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## ABSTRACT

### PROCESSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE CASE OF JORDAN IN THE POST-2011 ERA”

This thesis renders a perfunctory view on process of democratization in Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, particularly analysing the case of Jordan in 2011 post Arab spring. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan represents one of the relatively speaking politically liberal countries in MENA region and also offers a case of third wave of democratization among the main Arab countries. Jordan’s heading to political opening through conveying the parliament and holding elections after 22 years in 1989 marks the period of political opening. Since the Arab spring, Jordan has embarked on a new wave of processes of democratization as a result of massive protests that has engulfed the monarchy.

The Kingdom of Jordan was under British mandate after the end of First World War and become independent in 1946. Jordan also strain towards democratization, which leads to free and fair elections via electing its legislative body in 1947. This thesis aims to explain the process of democratization in MENA region in general and its stagnant process based on electoral pluralism particularly in Jordan. The main aim of this thesis to analyse the process of democratization in Middle East with particular emphasis on Jordan in the 2011 post era, and the impact of the role of opposition and state’s responses in leading the process of democratization since 1989. The methodology that was utilized in this thesis is qualitative methods. The main argument of this thesis is that, imposing a democratic system in Middle East region cannot inclusively be an intellectual solution to the region due to their culture, ideology and religion.

The 2011 Arab uprising have proved that; despite the fact that the uprising cause many changes in different parts of the region and transformed the system of government in

some countries like in Tunisia; this thesis finally suggests that MENA region needs a gradual open democracy/ transition, not an instant democracy-building. The reason behind this is related with the fact that the region needs time to create awareness regarding the compatibility of democracy with Islam i.e. time to establish platform to build the constituencies to recruited followings, and organised many to win elections in the local levels and reach to the average step of democracy.

**Keywords:** Democratization, MENA region, Jordan, Arab uprising, Elections in Jordan, monarchical pluralism, opposition, co-optation.

## ÖZ

### ORTA DOĞU'DA DEMOKRATİKLEŞME: 2011 SONRASI ÜRDÜN ÜLKE ANALİZİ

Bu tez Ürdün'ün 1989 yılında parlamentosunu yeniden açması, 22 yıl aradan sonra serbet seçimlerin yapılması, ülkede siyasal açılımı beraberinde getirerek demokratikleşme yönünde adımlar atılmasını sağlamıştır. 2011 yılında Arap çalışmasının temel amacı, Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika bölgesindeki (ODKA) demokratikleşme süreçlerini mercek altına almak ve bu çerçevede Ürdün örneğini 2011 yılından bu yana incelemektir. Bilindiği üzere, Ürdün Haşimi Krallığı bölgede siyasal liberalleşme süreçlerini en istikrarlı bir şekilde süredüren ülkelerden birini temsil etmektedir. Üçüncü dalga demokratikleşme hareketleri kapsamında Dünyasında yaşanan halk hareketlerinden Ürdün de etkilenmiş, ancak rejim değişikliği talebi yönünde halktan bir baskı gelmemiştir.

Ürdün Emirliği Birinci Dünya Savaşından sonra İngiliz manda yönetimi altına girmiş ve 1946 yılında bağımsızlığını almıştır. 1947 yılında Krallık demokratikleşme yönünde adımlar atmışsa da, bu yıllardaki Ürdün siyasi yapısı ve yönetim şekli için daha çok seçimlerle yürütülen çoğulcu bir yaklaşım ifadesi kullanılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, bu tezin temel amacını, 2011 sonrası Arap dünyasında yaşanan protestoların Ürdün Krallığını nasıl etkilediğini ve ülkede 1989 yılından bu yana tecrübe edilen demokratikleşme süreçlerini irdelemek oluşturmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda; niteliksel bir araştırma yöntemi benimsenmiş ve ideoloji, kültür ve din gibi unsurlar irdelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

2011 Arap ayaklanmaları bölgede birçok yerde değişimin önünü açmışsa da, Tunus haricinde bölgede gerçek anlamda siyasi dönüşüm yaşanmamıştır. Bu tezin amacı, bu bağlamda, Ürdün örneğini incelemek ve halk hareketlerinin ülkede yarattığı etkiyi muhalefeti ve rejimin politikalarını mercek altına alarak açıklamaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Demokratikleşme, ODKA bölgesi, Ürdün, Arap ayaklanmaları, seçimler, monarşik çoğulculuk, muhalefet, muhalefeti yanına çekmek

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**ACRONYMS**

MENA	Middle East North Africa
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NCC	National Consultative Council
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
IAF	Islamic Action Front
PR	Proportional Representation
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NDC	National Dialogue Committee
NTC	National Transition Council
USA	United State of America
UN	United Nation

## INTRODUCTION

Some scholars argue that the Middle East and North African (MENA) countries were bypassed by the Third Wave of democratization due to the cultural authenticity of the region – where Islamic culture is regarded as hostile to democracy and/ or democratization (Huntington, 1993). On the one hand, there are some countries in the region like Tunisia after the Arab uprisings and Lebanon after its independence that have undertaken measures towards democratization and parliamentary politics, there are also countries in the region where authoritarian upgrading and persistence is still endemic, such as Egypt and other (Hinnebusch, 2006). The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, thus, occupies a central place in the processes of democratization and political liberalization in the Middle East studies with a relatively stable political system and monarchy-led democratic opening since 1989.

With the Third Wave of democratization, Jordan has also become one of the main Arab countries in the region heading to political opening through conveying the parliament and holding elections after 22 years in 1989. Since the Arab uprisings, the Kingdom has embarked on a new wave of political liberalization as a result of public protests. However, with the on-going war and conflict in Syria, Iraq and elsewhere in the region, Jordanian trend towards political liberalization has faced with some predicaments (Köprülü, 2014).

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was under British rule after the end of the First World War and became independent in 1946. Jordan was driven towards democratization, which leads to free and fair elections via electing its legislative body in 1947. Nevertheless, the political system was based on King's executive power – like appointing and dismissing the prime minister when it deems necessary as well as loyalty to the throne – which might be described as an 'authoritarian' regime; the bicameral structure of the legislature and the multiparty elections offered a case of 'electoral pluralism' or 'monarchical pluralism' in the entire region (Rath, 2006; Ryan, 2004; Milton-Edwards, 2006).

There are various internal and external factors that contribute to the commencement of the immediate process democratization in Jordan. Some key aspects shaping the processes of democratization in the Kingdom have been the melding of the two Banks of the River Jordan (East and West territories); the economic recession; the decline of King Abdullah I from the political landscape; and the marginalisation of West Bank into the kingdom of Jordan – which indicated and steered substantial changes in the legislative organ. Similarly, the electorate had increased in the post-1950, which led the Palestinian to have more seats in the lower chamber and revealed the Palestinian – Jordanian cleavage. The incorporation of the West and East Bank of the River Jordan and amalgamation of the Palestinian lands with Jordan helped the Palestinian-Jordanians to outnumber the native Jordanians in the country and produced this social and 'ethnic' cleavage to persist in the country until today (Brand, 1999).

Nevertheless, Jordanian political history has begun with a trend towards political liberalization; the emergence of Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the subsequent influx of the Palestinian refugees into the borders of Jordan which has changed the demographic structure and the outbreak of the civil war during 1970-71 and emergence of pan-Arabist, Ba'thist and Arab socialist camps in the region have all hindered the policy of democratization in the Kingdom. Then, the Kingdom, in order to cope with the growing opposition, moved towards restricting the political sphere and also banned the political parties in 1957. In addition, the provision of 1953 law on public assemblies was directly controlled by the monarch himself. In addition, newspapers and other social media publications were all become loyal and answerable to the government, in which anyone must have licence from the government before publishing any material, particularly those sources directly considering the regime (Rath, 2006).

With the devaluation of the Jordanian Dinar in 1988, the fall of Arab oil market in 1980s and substantial decline of the aid coming from Gulf countries negatively affected country's economy. With the aim of acquiring the legitimacy and political support from the masses after the economic recession, King Hussein decided to launch political reforms by 1989 onwards.

However, the recall of parliament by King Hussein in 1984, which have been dissolved in 1974; they were arranging and conducting the election in order to fill some vacant seats of all those are among the process of democratization in Jordan. Yorke, (1990) in his work, mentioned that the reason for recalling legislature was to ward off political

pressure that began due to the economic challenges and to reinforce national traditions or instituted (Yorke, 1990). So that they will not be able to disobey and work against the monarchy from the adverse effects of destabilizing the domestic development and the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict. Another upturn on democratization made in Jordan after 1989 riots was the protesters and their call for the government for changing the entire cabinet due to the undemocratic system. Also, the government should reform the economic through political opening and promises of democratization and freedom of expression. The protesters succeeded, King Hussein agreed and accepted some of their major demands by dissolving the government of Rifa'i and assigned the interim administration under the control of Zaid bin Shakir. Similarly, the new parliament was elected on August 16, 1989; liberalization in press has took place which led to greater freedom in media, and the process of democratization has become underway.

Based on the short story mentioned above on Jordanian democratization endeavour, this thesis will focus on the processes of democratization in Jordan since 1989, with a particular emphasis on the post-2011 Arab Uprisings. The motive behind this thesis is, then, to illustrate what are the *changes* and *continuities* after the popular protests in the country in the post-uprisings era as compared to the previous decades. In addition, this work will try to shed a light on the internal dynamics that construct and reconstruct the process of democratization in the Kingdom of Jordan.

## **I. Aim of the Study**

Within this framework; the main aim of this study is to analyse the process of democratization in Middle East with a particular emphasis on the Kingdom of Jordan.

The unit of analysis of the study will be Jordan as a case study in the post-Arab spring era. This work will, then, explore and examine the trend towards democratization in the region in the post-2011 era; and to what extent Jordan is politically becoming more democrat. Also what is the uniqueness of the Jordan and what makes Jordan exceptional in the region the study will also be addressed. In addition, the thesis will attempt to analyse how Jordan survived during and after the uprisings and what is role of opposition in Jordan, various ideologies and role of the state in leading the processes of democratization since 1989. Finally, the study will aim to explore whether the processes of democratization in Jordan have achieved positive impact in the post-Arab uprisings era or not.

## **II. Statement of the Problem**

Most of the countries in Middle East region experience divergent trajectories of state and nation formation as well as democratization movements in 21<sup>th</sup> century. But, can democracy be exported from the Western countries to the Middle East or non-western countries that do not have democratic tradition in their government system. Now, will democracy fully work in Middle East due to their culture, ideology and religion? To what extent will Arab spring change the system of government in Jordan? What are the factors that contributed to the beginning of the early democratic process in Jordan which began since 1989? Can internal crisis allow the region to be democratized considering the challenges in the region such as peace with Israelis, Palestinians Jordanians, Gulf crises and some internal dynamics? Will the process of democratization in Jordan change in post 2011 era after the Arab spring?

### **III. Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This research is going to examine the processes of democratization in Middle East with emphasis on Jordan particularly. In this regard, four major issues would be examined; political history in Jordan from 1980s to 2011, the process of democratization in Jordan and the inauguration of the National Charter and emergence of monarchical pluralism since 1992, and finally regime's responses in the post-Arab spring era. However, the eyes of the world especially Western countries had turn to Middle East region in order to democratize the Arab countries by all means. But what are dynamics or changes after Arab Spring, is the change affect the traditional policy of Hashemite Kingdom.

### **IV. Methodology**

This thesis will basically use qualitative methods of research to examine the view of different scholars regarding process of democratization in Middle East and specifically Jordan from 1980s to the period after Arab uprising. The process of democratization in Jordan had faced different challenges since after independence and many cases have been observed in the region to prove whether Jordan should be fully democratized or continue with their authoritarian regime. This study is going to explore the political history of Jordan in order to understand the movements of democratization in Middle East since World War II. Primary and secondary sources will be used in this research gather information, such as research thesis, newspapers, articles and other relevant and available sources.

### **V. Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided into four chapters; the first chapter is going to focus on processes of democratization in Middle East through the lenses of key theoretical debates and Jordan in particular as a general introduction. The introduction part includes the aim of the research, statement of the problem, the scope and limitation, and methodology. Then, the second chapter presents the historical background of political history since 1946, process of democratization during 1980s, 1989 elections, 1992 National Charter 'monarchical pluralism' as well as 1997, 2003, 2007 and 2010 elections. The chapter three will then continue to explain and explore the challenges of democratization in Middle East which traces back to popular riots called as "Arab Spring" started in Tunisia in 2010 and spread into different countries in Middle East including Jordan. This chapter will also analyse whether Jordan will continue with their *controlled* democratic system or the protests will lead to a full functioning democracy or will head to an era of resilience of authoritarianism. Then, the last part of this work will be the conclusion which contains a brief overview and assessment of the research.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **A BRIEF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE PROCESSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN MENA REGION PRIOR TO THE 2011 UPRISINGS**

Democratization, generally, “entails an expansion of political participation to provide citizens with a degree of real and meaningful collective control over public policy” (Brynen in Gerges, 1991). The literature on the Middle East also covers shifts from authoritarian rules towards semi-democratization processes as well as resilience of authoritarianism. The literature also covers the transition from undemocratic systems towards pseudo-democratization, or as Bianchi argues cosmetic democratization processes from top to bottom (Salamé, 1994). Thus, each country in the region has shown or engaged in various patterns of democratization experiences, and also some countries combat with poor economic growth, while others need more political sphere and representation as well as political freedom and restructuring of their civil society organizations. Democratization is, then, influenced by different factors that include economic development, political history, conflicts, and absence or weakness of civil society organizations as well as political parties, social divisions. Since late 1980s, waves of democratization have been underway in the entire region – with ups and downs – due to the economic recession and IMF-led policies of austerity measures as

well as to ensure the citizens to have right to vote, and freedom of expression in their political system in coping with legitimacy crises (Harrison, 2018).

Huntington acknowledges that global democratization is a movement in the post-World War II – which he divided into three periods of time. The first period was during the 19<sup>th</sup> century which brought democracy to Western Europe and Northern America after the rise of dictatorship during the interwar period (Huntington, 1991).

The second period started after Second World War II, but it lost steam between period of 1962 and mid of 1970s; and third wave is 1974 of to date. He added that; the Middle East is only region that bypassed through all the three waves of democratization. On the contrary, Edward Said labels this group of thinkers as “Orientalist”, that is primarily a western view of “intrinsic incompatibility between democratic values and Islam” (Said, 1978). Huntington also argued that Middle East and North African region lacks the essential prerequisites of democratization and is not hospitable to democratization. A real democracy has to comprise and embroil free and fair elections, freedom of speech and equality that contain solid foundation of political freedom and economic – where Western countries had enquired from government over nations. It also goes back to the period when King John agreed with limits on his power and conceded some positive rights in the Magna Carta (Huntington, 1991).

According to Schmitter and Sika “democratization is a continuous political process that may be regarded as ambidextrous events” (2012). This democratization process

triggers a general event that changes public administration and style of governance. It is also a process that involves many particularistic set of realistic adoptions to the arrangements and circumstances of different nations at a specific second in time (Schmitter and Sika, 2012).

Theorell John also indicated that democratization process has been accordingly examine in four different aspects; the transition paradigm, social forces and modernization theory structural and also economic tactics. He also describes that democracy have flow through regional organisation and also promote democratic development. Thus, modernization impedes the authoritarian reversal, but it did not boost and upgrade democratic transition (John, 2008). Theorell John, also concede that all those theories are relatively describe and define democratization, and the also contain critical errors. That is the economic approaches or strategies need to be incorporated into the concept of 'authoritarian arrangement' – so that it can be real fruitful. The moving away from the focus on redistribute inequality, while the social approaches have been automatically concentrated on the concept of social class and the approach on elite. Strategic approach on elites is the most influence in the society. He added that the modernization theories have always applies the consolidation not only the transition to democracy, but also issues should be taken in media spread rather than education, industrialization and growing of economic. John said when it comes to Middle East and North Africa region; the cultural interpretation and the rentier state theory just match with explanations like identity politics and colonialism and democratic delaying factors that have seems to be dominant in Muslim societies. John also argued

that the existence of democratic deficit and cleavages in the case of the Middle East are closely tied with the religious matters, not cultural (John, 2008).

Also, Graham defines democratization as a process where democracy grows or magnify within a nation or across the globe. It's a process and concept that captivate for a decade (Harrison, 2018). The origin of the concept or view of democracy traces back to Athenian ideals of city governance and roman republicanism. He cogitates that democratization could be greatest readily and understood as a concept which compresses "the extension set of joined political values with various intellectual vintages that gain society prominence during the emergence of 'capitalist modernity'". He intensified that democratization is a process that involves different social groups which have made claims on the nations through protests, violence, riots, strikes and lobbies, to him the struggle of democracy is always against monarchical absolutism, by working with class struggles and the suffragette movement (Harrison, 2018).

Democratization is, therefore, not only tied with the issues of political transformation; but also it has become a root of understanding political change throughout the globe – so many issues have been risen today. Although there is no coherent definition of the term 'democratization' there exists theoretical controversy (Harrison, 2018); thesis study will refer to Rex Brynn's definition of democratization which is a process that "entails an expansion of political participation to provide citizens with a degree of real and meaningful collective control over public policy", instead of political liberalization which stands for "the expansion of public through the recognition and protection of civil and political liberties" (Gerges, 1991).

Abhirup Bhunia, in his work, stated that “democracy is unclassified” definition, but it can be considered as a political freedom, political pluralism, human right, and freedom of expression with a manifestation of civil society, which usually establish a contemporary democracy. He maintains that possibly no nation state can claim to be an absolute democrat in the world, its only Middle East region that has mounted out for being a substantial region to quite authoritarian system up to today. He also added, many researchers have a times to devote volumes by observing it has been single perplexing phenomenon of democracy, but is Arab uprisings are truly a gleam of hoping democratization in Middle East region? Although the protests itself created the difficulties or hindrances in the region by leading their status quo and democratization into domestic and external challenges as well as despotism in the Middle East region. (Bhunias, 2013).

Similarly, the continuing autocracy in the region can be basically sourced to the domestic system form the illustrated of *neo-patrimonial* principals that deploy the nation’s powerful system so that it can easily and violently prevent the well-known anti-establishment sentiments and discourage the political opponent from outside (Sharabi, 1988). Sharabi defines the situation in the Arab world as a “patron-client system that are often kinship based and strongly related to neo-patriarchy and its political form of neo-patrimonialism” (Sharabi 1988).

The above-mentioned method is jointly by elite, political and military that are representing a weak civil-military relation which is not germane to democracy and the armed forces are playing the strongest positions and role in domestic political affairs in the region of Middle East compared to their neighbouring states or nations. And they are such neo-patrimonial government, according to famous thinker Paweka, is an ancient loyal, religion, familial heritage and substance rewards like jobs, licenses (Bhunia, 2013).

And again, the faulty domestic rule formation is among the challenges, the foreign impact in Middle East promote enhancing strength and durability of these dictatorial rule. The Protecting Western security, geo-economic interests, and geostrategic all are vital issues to the United States of America (USA) and European powers in Middle Eastern activities not only through security attack but also the way of associating with authoritarian rules all the way through. However, western aid emboldens and encourage the Middle Eastern rulers in convincing words of Eva Bellin, “where patrimonial bodies are attached to coercive power, authoritarianism would likely to endure the global sponsoring and the imminent authoritarian rule is the rapid system and unlikely change any time” (Bhunia, 2013).

Alain Touraine argued that democracy assume as firmly structured civil society association, to him “we should keep in mind that democracy would not be a good manifest order that occurs immediately after the destroying or collapse of authoritarian regimes” at 19<sup>th</sup> century the Arab region have been regarded as one of the most

hospitable zone across the world for democratic ideas and practices than any canton, and their leaders are able to control additional reason as self-independence and sovereign state from democratic regimes (Touraine, 1997).

Schmitter and Sika defined democratization as an “ambidextrous process” in the Middle East where democracy is influenced by rulers, political elites and their regime-survival strategies. Thus, democratization in the Middle East is all about promotion of liberal democracy which have led in creating different obstacles in the regime in terms of legitimacy in the different part of the region, pressure from many groups, seeking for changes and development, agitating for political freedom. It also includes the interests of Western people in the economic and wealth of the regions. Similarly, the practice of liberal democracy is mysterious and peculiar to the region; due to the long term of monarchical rule, authoritarian and sectarianisms etc.

Democratization process in the Middle East and North African countries have become a central position in foreign policy disputes after the cold war; the process of promotion democracy that take place in different parts of the region have fragile the authoritarian regimes. Due to this reform, the region has faced serious challenges, pressure externally and internally especially the failure of socio-economic activities and global financial meltdown have serious adverse effects on some of the ruling regimes in the Arab world. So, they were pressured to agree and consider holding general elections immediately in some countries like Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen; and opening up to political structuring with regards to more public scrutiny.

This had become more visible to so many leaders in Middle East region, however the new international environment legitimacy was no longer perform in partnership, but the value could only be realized and see if this will address the economic and political needs of their peoples. That means the reform of political structure and economy in early stages has been more than a tactical answer to the fiscal crisis of the nations, and the desire to the western peoples. Democratization in the Middle East region is simply process and primary activities that can drive and direct democracy in such a way that we can never elude the duty and responsibility of defining democracy (Ehteshami, 2007, pp: 201-202).

According to Huntington, democratization in Middle East region is static, backward and barbaric; he concluded that democratization is a non-starter within the people that have not embrace modernization, particularly Islam and Middle East culture are undivided phenomena both are two side at same coins and so difficult that the idea of liberal democracy could divide them. On this platform, it will not augur well for liberal democracy to triumph in such region; because of the basic tendencies of the regional culture and religious practices that have dominate every effort that can promote pluralism and democracy in the region. In another opinion, unstable democracy in Middle East region could be better fixed through serious consideration of Islamic background in the pattern of state formation.

Thus, the culturalist arguments which is mainly based on Muslim or Islamic political culture, then has led to the emergence of the notion of cultural 'exceptionalism' by the West. However, for Ghassan Salamé;

*The idea of an Arab or Islamic exceptionalism has thus re-emerged among both western proponents of universal democracy and established orientalists, and this in turn has encouraged a great many local apologists of cultural authenticity in their rejection of western models of government (Salamé, 1994)*

Al-Azmeh also observes that the entire notion of democracy can be seen as a method and channel that are so problematic to fulfil in any region not only Middle East because the legitimacy of a good democratic government does not only depend on practice of democracy but above all on what the people have and gain from the rulers. Azmeh added that democracy can only be meaningful in Middle East when an Islamic state is installed; thus forming the full correspondence of nations and societies by creating harmony that can located in proposition with Islamic order which must be in conformity with the predisposition of peoples at all the times and places for such as a natural law (Al-Azmeh, 1991).

The Middle East region at early 1990s, democratization begin to knock door in many parts of the region. Although, many countries have seen a signal and engage in some form of political liberalizing process which resulted to more open elections in Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Iran as mentioned above; while on the other hand, political analysts that specialized in the political terrain of the region believe that the stability of liberal democracy is going to be difficult due to the combined forces of Arab and Muslim

political culture that dominant the region and make the region to be more exceptional for the practice of Western governance (Bromley, 1995).

Similarly, democratization in this region has become a watchword in many part of the Middle East countries today, while some part of this nations are experiencing genuine progress in order towards they democratic paradigm, but some seem as lagging behind. The tessellation that ensuing the creation or establishing the Middle East and North Africa are related with such change that happen somewhere in the world. Like the collapse of Soviet Union, and their way towards democracy and economic liberalization. While the is many factors that initiated the development, and exhort agenda of democratization in Middle East region, such as social forces, economic reform and economic crisis, agitating for political freedom and restructuring the system or reform (Ehteshami, 2007).

The restructuring democracy in the Middle East region is related to the process of political and economic change and the present crisis of the entire nations, i.e. rentier or semi-rentier (Schmitter and Sika). Also, the economic approaches need to be reform; the idea of supreme begins in order to become more successful. All this are serious flaws of democratization in Arab world. However, the emerged of democratization in Muslim countries is resolutely concentrated on those issues and process that Latin American and some part of European countries, Asian to some extent the East Europe transitions from autocracy are in common since the mid of 1970s. Furthermore, democratization today is the prevalence of totalitarian regime on the Arab world or

Muslim countries. The region, in fact, does not offer a successful case of democratization (Schmitter and Sika, 2016).

Finally, for Nazih Ayubi, most fundamentalist groupings act as a counter-democratic force; “whereas some of the factors that explain the delay of democratization in the Middle East are purely economic or technological, rather than religious or cultural, there is little doubt that the refusal by ruling elites to allow an element of participation for Islamic movements is an added cause for the slow pace of democratization in many Muslim societies”. The debate on cultural authenticity which focuses on the cultural and Islamic dimensions of democratization has been challenged with the emergence of Arab Spring and the electoral victories of Islamists in Egypt and Tunisia. In addition, the electoral victory and tendency of al-Nahda Party in Tunisia is a very crucial example in analysing the current discussions on religion and democracy.

## CHAPTER II:

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: STATE-FORMATION AND TREND TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZATION IN JORDAN

#### 2.1 Jordan's Political History Since 1946

The political history of Jordan traces back to era of the Emirate (of Transjordan) under British control. Over a long period of time the region of Jordan was dominated and controlled by British mandate. In May 1923 when Anglo-Transjordan Treaty was formally recognized and accepted by British, then the Emirate of Transjordan have established their government under the leadership of King Abdullah I, which indicated that the dreams of Jordanian for independent nation will soon become a history. Similarly, the consolidation and institutionalization period during the two world wars was also another process of independent in Transjordan, the effort of King Abdullah I this time around is to united and build the political unity among the Jordanian by margin the *Bedouin* tribes into unified groups so that he can maintain the Arab region from the Western encroachment (Rath, 2006).

Between 1928 and the year of independence – since May 25 1946 – the Transjordan parliament announced that King Abdullah I have become the new leader to all Jordanian, while the name of the country has changed from Emirate of Transjordan to

the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Aruri, 1972). The 1946 Constitution modified and change the Transjordan Emirate into a monarchical constitution and emphasised the executive power, and the constitution continued to be as patriarchal essence of government under the supervision of the first King Abdullah Me (Rath, 2006).

However, the significant adjustment of 1928 Constitution were called due to the political, economic and social changes in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Immediately after declaring of independence, many changes have made in several aspects, which included the basic Constitution of 1928 which was replaced by the new constitution in Jordan propagated and issued on February 1947.

### **Politics and Processes of Democratization in Jordan: A Historical Background**

While the process of democratization in Jordan, most of clarifications of democratic reform or restructure in the region of Middle East is relate to the process of political reform and economic restructure to the present crisis of the rentier countries or semi-rentier The process start at the period of their autonomy to the early 1980s, the period was totally dominated with major issues such as domestic and international political events, economic and social changes. The power of Jordanian parliamentary customs on political Arena are different terribly. Similarly, the year after Jordan have got their independence in light the signal towards democratization which also lead to free elections in fifth parliament, by respecting the repression and authoritarian instruction where the national assembly was minimized to a rubber-stamp parliament before terminated in 1974, for over ten years. The new agreement or alliance ensuring the

colonial interest at that year of independence was concluded between the British colonial authority and King Abdullah (Rath, 2006).

However, the constitution after independence had transformed the Emirate of Transjordan into a constitutional kingdom and also the constitution served to perpetuate the empire under King Abdullah I rule. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Arab-Israel war in 1948 all the Arab Legion or battalion are controlled and occupied the West Bank (Palestinian lands) of the river Jordan. The kingdom was subsequently captured by King Abdullah I on December 1<sup>th</sup> 1948, and renames the emirate as the “Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan” in April 1949 (Rath, 2006).

According to Aruri (1972); they are three aspects which contributed to the initiation of democratization process in Jordan; the meld of two banks, the declining of King Abdullah in the political scene or arena and the initiative of a groups of young, urban deputies, educated who found the appropriate facts for exerting pressure to obtain in constitutional adjustment. Moreover, the incorporation of the west bank led the Kingdom to substantial amendment in the legislature. The electorate increased which helped the Palestinians to have more number of seats in the legislature from 20 to 40 in the Lower House, and the 1950s and 1951 elections was recorded among the achievement of democratization in Jordan despite the challenges posed by the opposition, accusing the government for not allowing their political parties to form campaigns in the elections. There were precisely five parties that were strongly opposed to the government in the post-1946 era. Also, the assassination of King Abdullah I in 1951 (after declaring the

annexation of the West Bank territories in 1950) led to the transfer of power from government to the Hashemite throne until the period when King Hussein assumed the power. So, many challenges and problems of succession and uncertainties were increased and the Kingdom opted to acquire its legitimacy through traditional allies of the monarchy and the palace. Within short period of time, King Abdullah's elder son (Talal ibn Hussein) and father of King Hussein was placed on the power (throne) and new policy and constitution was drafted promulgated after reign of King Hussein hitherto (Aruri, 1972).

The constitution changed the old patriarchal structure of government policy by establishing a parliamentary system and allowing the citizens to participate in the political arena and also recognized the basic freedoms of expression as well as the right to form political parties. For the first-time legislature was allowed to controlling the entire executive and the cabinet was made accountable to the House of Representatives – the Lower Chamber of the Jordanian Parliament. The House of Representatives had the power to impeach ministers, members of the Senate (Upper Chamber) and the house of representative have the right to questions and direct any member of government parastatal concerning public affairs which mandated in Articles 51, 53, 56 and 96 (Rath, 2006).

Under King Hussein rule in 1953, it was also counted as year of democracy due to the different changes that favour process of democratization and democratic development. In line with this shift, the freedom of media, freedom of speech was upgraded and

political parties were formed (Rath, 2006). The constitutional amendment was undertaken and gave more power to the parliament. Nevertheless, the Palestinian *Fedayeen episode* (the Black September, during the years 1970-72) it was another event which contributed to the free political atmosphere elections, steady rise of democratic institutions, legalizing political parties in line with previous amendment also give right for campaign ground, all the major opposition parties have strong supporters which lead them to victory, the National socialists became the best party with high seat in fifth parliament (eleven seats) followed by communists with three seats and Ba'th party with two. This has showed that; the new government was a coalition and comprised by three opposition parties with representatives in the parliament. The national socialists' party with 11 seats communists' party with 3 seats and Ba'th win 2

Then, the government under the leadership of Suleiman Nabulsi – from a socialist Arab nationalist camp committed in upgrading the process of democratization that are more concern on legalizing political parties, freedom of speech and newspapers began to publish regularly. Prime Minister Nabulsi also rejected to the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty and adopted a pro-Egyptian line in their foreign policy affairs. The committee obtained in different and unanimous vote of confidence, with the conservative deputies like the Arab constitutionalist also consent to the new policies. With all this achievement and support, the cabinet or committee created more independent role that decrease the initiative power of monarch in the decision-making process. Furthermore, Nabulsi administration have change the military and bureaucracy in Jordan by dismiss or hurl different

prominent peoples from their workplaces and replace them with his supporters (Rath, 2006).

The democratic transformation under Nabulsi government affect the interest of Jordanian throne because the King was discontented himself and his palace with current situations under Nabulsi administrations. Nabulsi continued to attain measures and counter-offense against the alliance of democracy as well as with those loyal to the throne. The support continued for the process of democratization and definitely they have entailed a loss of the King's power and it could also lead to the ending of monarchy and it can also favour a republican state.

The interests of royal palace or the Hashemites were linked to the survival of the monarchy. And the democracy was perceived as a menace to the present condition of the palace group, this privilege given to the opposition by the King didn't accomplish in extending the patronage of the monarchy. The King totally relied on the conservatives, because of their allegiance on his side in order to rebuild the power of his throne. On the other hand, few months later in the office Suleiman Nabulsi began to experience vigorous complains, demonstration from the democrat everywhere requesting Nabulsi to resign due to incompetent and lack of political experience and incapable to control and handle the affairs of government. Moreover, the attempted coup d'etat against the King was strived within the army and King Hussein consolidated his throne through banning political parties and hindering the process of democratization efforts of the monarchy.

The ten years of political persecution and safeguarded the martial law was intruded and remained in effect till 1958 November when the royal authority have been firmly reaffirmed. We all remember vividly all the political parties were banned at that time, and most of the opposition ended up in Jail or in exile. The political landscape and the 'crisis of legitimacy' in Jordan after Six Days War of 1967 – which is also known as Third Arab-Israel War – has begun to be shaped by the economic recession in the region, and the opponents were allowed to operate more openly and the political parties recurred again although they were already banned. In accordance with this, the West Bank remained and considered as part of Jordan after the Six Days war in 1967, but the deferred of elections in both two Banks showed that they were impossible to carry out or take over the occupation of Palestinian lands. The West Bank territories were totally regarded as under Israeli restriction; and if the parliamentary elections were to be held, it would be conducted only in the East Bank territories. Thus, the loss of Jerusalem and West Bank territories detached the key bone of contention between Jordan and the rest of Arab nations, which involved a rapprochement with some Arab countries. However, the Jordanian civil war in 1970 consume a political activity in Jordan and it indicated the return of pre-1967 restrictions with conquest of political parties and strong influence in freedom of expression (Rath, 2006).

With the dissolution of the House of Representatives members in 1974 and appointing the legislative function by the King and cabinet, the National Consultative Council (NCC) was established afterwards. The NCC was introduced in order to satisfy the popular pressure for more proper and process of political participation. The NCC was comprise

of 60 members who were selected by the king to work for just binary years, and this members didn't have any parliamentary power, but adopted merely for consultative function, analogously, we all know that the King have the influence and right to sack or dissolve the NCC at any time, the plan was the council would automatically suspend or discharge after new House of Representatives election ended. On the other hand, the popular cynicism with Arab people and patriotism pos-1967 and the explosion of Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1971 which has reduced so much internal and external pressure on the King. The Arab-Israeli war in 1973 was followed by a period of relative stability. The expansion of oil generated aid flows from the oil-exporting nations and large earnings from the colonial workers in the Gulf. And it led to growth of economic prosperity for the region and also served to attenuate political discontent the resignation of Samir al-Rifa'i government in 1989 due to serious riots that broke in Ma'an at south of Jordan, and later separated throughout the state, the protesters are complain about hardship in the county, the price of goods or commodities is high which enforced by International Monetary Fund (IMF) in their plan for structural adjustment programme in order to remedy Jordanian economy.

The establishment of new nationalist government after the resignation of Rifa'i government, due to massive protest from the rural districts of the south Jordan where the traditional backbone supporters of the Hashemite began across the country (Rath, 2006). The new modification of the electoral law is expected to favour the pluralistic parliamentary representation, democratic, economic and social amenities. The logics is to tackles the corruption as well as revocation of austerity actions and formulation of

state economic agenda that going to handle the issues of lower incomes classes into thoughtfulness and allowing the political freedom and freedom in media or press. As mention above the riots erupted because the economic development in Jordan is in serious crisis and lack of political pluralism and political freedom that have been always in critical challenges was among the main factors created the uprising in Jordan (Rath, 2006).

Furthermore, the analysis has shown that the Jordanian economy was highly depend on foreign aid and the little contribution of their taxed is towards the state budget, but it depends on external rent which is not high like oil-exporting states, especially Gulf states where the oil revenues are usually verify and report for over 90% of their budget incomes and internal taxation is non-existent or minor. Also, the external rent has characterised a large contribution to the state income. Considering the fundamental value in foreign aid and workers' payments the Jordanian economy has clearly pertaining to a rentier economy, and the state could be described as a semi-rentier such as like Syria, Egypt, and Yemen.

Kathrine Rath states that; the economic development in Jordan was simultaneously connected to the move towards democratization, and the fall of Arab oil market at early 1980s and substantial decrease of oil price had a dangerous signal to the economic and political consequences for the state and impend of the social contract based on rentierism. She added that the workers' payment and petrodollar foreign aid in Jordanians' are the most prominent sources of income, dropped extremely because in

1981 to 1987 the income was decreased rapidly from \$2.3bn to \$1.5bn at same time the share of external grants in government expenses fall tragically with all this decline incomes, the administration was unwilling to cut its expenses, which would endure destined the withdrawal of economic benefit used to hutch and support the regime. In order to support the state budget, the government resorted the internal and external debt. And the external borrowing grew rapidly the state expenditure re-continued to expand for almost 6% each year. Due to difficulties in external service in 1989 Jordan real external debt extent over 8.4 billion US dollars which indicate more than twice state GDP. The economic crisis in Jordan also effect the status quo of the state, however the Jordanian dinar has woefully drop against the dollar by losing almost 45% of its value. And GDP was down by 3.5% at estimated in that year (Rath, 2006).

For a long time, Jordan have experienced several restrictions by the power of monarch during the regime of King Abdullah I and his grandson King Hussain; the report has indicated that over twenty years the elections was not conduct and all political parties were banned. These situations as indicated the tradition of real autocratic rule and oligarchy rather than democratization and democracy itself, and the opposition has remained so restricted, influenced through security networks that collaborated to maltreat any opposition group to emerge.

The Islamic movement in the country – especially Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwān*) is the largest body of loyal opposition and status quo of Hashemite which were radically unstable due to series of rebellions all over the nation. After the menace of the

insurgencies, the King agreed and announced the full date of the elections; the election was held in November 1989 and it eventually favour the monarch appointees. The Muslim Brotherhood began to conduct themselves within the structure of existing contemporary state which is among the internal mechanisms that have create a unique strategy for the specific situation they find themselves. The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan was founded within the structure of the Jordan polity and monarchy in order to pose a challenge to the authorities that speak towards the religion and other civil matters (UNDP Report, 2002 & 2004).

Moreover, various scholars have viewed that Jordanian democracy were subjected to the policy of monarchy as far back to late 1980s; it was totally connected to the socio-economic and political challenges of democratic governance that are reigning in the year 1989. Also, twofold purpose, is not only the policy of co-opting the Palestinian Jordanian- Jordanians. But it's a preventive assess to contain or surround the popular restlessness between Jordanian Jordanians. (Finer, 1990).

After, some changes in Jordan political system the policy towards democratization have phase democratic development in which we can call transitional and institutionalized the authoritarian rule to Sami democracy, furthermore this transitional era are not necessarily way of institutionalizing democracy, because it might take time to reach the target and we all know that the process of democratization and democracy itself is a gradual process, and the different between the period of transition and democratization or process of democracy is shifting from authoritarian to semi- authoritarian monarch

because the process of democratization is still control by the authoritarian monarch but not fully like before and the means of force, the possibility is to retreat the process by resorting to oppressed the measures if the government can sustains to perceived to be at stake. What King Hussein want to achieve is, the democratization process that pursued or cause the 1989 riots is to avoid it by legitimizing the kingdom and guide the region into good economic reform and engaging unpopular strictness measures. The problems were the obstacles of fall or decrease of Jordan income made a serious challenge to sustain the country or society relationship that based on rentier economy, and the implementation of political restructurings. Conducting of parliamentary election in 1989 and the authorisation of National Charter in 1992, political freedom and freedom of expression or speech is given in exchange for popular compliance with the regime and execution of the international monetary fund economic amendments programme (Finer, 1990).

At early 1990s, Jordan was counted as among the encouraging kingdoms in Middle East after a long period of practice Monarchical system of governance and gradually transformed to democracy – which was mainly connected to some political reform that are steadily prevailing in the Kingdom of Jordan (Finer, 1990). Jordan did not achieve democracy fully; but so many signals have shown that there is strong evidence of the process democratization such as appointing of 60 members to guide the activities of political parties in Jordan, drafting the rules for upcoming elections thus members comprise representatives from each political party, the emphasis on political reflection in Jordan cultural pluralism as well as upgrading of freedom of expression, media and

amendment of constitution by providing a compass for the national debate on fundamental issues which made the region to become more exceptional. But not as the way it's practiced in the western countries. This is fundamentally democracy in accordance with the rules of Islamic culture. Democratization is, thus, not really the aim of ruling the region rather to upgrade appropriate situations and create a front democracy that can maintain both urban and rural demands for a greater participation that could enhance regional stability and global acceptance particularly from the Western World (Edwards, 1993).

Nur Köprülü (2012) also argued that democratization in Jordan is not only a co-operation in politics, but formulation and implementation of policies that will effectively manage the negative consequences in the state political and financial challenges, which also includes safeguarding and maintaining the survival of the Hashemite monarchy. She further added that the process of liberal democratization in Jordan has been narrowly drawn with the state of readiness and uniqueness which may be difficult to establish in some part of Middle East states such as allowed the activities of democracy to take place i.e. legalizing political parties conducting different election, reforming political structure, given room for criticisms as well as have dialogue with opposition groups (Köprülü, 2012).

However, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan are constitutionally monarchy with arrangement of bicameral system of parliament and elected legislature members as National Assembly that include the House of Representatives and the Senate; while

prime minister and government executives are appointed and equally sack at any time by the wishes of monarch due to the more interference and right power given to the monarch often as the situation demand (Köprülü, 2012).

Nevertheless, after 1990s elections in Jordan the process of democratization continued and the anti-communist law was ended in that year. Also, the *mukhabarat's* (intelligence service) power on political movement on the peoples was drastically reduced. All the issues of denying passport or requiring *mukhabarat* certification on refuse of renewals passport are cancel and those who are in political exiles are free and return home, the government began to tolerate political rally. In addition, in 1991 the government agreed with National Charter to provide the instructions for multiple parties, and upgrading the women right, improved the freedom of media or press which start working on 1992. The government approved and appointed some congress members together with the National Charter under the supervision of King Hussein to introduce mandate constitutional amendments on electoral law, i.e. one man one vote no multiple choice and also Royal Commission was established including the rights of Jordanian to form their own political parties.

Meanwhile, the 1991 Gulf crisis also brought another critical and important event on process of democratization in Jordan after invasion in second August which represented the first key political problems for initiation of political restructuring, the crisis had cause serious problems in Jordan which destabilized the Jordanian regime and challenge some democratization process on that period, the separate the parliament members

instead to upgraded the unity and cooperation between the parliament and leadership for a better political system, But there are trying to destroyed the system. In short evaluation, we examine the political system of Jordan is on process of being a real transformation from system where the state is under authoritarian rulers to the elected people and the people were there are govern through democratically elected representations. After 1989 public riots the process of democratization was initiated and linked to economic challenges and weaknesses on political system the report indicate that the riots have bring a lot of political changes in Jordan and its obvious what is happen today in Jordan is not a democracy but a gradual or semi-democratic system of government better and unique at the entire Middle East region. Because the political system is on transitional stage, but significant element of uncertainty, the concern is democratic development to be upgraded from time to time and some basic necessity of implementing economic restructuring that going to lead Jordan out of recession (Rath, 2006).

In his work Nasser Aruri argued that; there are two events that influenced the democratization political system after Jordan have got their independent, the assignation of King Abdullah after 1951, elections and captured of Arab Palestine which lead to the transfer of power from King to palace. Moreover, the role of palace council was to enhance the era and math King Abdullah murder. Many scholars indicated that the period of 1950 to 1951 was era of so many challenges and uncertainty in Jordan political atmosphere it's also in this period Palestinian demand for constitutional amendment so that the legislative members can voice in decision making (Aruri, 1972).

Again, the 1950s first parliamentary elections at new independent Transjordan state was important to the legislative members and the constitution of 1950s is so much vigorous affair than erstwhile action. They is many complain by the opposition the government refuse to give them more seats in the chamber also the indicative actions that destruction the government support was another source of conflict on the pragmatic decision of King Abdullah regarding the Palestinian. The political condition in 1951 has become so strained to the prime minister, which lead him to suggest his government and resignation that create entering government that lasted for two month only, the changing between Al-mufti and Samir Al- Rafi'l is also another stalwart on Palace group because there have shown a capable of tackle's the crisis in that years, this palace group which detained the pedals of government in Jordan since the slain of King Abdullah I which have been dissolve to the contextual of Hussein confront to his power. The political development in Jordan has shown the success victory on the parliament position and regular development character on democratic institution for the whole year (Aruri, 1972).

However, the Al-mulqi regime was among the regime that experience the parliamentary democrat in Jordan, Aruri describe that general John Glubb said prime minister has follow the statement of ideas of democracy which also led to the freedom of speech or expression and independent in press (Aruri, 1972). The implementation of democratic practices by Al-mulqi's has instigate the palace council and some traditionalist. It has been argued by the regime that, the trend towards democratization would then inflame the crisis in Jordan and may change and introduce a stable new government. He and

traditional politicians are able to manage the activities of power at that time. And mulqi experiment has totally change them from the power arena. But in 1954 Al-Mulqi government experience so much criticism, the traditional capitalized the government in several placeless and series attacks by Israel on Arab territories, also in April their named the communists parliamentary that have majority of peoples voted for favour of slaying soviet ambassador to the UN, and showing the gratitude for his concern and being a backdoor to the Arab affairs (Aruri, 1972).

On the other hand, the government of Abdul-Huda play a critical role to the political history of Jordan, this transformation contributed to respect civil liberties, and proceed the government internal policy and he said the parliament would continue until the end of his tenure but his constitution passed by his close friendly parliament uncomfortable freedom of press and freedom of political association. The decree of 1955 for press in publications which indicated in articles 8 was banned due to so many tactics of Abdul-Huda government contributed to organised protest and anti-Huda element and independent in House of Representative who are opposition and always against the government, also a communist representative Rasheed maswadeh, he charged the government on the press and parties laws have inconsistent in articles 15, 16 of the canon which allow the peoples to agree with the source of state authority and freedom of speech, and all the arrangement of power on executive part was no in laws and intrude the Judiciary (Aruri, 1972).

Moreover, the external political development in Jordan has turns back to the period of 1954 to 1957 that is unrest period in Jordan, due to different clashes among the monarch leaders with the encouragement of traditional and nationalist leaders that headed by the Ba'ath, communist party and leading party National Socialist Party, this crisis start in Baghdad that is capital of Iraq, and the most target nation for anti-western and also anti monarchical sentiments, the group of nationalist was so powerful at that period because there have control all the government agencies for over five month at the late of 1956 to beginning of 1957. But at that time King Hussein was frightened that he might overthrow at any time, he organised his supporters and traditional leaders groups in Jordan and some other Arab leaders "monarchies" together with United State of America (USA) in series of meeting and find way out of their current challenges. King Hussein rein posed his leverage to resorted to the better repression than previous, during the grapples the army show to be the most strong and powerful force in Jordan at that time. Similarly, US has change the Britain and become the most external authority in Jordan (Aruri, 1972).

Also King Hussein spurn irreparable and commit himself to the conservative politicians who served as crass rot of the patriarchal system during the regime of his grandfather, King Hussein did not refuse to reform the system he only trying to bring the groups and compromise those who want reform and those who desired the current affairs of government that is the status quo, but his effort was not successful at that time because whenever the change come the is existing palace group and the conservative elite are supported by the palace troop (Aruri, 1972). The system of power in the palace of

Jordan was gradually improve the have survived longer than Arab countries and the exception of Morocco and Saudi Arabia, because the army are loyal to the western military and the economic support, but on the other hand, the interest of Israel in the politics of Jordan show that the policies of Israel remain the most influence that have interest of continuation of King Hussein on the throne, also Israel will always have interest in the issue of restructuring in Jordan and their current affairs (Aruri, 1972). Between the years 1989 up to 1999, Jordan continued with experiencing several challenges. The commencement of campaign on political democratization and democracy, the execution of IMF by regulating the economic adjustment programme as well as completing the agreement in full peace treaty with Israel. The transition of power from King Hussein to King Abdullah II that has been one of the major internal issues in the history of process of democratization and monarchical transition in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Ryan, 2010).

Also 1989 become one of the unforgettable era in Jordan. Jordanians faced with the series of obstacles, challenges from one angle to another in fact all part of their system of government, its clearly that the process toward democratization in Jordan political system have taken major step and all the signal on democratization which have been appraised in the region were the ushering in parliamentary chamber has took place. The empowerment of associational life and the multiplication of some professional groups and unions for the real political atmosphere opened a new era in Kingdom's history. With the inauguration of monarchy-led political pluralism, the right to freedom of speech; freedom of press and public assembly were more improved than ever before. The

significant of democratic system have gains and made in that year. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1989 has processed to the step on process of democratization which is going to bring the hybrid in their political system, the new political tactics in Jordan had emerged and the rules of their system is under the best partial democratic change for better future. The monarchical system in Jordan is constitutional, but the power is vested in the hands of the King who has the right of appoint and dissolve the prime minister and his council at any time when it deems necessary. The parliament and other political activities have no right to appoint any political position neither to have decision in political affairs in the region. But the creation of limited democracy will allow the region to add the real legitimacy, the spread of popular coercion and reinforce to hold on power and Jordanian democratization process (Kamrava, 2007).

Similarly, at the end of public demonstrations in 1989, the King coped with the opposition through holding parliamentary elections after 22 years. But the political parties remained illegal until 1992. This precluded the parliamentarians to be elected from ideological tendencies and hindered the multi-party campaigns. There were 20 electoral wards and each of them are representative from 2 to 9 side the elections comprise of 80 seats and among thus seats 68 seats reserved for Arab Muslim candidate while 9 will go to Christians and 3 for the women However, the limit of the campaign will only have lasted in 25 days (Lucas, 2005).

## **2.2. 1989 Parliamentary Elections in Jordan**

The 1989 parliamentary elections have been the first general elections held in Jordan's history after 22 years. The year has indicated Kingdom's endeavour of returning to democracy and several amendments were made in the constitution. One of the most crucial amendment was the electoral authoritarianism. Through this change, Jordanian women are also allowed to vote. In addition, the West Bank territories were removed from the Lower Chamber due to the Israeli control of the West Bank Palestinian territories in 1967. King Hussein, then, succeed the measures of returning to democracy and holding elections in that year.

Also, the report have indicate that 1989 elections contained more than 645 candidates together with 12 women participated in several seats at the Lower Chamber in 1989. The 1989 elections have given all the citizens the right to include women to compete and have equal rights with all the citizens in the country. Jordan was then moved towards a democratic path since 1989 (Allan, 1997).

Furthermore, the 1989 parliamentary elections had caused economic protests and the elections were seen as one of the primary keys of democratization in Jordan and the Kingdom committed to the process of democracy and economic development in the country. The elections enhanced the political atmosphere and popular reliability on the political restructure and involved in political practices. King Hussein dream at that time is to appeal the important instrument in safeguarding the 'national unity' in coping with both opposition and economic reform programme. One of the most important issues

that played during the parliamentary elections in Jordan was the campaigns referring to governance and mismanagement (Rath, 2006).

Moreover, the Jordanian Kingdom has faced with different obstacles that voiced during the protests. Kingdom's disengagement from the West Bank as an administrative measure and the existence of Palestinian-Jordanians and ethnic division in the country have always been a vital issue shaping political sphere in the country. The Palestinian-Jordanians' participation in elections and the electoral victory of the Islamist movement will alarm the regime in coping and containing the empowered opposition. Which lead to the call for more political sphere by the Palestinians and Islamists in the post-1993 when the electoral law would be revised in favour of pro-regime candidates.

Similarly, the quest for Palestinians for liberation also hindered the activities of parliamentary elections, however the statistics have indicated that only 8 percent among the candidate will be identified and accept as Palestinians. The internal issues on Arab unity, and Arab-Israeli crisis and intifada were also debated at that period. In addition, more than six hundred and forty-five contestants were stand for different seats in 1989 parliamentary elections at twenty different constituencies. There are no formal and right political parties because they are all banned together with all political organisation since 1957 and its still active until 1989 elections when the political parties were allowed to participated freely all the political activities such as seminars and others were held before the election, the political banners that showing a picture of politicians were visible and allow all over the region. This have shown that; the new change has started the

women representation which was almost 50% of the voters, but twelve among them contested as candidates for the parliament (Rath, 2006).

Relatedly, female's contesters are only concern and concentrated on women's matters which was tied to the challenges they have faced in Jordan. Thus, laws in 1989 election were used and was propagated in April 1986 which upgrade the number of seats in the lower chamber from 60 to 142 it was also divided equally between East and West Bank due to some confronts here and there the laws had change before the election date, and all the adjustment of 1986 elections laws will be informed and divulge in time, and according to the royal decree this change will increase the number of representatives from 71 to 80 in order to make a way for communities to mitigated in their constituencies or wards. The November 8 1989 election result was surprise everyone because most of the peoples predicted that the Islamic group will be a very limited number of seats in the parliament. However, the Islamist movement including Islamists won 34 out of 80 seats and the 20 seats goes to Muslim Brotherhood while independent Islamists won remaining seats.

Thus, the victory of Islamist movement was enormous and only in Amman 14 out of 18 seats were reserved for Islamists candidates. Similarly, the Islamist bloc have captured almost 43% of the Lower Chamber (Rath, 2006). And the political continuum of nationalist and leftists have won 13 seats. However, the victory of Ikhwan after 1989 elections have led the regime to perceive the Brotherhood as well as the Islamist activism as a threat. Nevertheless, the Muslim Brotherhood has been a long-standing

ally of the King Abdullah and the monarchy, particularly during the years when the political parties were banned (since 1957), the Muslim Brotherhood was allowed to be exit and work publicly and openly. Due to the fact that Muslim Brotherhood was not a political party, but rather a charity organization, they continue to work and involve in in political sphere. Therefore, the Muslim Brotherhood became so strong up to the level that the can able to compete with any political party in 1989 elections. In this respect, the electoral victory of the Islamists without having party labels have been regarded as the most important results of the newly emerging the democratic system in Jordan (Rath, 2006).

After 1989 parliamentary elections King Hussein assured that the process of democratization and continuation of democratic development will be upgraded in the country. Jordanian regime was committed to depend the right of all Jordanians as well as their dignity and they ordered to ban the martial laws immediately and also to enhance freedom and political liberties repressed due to the security issues in the aftermath of the 1967 war – which led to the loss of West Bank occupied by Israel. The martial law safeguarded the status quo for more than twenty years. Thus, King Hussein lifted the ban on elections and opened the legislature and opened a new era in Jordanian political life through launching monarchical pluralism, if not full democratization (Allan, 1997).

### **2.3 The National Charter of 1992 and the Emergence of Monarchical Pluralism in Jordan**

The inauguration of the National Charter in 1992 is another key development in Jordan's political arena which upgraded the processes of democratization. King Hussein appointed the members the Royal Committee to guide the drafting of political parties' law and the National Charter. This group comprised of each political party or groups in the country. The National Charter aimed to build a dialogue among the executive, decision markers as well as legislative organ. The Charter also gave Jordanian leaders a vital direction in line with constitution and the provisions of a compass at national discussion on basic issues (Allan, 1997).

However, the National Charter can be described as one of the list agenda for democratic future and development in Jordan and it's also going to bring core relationship among the state and the entire society. It aimed to expand the public sphere for political debates and to protect children and women rights. Moreover, one of the vital issues that put more emphasis on is political pluralism band some other freedom such as freedom of press or media, speech women right and freedom of association in any political parties and creating multiparty groups as well as personal freedom, so that the democratic structure will be stronger.

The National Charter drafted and passed the political parties law and their activities where any party must be locally well-structured and should not have any financial connection to any foreign states (Rath, 2006). In addition, the National Charter was not allowed to create or establish any groups or members that are related to security service or any political parties, and any organisation related to political group must

respect the rules. Also, the conciliation of using any religion ideology and institution for the benefit of any political party or groups are forbidden. The Charter has made a clear compliance for parliamentary elections and reinforced freer media and reconstruction of multiple parties for the success of Jordanian political life.

There might be groups or political parties that may disobey the rules, so the amendment also described that democracy is committed to domestic issues like national security. Indeed, King Hussein in his remark at Jordanian National Congress meeting assured that democracy would not be erroneous for reckless freedom, rather he always referred to the significance of the national security and the stability of the entire regime. The challenges that might be brought by democratization efforts should not endanger the internal instability in the Kingdom (Ryan, 1998).

Furthermore, the creativity of National Charter was proceeded by King Hussein, and for the success of democratic transition, this document had to be proposed to the parliament for the necessary consideration or should take it to the public for referendum (Rath, 2006).

Also moving the bill by the parliament, King Hussein will continue with his policy on democratization process and maintaining his position and leader that control and influence all the affairs of Hashemite Kingdom. The approval of National Charter and acceptance of the constitutional rules of 1952 laws, and the internal political forces is under monarchy. The National Charter will serve the regime for a specific time, to take

care the some political challenges and pressure in the leadership cycles by given some manoeuvrability which is going to allowed the beginning of new political system that would consider the accordance of personal freedom and implementation of political pluralism and introducing real political forces, the emerge will pose the vital process of democratization and the state of Jordan will lead the process of democratization and link it with the stabilization of mandatory (Rath, 2006).

Moreover, 1989 demonstrations have created different challenges that lead to so many changes in Jordan, such as the birth of parliamentary system and appointing 60 members by King Hussein, the summing of National Charter proposal on December 1990 as well as the authorisation of it, from the King in 1991. The Charter is comprised the different issues as mention above it also interesting and emphasized on democratic freedom and intellectual's pluralism, upgrading the document as well as lenience. Also, fairness to everyone that is equal right or impartiality before the law of men and women and guarantee of personal property right, because is one of the key pillars of elite power (Robinson, 1998).

Among the primary assignment of National Charter is assortment of people signatories, thus 60 members appointed by the King would draft the charter that contained not only popular peoples in the government but with business statistics which are close to the King, also most of this committee are famous integer in some parties together with Muslim Brotherhood. This signatory was so important to King even Ahmad Ubaid – a former prime minister – and some other prominent figures in Jordan considered and

gave support to the Charter. Another important name was Ishaq Al-Farhan, a former leader of *Ikhwan* who supported this processes towards pluralism and National Charter. The leftists, pan-Arabists and Palestinian origin Jordanians or pro-Palestinian views were also joined the rest of groups on writing and signing the National Charter in 1992.

Furthermore, the National Charter was laid and introduced the democracy in Jordan. It also called for creating multiple political parties and some other important issues that can allowed the Prime Minister to pass the principles bills in parliament for law which is done on September. Also, the press is considerably gained freedom of publications without government intervention or limitations and it has been centralized into process of democratization. After the adoption of the Charter press or media in Jordan has become more significant which also reflected the improvement of Jordan democratization. Although there are little challenges, and the elites have a consensus both internal and external on the media that is to say the press will not play unfriendly and hostile role to the monarchy and other dominant power relations in the region of Jordan (Robinson, 1998).

Thus, the elections held in 1989 and the formation of multi-party politics since 1992 and including the Muslim Brotherhood as a political actor in Jordanian political landscape which gave them the right to participate in elections have all marked a significant melting pot in Jordanian trend towards democratization. These measures reinforced the system to be answerable and accountable. Also, disagree of recommendation on legal

committee have led the traditional leaders in parliament to dominate the Muslim Brotherhood. The primary reason of establishing the National Charter is to stabilize and improve the democratic system in the Kingdom and to fulfil the process of Jordanian reconstruction on democracy, and exercise the work based on political pluralism which was mentioned previously as well as democratic change and freedom in all level. Due to several progresses that achieved by the National Charter; Jordanian people sense of direction an insisting on policy against overplaying by some unrestrained groups and other reason on political affairs in short National Charter together with Jordanian constitution has able to provide a core range on national debate and some other basic or necessary issues in Jordan politic and democratic level at large (Robinson, 1998).

#### **2.4 1997 Parliamentary Elections in Jordan**

Democratization and political development processes have taken another dimension after 1989, 1993 and 1997 national elections in Jordan. The parliamentary elections held in 1997 had taken much attention due to the electoral boycott of certain opposition groups in the country. The aim of this chapter is, then, to analyse the results of the 1997 elections and also to provide an overview of the period prior to the elections. Thus, in understanding 1997 elections; 1993 elections are so vital due to the amendment of electoral authoritarianism and increasing more political parties as well as the growth in opposition elected to the legislature.

In 1993 elections, more than twenty political parties participated and the turnout had increased from the previous one, which made the voters to have multiple votes of

candidates. The voters voted in favour of the candidate they know well or someone that going to serve their constituency than the others. The 1993 elections were then based on new electoral law – amended the same year – which permitted each voter to elect his/ her representative of that district (Ryan, 1998).

However, 1993 elections did not allow a voter to vote more than one vote for many candidates – which were allowed in 1989 elections. But this time the electoral law based on multiple votes was revised with “one man one vote” formula which has been said that can favour pro-regime candidates and independents rather than ideological groups. Thus, the 1993 election rules closed this system of 1989 electoral loop-hole and changed it with the “one man one vote” and it also adopted new districts that disproportionately arranged which can help conservative pro-government districts and rural areas instead of urban areas to send the delegates to the legislature. But the new electoral rules continue to reserve the seats for minority groups like; Chechens and Circassians. Similarly, the 1993 elections has shown that institutionalization of the democratic institutions and elections would bring anti-regime camps and opposition to the parliament. (Ryan, 1998).

Regarding the 1997 Jordanian general elections, observers have reported that, some of the political parties and opposition groups have withdrawn from the elections. After the announcement of the day of elections which was November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1997; the Islamic Action Front – *Al-Jabha Al-amal Al- Islami*, the political wing of the Muslim Brotherhood – was to first to declare its boycott of the elections.

Some of the opposition parties decided to not join the elections due to the incredibility of the process of elections and the soon to be elected new parliament. For them, there is a question mark for the electoral process and the government can easily influence the elections, so that the results will automatically favour them. However, the electoral boycott started with leftist parties in 1997, but later the Islamic Action Front also joined them –the largest political parties in Jordan. Meanwhile, the Pan-Arab Nationalist Party declared that they will soon boycott the parliamentary elections due to the unfairness embedded in the electoral process. However, the injustice complained by the all opposition parties are almost same, and there was another element that has shaped their decision to reject to join the elections, because of the forthcoming peace-making with Israel. The peace process was ended with normalization of relations with Israel in 1994, but the parliament elected, however, opposed to the peace-making. For that reason, Israeli-Jordanian peace was actually regarded as the King's peace than to be peoples' peace (Ryan 1998).

Moreover, the instantaneous causes for the withdrawal from the elections and the campaigns have brought heated debates in the country with regard to the 1993 controversial electoral law. The other issues that the Kingdom has begun to implement such as new limitation on public assembly, freedom of media and publication, freedom of expression were also underway. In 1993 elections, Jordanian opposition agreed and accepted the opportunity to form the parties that going to participate in forthcoming elections, which have indicated the signal of their full participation for elections. However; the issue of 'controversial electoral law' and pro-government favouritisms

between 1993-1997 led them to question the prevailing system as well as the results of “the one man one vote” electoral law – which is new and unevenly distributed the seats in the country entirely. The opposition argued that; they would not join elections that they have already know the results before (Ryan, 2008; Robinson, 1998)

The Kingdom promised them that they will take the previous election result as a command or order to major changes in Jordan policy particularly the decision to track the peace treaty with Israel, while the opposition parties are virtually constant in their rebuff on peace treaty on their bitterness in order toward government and international monetary fund mandated economic severity determine, and some of their discomfort with the Hashemite system with the re-establish the relationship with the US. Also, the IMF ‘austerity programme’ on economic adjustment became a track of tension in those days when the government removed the long-standing bread subsidy that created a huge protest in southern areas in Jordan and precisely the capital Amman (Ryan, 1998).

The criticism by the opposition due to the regime policy on increasing of price in some basic commodities, again the added their own legitimacy crisis by using different regulation on right for the assembly, freedom of expression, press and some other specific new rules on media. However, the new rules insist for large capital holding and authorising the requirements of some papers so that they continuations of publication will fully legalized. But in September the restrictions had increased on media because this time around the government has banned almost 15 weekly papers, although from

other source said they are desisted from moving against Islamic Actions front newspapers, the report added that after the election the Kingdom of Jordan also proceeded in their illegal exercise against different publications when their have banned and cancelled the licences of 14 media house out of 15 (Ryan, 1998). Also international human right organisation have reshaped the new regulations especially with their plan in expanding the 1997 election, majority of the newspapers together with Jordan vibrant tabloid industry have been shut down many opposition parties from secular have left to religious right their believe is the policies which can create a tension in public confidence would not accepted in their political ideologies, also the crisis was aggravate by government for disagree to consider the oppositions request, to change some foreign and internal policy.

Thus, these common matters lead the leftist and Islamist opposition parties to unite and boycott the 1997 elections. Similarly, boycotting of different people or prominent and some former government officials have reinforced greatly. But the government refused to accept their demand, although it has been into dialogues with some opposition leaders especially Islamic Action Front. On the other hand, King Hussein said "I don't have any intention to cancel the system of one man one vote and Jordan will continue with the relationship with Israel also the process of economic adjustment programme will advance". (Ryan, 2007) King Hussein also added that the electoral boycott by the opposition parties is their choice and decision which did not leave any room for compromise and questions their commitment to the democracy and pluralism (Ryan, 1998).

All these challenges did not prevent the government from holding the elections as it was arranged, but their strong effect on the process of campaign was felt as predicted by some analysts. However, the nature of elections in some other pulling unite is unaccepted which become a vital issue and campaign to the government by banned or cancelled all public protest and party rallies or campaign rallies.

Thus, the 13<sup>th</sup> parliamentary elections which was elected in Jordan in 1997 is predominantly composed by the political centrist groups, similarly the pro-government, traditional and tribal contestant are independents. They won more than half of the seats in parliament. But Islamists become the main loser in 1997 elections due to their boycott and low participation from their voters. 6 out of 30 independent Islamists who participated in that elections won seats and only 4 seats were taken by the candidates that can be identified as leftists. However, the secular and the religious right had a small issue to cheer about the election result, also women of all political parties did coercion but still they a less, among the seventeen women that contested in the election none of them win a single seats in parliament and among the previous three election 1997 election system and arrangement of polling is different and the synchrony with the slanted of electoral rules is not same and the opposition boycott the most traditional and pro-government parliament since the beginning democratization process in the region (Ryan, 1998).

Nevertheless, the 1997 election campaign process and the result after the election indicated that they are clear backwards compared to the previous election, although the previous ones experience his own challenges. If 1989 elections have led to a nourish or reinforce the civil society organizations, the 1993 system of one man one vote formula would reach to the re-emergence of old significance that play major role in this year elections. some of the Jordanian analysist said the 1997 elections would not represent a democratic transition in Jordan the observers also added that the 1989, 1997 elections results have face so many hindrances of tribalism especially 1997 election when most of the political parties are absent in the election and many voters did not even determine for candidates that there are going to support and on the root of clan or tribal bonds. However, the analyst believe that the Jordanian democratization process is moving and progressing (Ryan, 1998).

In different analysis of Jordan electoral process they is consisting of many emanates that emphasize the low levels of voters participation in 1997 elections are fact from the one we mention above and also the total number of turnout in 1997 election was only forty percent of all registered voters, which is lower from the forty seven percent of the attendance in 1993 election while the forty one percent attendance record in 1989 election, also the officials indicate that there is still common turnout in some figures that attribute in particular way in election day or not. And the boycotting election and general voter are also more vital significant issues and the vote attendance was higher in the rural areas than city. That is why the record show turnout figures in some part of Jordan city is too low compare to the rural areas. The analyst believed that the political life in Jordan has change if we look at what is happen in the previous elections but

democratization and restructuring of the regime are still slid or we can said backwards compare to some years back. Also after 1997 election so many questions arisen will Kingdom of Jordan can able to advance their political system and stay on one political direction or the will continue with the monarchical system. But on democratization process the Kingdom of Jordan did well especially the three national parliamentary elections and ratification or legalizing political parties, the lifting of martial laws as well as freedom of press. The 1997 electoral incident associate with the opposition boycott and restrictions by government on media and civil liberties, but the expectations is still initial on democratic process and the service ordangerous step which is going to affect the return of democracy and pluralism in the regime (Ryan, 1998).

## **2.5. 2003 and 2007 Parliamentary Elections in Jordan**

In 2003 another general elections were held in Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which make the fourth elections in the country since onset of the democratization process era traces back to 1989. This time, the voters casted their ballots in their wards and almost 58% of the voters are registers and the total of 2,325,496 of the nation, which have the total population of 5.5 million of peoples at that year. Also, most of the prominent tribal candidate have occupied the highest or major seats, it also indicate more than eighty five percent of the population are registered in the various areas like Karak area, and the lowest area is Amman with 44.62% (Jordanian Embassy, WDC 2017).

The 2003 elections hit all the region in Jordan, because King Abdullah II moved to change the system and dissolve the House of Representatives and he also issued the

royal decree to organize elections held on June 2003. Some amendments of the constitution allowed the age of voting, that is between 18 years and above, he also increased the number of seats from eighty to one hundred and four, the Kingdom also announced the redistricting will monologue the earlier imbalance, but the distribution of the extra seats will have continued with the advantage of enormous pro-government trans Jordanian in south which outlay more oppositional and the Palestinians peoples living in city of Amman. Also at early 2003 King Abdullah II upgrade the system again with new rules that added 6 additional seats in order to ensure negligible representation for women.

Tujan Al- Faysal is the only female contender, and she also won a seat in the parliament through the quota – devoted for Circassian minority seats, which accomplished with thousands of votes. The new quota for ‘women’ was planned to ensure that the 6 women will be among the new Parliament members. On the other hand, the IAF was strongly opposed to the women’s quota it’s also include the first women that is Hayat Al-Musayni with slate of thirty candidates. But in 2003 election no Jordanian women win any seats but Hayat Musayni won a great percentage of voters in her area than any other female contestant worldwide that is how she become the first women to be in 2003, 2007 Parliament chamber and she is not secular neither feminist but rather she is traditionalist and Islamic activist (Ryan, 2004).

While 5 feminists were offered a seat in a percentage of votes which given in their areas. Similarly the election is based on new electoral rules 765 contestant together

with 54 women registered and ready to be among the legislative members, the 2003 election are so marked by the different participations of opposition such as IAF (representing the Muslim Brotherhood) group or party that boycotted the 1997 elections and against the system of one man one vote election formula.

Thus, the 2003 election process and casting vote was smoothly held on 17 June 2003 despite the complaints which also increased almost fifty nine percent of the registered voters to go and cast their votes. Some of the observers argue that; the election process and turnout are good compared with the previous ones especially 1997 election that have many irregularities (Al-Ummah, 2003).

Furthermore, the overall winning party was declared as the Islamic Action Front after lifting its electoral boycott. The IAF won 17 seats in the parliament and also another 5 independent Islamist party was elected together with high profile traditionalist Islamist as Islamic Action Front (IAF) members such as Abu Faris and former IAF member Abd al-munim Abu zant. After the 2003 Parliamentary elections, the government and opposition party have begun to think and contemplate on what type of parliament is going to be in Jordan. Because the assembly is totally seen as a pro-government group, and it's not significant issue or far from diffident opposition voices. The first time when the deputies organized the (IAF) deputies and create the alliance over the Oath of loyalty. Also the combined of all deputies on cursing loyalty to the King Abdullah II, similarly the Islamist representatives also added that there can only do that if government can ruled in accordance with Islamic instruction or jurisdiction, the IAF

argued that the participation in the elections did not represent their rules and approval of the elections. They still perceive the system as unfair and against the Islamist jurisdiction and Palestinian representation while some of the party leaders maintain the decision on participate in the election process in a great part so that their can change the system (Ryan, 2004).

Consequently, 2003 elections still represented some cases considering the situation of democratization in Jordanian politics such as postponed of the election for more than two years and the issues of voters card that take long time to prepare as well as some other challenges that can return the Palestinian intifada or spring, the election exemplify some problems on democratic restructuring in Jordan and lack of serious commitment on the process of democratizations despite the improvement of 2003 elections but the opposition still challenges the regime and believe that the regime are preparing for further restructuring or the slating is not on the right place or the peoples and the political parties are not matured enough to point out the real democratization process while some argue that the system did not committed to substantial democratic development they only use different step of artefacts and plan on democratic legitimacy in order to continue with authoritarianism rules, however the process of renew the democratization in early 1990s has channels to introduced the overall substantial regime the insecurity issues and lack of commitment on eventual restructuring. The analysis has shown on this part that the regime has failed to satisfy the need of the entire nation (Middle East Policy Council, 2017).

The manoeuvring of the electoral system by the leaders would not impede or hinder the process and spiralling of democracy in Jordan, and from all indication Jordan would continue to trace the step and logic of democracy especially within the political rhetoric which have been specified by King Abdullah II in his first remark on December 2003 on regular session of new Parliament the King called for circulations of democratic culture and national dialogue that going to lead the regime into congregate and state congress so that their can discuss the several economic, political, social and cultural issues. Also King Abdullah II assure that the Parliament will going to give more concern on the right of women, the independence in judiciary, freedom on media or press as well as the role of assembly for achieving the essential democratic regime in the Kingdom of Hashemite (Ryan, 2004).

## **2.6. 2007 Parliamentary Elections and the opposition**

Nevertheless, 2007 election was held on 20<sup>th</sup> November, after election the Prime Minister Morouf Al-Baklit together with his cabinet resign due to some reason such as major protests against the government on lower inadequate facilities and economic issues. The King appointed new council that going replace him and control the affairs of government which Nader Al-Dahabi become a leader of new government that going head the administration of Jordan. The 2007 election come with his own change and some challenges also, almost 885 candidates or contestant participated on the election including women. Also this time the number of women have increased to 199 which indicated the highest number of women ever that participated in Jordan election, but the average of voters was fifty four which is lower than 2003 election that have 58% locally

the election have been fought by different position as independents under the traditional support which is not as partisan while some of the contestant of 2007 election have a political affiliation, while other belong to political parties , moreover, most of those candidates from the Islamist party that is Islamic Action Front (IAF) field twenty two candidate, but sixteen among the twenty two are representing the real banner of Islamic Action Front (IAF) and some of the contestant won the election which show the major setback to the power or influence of Islamic Action Front (IAF) in Jordan. The Islamic Action Front that win more than 16 Parliamentary seats in 2003 general election, this party demanding for independent monitors but the Prime Minister Marouf Al-Baklit has refuse or rejected to their request and he respond to them, he said the Jordanian transparency and electoral process are so questionable. And some of the observers report that some candidate use money to buy vote in some areas again a local newspaper has published a picture that shown voters allegedly collecting some sum of amount from the politicians or some of their supporters in order to vote for their party candidate (Kolbertbot, 2017).

Similarly, the boycotting of 2003 election by some parties' due to some reason this time all parties or majority of them have participated to the election such as IAF, and the report have shown that the Front is one of the major Islamist political parties in Middle East and in Jordan particular. After, 2003 election the opposition parties continued with their struggle that focus or epicentre the electoral restructuring and demanding to banned the system of one man one vote, also during the 2007 election the opposition parties especially Islamic Action front which has the largest followers insist of

restructuring the electoral rules and renewing of electoral constituency, these are the major keys that have been sketched by the opposition in order to curb the potential power in Jordan. But the regime was less minded to respond to the opposition demands because their concern is the electoral triumph of Islamist movements hence in the region, from Hamas in Palestine to Hezbollah in Lebanon. However, the security issues in 2007 elections was run over by prime minister Marouf in 2005, 2007 were possibly most of the egregiously equivocal or rigged the post 1989 election (Ryan, 2011). Also the regime was alarmed by several attacks such as al-Qa'ida terrorist attacks in 2005, 2006 and 2007 in Amman electoral success of Hamas in the Palestinian territories which have sound and determined to prevent the Islamist in roads at large the costs (Ryan, 2011).

Those roles give Islamist candidates more opportunities and made them to win a mere 6 seats out of one hundred and ten. But it's undermined the legitimacy of the electoral process which resulted the Parliament itself, and preparation of new election. But the regime still has no concern to introduce a minor revision to Parliamentary electoral rules and refuse to change the existent voting system as demanded by the opposition. Since 1989 election the opposition parties were limited to success in fixing representation in the Jordanian parliament. And the leftist parties are particularly ineffectively, while the Islamist movement organised a greater success in previous election, but the issues of electoral rules especially with their aimed of minimising the representation and influence in Jordanian legislature as mentioned above. For a long decades Jordanian regime and opposition parties have been loggerheads above the

rules of the electoral arrangement and urgent to return to a previous voting system i. e based on party lists. The position of opposition party on political left remain weak because Kingdom refuse to change the system of one man one vote and electoral rules that encourage the Jordanian to vote for their family members or tribal lines (Ryan, 2011). While the cooperation and alliance of leftist party and Islamist party are more likely on the contemporary period than previous ones. But many scholars argued that how this alliance and coalitions can be possible in Arab politics, on the other hand the general agreement on foreign policy matters, which have no hope for effecting, and some other issues on internal reforms. The record has shown that the political opposition in Jordan and independent activities have splintered and worked together in order to find way out of their problems at large (Ryan, 2011).

The Jordanian parliamentary elections held in 2007 has reform and restructured some issues and modelled in different seats and also regulate a little development, it also discovered some obstacles to democracy in Jordan because the result was not accepted by Jordanians and some of the opposition parties in Jordan because the tribal and pro-government contestant have win the most seats in the Parliamentary election. Also, the seats were distributed in accordance with the interest of government among the 45 districts; where 92 seats for Jordanian Muslims, 3 seats for Circassians, and 9 seats for Christians and Chechens and 6 seats reserved to women candidates, making the total number of 110 seats in the legislature (Saleh, 2012).

Some of the challenges that 2007 Parliamentary elections faced was the reduction of representatives of the parties and movement, such as in Amman. The 20 November 2007 Parliamentary election result indicated that the traditional candidates and tribal figures have won the highest seats i.e. 98. While Islamist political parties won only seven 7 seats that is less than what they had won in 2003; the 6 seats go to women candidates by special electoral panel and the leftists and Pan-Arab nationalist political parties did not win any seats in 2007 parliamentary elections (Saleh, 2012).

In this regard, the results of 2003 and 2007 elections have shown that there is a decrease in the representation of Islamist, secular, leftist and Pan-Arab nationalist parties. Similarly, the 2007 results had shown the system of “one man one vote” has become primarily favourable to the tribal, cultural, familial as well as sectarian affiliations which most of them are loyal to monarchical system or Kingdom. It also showed that; the modification to the current electoral law is demanded by the entire opposition. The opposition asked for revising and adopting the formula on the basis of proportional representation – in line with the population size.

The Parliamentary elections in 2007 indicated that; the increased number of pro-government figures can be attributed to the critical economic situation in the country, where the parties begun to lose their opportunities to represent their ideologies as well as peoples’ needs in accordance with their real weight in the chamber (Saleh, 2012). On the other hand, Muslim Brotherhood was alarmed with the result because of the drastic decrease in its votes compared to the previous elections in 2003. This time

result was so worse and only six seats out of 110 seats were acquired by the Front in parliament. In short, the 2007 elections is clearly indicating the fact that; Jordanian move towards democratization is not moving forward, rather is a stagnant process due to the electoral authoritarianism and the external predicaments across Kingdom's borders. (Suleiman, 2007). Due to the instabilities in Iraq and the turmoil in the region, Jordan opted to maintain its stability first at the expense of shifting towards democratization.

### **2.7. 2010 Parliamentary Elections in Jordan**

Likewise, in the 2010 elections, the majority of the seats were gained by the pro-government like previous elections. 17 opposition parties joined the elections with the exception of the IAF. The IAF once again boycotted the elections and didn't not join the campaigns. Their main concern was still the amendment of the electoral law traces back to 1993 and also the critique of the peace making with Israel particularly by the conservative win in the IAF and the *Ikhwan* (Schwedler, 2006).

More than 762 candidates participated in this elections with over 74% of incumbent MPs run once again. As mentioned above, the Muslim Brotherhood as the main opposition party allied with Islamic Action Front (IAF), which they have announced that they will boycott the 2010 elections due to unfairness in electoral law. For them, the law was unable to represent the urban cities and Palestinian-dominated areas like Amman, and also overrepresented the native Jordanians who live in the southern provinces, not having Palestinian population. Moreover, the system of "one man one vote" formula was

seen as a political manoeuvring in order to preclude the IAF voters. But 7 IAF candidates defied the boycott and ran as independents due to their own reasons and the main opposition groups viewed the elections with scepticism, the allegations fraud and low of voting was reported in elections especially within the Palestinian population area. This time the government allowed the international observers to come and witness the general elections with almost 250 attendance, while others are criticised the Jordan for allowing the boycotting the 2010 elections, also national democratic institute indicate that the is clear improvement on 2010 elections compared with the 2007 (Al-Jazeera, 2010).

The Jordanian people elected their 16<sup>th</sup> parliament cabinet on November 2010, and the elections held under the new election law, which was signed by the council on May 2010. The Jordanian government allowed the international observers from different nations to come and witness the elections. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) have deployed pre-election delegate with long term observers to monitor and lead the elections which have already organized with more than 60 members to observe the elections process across the region, the national democratic institute indicate that the 2010 elections procedures is incomparable with previous ones because the is clear progress in several part such as technic of the election or preparation, balloting arrangement and voting, and early arrival of electoral officers in their directed polling unit and starting accreditation in time, counting and tabulation process as well as announcing the result in every polling unit after the elections as well as posting the result figure in government website .Thus are among the transparency of 2010

elections. Also, the new electoral rules combined a different recommendation and proposed by civil and women associations and increasing women quota, similarly the incorporating transparent and procedures of counting of the result immediately after the election at every polling unit have increasing the electoral code of conduct. And it's not meaningfully address the fundamental obstacles of unequal districting however the absence of independent electoral management body and dearth of energetic political parties that is Jordan most prominent party, the boycotting of Islamic Action Front of 2010 elections due to what their called injustice and many irregularities and in proper arrangement on the elections and some government rules that the refuse to change it, which made majority of the opposition parties complained and against about the system, this what make them to be aside or become viewer in 2010 elections, also government officials respond to them, no preparation for changing the electoral system rules despite the series of dialogue between leaders of oppositions and government between August and September but eventually no solution with regard to government decision which made the Islamic Action Front to boycott the election (National Democratic Institute, 2010).

Additionally, allowing the international observers to monitor the 2010 elections in Jordan opened another chapter in Jordan democratic system, the international electoral observers and their rules have endorsed by 35 world leading international electoral observers organizing by national democratic institute which is not partisan and non-profit organization are strongly supporting and intensify democratic institutions across the globe. So that the peoples would participate and openness accountability in their

government national democratic institute has backed and ensure the democratic development programs in the region of Jordan since 1993, would continue to maintain the position in Amman since 2004, also the aim of this international observer is to assist the electoral process by regulating the elections and providing the councils with international experience. The result of the elections indicated that the officials' figures is 53% of the registered voters are able to cast their ballots and the figures are almost same with 2007 elections, but the Islamic Action Front disagreed with the result and claim that the figures did not exceed to 30% to them it's impossible to verify the official and total number of turnout without having access to the all voter that casted the ballots in each and every polling unit. But the officials released the total figure that voters received with each contestant and the number of valid and invalid votes as well as blank ballots that is unused and spoiled ones in each polling unit was not available to internal and international observers (National Democratic Institute, 2010). Also, the report has pointed out that the higher participation in 2010 elections was in rural areas than the cities, especially in Tafileh and some areas in southern Jordan have the highest turnout – which was 74%. The figures showed that; the largest cities in Jordan like Amman and Zarqa had got low percentage of turnouts which was 37.3% and 39.1% respectively (National Democratic Institute).

On 10 November 2010, the interior minister announced the winner of the election, the first time in Jordan parliamentary elections to be announce openly or publically, more than 82 of 120 seats together with 8 former states officials and two old senators have able to win seats in the Parliament chamber. Also, women candidates have got 13 seats

in the chamber but only one won the reserved quota for them and the new arrangement of women in parliament has comprised the first Christian women with the first women elected from the Bedouin constituency together with first women from the Amman to run and prevail outside the reserve quota, even though the Islamic Action Front and some parties that boycott the election, are against the women participation 18 number of political parties were elected. Which indicated the first election in which political parties that are not IAF to run and succeed election in Jordan with high number of vote and seats in parliament house also many parties have bound elected to run as independents rather than on a party flag and the parliament maintain the body with embraces the mainly independent and traditional loyalist, and there is no arrangement of opposition.

On the other hand, the report from a local media said the ministry of interior has broadcast the ballot that tallied with all candidates including the winner of the election and looser on the state website on 11 November which indicated a clear improvement compare with the 2007 elections that announce the elections result when they announced the name of the winner only. However, the massive attendance of voters and general administered of poll had report that the government officials and the voters in 2010 parliamentary election are so important and Hybridge to the democracy in Jordan and political participation, similarly the issues of significance of the election and political system remain a few limits to the authority of the monarchy. Also, the national democratic institute have inspired the Jordanian to undertake the political restructuring that going to reinforce the role of elected leader or officials and ensure the state accountability to the elections also the law on associations of any political parties and

other political gathering together with media will all have the freedom and opportunities to restructure their activities. This amendment would ensure all Jordanian citizen will exercise their vital political right with freedom of expression or speech and assembly. Similarly, the universal right to vote or suffrage which is among the basics and meaningful electoral process (National Democratic Institute, 2010).

Moreover, the Jordan 2010 election was arranged and governed on a temporary elections laws, also the 4<sup>th</sup> election in twenty-five years that have present and preserved the most contentious elements and system that include a single and non-transferable voting system and disproportionality in electoral process and districting. The national democratic institute and some delegation encourage the peoples of Jordanian to restructure the electoral system and upgrade the political party as well as promoting the fairness competition in the region, so that most of the Jordanian will backed the use of proportional representation (PR) system which is documented and sign internationally with the means of opening an entrance on parliament and varied group in political pillars who request to broad the best constitutions. Furthermore, the establishing of proportional representation in Jordan have create the basis for development of political parties and the elections that going to bring a real incentive political actors in order to build coalitions and total interest, it can also benefit from contributing to policy makers and national policies issues while on the one side the national democratic institute does not have any particular electoral system that would encourage the Jordanian peoples to ensure the political parties elections process as well as elected council are more active in the parliament electoral rules (National Democratic Institute, 2010).

### **CHAPTER III: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARAB SPRING ON JORDAN: THE OPPOSITION AND THE REGIME'S RESPONSES**

The Arab Uprisings or spring has brought an era of political revolutions in Middle East and North Africa, and also referred to a period of series of radical changes that restructured and reshaped the entire Arab world by all means. In other words, the Arab uprising is a set of public demonstrations that happen during 2010 – 2011 in the Middle East and North African countries due to certain reasons, and each region or country has its own roots or internal causes of his own. The uprisings have either ended with toppling of the long-lasting rules like in Egypt or in Tunisia or bypassed some others like the monarchies in the MENA region.

The Arab uprisings or spring have begun in Tunisia, and later spread to Egypt, Libya, Yemen – which led them to overthrow their leaders, while in Bahrain, Syria, Morocco as well as Jordan the uprisings forced the regimes to reshape their political and economic rules. The 2011 uprising's first signal was in Tunisia on December 2010, when Mohammed Abu Bouazizi a fruit seller set himself on fire. The event started on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 after a women police officer told Bouazizi to stop doing his business of selling fruit (Dalacoura, 2011).

The argument continues between them, and Bouazizi refuse to stop selling his fruit after some hours the police officer come back together with her colleague and pack Bouazizi fruit cart. It has reported that it's not the first time this argument or crisis happened between those who are selling things on the street or close to the government estates and polices officers, but this case has made it to be the last time. Bouazizi followed the officers to their police station and the forfeit or penalty of his offence of selling fruit out of

fruit cart was \$7 which is equivalent to 10 Tunisian dinar and this money is either equal to what he earns in a day or is not up to that and Bouazizi avowedly claimed that the women officer slapped him and point his face and insulted his late father, and he was lock to the provincial police headquarters and his family come to the headquarter hoping to see him but they officers refused to allowed the family to see him. But after some hours they release him, after some hours again, Bouazizi come back to the station or elegant double story building without telling his family with a fuel container and poured the fuel all in his body and set fire on his body and the story change to another thing which is called Arab uprising or spring (Dalacoura, 2011).

Bouazizi did not die instantly he was rushed to the hospital till 4<sup>th</sup> January, the incident was so much horror and shock the entire region of Tunisian that even their dictator president of Tunisia Zine el-Abdine ben Ali visit Bouazizi in hospital a week to his death in order to blunt the anger of Tunisian peoples and Bouazizi family, but it did not stop the exclamation and could not suppressed because on 14<sup>th</sup> January after the funeral of Bouazizi the protest hit all over the country against the government of bin Ali he try to convince them but his effort did not triumph because the protest lead to the end of 23 years of dictatorship rule in Tunisia, on 27 of February Bin Ali himself resigned.

The episode also separate to the neighbouring countries immediately after successful overthrow of Tunisia government the Egyptian peoples preparing their own demonstration against their authoritarian government which is headed by Hosni Mubarak who was leading the Egyptians peoples for over twenty nine years, the Egyptian protest started on January 2011, but the Egyptian incident is different with Tunisian the Egyptian have confronting Hosni Mubarak directly to resign because he is unwilling to make a true restructuring in the region, and the government are not performing well to the societal need the demonstration escalate and expand with a "Day of rage" from Cairo to other parts of Egypt cities, continued with massive march on the streets day by day, which force Mubarak to announced publically he is not going to run in forthcoming election in 2011, the Mubarak decision did not stop the protesters and the demonstration continue with large numbers all over the state. Mubarak resign or

stepdown on 11 February and transfer the power to the military government. But before the series of protest in the region and against the Mubarak government which is related to political event many observers said the demonstration is not related to uprising or against Mubarak but against the they Israel security action for the occupied Palestinian border. Egypt uprising become the second and successful uprising in north Africa after Tunisia many observers indicated that the incident of Tunisia is the key point of the all uprising in the Middle East because many rulers in Middle East faced different and massive demonstration at that period by confronting them and insisted of their resignation.

The third and worst one is Libyan uprising the protest broke up against another long dictator leader Muhammad Gadhafi the demonstration began at Benghazi the second largest town in Libya, within short period of time the protest separate all over the region the mutiny was leaded by national transition council (NTC) but the United Nation Security Council and some other agencies intervene and the protesters did not listing to them the demonstration continue also the west of the country started although it has remained little in the city of Tripoli. But the Libyan uprising counted as the worst in Middle East after the September 2011 apparent deadlock and many Libyan has lost their lives which up to date the figure was not verified their leader too Muhammad Gadhafi lost his life on 20 October.

The Yemenis uprising is also a prolong uprising that cause loss of many lives in the region their uprising protest started on 14<sup>th</sup> January with the small numbers of protesters against the government of Ali ben Saleh's that he most resign due to his failure and low performance in government activities after a month of Mubarak resignation the demonstration continue and lead by different groups youth civil society organisation and formal political opposition parties, join meeting parties the protest comprise different groups include Islamist *Islah* and some radical group, and Yemenis socialist party. The series of demonstration also lead to the destroyed public and government properties as well as loss of many Yemenis lives Saleh resign because the protesters insist. The Syrian also face their own challenges on Arab spring the protesters requesting reforms

the government or stepdown. Thus, are the major cases and roots of Arab uprising in Middle East North Africa and continue separated from one region to another which also experienced a comparatively little fallout from other region that they did not have bloody and massacre such as Jordan which is the case study of this work and area of concentration of our study, because the ruling monarchy is promulgate to their peoples and agree that they will restructure the regime measures. Excluding Bahrain because their demonstration was very limited and it was also tackled (Dalacoura, 2011).

Like other Arab countries Jordan experience uncountable demonstration throughout the 2011, the region has been shaken and the protesters agitating for restructuring the entire regime but there is no report which indicated the protesters called for overthrowing King Abdullah II the only call for change of government that is prime minister Samir Rafi'i and his council must go. The dialogue between King Abdullah II and the opposition groups also contribute to minimize the violence in the region and fall of the Jordan Kingdom the King always give room for their enquiry and willing to have consensus and way out for the challenges that the region face, and their political status quo. This what made the protest to be large but not worst and keep changing time to time, and throughout during the demonstration no lives was loss, especially the demonstration in Amman city that gather more than 3000 Jordanian in the streets and against the government of Samir Rafi'i due to low performing and a lot of challenges in economic that lead the Jordanian into hardship and unemployment. The Jordanian uprising was similar to other Arab nations because most of the region that Arab spring take place is because of economic crisis or political reason, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan too join the rest of Arab region due to large unemployment and economic challenges and increased of poverty ratio. But other Arab state are requesting for democratic system that is their want to change from authoritarian regime to democratic system of government (Dalacoura, 2011).

The first signal of Jordan Arab uprising come from East bank that is the area that have the highest population of Jordanian native not migrant those who are called Palestinian Jordanian, the rally was organized by *Jayeen* and comprise of tribe, traditionalist

pensioners, teachers as well as student while the Palestinian Jordanians and some other opposition groups like Islamists joined the protest on 14 January 2011 requesting for constitutional reforms and alteration of laws as well as increased of accountability. However, at the beginning of Jordan uprising the secretary general of the Islamist action front (IAF). Hamzah Mansur together with a political wing of Muslim Brotherhood the continue with their parties loyalty demanding from the Kingdom that the government council and prime minister most resign, and the electoral rules must be change not monarchy with all this the observers believe that roots of Arab uprising in Jordan are different with other region because the opposition and protesters groups and those who are loyal to the Kingdom are not against the monarchy and each groups his requesting for his own interest which is always changing time to time that is the reason the Hashemite Kingdom survive despite the largest numbers of the protesters but their interest is divide and they are not unite (Köprülü, 2014).

Similarly, after the separated of the demonstration all over the region and each groups had taken side, the demonstration become disunite to the Jordanian traditional leaders because they are worried about the economic situation, while liberals concern on promoting political institutions and Muslim Brotherhood demanding for Islamic caliphate or state. But the case has change when the Ahmad Matarnah a Jordanian native imitate a Tunisian Muhammad Bouazizi when he set fire on his body close to King Abdullah II office, Matarnah was complain about Hardship and unable to support his family his action has shocked all the Jordanian society and he also against the entire system of Hashemite by insulting the government. In interview with King Abdullah II tell the reports that the uprising did not start due to political reason but rather economic challenges in the region and he assure Jordanian soon the problems will become a history.

After some days King Abdullah II fired the government of Samir Rafi'i and his cabinet and replace him with Marouf Al- Bakhit, to those groups who demand for political reform and those who request for the improvement of economic the King raise the wages in Jordan and subsidies the food stock and fuel he also create job opportunities and employee more civil servant as well as amendment of the law on freedom of assembly

that can permit them to work without too much intervention, freedom of expression and media as well (Yitzhak, 2017). After all this the demonstration continue the protesters requesting for change of the entire administration and declared a policy that going take care of electoral laws and the protesters demand that the constitutional policy must permit the Parliament right to appoint prime minister which is writing in 1952 constitution. But King Abdullah refuse this, which he called as unacceptable due to some reason, i.e. the political status and survival of the Kingdom. Many observers describe that if King Abdullah will not accept this request because it will be the end of his empire, and if he accept it the Kingdom will no longer have any influence and say in the region or affairs of the government and their Parliament will have total authority to overthrow him, also if he accept it the monarchical system in Jordan will become on functional, the Arab uprising was totally connected with regional occurrence that effect all Arab countries, because it has begun in Tunisian and continue increased rather than decreased (Yitzhak, 2017).

Before the Arab spring the process of democratization and political development has already started such as changing the government rules and amendments of electoral laws and economic restructuring by subsidising the food stock and increased wages while after Arab uprising 2011 another reform has made in different part of the regime such as lifting of martial law legalisation of political parties and freedom of expression and press. Comparing with other Arab region Jordanian peoples are durable and calm also in term of security and life standard Jordan is steady than other Arabs region, that is the reason Jordanian conclude that it is better for us to stay in our situation than to have democracy but butchery and destroying our properties.

Similarly, the government try to make Jordanian being out of violence by have dialogue with the opposition always, and listen or give attention to their request. Change in Jordan is obvious. But not that they should accept the status quo because the Jordanian have their unique experience in Arab uprising is totally different with other Arab region due to the demand of the protesters is keep changing and more significant, some observers argue that the uprising is not challenge to the region but rather an

opportunity to tackle the restructuring process and democratization issues (Ryan, 2016). After all the reforms and changing the monarchical Kingdom of Jordan remains steady and the parliament remains under control, despite the fact that there is more change and progress on parliament but appointing and impeaching of prime minister and his council was still under the influence of monarchy rather than to be on elected council while the issues of corruption is also another challenge area in Jordan that is why the protesters keep said the government of Samir Rifa'i has failed in their Friday weekly rally that include traditionalist, youth, opposition party calling for more reforms. The Arab uprising has shaken the Kingdom of Jordan when the region have committed on their internal political restructuring and economic, and the Jordanian government political approach are close to international circumstances and the influence of opposition where becoming stronger, the Kingdom use political strategy by increasing economic factors and tackles the issues of political reforms, thus has weak the protest and their power. Unlike Libyan, Egypt when the government clashed with protesters and use security force to stop the demonstration which create more violence and slaughtering (Yitzhak, 2017).

The Jordanian kingdom use different tactics and manoeuvre to restrain and retard the opposition party and some other groups in 2011 demonstrations i. e. Arab uprising because the protest was varied in different participants and demands, and each groups centre on his particular problems of privatisation, Amman centric investment and development of the entire society some request the Parliament must be a body that literally legislate rather than plainly implementing the cabinet by the royal decrees while other want the government must be design and renew elected representatives of people which means the real Parliamentary system rather than appointing and suspending at any time they want, also to change the system of one man one vote and replaced it with mixed electoral system and some other issues. The kingdom has long practising of political incorporation and co-opting the opposition and enable some to vent the level of exasperation and actively attempting to separate other. While many mechanism from co-option to compulsion are now familiar to the opposition on force, which give them more spirit and politicised the youth to become more active in each public

demonstrations in Jordan (Ryan, 2011). Most of the youth are identified with the state or the traditional opposition force, however it's clear that the previous techniques are not enough to contain the opposition and the Kingdom always face new challenges from the opposition. A Jordanian journalist said "a veteran reform and democratic activist are very important to the generational change in expanding Jordanian reform movement, and the extensive use of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and blogging to organised demonstration and activist" (Ryan, 2011).

Despite the several challenges and demonstration all over the nation, the Kingdom remain strongly and use their neighbouring countries that experience similar protests that ended of destroyed their monarch and lead to huge massacre in some regions, but the Hashemite Kingdom handle their own protests by approaching the opposition in different ways such as dissolving the current prime minister and his cabinet, change technocratic business elite with some veteran political integer given more opportunities to woman by increasing 6 more seats to them in the Parliament, freedom of press without government intervention, the appointment of veteran political person and one of the most influential leader to Palestinian Jordanians people in the Kingdom, the creation of dialogue committee on reform which headed by Tahir al-masri. Also the new prime minister and the King himself meet with the leaders of opposition parties and discuss several issues, and the King shown his effort and commitment on reform and the possibilities of Islamist figures will be more in the cabinet. The King also tell the opposition leaders we have more internal and external tension but we are trying our best to solve your major request and he blame the previous government rather than his Kingdom for the failure to implement the reform. The King added that the greater reform have already been written and we create a dialogue committee that going to handle the issues of reforms, also most of the opposition demands have already written in the royal National Agenda Committee. Thus are the few manoeuvre that use by the Kingdom to co-opt the opposition parties (Ryan, 2011).

Also, are among the key issues made Hashemite Kingdom to remain on firm ground or throne, and preserve their substantial power in the region and the Kingdom will endure

to possess these advantages and privilege to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and his cabinet. But another report indicated that the survival of Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was already predicted because many Arab monarchies in Middle East have survived such as Morocco, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and UAE, both survived the spring. But the most indication in Jordan is the dividing of interest among the groups of protesters because each group has its own unique interest and it keeps changing, also lack of unity among the opposition provides uncertain unity in a single goal. But the extent of protest in Jordan has effected the collapse of the Muslim Brotherhood in some regions like Egypt. However, the reports have shown none of the 2011 uprising in Middle East region was led by any Islamist groups or had a predominant Islamist agenda, also in most cases the Islamist movement are seen as the main beneficiaries of the revolts, after some years their integral position between the emergent factions is evident. Moreover, the Jordanian observers on political affairs predict that the next challenges for Jordan will be the building of political landscape that going to include the new identities that will emerge between Jordanian society, and the low trust in Jordanian political institution at national level will lead to another phenomenon. So, the series of battle over reforms in Jordan was far from being decided (Barari, 2011).

The region has lost the patronage power with the retreat of government from economic challenges to sphere and the emergence of a privatized economic and the consequent weakening of the patron client relations and the public will not rest until they are feeling empowered also the monopoly power is not set in stone. Thus, are obstacle of the King because of his little choice he push for restructuring before is too late (Barari, 2011).

Nevertheless, the dimension revised in uprising because disparities the Palestinian Jordanian and Jordanian origin to existed the annexation on west bank for a long time, while 2011 social spring in the region have disguised the previous antagonism among the several communities. And what have startle all the Jordanian and Palestinian Jordanian is to unite their common understanding of their domestic political change in the Arab uprising while the outcome of 1970 civil war, and the Palestinian Jordanian have reach to agreement that the will perceived as the opposition of Hashemite

Kingdom did, and the will share common understanding that the Jordanian and Palestinian come from, while some roots, bonds will committed to the issues of Palestinian origin, all are among the partly stow on the tragedy of 1970 black September and in above chapter we have seen how the shift towards the success of the democratization have engage the Kingdom to made a several reforms when the introduce the national charter and pluralism in 1992 since than the Islamist Action Front policy has become the main opposition party in the region of Jordan. However, the long debate on electoral rules and the continuation of politics of identities between the Palestinian Jordanian and Jordanian Jordanian has boost the tension of Arab uprising. The debate has surrounded with so many controversial on electoral issues which can hardly be accepted as new phenomenon in the region the opposition group i.e. Islamist Action Front had led the other groups for called the amendment of 1993 electoral rules, at the beginning, and in 1994 peace agreement with Israel and the tension between the government and opposition group.

Since the onset of the Arab uprising, the group of national front for reform together with leaders of the Islamist action front and leftist parties as well as the trade unions group and other groups that comprising different parties in Jordan has reduced the tension in those areas that have been contention between the Jordanian native and Palestinian origin. Again, at that time the Hashemite Kingdom have took a step which is more significant and initiate a reforms program by introducing the National dialogue committee (NDC) the main agenda of this committee is to revise the longstanding controversial electoral laws. And the politics of identities between the native Jordan and Palestinian Jordanian will solve. Observing what is happening in East Bankers the perspective and limited impact on the domestic politics during the Arab uprising on Jordan and the historical ethnic divisions between the East Bank and West Bank that is between Jordanian-Jordanian and Palestinian Jordanian which have create greet different carriage towards the process of democratization, electoral reforms, but the is natural understanding between the native Jordanian and Muslim Brotherhood group and Islamist action front, but the startled is when amendment of electoral rules have approve the file that authorize the equal distribution of seats base on population size, that is the

time when the Palestinian Jordanian will dominated the entire parliament and Jordan political landscape and the Kingdom will lost their vested political power (Anderson, 1991).

Similarly, the economic, political and social division among the Jordanian and Palestinian identity formation in the Kingdom of Jordan is a constant process of reconstruction, for example the issues of climax in pan-Arabism during the period of 1950s to 1960s has totally effects on Jordanian identity and state formation as well, and the Kingdom adopted to introduce a border identity based on constitutional project on the nation and the unification has mobilized the patriarchal attachment to the monarchy while the pressing of easing at domestic pressure between East and West banks was not complete yet although the attempts on constructing the border of Jordanian identity has been already manifest in problematic demographic disparity and other regional unreliability.

Kramer's view that the basic hindrance and the lack of cogent or articulate on Jordanian national identity that derives from the impact of ethnicity and tribalism in their political and behaviours (Kramer). In short, the tribal relations together with social organisation has submerge the Jordanian society and helps the Hashemite monarchy to alleviate the severe impacts of Arab uprising. Also in his work Kuhnhardt, view that most evident in the Arab world are the real power that based on traditional legitimacy which is continues to play a stable role on transformation of societies and their political system and the traditional hereditary law seems to be able to repair the power with respect, and even acquired legitimacy together with less need we will exercise the violence against the public, however the regime secure its political legitimacy especially in the southern territory through a patronage system all this are patriarchal role of monarchy and the citizens adherence to the Kingdom of Jordan was underline the real consolidation of the regime in Hashemite (Kuhnhardt, 2012). What differentiate the cases of Jordan Arab uprising with other Arab region protesters is demanding for different issues and further political restructuring rather than deeper questioning on monarchy of long stay on throne, and the outbreak of the Arab spring have made Jordan to be embody in the

case of Arab world where the opposition group has occupied the societal areas and enquire that the political openness will not questioning the legitimacy of monarchy (Kuhnhardt, 2012).

## CONCLUSIONS:

### JORDAN AFTER ARAB SPRING: BETWEEN CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

The Kingdom of Jordan has neither engulfed by the 2011 Arab uprisings or Arab Spring nor totally immune from these events. Like other Arab countries in the region, as a result of economic crisis people in Jordan also demanded for restructuring and political reforms. While the republics have been shaken by the uprisings like, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya to a great extent the monarchies like the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Morocco as well as the Hashemite Kingdom, have survived and upgraded their political rules after the uprisings. In addition, a survey made has shown that; there is a specific and unique reason why the Hashemite Kingdom has survived in post-2011 uprisings which is closely related with neo-patriarchalism (Yitzhak, 2017). For instance, various opposition groups have engaged and took side during the protests – like liberals, Islamists and leftists – against the Kingdom and their demands have been changing over time depending on their interests and priorities with regard to the future of the Kingdom. Initially, the first protesters called for the removal of the prime minister, while another group demanded for more political and economic reform and the third group insisted on calling for Islamic state (caliphate). And later their demand varied over time and illustrated that the Kingdom deprived a *coherent opposition* that may threaten its longevity.

Jordan, thus, offers an exceptional case in the region where the uprisings did not result endangering the survival of the monarchy, due to the fact that the protesters did not ask the King to resign. People rather demanded to pursue the monarchical system and struggling with unemployment which reached to 19%. The split within the Jordanian opposition made the public rallies unable to unite and to be *coherent* in one goal as it was in other Arab countries like Tunisia (Dalacoura, 2012). The lack of a single interest or common goal among the various groups made the Hashemite regime to survive. Due

to the conflicting goals of Islamists like the Muslim Brotherhood who asked for more political representation; the native Jordanians has begun to shift their demand for more political opening which might decrease their political power in the internal politics and parliament.

Similarly, King Abdullah has been always intent and considerate to seat and negotiated with the opposition leaders unlike other Arab rulers, and he always attempted to reach an understanding with them in political issues and make possibility for them to demonstrate and to express their view and against any unacceptable government activities in Jordan (Yitzhak, 2017). The emergence of the East Bank activism – native Jordanians opposition has been also a new phenomenon in the country which replaced the main opposing group with a newly emerging East Bankers instead of Palestinian descant Jordanians.

In addition, after Arab uprisings, Jordanians realized that their political stability is more crucial and better than other countries in Arab region, in terms of freedom of expression and legislative powers of the parliament. The political stability has then been a vital matter for almost all Jordanians, which can rarely be found in the many other Arab countries. In this respect, Jordanians opted for stability rather than calling for more democratization.

Furthermore, Jordanian example after the 2011 uprisings have clearly illustrated that; Jordanians have to select between two options – they either could follow on and overthrow the Kingdom and establish a new legitimate democratic system or call for an Islamic state. In line with these options; they may choose either political stability or uncertainty as it was in the case of Syria and Iraq. Despite all the domestic and external pressures posed to Hashemite Kingdom; they managed to survive and maintain longevity of their monarchy – which surprised the Western actors. Some have predicted that the Kingdom is going to collapse immediately due to several challenges and collapse of some neighbouring region such as Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Tunisia. Jordan however have coped with the opposition with its own methods of regime survival

strategies and showed that they have different trajectories of state and nation-formation (Yitzhak, 2017; Dalacoura, 2012; Hinnebusch, 2010).

Still, post-Arab spring era in Jordan in 2011 is comprising of retired military, liberals, member of tribes, (traditional) young people, as well as Muslim Brotherhood. Each and every one of this groups participated in the demonstrations against the regime as I mention above. But each group acted on his own interest, like liberals demanded for political reform. While tribal peoples and their leaders are concern about economic reform and the Muslim Brotherhood are insisting on Islamic caliphate or state. The absence of common goal comprises the Jordanian policy of admitting the protest free from the panic violence suppression, at the beginning it looked the demonstrations would diversified and separated with serious crisis and collapse of Jordan kingdom like other Arab countries. But ended with numerous groups' interest. To Jordanian, due to what we have been seen today in some Arab nation is good for us to live in undemocratic regime than to be in democracy but massacre, carnage and crisis, with stable regime under monarchy we can able to fight and pursue democracy gradually (Yitzhak, 2017).

Like Tunisian uprising, On 9 January a Jordanian citizen name Ahmad Matarnah, set himself on fire close to the King Abdullah II office as he protests against incapable to assist his family financially. A Tunisian fruit seller Muhammad Abu Bouazizi pioneered the public protests in the region which is also known as 'Arab Spring'. The popular riots alarmed Jordanian people led a group of people to articulate their calls against the government in Kingdom of Jordan. In an interview with King Abdullah II, he said the uprising didn't start because of politics but it began because of economic issues, and our problems and challenges is not political reform but mainly economic! An analysis by the Centre for Strategic Studies located in Amman confirmed that the majority of the Jordanian people required the administration to act more assertively to improve and upgrade Jordan economy. Although in 1990s, King Hussein started a series of economic restructuring measures in reaction to tackle with the problems of unemployment in Jordan following the eviction or ejection of Jordanian from the Gulf

members; thus, reforms comprised privatization, decreased subsidies. The statistics showed that; the increase of poverty rate has raised up to 15% in 2003 is 1.6 % but in 2008 is 13.9 % also due to the high number of Syrian refugees in Jordan had placed a load on the Jordan economy and led them to the deletion of the subsidies in oil and gas which afforded Jordanians low-priced on transportation and houses heater fuel on the winter period. To increase the economic valued when the spring started almost 16 billion dollars was given to Jordan to reduced social inequalities and poverty contour in Jordan this financial assist come from US, Saudi Arabia and Gulf cooperation council as well as international bank and others in 2011. But according to *Quds al-Arabia* newspaper, Jordan still managed to raise over 5 billion dollars from the Gulf Cooperation Council, Kuwait also assigned some instalment of 250 million dollars in Amman city at 2012.

The Arabs economic support Jordan, because it was part of the solidarity state of monarchies in Arab region, all this to avoid the fall of the Kingdom of Jordan, because the collapse of Jordan kingdom is definitely going to shake other monarchies. It has been apparent that; Jordan had experience many challenges such as political, economic and social problems which had been increasing misery against the kingdom of Hashemite. Similarly, as we examine the Jordan uprising is different with other Arab countries because Jordanian didn't call for overthrowing the Hashemite regime, but rather to change the government of Samir Al-Rafi'i. The slogan of Jordanian protester was "*islah al-Nezam*", which means reforming the regime. After the downfall of Houssine Mubarak regime in Egypt on February 9; 2011 rise the tension in Jordan, the King Abdullah most sacked the Rafi'i regime and King did so and replace him with Marouf al-Bakhit. King Abdullah did that in order to reassure the street with the proposals restructuring, but after al- Bakhit assumed in office the King promise Jordanian that the new government will take tangible steps to establish real political restructuring that going to enhance Jordan democratic bridge and ensure safe and good living for all Jordanian. Again, on 18 February 2011 another vigorous protest begins and clash with the security the protester continues demanding for real restructuring of constitution and complete change in Jordan policy, they insisted on constitutional

amendment that can allow parliament to appoint the governing council especially Prime Minister to them, that is the power have been given in 1952 decree. King Abdullah refused this, because of so many reasons especially the political status and his prestige, but what protesters demand is legitimate in the law. The King take the decision because upgrading the character of Jordan it seem is better, he also terminated the 1957 constitution after he approved it over five years. However, in reaction to overthrow the Prime Minister Suleiman Nabulsi and his chief of staff Ali Abu Nuwar, he said King Abdullah II reject the opposition demand in order to retain the parliament as a real consultative body.

In March 2011, King Abdullah II introduced a national dialogue members which consist 52 members that going to represent political and social groups, for the draft of new constitution and electoral activities. All this to show that he wanted to fulfil the promise he made. Even the western observers praised the King Abdullah II for managing the strikes and demonstrations, in which there was no too much casualties only one parson loss his life and eight peoples were injured (Yitzhak, 2017).

While, the strong opposition group Muslim Brotherhood shunned taking side in the recent demonstrations in 2011 at Amman city, even do they did rally in different part of the region. But Muslim Brotherhood remain anti-government demonstrations in Jordan the aim of Muslim Brotherhood is to have an Islamic caliphate (state) not overthrowing the Hashemite Kingdom. But this time the demanding for changing the government of Samir Al-Rafi'i. Comparably the secularists in Jordan accepted and agree with the Jordanian legitimacy of Hashemite Kingdom and there have never challenges it. But they are directly against the administration of Prime Minister Al-Rafa'i not King Abdullah II which means their aim is not overthrowing the Hashemite regime to establish Islamic State, but rather to revolutionize Samir Al-Rifa'i government. Due to this the Hashemite Kingdom remain substantial in power as well as continue being superior that can appoint and dismiss the Prime Minister and his council at any time their want (Yitzhak, 2017)

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## Biography

**Nasir Abubakar** was born on 17/07/1987 in sokoto state at Arkilla federal locos under wamakko local government, I started my Islamic schools at the age of 2 years in Haliru Gwandu Islamiyah in minanata Area sokoto, however in 1992 at the age of 5 years, and I enrolled proper in Dallatu model primary schools Tudun wada Area sokoto.

In 1993 after we are demarcated from Sokoto state as a new state, I also transferred back to my new state that is kebbi state where I continued with my study at Gwadangaji model primary school which is now Umar Ahmed model primary school. In 1996 also I proceeded to Government Day Secondary schools B/K where I obtained my Secondary school certificate in 2002. I had an opportunity in that year to joined Waziri Umaru Polytechnic where I attained my first Diploma in Business Administration and management studies and become the youngest diploma holder at the age of 17 years. After I completed my diploma in 2004 I joined Yahaya investments video coverage and photo graphic where I did two years training. In 2006 after I got small scale business experience at yahaya investments I went back to Waziri Umaru Polytechnic which is now Waziri Umaru Federal Polytechnic Birnin kebbi, where proceeded with High National Diploma but after I finished my first year I move to Bayero University kano and I changed Area of studies where I obtained my second Diploma in Public administrations. In 2009 I obtained certificated in computer studies diploma in computer studies at Center for information technology Bayero University Kano Nigeria.

In 2010 I was short listed and confirmed among the successful candidates at Bayero University Kano faculty of social and management science Department of Political science to read B.sc Political science. In 2014 after I completed my B.Sc. I went to Oyo state where I did my One Year National youth service (NYSC) as mandated in the 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria. I joined Near East University in 2016 where I

continued my Master's Degree in International Relations and I graduated with First Class honour.

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