

THE ENTRY OF POLITICAL PARTIES INTO THE TWENTIETH HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNDER THE 2022 AMENDMENT TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAW -A LEGAL, CONSTITUTIONAL, AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS-

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Abstract:

This study aimed to provide a legal, constitutional, and political reading of the role of Jordanian Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in the access of political parties to the twentieth House of Representatives, with reference to Election Law No. (4) of 2022 in this session. To achieve this goal, several methodologies were followed, including the descriptive, analytical, and historical approaches. The study concluded that Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, through the legal texts it contained, sought to develop political and party life. This ultimately encouraged Jordanian citizens to join political parties and engage in political and party work, achieving several goals, including access to the House of Representatives within the (41) party seats allocated for this purpose. Accordingly, the results of the 2024 parliamentary elections resulted in a new composition for the twentieth House of Representatives, different from that of previous houses. The twentieth House of Representatives included (108) party-affiliated representatives, and the House was dominated by (4) major parties. Thus, the accession of political parties to the twentieth House of Representatives represented a turning point. A milestone in the course of party work and political participation, and a fundamental nucleus for strengthening the trend toward programmatic party work, with the goal of achieving the concept of a party-based or parliamentary government in the future. The study recommended that political parties that won parliamentary seats in the Twentieth House of Representatives on party lists implement their electoral programs in accordance with the party principles specified in their bylaws, contributing to achieving the desired societal development and overcoming social and economic problems.

Keywords: Political Parties, Twentieth House of Representatives, Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022.

Introduction:

Political parties are one of the most prominent and significant components of the political system in democratic states and one of the main forms of political participation that reflect the diverse orientations of the people across all segments. They serve as the framework through which citizens exercise their political role and express their constructive opinions without fear. Therefore, political parties represent a true embodiment of the people's will, a constitutional safeguard for public freedoms, and a practical manifestation of democracy. This is based on the principle that the constitutional right to establish and join political parties constitutes one of the main aspects of political participation—alongside the right to vote and to run for office—guaranteed by numerous international charters, constitutions, and national legislations (Hafsi, 2016: 2–3).

In recent years, Jordan's Political Parties Laws have sought to encourage participation in political parties and to allocate parliamentary seats specifically for them. This initiative represents an important first step toward developing political and partisan life in Jordan through constitutional institutions—foremost among them the House of Representatives. Consequently, existing political parties have worked to regularize their status in preparation for the parliamentary elections, aiming to benefit from the allocation of parliamentary seats designated for political parties.

In this context, Jordan's Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 was enacted to remove barriers to the formation of political parties and to encourage their establishment and membership by providing guarantees against any form of harassment, prosecution, or infringement of the rights of party members—particularly

youth and university students. This law is the first among previous political party legislations to explicitly affirm the right of political parties to participate in parliamentary elections and to form governments, thereby advancing the concept of a parliamentary government. It thus represents an effort to meet the aspirations and ambitions of all Jordanian political forces and popular movements (Al-Essa & Al-Awimer, 2025: 558–561).

This vision was further reflected in the Election Law No. (4) of 2022, which produced a House of Representatives whose seats were divided between (41) for the general district and (97) for local districts. The winning parties from both the general and local districts obtained a total of (108) seats, making the proportion of party-affiliated members (78.3%) in the composition of the Twentieth House of Representatives (Al-Essa & Al-Awimer, 2025: 558–561).

Various opinions have been expressed regarding the effectiveness of the current Political Parties Law in enhancing the genuine role of political parties within the Jordanian political landscape, as well as its ability to provide safeguards that protect party activity from interference or obstacles. In addition, the law's role in creating a safe pathway for political parties to enter the Parliament and gradually progress toward forming parliamentary governments has also been a subject of discussion. From this perspective, the idea for this study emerged to examine the role of Jordan's Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in enabling political parties to gain representation in the Twentieth House of Representatives.

Problem Statement:

Within the provisions of the Jordanian Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, the legislator granted political parties the right to form alliances for the purpose of contesting parliamentary elections in accordance with the provisions of the Election Law for the House of Representatives No. (4) of 2022. The latter law allocated (41) parliamentary seats specifically for political parties, which encouraged many Jordanian citizens and political figures to join existing parties or to establish new ones for this purpose.

Although the current Election Law is the first in Jordanian history to adopt party lists—and for the first time, political parties have reached the Parliament under a law that designates a specific number of seats for them—the main issue that arises concerns whether the legal provisions contained in the 2022 Political Parties Law are sufficient to enable the emergence of active, program-based parties capable of performing their expected parliamentary role. The question remains whether these parties can meet the demands of parliamentary work, enhance the quality of legislative life, and thereby strengthen public trust in the House of Representatives—or whether this experience will depend on the behavior of the political parties and their representatives, and the potential repetition of past mistakes by some members of previous parliaments. Such outcomes could ultimately lead to the failure of the experiment and its non-recurrence in the future, highlighting the insufficiency of the Election Law's provisions in creating genuinely program-oriented parliamentary bodies grounded in effective political practice.

The Study Significance:

The study significance lies in its focus on highlighting the role of Jordan's Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in promoting membership in political parties as a means to attain parliamentary seats. This topic holds great importance in political systems in general, and in the Jordanian political system in particular. The formation of political parties, affiliation with them, and the enhancement of political participation are

among the key objectives of the political reform vision established by His Majesty King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein— a vision that continues to receive his personal attention, support, and close follow-up.

The Significance of this study also lies in the fact that it is one of the few research projects works that have addressed this topic within the framework of Jordan's Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, which grants the study both significance and a distinctive scientific contribution.

The Study Goals:

This study aims to:

1. Shed light on the concept of political parties and their role in political development.
2. Identify the nature of the relationship between the Election Law and the Political Parties Law in Jordan.
3. Examine the extent to which the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 is sufficient in enhancing party participation and enabling political parties to gain representation in the Twentieth House of Representatives.

The Study Questions:

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

- i. What is the concept of political parties and what role do they play in political development?
- ii. What is the nature of the relationship between the Election Law and the Political Parties Law in Jordan?
- iii. To what extent is the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 sufficient in promoting party participation and enabling political parties to gain representation in the Twentieth House of Representatives?

Related Literature:

Through the researcher's review of related literature to the current study within the university theses databases of several Jordanian universities, as well as a review of a number of peer-reviewed scientific journals, it became evident that there are no recent studies specifically addressing the current topic—particularly regarding the role of the new 2022 Political Parties Law in enhancing political participation and enabling access to Parliament in Jordan. However, some earlier studies were identified that relate to the topic, either in the context of previous Political Parties Laws or by addressing the subject indirectly, as follows:

Al-Essa & Al-Awimer (2025), in their study titled "*The Development of Political Parties Laws and Their Impact on the Political Participation of Jordanian Parties during the Period 2011–2024*", aimed to examine the impact of Jordanian political parties' laws on the political participation of parties across various aspects of political life in Jordan, and the extent to which these laws contributed to increasing party participation. To achieve the study's objectives, the researchers employed the descriptive-analytical method, systems analysis, and the legal approach. The results indicated a genuine intention for political reform in Jordan through the development of political parties' laws in a manner that supports the work of political parties. The study recommended the gradual development of realistic party programs aligned with the progressive advancement of the structures, capacities, capabilities, and roles of Jordanian political parties, with the aim of improving the quality of parliamentary work and enhancing the ability to form a party-based government.

Bani Amer & Alazmi (2023), in their study titled "*The Partisan Participation in the Jordanian Parliamentary Elections*", aimed to analyze the nature of party

participation in Jordanian parliamentary elections and the role of the Election Law and Political Parties Law in enhancing this participation. The study revealed that the dynamic nature of the electoral environment, the influence of election laws on party behavior, party attitudes toward electoral processes, the effectiveness of political parties in elections, and public trust in political institutions all contribute to strengthening democratic governance and electoral processes. The study recommended reviewing and developing the laws regulating political work—particularly the Election Law and the Political Parties Law—to enhance party performance and enable parties to fulfill their political, social, and cultural functions. It also emphasized the importance of building trust between the Jordanian political system and its successive governments, political parties, civil society institutions, and citizens, by creating a conducive environment that promotes political engagement and party activity.

Moreover, Tahboub (2023), in the study titled “*Election and Political Parties Laws and Their Impact on Party Life in Jordan (1992–2022)*”, aimed to examine the state of party life in Jordan and the effects of successive political parties and election laws on the course of party work. The study also reviewed the participation of political parties in parliamentary elections and sought to answer the question of the extent to which election and political parties’ laws have influenced party life in Jordan. The study concluded with several findings, the most prominent of which are that political parties’ laws serve as the legal framework regulating party activity, and that election laws from 1992 to 2022 significantly contributed to the decline of party work due to the adoption of electoral systems—such as the single non-transferable vote or proportional list systems—that did not effectively support the entry of parties into Parliament.

Al-Assouli & Al-Amawi (2023), in their study titled “*Party Life in Jordan in Light of the 2023 Constitutional Amendments and Administrative Judicial Oversight: Between Reality and Aspiration*”, aimed to examine the constitutional amendments enacted in response to His Majesty the King’s directives to strengthen party work and pave the way for the development of political life in Jordan, within the framework of a political reform program designed to rebuild trust in the government and the House of Representatives and to address the country’s economic and political crises. The study analyzed the 2022 Election Law, the Political Parties Law, and the legislative frameworks governing political parties, as well as their relationship with the Independent Election Commission, and the gradual progression toward a party-based Parliament through elections based on the national list system. The study concluded with several key findings, the most prominent of which is that the recent amendments to the Election Law and the Political Parties Law reflect a genuine intention for political reform, including a shift in societal perceptions of political parties.

In addition, Al-Awamleh (2020), in the study titled “*The Role of Election Laws in Representing Political Parties in Jordanian Parliaments after the Democratic Transition (1989–2016)*”, aimed to examine the election laws applied in Jordan following the democratic transition of 1989 up to 2016 and to assess the role of these laws in representing political parties in the parliamentary councils. The study concluded that the election laws during this period did not contribute to increasing the representation of political parties in the Jordanian parliaments.

Methodology:

This study relies on several methodologies as follows:

1. **Descriptive Method:** By describing and reviewing the legal texts related to the study topic, in addition to presenting the perspectives of legal scholars on issues concerning the Political Parties Law and its role in enhancing party participation in parliamentary life.
2. **Analytical Method:** Based on analyzing the legal texts related to the study topic, interpreting them, and providing informed opinions.
3. **Historical Method:** Involving the study, description, and documentation of past events and developments related to the emergence of Jordanian political parties and their role in parliamentary life.

Chapter I

The Reality of Political Parties in Jordan

Political parties occupy a significant space in public life and political systems in most democratic societies, as they are among the key components of the political system and play a fundamental role in enhancing political participation. In addition, they are instrumental in exercising authority, forming governments, or serving as opposition to the policies of ruling administrations. This chapter examines the reality of political parties in Jordan and is divided into two sections: the first section focuses on defining the concept of political parties, while the second section is dedicated to exploring the role of political parties in political development, as outlined as follows:

First, The concept of political parties:

Political parties are one of the key indicators of the political development of any society, occupying a significant role within systems of governance. They are thus regarded as essential elements of the democratic system and one of its foundational institutions. A political party is a legal organization that seeks to attain power and plays an influential and active role within the state's political system, given that the political system forms the primary framework upon which parties are built. Through this system, party candidates manage the state and its governmental institutions by running for office and engaging in legitimate competition for governmental positions (Nazzal, 2015: 185).

Numerous definitions of a political party have been proposed, reflecting the differing political and legal perspectives on the concept of a political party, as well as the variety of ideologies and their views on the functions and tasks of these parties and the angles from which they are examined (Al-Assouli & Al-Amawi, 2023). Among these definitions, a political party is described as an organized body comprising individuals with similar thinking who work to elect candidates for public office to represent their values on political matters (Petersen et al., 2013).

From another perspective, a political party is defined as “an institution or organization that brings together a group of individuals who share common political ideas and principles and seek to achieve specific political objectives within the state's political system” (Abu Zaid, 2024: 16).

Legally, the Jordanian legislator defined a political party in the context of Article (3) of the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 as “a national political organization composed of Jordanians united by the values of citizenship and shared goals, programs, visions, and ideas, aiming to participate in political life and public work through peaceful democratic means for legitimate purposes, including contesting all types of elections, such as parliamentary elections, and forming or participating in governments in accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution” (Article 3, Jordanian Political Parties Law No. 7 of 2022).

In this context, Nasrawin (2022) argues that the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 is the first among previous political parties' laws to explicitly recognize the right of a party to contest parliamentary elections and to form governments, thereby advancing the concept of a parliamentary government. For the first time, the party definition refers to Article (35) of the Constitution, the constitutional provision on which the King relies in appointing the Prime Minister. This linkage between Articles (3) and (35) carries a clear philosophy and purpose: to send a message to political parties that the King's constitutional right to appoint the Prime Minister is connected to Article (3) of the Political Parties Law, thereby establishing the possibility that the next Prime Minister could be chosen from the political party that wins the parliamentary elections, while also affirming the King's right to dismiss this government if it is formed on a party basis.

Based on above, the researcher defines a political party as a group of citizens or associations with programs and objectives that participate in the process of shaping political will, seek to engage and take part in it, and play a fundamental role in the matter of public oversight.

It is worth noting here that the Jordanian Constitution guarantees Jordanians political rights, most notably the right to form political parties, associations, and unions. Article (16) of the Jordanian Constitution of 1952 and its amendments states that "Jordanians have the right to establish associations, unions, and political parties, provided that their purpose is legitimate, their methods are peaceful, and their regulations do not conflict with the provisions of the Constitution." Building on this constitutional guarantee granted by the legislator, Jordan is considered among the countries that have practiced party work for a long period, through the establishment of numerous political parties representing various ideologies and programs. The party movement has also experienced periods of growth and development, with its most prominent role being in the formation of Jordan's first parliamentary government, when King Hussein assigned the leader of the party that won the parliamentary elections held on December 21, 1956—Mr. Suleiman Al-Nabulsi, head of the National Socialist Party—to form the government (Al-Mashaqbeh, 2023: 206).

Despite that period of prosperity in party political work in Jordan, party activity experienced periods of stagnation, marked by the banning of parties and the persecution of their leaders and members between 1957 and 1989. Party life resumed thereafter, and the work of political parties was regulated under several laws, the latest of which is the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022. This law emerged from the outcomes of the Royal Committee for the Modernization of the Political System. On June 10, 2021, His Majesty King Abdullah II issued a directive to Mr. Samir Al-Rifai, appointing him as head of the Royal Committee for the Modernization of the Political System. The committee was tasked with drafting a new Election Law and a new Political Parties Law, as well as reviewing the constitutional amendments related to these laws and the mechanisms of parliamentary work.

According to the records of the Independent Election Commission, there are currently 38 political parties, following the regularization of party statuses under Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022. These parties are distributed across a number of political currents and orientations, most notably (Political Parties Statements 2024, Independent Election Commission website, <https://www.iec.jo/>):

- a) Doctrinal (Islamic) Parties, the most prominent of which include: the Islamic Action Front Party and the National Islamic Party.

- b) Leftist Parties, including: the Jordanian Communist Party, the Jordanian Democratic People's Party (Hashd), the Civil Democratic Party, the Jordanian Social Democratic Party, the Jordanian Democratic Popular Unity Party, the Jordanian Democratic Unionists Party, and the Renaissance and Workers' Democratic Party.
- c) Nationalist Parties, the most prominent of which are: the Jordanian Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and the Nationalist Movement Party.
- d) Programmatic (Centrist) Parties, including: the National Constitutional Party, the Jordanian Future and Life Party, the Construction and Action Party, the Labor Party, the National Construction Party, the Vision Party, and the Jordanian Youth Party.

Second, the role of political parties in political development:

Political parties play a prominent role in shaping and enhancing the political culture of their members in particular and of society at large. This is in addition to their significant role in democratic states, where political freedom and party pluralism allow members to engage in national democratic work, participate in various political issues, and convey the voice and demands of the people to the government (Al-Barasneh, 2024: 51).

Political parties are the most important element in the political system for determining the direction, nature, and level of political development. The objectives and goals of political development cannot be achieved without political parties. Moreover, there exists a strong relationship between political parties, the political system, and the public, characterized by an interactive dynamic between parties and citizens. As a result, political parties exert a profound influence on the political system as a whole, which can manifest in the political, social, and economic development of the state (Mushtaq et al., 2018: 177–178).

According to Al-Karaki (2025: 369), political development constitutes one of the most prominent roles of Jordanian political parties, achieved through promoting political participation, conveying the ideas and demands of community members, and fostering a culture of electoral engagement. This, in turn, strengthens the sense of belonging and citizenship among Jordanians and affirms their ability to undertake positive voluntary actions without fear or restrictions.

In democratic states, political parties also perform a number of political functions, the most prominent of which include contributing to the formulation of the state's public policies in political and economic fields, and promoting public acceptance of laws, government decisions, and public policies through mechanisms that connect citizens with the state and its institutions (Al-Sawa'ir, 2023: 21).

With regard to the Jordanian context in particular, over the past few years, Jordan has witnessed a new approach to political work and party organization, in line with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's strategy for reforming the political system and strengthening the foundations of political development. The political reform efforts during this period resulted in the enactment of new legislation for political parties and elections aligned with the reform and political development agenda. This includes the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, which is based on clear and explicit principles to encourage party activity, whether by establishing new parties or enabling the largest possible segment of citizens, youth, and university students to join existing parties. The law also provides real guarantees against harassment, prosecution, or infringement of the rights of party members, while affirming the right of political parties to contest parliamentary elections and form governments.

Additionally, the new 2022 Election Law allocates 41 parliamentary seats specifically within the general (party) list for political parties. Together, these legislative measures represent a new approach aimed at promoting party work in Jordan, ultimately achieving the desired political development, most notably exemplified by the formation of a parliamentary government.

Over time, Jordanian political parties began to take on a more positive role in political work. This was further reinforced by continuous amendments to party laws, through which the Jordanian legislator sought to enhance the effectiveness of party activity and increase participation across all segments of Jordanian society. The most recent of these laws is the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, which emerged as one of the outcomes of the Royal Committee for the Modernization of the Political System. One of its key features is the encouragement of party activity, whether through the establishment of new parties or enabling the largest possible segment of citizens, youth, and university students to join existing parties, while providing real guarantees against harassment, prosecution, or infringement of party members' rights, in addition to affirming the right of political parties to contest parliamentary elections and form governments.

Therefore, the researcher believes that programmatic political parties play a vital role in political development in democratic states, as they serve as an effective means of organizing political participation and representing the interests of various segments of society. In addition, they contribute to raising political awareness and increasing popular engagement in electoral processes, while also playing a key role in shaping the state's public policies through parliamentary debates and political dialogue, thereby enhancing the government's ability to make prudent decisions that reflect the needs and aspirations of citizens.

Chapter II

The Sufficiency of Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in Enabling Parties to Access the Twentieth House of Representatives

The Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 emerged as one of the outcomes of the Royal Committee for the Modernization of the Political System. The primary aim of enacting this law was to enhance party participation by allocating a number of parliamentary seats to Jordanian political parties within the general list, also known as the party list. It is thus considered the first election law to explicitly encourage party participation in accessing Parliament, representing a first step toward implementing the concept of a parliamentary government within the political reform vision.

This chapter will discuss the sufficiency of Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in promoting party participation, divided into two sections. The first section will address the extent to which Election Law No. (4) of 2022 contributes to enhancing party participation and achieving a parliamentary government. The second section will examine the reality of party participation in the Twentieth House of Representatives elections under the framework of Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022.

First, the extent to which Election Law No. (4) of 2022 contributes to enhancing party participation and access to parliamentary government:

Party participation is defined as engagement in political party activities through an individual's affiliation with a licensed political party, adopting its political orientations and principles, and participating in all of the party's political activities (Ahmad, 2017: 295). Party participation is considered one of the pillars of political participation in general, as the concept of political participation is often closely associated with party involvement. Political participation is a broader concept, defined

as “the citizen’s right to play a specific role in the political decision-making process by all legitimate means, and the individual’s contribution to shaping the societal way of life in economic, social, and political aspects” (Amer, 2014: 18).

Conversely, parliamentary elections are considered one of the most important pillars of democratic systems in many countries around the world. Through these elections, members of society exercise their fundamental and constitutional right to participate in the political decision-making process and to choose their representatives as members of parliament. In democratic societies, elections also serve as a cornerstone for promoting political participation and development (Al-Awamleh, 2020: 772).

Through the study and analysis of the provisions of the Political Parties Law of 2022, it becomes clear that the Jordanian legislator expressed the state’s genuine intent to implement political reforms that meet the aspirations of all segments of Jordanian society. In particular, Article (4) of the law affirms the right of Jordanians to establish and join political parties in accordance with the Constitution, and guarantees that no Jordanian shall be subjected to harassment, questioning, or accountability due to their own or their relatives’ party affiliation.

Furthermore, Article (32) of the same law emphasizes the right of one or more parties to merge with an existing party or with each other to form a new party in accordance with the law, as a preparatory step for participating in parliamentary elections under Election Law No. (4) of 2022. This law plays a significant role in enhancing party participation among Jordanian citizens, more so than previous election laws. Election Law No. (4) of 2022, through the provisions of Article (8/c), seeks to develop political and party life by allocating 41 seats to the general electoral district under the closed proportional list system, formed through party lists.

In this way, the Jordanian legislator explicitly provided for the allocation of seats to candidates belonging to licensed political parties under the law. As a result, this encourages Jordanian citizens to join political parties and engage in political and party activities, seizing the opportunity to obtain one of the forty-one parliamentary seats specifically allocated to political parties.

Moreover, the allocation of forty-one seats in the general electoral district specifically on a party basis will also help political, youth, and women’s movements to initiate political alliances, either by establishing new political parties or by joining existing ones, in an effort to benefit from the seats reserved for parties. This is likely to motivate these parties to engage in genuine and serious party work by presenting electoral programs based on clear and well-defined political foundations, aimed at convincing voters of both the parties and their election programs, which are fundamentally rooted in the principles of the political party to which they belong.

In the same context, many Jordanian political forces emphasize that, despite the positive role of the 2022 Political Parties Law in promoting party participation and activity, the path ahead for these parties will not be easy or smooth. It requires that they prepare thoroughly for the upcoming parliamentary elections by forming national lists that mobilize popular electoral bases within a clear electoral program grounded in party principles aimed at comprehensive political, economic, and administrative development. Additionally, it demands a prominent role for Jordanian citizens, especially youth and women, in assuming full responsibility and understanding the changes in party work and political participation that accompany the current phase (Al-Ghad Newspaper, Jordan, 2023).

However, in light of this reality, observers and those interested in Jordanian political affairs believe that the most prominent problem facing party work in Jordan is not

merely the large number of parties and their limited membership, but also the absence of major blocs and currents capable of ending the monopoly of a single movement over civil society institution. Such blocs could establish an active and influential parliamentary life that allows for the transfer of power between the country's major parties. Those who follow party affairs in Jordan note that the majority of political parties are largely symbolic, lacking effective national-level programs to address the challenges facing society (Nasraween, 2016: 535).

Therefore, the Political Parties Law was reconsidered as a serious attempt to reach consensus on certain political reforms in the country and to advance political development while strengthening the democratic approach. However, political parties were unable to present substantive ideas in this regard, nor were they able to find common ground among themselves. The majority of political parties focus on criticizing the government without offering appropriate solutions. Consequently, the weak party participation in political work and the absence of genuine programs aimed at addressing economic and social problems constitute a real obstacle to the formation of parliamentary governments in Jordan (Hayasat, 2013: 130).

In this context, Al-Masri (2017: 34) argues that one of the most important prerequisites for forming a parliamentary government is the existence of active political parties capable of addressing the interests and needs of Jordanian society, and possessing comprehensive national programs that are feasible for implementation on the ground. Consequently, the entry of strong national political parties with purposeful plans and programs spanning four years into the House of Representatives, holding a majority of parliamentary seats, provides them with a significant opportunity to include their members as ministers in the government.

This was precisely what His Majesty King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein called for in the Third Discussion Paper, where he outlined his vision for the political system, emphasizing the development of a reasonable number of parties that reflect the diverse orientations of the political spectrum. He highlighted the importance of encouraging parties with clear programs and popular bases nationwide, so that voters cast their ballots based on party principles and programs. Furthermore, he stressed promoting collective work among these parties within the House of Representatives and seeking to unite them around their shared principles and priority policies, given the significant role this plays in forming larger parliamentary blocs that contribute to achieving the desired parliamentary effectiveness and political development (Third Discussion Paper, 2013).

Thus, the researcher believes that striving to achieve the concept of a parliamentary government—where the political parties winning the allocated parliamentary seats play a significant role—will encourage these parties to continue their political and party work according to the principles on which they were founded. This will enable them to assume the new responsibilities entrusted to them, project a positive image of their political work, and, consequently, motivate more citizens to join them, thereby reaching the level of readiness required to contest the upcoming parliamentary elections and secure the largest possible number of seats.

Second, the reality of party participation in the twentieth House of Representatives elections under Parties Law No. (7) of 2022:

After studying and analyzing the provisions of Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 and Election Law No. (4) of 2022, it becomes evident that there are a significant alignment and interconnection between the two laws regarding the encouragement of parties to participate and compete in parliamentary elections. In the researcher's view,

this alignment stems from the fact that both laws were outcomes of the same body, namely the Royal Committee for the Modernization of the Political System. Moreover, the proposed amendments to both laws were developed with the participation and input of the committee members, resulting in considerable overlap and interconnection between the two. The main areas of linkage between these laws can be identified as follows:

First: The provisions of the Political Parties Law of 2022 encourage the formation of parties and membership therein, as well as the free practice of party work, while providing full guarantees against any harassment or violation of a citizen's fundamental rights due to their party affiliation. This constitutes a basic requirement for candidacy within the general electoral list, for which Election Law No. (4) of 2022 allocates forty-one seats specifically for political parties. The 2022 Election Law stipulates that candidates for this list must be members of a licensed political party.

Second: There is a linkage between Election Law No. (4) of 2022 and Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 regarding financial support for political parties. The financial contribution stipulated by the Jordanian legislator for political parties under the 2023 Financial Contribution System for Supporting Political Parties is conditional upon the party achieving a specified percentage of the electoral threshold set forth in the Election Law. It is also linked to the number of parliamentary seats the party wins in the elections. On this matter, Tahboub (2023: 274) notes that the electoral threshold established in the 2022 Election Law is not particularly high and can be seen as a first step toward preparing political parties to intensify their efforts. This threshold may increase as the party landscape develops in successive electoral cycles, while the low threshold serves as an incentive for forming political parties and encouraging politicians and elites to join them, thereby contributing to the development of party work and the dissemination of its culture.

Regarding the role of Jordan's Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in enabling parties to reach the twentieth House of Representatives, it is evident that holding the 2024 parliamentary elections under Election Law No. (4) of 2022 introduced a distinctly partisan character to the formation of the twentieth House. According to this law, voting took place on two levels: a general election through a closed party list and a local election through open lists. The Election Law set the total number of seats in the twentieth House of Representatives at 138, an increase of eight seats compared to the 2020 elections, with 41 seats allocated to the general constituency and 97 to local constituencies. The parties winning seats in both the general and local constituencies secured a total of 108 seats, representing 78.3% of the composition of the twentieth House. This percentage is divided into 29.7% for the general constituency, based on the 41 seats, and 48.5% for party seats in the 67 local constituency seats (Al-Issa & Al-Oweimer, 2025: 558-561). It should be noted that these elections witnessed a low voter turnout of 32.2% of eligible voters (Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2024).

The Islamic Action Front Party secured the largest number of seats among all parties winning seats in both the general and local lists, with a total of 31 seats, followed by the National Covenant Party with 21 seats according to the announcement by the Independent Election Commission; however, this number was later updated to 30 seats with the announcement of nine new winning candidates in the local constituencies belonging to the party. Next came the Will Party with 19 seats, followed by the Taqaddum Party with 8 seats, the Islamic National Party with 7 seats, and the National Union Party with 5 seats. Additionally, the Blessed Land, Workers,

Azm, and the Nama & Amal Party Alliance each secured 2 seats (Independent Election Commission Data, 2024). Accordingly, the election results reflected several new indicators in the history of the electoral process, in line with the partisan nature imposed by the political modernization vision. The results of the 2024 parliamentary elections under the 2022 Election Law can be summarized as follows:

A) The results of the general party list:

A total of 36 out of 38 registered political parties in Jordan participated in the parliamentary elections, with 10 of these parties winning seats in the general constituency, for which the new election law allocated 41 seats specifically for party candidates. The numerical distribution of these 41 seats, including quotas for Circassians/Chechens and Christians, was allocated among the ten winning parties. The Islamic Action Front secured the highest number of seats in the general constituency compared to the other nine parties, winning 17 out of the 41 seats allocated for parties, while the remaining parties collectively won 24 seats. The total number of votes cast across all general constituency lists amounted to approximately 1,378,000, of which the Islamic Action Front received 464,350 votes, representing nearly 45%. Following the Islamic Action Front in total votes was the National Covenant Party, which received 93,650 votes, representing all the votes for the four seats it won (Independent Election Commission Data, 2024).

B) The results of the local list (related to the party aspect):

According to the statistics of the Independent Election Commission, the National Covenant Party topped the number of party seats in the local constituencies with 17 deputies, followed by the Erada Party with 16 deputies, then the Islamic Action Front with 14 deputies, and finally the Taqaddum Party with 5 deputies. Meanwhile, the total number of votes in the local constituencies reached 1,101,967. Of these, the National Covenant Party received approximately 219,000 votes, corresponding to the total votes for the 26 seats it won according to its statement. This was followed by the Islamic Action Front, which won 14 seats with around 159,000 votes, then the Erada Party, which secured 16 seats with over 119,000 votes, and finally the Taqaddum Party, whose votes in the local lists amounted to approximately 54,000 (Independent Election Commission Data, 2024).

According to Al-Issa & Al-Owaimer (2025), a simple comparison of the number of seats won by political parties in the 2024 elections shows that most of the Islamic Action Front's seats were obtained through the national party list, indicating that the voting was distinctly political. Consequently, it can be inferred that the majority of the Islamic Action Front deputies were elected through clear political voting. In contrast, other parties achieved limited political results in the general lists, with most winning a maximum of four seats. Therefore, these elections represented an important step in the development of Jordanian partisan parliamentary life.

According to the researcher, the composition of the twentieth House of Representatives, with an increased number of party-affiliated deputies at the expense of independents—a result of the reforms and amendments made to the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 and the Election Law No. (4) of 2022—is likely to be accompanied by more advanced and sophisticated parliamentary practices. These practices may go beyond the traditional experience or structure of parliamentary blocs, leading to the formation of party alliances and coalitions within parliament. In global contexts, this implies a system of majority and minority blocs, as the majority or minority is closely linked to the government. Such party alliances can secure a parliamentary majority and potentially achieve an absolute majority. Moreover, this

framework allows for the development and strengthening of the experience in future parliamentary elections, ultimately advancing toward the establishment of a party-based parliamentary government.

Conclusion:

Emerging from the Political System Modernization Committee in 2021, the enactment of Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 emphasized the right of parties to form party blocs to contest parliamentary elections, for which 41 seats were allocated to the party list. This represented a significant turning point in strengthening party work in Jordan and moving toward the establishment of a party-based government. The 2024 parliamentary elections resulted in a parliament with a party majority, bringing fundamental changes to the Jordanian political landscape and directly affecting the ability of political parties to gain access to parliament. Consequently, the success of this law in achieving its objectives relies primarily on the commitment of all stakeholders to promoting democracy and active political participation, thereby contributing to political stability and sustainable political development in Jordan.

In this context, monitoring the impact of this law and evaluating its outcomes will play a major role in shaping the future of political life in Jordan. Therefore, this study was conducted to examine the role of Jordan's Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 in enabling political parties to access the twentieth House of Representatives. The study reached several conclusions, based on which a set of recommendations was proposed as follows:

First: Findings:

- ❖ In recent years, Jordan has witnessed a new approach to political work and party organization, in line with the vision of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to reform the political system and strengthen the foundations of political development. This was manifested through the launch of the political reform process, including the establishment of the Royal Committee for the Modernization of the Political System, which led to the enactment of the 2022 Electoral Law and Political Parties Law.
- ❖ Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 aimed, through its provisions, to develop political and party life, which in turn encouraged Jordanian citizens to join political parties and actively engage in political and party work, with several objectives in mind, including gaining access to the House of Representatives through the 41 seats allocated to party lists.
- ❖ The results of the 2024 parliamentary elections produced a new composition for the twentieth House of Representatives, differing from previous parliaments. The twentieth House included 108 party-affiliated deputies, dominated by four main parties: the Islamic Action Front, Al-Mithaq Party, Irada Party, and Taqaddum Party, along with members from other parties such as the Jordanian Islamic National Party. This composition is expected to influence the official nature of the House in terms of party pluralism, the formation of possible alliances and their justifications, both partisan and non-partisan, as well as the parameters of the relationship with the future government and its regulations.
- ❖ The entry of political parties into the twentieth House of Representatives marked a pivotal turning point in the trajectory of party work and political participation, serving as a foundational step toward promoting programmatic party activity and ultimately achieving the concept of a party-based or parliamentary government in the future.

Second: Recommendation:

- The study recommended that the political parties that won parliamentary seats in the twentieth House of Representatives through the party list implement their electoral programs in accordance with their party principles as defined in their internal regulations, contributing to the achievement of the required social development and addressing social and economic issues, foremost among them unemployment.
- The study recommended that the parties that won parliamentary seats in the twentieth House form parliamentary blocs with other parties within the House to present integrated party programs and work, laying the groundwork for the formation of a party-based government in the future.
- The study recommended that specialized research centers study and evaluate the role of the members of the party list who won seats in the twentieth House of Representatives, to determine the effectiveness of this list in programmatic political work and enhance its future role in forming a parliamentary government.
- The study recommended to gradually develop realistic party programs that align with the capacities, capabilities, and roles of Jordanian political parties, reflecting positively on the quality of parliamentary work once parties enter the parliament, and thereby enhancing the path toward a party-based government.
- The study recommended that parties that were unsuccessful in winning any parliamentary seats in the twentieth House, and that were not active in the political arena, merge with other parties to strengthen their role in political participation, making their involvement more effective in upcoming parliamentary elections.
- Raising awareness among Jordanian youth about the importance of establishing a parliamentary government in Jordan is recommended, guided by the discussion papers which emphasize the need for comprehensive national dialogue to establish sound democratic foundations and promote the development of effective parliamentary governments based on strong national political parties. The Ministries of Culture, Youth, and Political Development should adopt this role.

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