperation with the executive authority. During the reign of this council, a constitution was issued in 1952. The presidency of the council, Abdullah Al-Kulaib Al-Shraideh, successively ruled Al-Masry and Abdel-Halim Al-Nimr.
- In November 1954, the elections for the Fourth Parliament took place in an atmosphere of violent demonstrations that resulted in the killing of many citizens, forcing Prime Minister Tawfiq Abu al-Huda to resign to be followed by a new government headed by Saeed al-Mufti. The new government soon resigned due to the fierce debate over the Baghdad Pact. Then came the government of Hazaa al-Majali, who also resigned, as a result of strong opposition to the signing of the Baghdad Pact. A new government was formed, and the council, which was chaired by Ahmed Tarawneh, was dissolved on 26/6/1956. During the reign of this assembly, the constitution was amended, as the term of the Senate was reduced from eight years to four. (Frehat,2011.140)
- The Fifth Parliament was elected on 10/21/1956 and continued until 10/21/1961, and it was chaired by Hikmat Al-Masry and Mustafa Khalifa. In the era of this council, the British-Jordanian treaty was abolished on 4/3/1957, and the constitution of the Arab Union was established between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Iraqi Kingdom.
- The sixth parliament began its work on 10/22/1961. However, it did not complete its constitutional term due to its dissolution by the government due to the lack of cooperation between the legislative and executive branches. This council was chaired by Dr Mustafa Khalifa.
- The work of the seventh parliament continued from 7/8/1962 to 21/4/1963 when the government of Samir Al-Rifai dissolved it due to the loss of cooperation between the legislative and executive branches and the withholding of confidence from the government. This council was chaired by Salah Toukan.
- The work of the eighth parliament continued from 7/7/1963 to 12/23/1966, and the government of Wasfi al-Tal dissolved it due to the lack of cooperation between the legislative and executive branches. This council was chaired by Akef Al-Fayez.
- The elections for the Ninth Parliament came before the June war that resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, that is, from 4/18/1967 to 4/18/1971. Has been punished for his presidency, Qasim Rimawi and Kamel Erekat. On

3/3/1971, a royal decree was issued to extend the term of the House of Representatives for two years, ending on 4/18/1973 due to the conditions of occupation and the inability to hold elections in the occupied West Bank. However, the Council held several regular and special sessions until 23/11/1974, when both Senate and House of Representatives were dissolved.

- On 7/1/1984, a royal decree was issued inviting the Ninth National Assembly to meet in an extraordinary session as of 9/1/1984 until 16/1/1984, as Article 73 of the Constitution was amended by cancelling the fifth paragraph of it and amending it so that it becomes the right of the king based on a decision by the Council of Ministers, to return the dissolved council and convene it. The sixth paragraph of the same article was also amended so that it is possible to hold parliamentary elections in half of the electoral district if it is not possible to hold them in all districts so that the winners elect the representatives of the other districts.
- On 16/16/1984, the dissolved Council reconvened with a royal decision. On 10/22/1987, the term of this assembly was extended for two new years, ending on 9/1/1990, and it was considered the tenth Parliament. This council was chaired by Akef Al-Fayez.
- On 11/8/1989, the eleventh Parliament elections were held after the return of the parliamentary life in all its dimensions in Jordan. Elections for the 11th Legislative Council were held according to the open list system established by Law No. (22) for the year 1986 and its amendments. The voter was entitled to choose several candidates equal to the number of parliamentary seats allocated to his electoral district. However, this council did not complete its constitutional term, as it was dissolved in 1993. Moreover, succeeded to his presidency Suleiman Arar for one session and Abdul Latif Arabiyat for three sessions. (Ibid,151)
- The elections of the 12th Parliament took place (on 8/11/1993), based on the Provisional Law No. (15) of 1993, which adopted the one-vote system as an alternative to the open list system that was in effect. Hence, the voter became restricted to choosing only one candidate, regardless of the number of parliamentary seats allocated to his electoral district. Then the elections of the Thirteenth Parliament (on 4/11/1997) according to the one-vote system issued in 1993. The polling rate was 54.4% of the total number of registered voters. The presidency of this council, Saad Hayel Al-Surour, was held in one session, and Abed Al-Hadi Al-Majali for three sessions.
- In 2001, the temporary law No. (34) of 2001 had been issued, according to which the election procedures were improved, and the number of seats in the House of Representatives was increased from (80) to (120) seats. Six seats were reserved for women as a minimum in the House of Representatives. (With their right to compete for all seats in the Council). Parliamentary life was suspended for a year and a half, until the 14th Parliamentary elections were held on June 17, 2003, which lasted until 2007.
- As for the 15th Parliament, its elections were held on November 20, 2007, according to the one-vote system (and the amendments made to it). However, this council did not complete its constitutional term, as it was dissolved after only two years. Several reasons led to its termination, the most important of which are: the poor performance of the Council, the severe division among its members, its inability to convince citizens of the viability of its continuity, and the many criticisms levelled against it from the media.
- As for the sixteenth Parliament, its elections were held on 9/11/2010, according to the one-vote law, in addition to another law that has been developed, and it is a law (sub-districts). The Sub-Districts Law means dividing the electoral district into several sub-districts equal to the number of seats allocated to the main constituency. The candidate is obligated to register only one sub-constituency, while the voter can vote in any sub-constituency. The sub-districts do not depend on population or geographical divisions. Rather, the candidates are divided into groups according to their choices, and they are competing according to these groups. This (sixteenth) Council was dissolved on 4/10/2012, one day before the launch of a large march in Amman to demand political reforms. This led to the development of a new electoral law in 2012, based on taking in the essence of the 2010 law, excluding the fictitious (sub) constituency system, and increasing the number of seats in the House of Representatives from (120) seats to (150) seats. As the number of seats allocated to the national list was increased from (17) to (27) seats, the number of seats allocated to the women's quota was increased to (15) seats, in addition to (108) seats allocated to the local electoral districts. (Ibid,153)
- As for the elections of the seventeenth parliament, January 2013, Pro-government candidates strengthened their dominance of the Jordanian parliament after elections boycotted by the opposition, with most of the parliament's (150) seats won by independent candidates who relied on their victory on family and tribal loyalties rather than support from political parties, and election results confirmed tribal growth as a political force in Jordan. Despite opposition parties boycotting the elections, the percentage of voters reached (56%) from (2.3) million registered voters in the country, which is higher than the participation rate recorded in the 2010 elections, which reached (52%). The elections were dominated by the nature of tribal and familial loyalties rather than political ideologies or party affiliations. Despite the introduction of a national list to identify (27) out of the (150) seats to strengthen political parties, these endeavours did not lead to changing this prevailing trend, but rather provided incentives For local elites and tribal figures to create lists based on their personal influence and not party affiliation or political programs. (Hourani, 2017. 5)
- As for the 18th Jordanian parliament, the elections were held according to a new electoral law known as Law No. 6 of 2016. The government submitted the law to the Legal Committee in Parliament at the end of February 2016. It

referred it to the Senate, which it approved on March 15, 2016, without amendment. This electoral law is the first to pass through the official governmental and legislative channels. However, many political and party forces have criticized the electoral law because the government ignored the demands that the parties agreed upon, such as Adoption of the mixed electoral system instead of the system of individual districts.

- Moreover, the continued allocation of a share of reserved seats (Quota) for the Bedouins and this quota has recently turned into three separate departments. Critics believe that the Bedouins had become integrated with the socio-economic fabric of the governorates in which they are located, in contrast to what was the case when the Bedouins were distinguished during the British Mandate.

3-2 General Evaluation of the Municipal Law

The Municipalities Law currently in effect represented a positive step to improve the outputs of work when it returned from the step of "merging the municipalities" in a smaller number of municipal institutions years ago and instead adopted the formula of local councils, which are located in an intermediate position between citizens and municipal councils, and usually represents towns and villages Small, away from the municipal centers, which promotes popular representation through these councils. On the other hand, there are many criticisms of the law due to its excessive granting of the Minister of Municipalities broad powers that give him the right to interfere in municipal affairs and daily work, which include vital areas, such as the appointment of two additional members in the Municipal Council, as well as the appointment of the executive director of the municipality. The law requires the minister's prior approval to borrow the municipalities and to establish an alliance or partnership between neighbouring municipalities. Moreover, the new law reduced the voter's age from 19 to 18, which broadens the rule voters. The law stipulated the development and investment role of the municipalities, as it gave them the authority to invest their movable and immovable properties, and opened the door to establishing alliances and development partnerships between the municipalities. Also, the municipal law entrusted the task of overseeing the conduct of municipal and local elections to the Independent Election Commission, in place of the Ministry of Municipalities, which had been managing these elections for decades without independent oversight or government transparency.

Under the new municipality's law, the powers of the minister include determining the persons who enjoy the status of judicial control and approving the municipal budget. Instead, Article 72 of the municipalities law gave the minister (or the employee who delegates him) to inspect any municipality or local council at any time. Moreover, by carrying out a sudden examination of its funds, workplaces, warehouses and offices affiliated with it, and reviewing its transactions and decisions issued by the municipal and local councils, which means that the minister has the right to exercise absolute administrative powers, including administrative and financial inspection, to reach the authority of interrogation and investigation.

Amendments to the new Municipal Law stipulated the appointment of the Secretary of the Council of Ministers of Amman and eight of the members of the Amman Municipality, out of 38 members, the total members of the Council. This means that 22 members representing 22 regions are directly elected by the registered voters, in addition to six women, who are the (quota)for women in the parliament, and they are chosen from those who have the highest voting rate in the regions of the capital. The demand for direct citizens to elect the Mayor of Amman and all the members of the City Secretariat, similar to the rest of the municipality of Jordan, was raised decades ago without response, which made the incumbents of the position away from popular accountability and immune from the authority of the judiciary.

3-3 General Evaluation of the Decentralization Law

Decentralization Law No. 49 of 2015 is new legislation on Jordanian life, although its intellectual and political introductions are not. It dates back to the middle of the first decade of the third millennium, when a royal committee was formed to study the division of Jordan into three regions, in preparation for the application of administrative decentralization at the governorate level. (Hourani, 2017. 5)

In 2011 the government outlined the decentralization law, but disputes within the government itself prevented it from being presented to the House of Representatives. Meanwhile, decentralization remained a controversial topic among government, party, and political elites, until the seventeenth Parliament passed the Decentralization Law No. 49 at the end of 2015. However, the aforementioned law remained controversial and a subject of ongoing debate and demanded its amendment and improvement. Among the questions raised regarding administrative decentralization: Does Jordan, with its relatively small geographical area, needs to adopt a system of decentralization? Do they outweigh the benefits of applying administrative decentralization and its benefits, or do they offset the financial burden of implementing administrative decentralization at the governorate level? (Hourani,2017)

Conversely, Advocates of decentralization see the importance of the law as expanding the participation of citizens in public life, raising the level of popular participation in determining the development priorities of the regions, and achieving the development balance between the provinces "infrastructure, current expenditures and financial allocations for members.

However, the representatives of the regions and governorates, unlike some of the capital's elites, show greater enthusiasm To adopt administrative decentralization, and see in it one of the most important pillars of good governance, by allowing for popular participation in decision-making, and leaving the administration of local affairs to elected municipal and regional councils from the local communities, and away from the central government. (Ibid, 17)

Thus, according to the aforementioned law, each governorate will have an elected council, the provincial council, 85% of its members are directly elected from citizens. These, 10% will be chosen in the form of a quota reserved for women (quota). In comparison, 15% of the members of the provincial council will be appointed to One-third of this proportion should be women.

The provincial council law granted the status of a legal person with financial and administrative independence, and his term of office is four years. As for the tasks of the provincial council, they are approving the strategic and executive plans related to the governorate, which are referred to it by the governorate's executive council; verifying the implementation of these plans; approving the governorate budget project referred to it from the executive council; reviewing the implementation of the annual budgets of the governorate's municipalities; development and service, and prioritizing those needs. Also approving service and investment projects and development projects referred to it, as well as discussing implementation reports of projects, plans and programs that government departments in the governorate undertake to implement, and proposing the establishment of investment projects, developing recommendations and proposals for improving the performance of government and public institutions and institutions within the governorate, and identifying areas that suffer from lack of services and development, or urgent problems and proposing solutions to them. (Hourani,2017.4)

3-4 The effect of the electoral system and political participation in Jordan on the economic variable

3-4-1 The Impact of Global Capitalism on Jordanian Government Policies:

In the stage of the so-called capitalist globalization and the state's shift to focus on the private sector and openness to the market, we find that the electoral system in Jordan has not been affected by the requirements of modernization imposed by the policies of cultural globalization. In other words, the comprehensive privatization that the Jordanian state entered in more than two decades ago, and it was preceded by the beginning of long and substantial experience in the participation of the private sector, since Jordan was not a socialist or nationalist country before the nineties, that this assumed that the private sector becomes a partner in governance and responsibility The socio-economic and the presence of elites that possess a culture of change, and state institutions that have pillars in employing ideas of political reform at an advanced level of the state of law and institutions.

Therefore, the experience of privatization pursued by the political system in Jordan did not create a social role for the private sector, nor did the companies, businesses, and investments in the country provide political, social, and cultural life to members of representatives or leaders in local administrations, nor did it contribute to raising the level of party leaders or additional sources To finance political, cultural and social work and development work in various sectors, which necessitates examining the causes of political frustration among the educated social segment, is it systematic to serve political stability, even if it does not lead to positive levels that lead to dealing with The crises of reform and modernization, or is the traditional society's culture still a large percentage of it overcoming personal interests over public interests, or is the culture of trust in the political system widening the gap between the effect of applying pressure on the political system because of the practice of latent intimidation practiced by the executive and security authorities on centers Elites and owners of retrofit visions ???.

In light of the foregoing, there is no significant correlation between the capitalist economic variable and the changing electoral systems in Jordan. However, the inquiry remains about knowing the extent of any correlation between the outputs of the electoral laws and the efficiency of the parliamentary councils and local administrations in achieving the requirements of sustainable development. It is there a correlation between corruption, increased inflation, unemployment, indebtedness, rates of economic growth and poverty on the one hand, and representatives of the people in the legislative and executive councils??. For this, this part of the research will clarify the reality of the Jordanian national economy in terms of topics of the direct relationship that affect the reality of individuals and society and all the components and institutions of the state.

3-4-2 The Impact of the Outputs of Electoral Laws and Political Participation on the Reality of the Jordanian Economy (2007-2018)

The following tables review the effect of electoral law outputs on the Jordanian economy during the period (2007-2018) through the following indicators (index of transparency and anti-corruption, index of gross output and debt, unemployment and inflation index), in order to know the extent of the ability of electoral laws and the reality of political participation in Jordan to The requirements for reform and modernization, and then change to keep pace with the requirements of sustainable development.

1- Index of Transparency and Perceptions of Corruption

Table (1-1) shows Jordan's International and Arab Rankings of Corruption, according to the Organization's Specialized Reports on Transparency and Corruption Perceptions During the Years 2007-2018*.

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
43	47	50	50	56	58	66	55	53	57	59	59
06	05	05	05	06	03	06	03	03	04	04	5

*The second box in the table represents the position of Jordan in the global transparency standard, while the third box represents the center of Jordan at the Arab level.

Source: *International Transparency and Anti - Corruption Agency, 2007-2017 Reports.*

2- Index of Total GDP and Public Debt

Table (1-2) shows the percentage of GDP growth (G) * and the ratio of public debt to total GDP (D) ** per year (2007- 2017).

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Year
6.6%	5.6%	5.5%	2.3%	2.6%	2.7%	2.8%	3.1%	2.4	2.0	2.1	G*
55.5%	56.8%	57.1%	61.1%	65.45	75.5	86.7	89.0	93.4	94.6	94.7	D**

Source: *Ministry of Finance, Department of Statistics, World Bank*

3- Index of Unemployment and inflation

Table (1- 3) Rates of *Unemployment and **Inflation in Jordan (2007-2017)

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Years
13.1%	12.7%	12.9%	12.5%	12.9%	12.2%	12.6%	11.9%	13.0%	15.3%	18%	*Une
4.7%	14%	0.7%	5.0%	4.4%	4.8%	5.6%	2.9%	2.4%	0.8%	3.3%	**Infl

Source: *Department of Statistics Reports (2007- 2017).*

In light of the numerical indicators in the tables (1, 2, and 3), the following notes can be drawn:

1- The Transparency and Anti-Corruption Index has been declining or stable since 2007, which means that Jordanian government policies in addition to oversight by the legislative authority, are unable to develop requirements to address corruption. Therefore the executive and legislative councils have not been affected by the nature of electoral laws that have a role in the process Attracting societal competencies, whether parliament or local administration councils.

2-It can be seen from the statistical indicators in Table (1-2) the proportions of the total GDP growth and the public debt of the Jordanian state. There is a significant decline in (GDP) and a very large increase in the size of debt compared to (GDP), which means that government and legislative policies are declining and unable to increase (GDP) and control expenditures due to a large increase in the size of the annual debt, and this indicates that the election laws and executive councils It is still unable to improve the levels of growth required in various economic fields.

3-Table No. (1-3) also shows that there are high rates of unemployment and inflation significantly, which means that government and legislative policies do not agree with the state's needs in providing employment and reducing the level of inflation - from the researcher's point of view, electoral laws and traditional policies have a role Influencing achieving the requirements of development and improving the lives of Jordanian citizens.

5. The Impact of Electoral Laws on Political Participation: Parliamentary and Local Elections: A Case Study

5-1 Popular Participation in the Parliamentary Elections in 2003 Compared to the 2007 Elections

Through the statistical data provided in Table No. (1-1), it is noted the following:

- The number of voters with the closing of the polls reached (141935) voters, which constitutes (57.5%) of the registered number (2456052). The highest participation rate in the second parasite was (82%), and the lowest participation rate was in Amman II (32.4%).
- The discrepancy in the participation rates between the constituencies is due to several factors, the most important of which are the size of the electoral district, the number of seats allocated to each constituency, the number and quality of candidates, and the weak competition in the elections, in addition to the social structure of the constituency, as the participation rate in the cities the main is traditionally low compared to the rural and valley districts Turnout in Jordan parliamentary elections in 2007 is very good, which is close to the previous elections in 2003, which amounted to (59%).
- A study prepared by the New Jordan Center for Studies showed that the number of registered persons in a number of districts exceeds the general national average for the change in the number of registered voters between 2003 and 2007 in Amman Governorate. The number of registered voters increased by (8.15%) in Sixth Amman and 4.20% in Amman The seventh.

On the other hand, the number of registered in other departments decreased from the national average for the change in the number of registered. In the first district of Balqa, the number of registered persons increased by about (30%), compared to their decrease in the fourth district for the meeting by (7%). In Zarqa Governorate, the number of registered in the second circle increased by (21%), while it decreased in the first circle by (9.%) and in the Karak governorate it rose The number of registered in the sixth district increased by (17%), while it decreased in the second Karak district by (2.0%). In Tafila, the number of registered in the first and second departments increased by (5.19%) and (23%), respectively, compared to 2003. Finally, in Irbid governorate, the number of registered in the eighth district increased by (23%), as well as in the fourth district by (3.14%).

- The final conclusion reached by the study centers that followed the evaluation of the electoral law that was based on the electoral process for the year 2007, as well as what the observers of the electoral process in Jordan reached, they concluded that the results of the parliamentary elections for 2007 confirmed the urgent need to develop Jordanian election legislation and the need to develop a law New to elections, provided that the new law takes into account all international standards for the freedom and integrity of elections, especially Article (25) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the various international charters of the United Nations and the global parliament, which It emphasizes the freedom and fairness of the elections, which had been ratified by Jordan since the early issuance of the relevant authorities.

In light of the above, the electoral law on which the 2003 parliamentary elections were based, and the Parliamentary Election Law on which the 2007 elections were based, both laws have the following criticisms:

- Electoral laws still do not fulfil the aspirations of political parties and elites, and these laws that are formulated and implemented by the government still lack societal compatibility.

-The government and the executive departments are still interfering in the elections in a negative way by supporting people who support the existing policies, and this consequently affects the integrity and impartiality that must adhere to all of its procedures.

- The division of electoral districts still does not take into account societal justice, as there are many residents of sub-districts far more than the population of some governorates. However, they are not represented by an equal number of members of the House of Representatives, for example, each of the governorates of Irbid, Amman and Zarqa compared to other governorates. This affects the concept of equitable distribution in political participation and the sustainable development process.

Table (1-4) Shows the Polling Rates for Parliamentary Council 2003,2007 and According to the Central Electoral Districts in Jordan*

Central Electoral Districts	Election year 2003	Election year 2007	*% Of Voter-VR 2016-2013	Central Electoral Districts	Election year 2003	Election year 2007	*% Of Voter-VR 2016-2013
Capital Governorate	43.1	42.2	2%	Maan Governorate	77.7	76.7	9.6%
Zarqa Governorate	48	47.2	0.05%-	Tafila Governorate	82.1	81.2	20.3%
Balqa Governorate	70.7	69.8	12.7%	Karak Governorate	82.1	81.5	9%
Madaba Governorate	78.6	77.4	7.2%	Aqaba Governorate	63.1	62.2	6.1%
Irbid Governorate	68	67.5	7.4%	Central Badia	80.6	80.3	13.7%
Jerash Governorate	82.5	81.1	19.9%	Northern Badia	83	82.7	10.7%
Ajloun Governorate	80.3	80.2	17%	Southern Badia	78.8	78.7	6.6%
Al-Mafraq Governorate	81.7	80.2	6.5%	=====	=====	=====	=====

*Source: Independent Election Commission website, Amman, Jordan.

5-2 Popular Participation in the Parliamentary Elections in 2013 Compared to the 2016 Elections

Through the statistical data provided in Table No. (1-2), it is noted the following:

1- The number of voters in the 2016 parliamentary elections increased from the 2013 elections, by 350,000 male and female voters, as the number of those who cast their votes reached (1492,392) in 2016 compared to (128,88043) in 2013.

However, the overall percentage of participation overall was less and by (36.1%) in 2016, compared to (57%) in 2013. In other words, the number of voters in 2013 (1,288,043), while the total number of eligible voters (2,272,182), at a rate of (57%). The number of voters is (1,492,391), while the total number of eligible voters is (4,139,612) at a rate of (36.1%). The percentage of increase in the number of voters in 2016 compared to the 2013 elections (16%). However, the percentage of participation decreased by about (19%) in 2016 compared to those allowed to vote in 2013. (Hourani, 2017.9,11)

2- The decrease in the percentage is due to various reasons, the most prominent of which is that those invited to exercise their right to the current elections were 4 million and 130 thousand voters, while the number of those who got election cards in the previous elections (2013) reached about 2.2 million voters, who cast their votes at that time towards One million and 200 thousand male and female voters, which means that the percentage of voters in the current elections was different from the previous ones in terms of who is allowed to vote.

3- Theoretically, the percentage of voters in the 2016 elections did not exceed (37%) of the total number of those who are entitled to vote. If we calculate that the number of those who are entitled to vote is 4 million and 130 thousand, and these are out of the country, approximately one million expatriates, if we want to calculate the percentage of voters after deduction of the number of expatriates, the percentage of voters (participation) rises to reach nearly (46%).

4- The most prominent reading, which can be taken out in the 2016 parliamentary elections, is that the major cities such as Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid have witnessed a noticeable decline in voting rates, and the percentage of voters did not exceed more than (23%), which is the lowest At the Kingdom level, while the third district in the capital, Amman, was the lowest in terms of voting rates, and did not exceed 18%, which prompted the Independent Election Commission to extend the voting in Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid for an hour.

5- It is noteworthy that the capital, Amman, has a million and a half million voters, and Irbid includes (750,000) voters, and Zarqa has about (580,000) voters. In other words, the total number of voters in these larger governments, Amman, Zarqa and Irbid, is approximately two million and (800.000) voters, equivalent to 68% of the total number of voters at the level of the Jordanian state. (Ibid,13)

5-Although the Parliamentary Elections Law, which was held in the 2016 elections, was the first law issued by all legislative and executive channels, duly since 1989.

Nevertheless, it did not affect the level of political participation in the elections. It should also be noted that the 2016 election law reduced the age of the voter, and allowed Jordanian expatriates to practice polling through embassies and diplomatic missions outside the country. However, this did not affect the increase in the percentage of voters. However, the percentage of voters decreased from the parliamentary elections in 2013. This means that major reasons are affecting the electoral behavior of the voter and therefore not going to the polls, such as lack of confidence in the ability of the previous parliamentary councils to confront economic challenges such as unemployment, inflation and poverty, increasing corruption rates in various sectors of the state on the one hand, and lack of confidence in the response of Jordanian governments to the demands of political parties and elites And unions and all civil society institutions in the real participation in the drafting of modern electoral law and line with the requirements of reform and modernization.

Table (1-5) shows the Polling Rates for the Parliamentary Councils 2013, 2016 According to the Central Electoral Districts in Jordan.

Central Electoral Districts	Election year 2013	Election year 2016	*% Of Voter-VR 2016-2013	Central Electoral Districts	Election year 2013	Election year 2016	*% Of Voter-VR 2016-2013
Capital Governorate	43.52%	23.1%	18%	Ma'an Governorate	67.73%	46.8%	12%
Zarqa Governorate	47.94%	25.0%	10%	Tafila Governorate	70.39%	59.0%	21%
Balqa Governorate	61.90%	41.7%	6%	Karak Governorate	71.18%	61.7%	18%
Madaba Governorate	69.86%	47.0%	0%	Aqaba Governorate	62.33%	40.8%	21%
Irbid Governorate	59.44%	42.6%	19%	Central Badia	74.78%	69.7%	14%
Jerash Governorate	71.87%	57.7%	20%	Northern Badia	75.45%	68.9%	15%
Ajloun Governorate	70.96%	58.8%	18%	Southern Badia	73.35%	81.3%	40%
Al-Mafraq Governorate	73.60%	47.5%	16%	===	=====	===	===

Source: Independent Election Commission website, Amman, Jordan.

**The percentage of the number of those who participated in the elections, compared to the total number of voters allowed in the elections compared to the parliamentary elections in 2013, according to official figures and data have shown on the website of the Independent Electoral Commission in Jordan.*

5-3 Decentralized Elections

The decentralization elections that took place for the first time in 2017 came in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (a) of Article (12) of the Decentralization Law No. (49) for the year 2015 and its amendments, whereby in each governorate there is a council called the Governorate Council, whose members are elected by direct secret general ballot, The Council of Ministers shall appoint no more than 15% of the number of members of the Council who are elected as members of the Council, provided that one third of this percentage is allocated to women. (Ranko,2017.67)

It is worth noting that the provincial council elections came based on several reasons, the most important of which are: 1) Application of the principle of administrative decentralization at the governorate level. 2) Increased interaction between components of the local community, which establishes a participatory democracy that redistributes decision-making power and public policies and the achievement of local governance. 3) Increased public participation in development decision-making. 4) Increased transparency so that citizens look at political and administrative outcomes from decisions to attend meetings. (Taamneh,2019.67)

As for the number of candidates, the percentage of popular participation and the participation of parties in the elections. The total number of candidates for the decentralized provincial council elections reached (1239), of whom (115) are women, or (9.3%) of the total number of candidates. The percentage of participation in the provincial council elections (decentralization) reached (31.7%), as the number of voters reached (1,302,901), out of the total number of eligible voters, who numbered (4,109,423) voters. Finally, with regard to the participation of parties, the percentage of their participation in the provincial council elections reached (69.4%), as 34 (out of 49) parties officially registered with the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs have all announced their participation in the elections, according to official information Contained in the website of the independent body that oversees parliamentary, municipal, and decentralized elections, the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industry since 2010. (Ibid,43)

In light of the received statistical indicators, clearly note that the participation rate in the decentralization elections, which took place for the first time in 2017 and coincided with the municipal elections in all governorates of the Kingdom of Jordan, also the lowest rate of popular participation, which means that there are reasons that led to this and the most prominent are:-

- 1) Societal dissatisfaction with electoral laws in general.
- 2) Lack of confidence in government transparency, due to the interference of the executive branch in municipal and parliamentary elections for a long time.
- 3) The elections came at a time when many members of society realized that the state would not meet the requirements of local administrations due to high indebtedness, increased levels of governmental corruption, and a decline in infrastructure and other levels.

6. Conclusion: Results and Recommendations

6-1 Results:

- Since the 1989 elections, which were conducted according to a multi-vote electoral law, the electoral system in Jordan has gone through multiple stages. On the eve of 1993 elections, the electoral law was amended and became known as the “one man, one vote” system. All subsequent elections have been conducted according to this single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system. This law was amended again in 2012 and 2016 to a mixed electoral system while still maintaining the one-person-one-vote basis. There have been a number of studies and discussions about the electoral system. By and large, these studies focus on the political impact of the electoral system and how it affects the process of political reform and democracy in Jordan. However, there is another dimension that has so far not captured the interest and focus of researchers and activists. It is the economic impact of this system, which is just as important as the political impact.
- Parliamentary and municipal elections, and in general, local administrations have not yet turned into positive indicators or a solid tradition, and stable reference in politics, administration and sustainable development, and the electoral systems followed do not contribute to shaping political, social and public life except with a limited percentage.
- There is no fixed correlation between the election law as an indicator of political participation and the level of change and modernization in the field of political reform in Jordan.
- There is a negative relationship between the legislative instability of electoral laws in Jordan and the requirements for political reform that must take into account the criteria of good governance as all electoral laws and regulations in Jordan are variable at all stages of the elections, whether parliamentary or local councils.
- One of the main challenges that will emerge from the application of the decentralization law in Jordan is centered around the ability to provide financial allocations to local government councils because the various development plans and societal demands will be much higher than the size of financial allocations that the public authority will provide to the governorate councils within the scope of decentralization. It is also known that annual and cumulative financial deficits have characterized the Jordanian state budget for decades and that the state’s public debt exceeds (40) billion dollars until the end of 2019. It thus also exceeds (95)% of the annual total of the gross domestic product for the same year. It is worth mentioning that financial aid from Arab and friendly countries is estimated at an annual rate of about (13)%, noting that the same percentage remains within the annual deficit of the debt and according to digital indicators announced by the government since the years of the last decade.

6-2 Recommendations:

Based on what the study discussed, the study concludes with presenting many recommendations to the Jordanian government, local administrations and the legislative authority, the most prominent of which are: -

- The Jordanian state needs to apply administrative and political development standards within the parameters and requirements of good governance.
- Drafting electoral laws based on the visions of political elites and parties, to enhance community participation on the one hand, and to be able to continue and keep pace with the requirements of the reform and modernization process on the other hand.
- Also, the executive authority should always work to expand the infrastructure requirements in order to facilitate services for citizens in various regions of the Jordanian state, especially in the main cities that have become overcrowded and densely populated.
- Activating legislation and facilitating what should be towards encouraging development investments and activating the roles of the private sector that provide job opportunities and reduce unemployment, poverty and inflation, and contribute to increasing economic growth rates.
- At least half of the seats of Parliament should be allocated to open proportional lists whether at the national or the governorate levels. This can reinforce the alliances among candidates and can mitigate tension among various social groups.

- The municipality law should be amended to encourage decentralization and grant local councils and municipalities a bigger role in providing services. This way, all members of society can benefit from services without depending on favors from members.

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