

Political Participation of New Jordanian Parties in the Twentieth House of Representatives for the Year 2024 and Their Role in Modernizing the Political System

المشاركة السياسية للأحزاب الأردنية الجديدة في مجلس النواب العشرين لعام 2024 ودورها في تحديث النظام السياسي

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الملخص

هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى إبراز أهمية المشاركة السياسية للأحزاب الأردنية الجديدة لعام 2024. تناولت الدراسة أهمية منظومة التحديث السياسي ودورها في إنشاء أحزاب سياسية فعالة تسهم في تعزيز الديمقراطية التشاركية، وتفعيل دور الأحزاب ومجلس النواب، وتمكين المرأة والشباب في العملية السياسية، وصولاً إلى المشاركة في الحكومات المنتخبة. علاوة على ذلك، اختتمت الدراسة بمجموعة من النتائج والتوصيات، حيث أكدت مدى مساهمة الأحزاب في تعزيز المشاركة السياسية من خلال تنظيم الانتخابات والحملات الانتخابية وتوجيه الناخبين للمشاركة في العملية الديمقراطية.

وأوصت الدراسة بأن تعيد الأحزاب السياسية الجديدة تقييم تجربتها، وتوضيح الأسباب التي أدت إلى إخفاقها، وكذلك تفسير انخفاض نسبة التصويت لها، مما يضمن استجابة الأحزاب لمطالب الناخبين وتطوير استراتيجياتها وفقاً لذلك.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإصلاح السياسي، المشاركة السياسية، اللجنة الملكية، تحديث المنظومة السياسية، الحزب السياسي، التمثيل السياسي.

Abstract

This study examined the political participation of new Jordanian parties in the Twentieth House of Representatives for 2024. It highlighted the role of the political modernization system in fostering effective parties that strengthen democracy, activate the House of Representatives, and empower women and youth in the political process, paving the way toward elected governments.

Methodologically, the study combined the legal method, systems analysis (Easton, 1965), the descriptive-analytical method, and basic statistical tools to evaluate voter turnout, party performance, and electoral results. This multi-method design ensured both doctrinal depth and empirical rigor. The findings confirmed that parties contributed to enhancing political participation through organizing campaigns, guiding voters, and presenting developmental, economic, and social programs aligned with national needs. Unlike earlier studies focused on established parties or previous electoral cycles, this research provides an original contribution by analyzing the first electoral experience of new parties formed under 2022 Political Parties Law and the Election Law. It captures the transitional dynamics of party politics in Jordan and their implications for modernization. The study recommended that new parties re-

evaluate their strategies, identify causes of weak performance and low turnout, and design realistic, program-based platforms to gain voter trust and strengthen their democratic role.

Keywords: Political reform, political participation, Royal Committee, modernizing the political system, political party, political representation.

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1.Introduction

Political parties play an important role in raising awareness and development in societies. They work to guide public opinion and encourage citizens to participate in political and civil life. In this context, parties contribute to educating voters about political, economic, social and cultural issues. They enhance political participation by organizing elections and election campaigns and urging voters to participate in the democratic process. Therefore, they seek to develop developmental, economic and social policies and programs that reflect the needs of society. Significantly, they play an important role in promoting dialogue and understanding between various political forces and civil society.

Jordan witnessed the 20th House of Representatives elections in 2024, with the aim of enhancing political participation in political decision-making. This type of participation is believed to build a bright future for Jordanians through a political modernization system. The study revealed the importance of the participation of new Jordanian political parties in these elections, considering their participation a fundamental pillar for forming a strong parliament that represents the will and aspirations of Jordanians.

The participation of the new Jordanian parties in the parliamentary elections constituted a new step towards implementing political reform within the framework of the political modernization project and the new electoral laws. The said project and laws emphasized strengthening participatory democracy, activating the role of parties and the House of Representatives, and empowering women and youth in the political process.

The (2024) elections allocated 41 seats to party lists, which will provide a real opportunity to test democracy, express the truth of the modernization project in its three tracks. It will also build a new parliamentary stage in which parties are institutions that enhance democratic practice. The next stage will be the formation of a democratic government based on the popular will through a House of Representatives in which the parties constitute a majority. The 2024 elections are a new experiment to prove the ability of parties to form a coalition government from the House of Representatives in the coming years, and to move from individual work to collective party work. This experiment aims to have a strong parliament capable of legislation and oversight and meets the aspirations of Jordanians.

This study differs from earlier research by focusing specifically on the first electoral experience of newly established Jordanian parties under the 2022 Political Parties Law and Election Law.

While previous studies, such as Karaki (2024), examined broader electoral outcomes, the present research provides an original contribution by analyzing the transitional dynamics of party participation in the 2024 elections and their implications for political modernization.

1.1. Research problem

The problem of this research lies in examining the limited and transitional political participation of newly established Jordanian parties in the 2024 parliamentary elections, despite the issuance of the Political Parties Law (2022) and the Election Law (2022). Although parties were legally empowered to play a greater role, their actual participation remained modest due to weak grassroots support, tribal voting patterns, and organizational fragility. This raises a central problem: to what extent did the new parties succeed in translating the modernization project into real political influence under the 20th House of Representatives?

1.2. Research Significance

The importance of this research is evident through the importance of its topic, as it deals with the political participation of new Jordanian parties in the twentieth House of Representatives for the year 2024, through a set of data represented by theoretical and applied significance.

1.2.1. Theoretical significance: This research contributes to providing a modern scientific study that may benefit researchers and specialists in understanding the political participation of the new Jordanian parties in the 20th House of Representatives for the year 2024. It has become one of the most important topics at the present time, due to political openness, increased political awareness, and political participation in decision-making.

1.2.2. Practical Significance: This research highlights the importance of the political participation of the new Jordanian parties in the 20th House of Representatives for the year 2024, within the framework of the political modernization system and the issuance of the new parties' laws for the year 2022 and the election law. In this regard, political parties are among the most prominent civil society institutions that contribute to activating political life in Jordan. Practically, the results and recommendations of this study are directed to legislators in the Jordanian Parliament, members of the House of Representatives, the Senate, and decision-makers in the executive authority, as they are the actors most capable of translating the outcomes of political participation into effective reforms. This is done through political participation in parliamentary elections, which are an indicator of democratic practice and the consolidation of concepts of freedom.

1.3. Research objectives

This study aimed to clarify the political participation of the new Jordanian parties in the 20th House of Representatives for the year 2024. To ensure coherence, the objectives were formulated in direct relation to the research problem and questions. The following sub-objectives emerge:

1. Clarifying the concept of political parties and their functions.
2. Clarifying the royal vision towards modernizing the political system.
3. Analyzing the role of new Jordanian parties in the 2024 parliamentary elections and how their participation contributes to the process of political reform, with special reference to the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, the Election Law No. (4) of 2022, and the royal initiatives for political modernization.

4. Establishing a theoretical framework that links political participation with broader concepts of political reform, modernization, and institutional development in Jordan, in order to demonstrate the relationship between party participation, electoral law, and the modernization project.

1.4. Research Questions

The main question of this research is: What is the political participation of the new Jordanian parties in the 20th House of Representatives for the year 2024, and how does this participation contribute to political reform and the modernization of the political system?

The following sub-questions are raised:

1. What is the concept of political parties, and what are their functions?
2. What is the royal vision towards modernizing the political system?
3. What role did the new Jordanian parties play in the 2024 elections in light of the Political Parties Law (2022), the Election Law (2022), and the royal reform initiatives?

2. Research Methodology

This research adopted the legal method, which is one of the most important, oldest and most widely used scientific research methods, especially in studying legal phenomena, based on the constitutional and legal conditions in the state. This is evident by reviewing the most important laws and regulations that states must take into account for political rights and the extent of their compliance with Jordanian systems, laws and legislation. In this research, the legal method is used to study the political participation of new Jordanian parties in the 20th House of Representatives for the year 2024 and the extent to which state agencies apply the basic concepts and laws related to political rights within the framework of the political modernization system.

In addition, the study relied on the systems analysis approach developed by David Easton (1965), which views the political process as an input–output model, allowing for an understanding of how party participation interacts with demands, support, and decisions within the broader political system. The descriptive–analytical method was also employed to interpret political phenomena, highlight causes and effects, and provide qualitative insights into the performance of new Jordanian parties (Burnham et al., 2008). Furthermore, the study used a basic statistical method to analyze numerical data, percentages, and tables related to voter turnout, party performance, and electoral results, in line with established practices in political science research (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). This combination of legal, systems, descriptive–analytical, and statistical approaches provides a comprehensive methodological framework that strengthens both the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the research.

3. Research Terminology

3.1. Political reform: For the purposes of this study, political reform refers to measurable legal and institutional changes; such as constitutional amendments, the Political Parties Law (2022), and the Election Law (2022), that aim to enhance citizen participation and strengthen democratic institutions. This aligns with Al-Anani's (2021) view of reform as a corrective process that restores balance in political life.

3.2. Political participation: In this study, political participation means the observable involvement of citizens and parties in the 2024 parliamentary elections, including voting, candidacy, and campaigning. This reflects Ali's (2022) definition of participation as activities that influence political decision-making and empower citizens.

3.3. Political party: For this research, a political party is defined as a legally recognized organization operating under the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022, with the explicit purpose of contesting elections, proposing programs, and seeking representation in the House of Representatives (Political Parties Law, 2022).

3.4. House of Representatives: In the context of this study, the House of Representatives refers specifically to the 20th Jordanian Parliament elected in 2024, which serves as the legislative authority empowered to enact laws, oversee the executive, and represent citizens' will (Al-Malkawi, 2021).

4. Political parties: Concept and functions

Political parties seek to achieve mass communication. In this context, the primary role played by political parties is to seek the support of individuals for their political, economic and social programs that they promise to implement if they come to power through elections. In order to achieve this, parties remain committed to the work of the administration to ensure its respect for the constitution and the rule of law (Al-Khalaydeh, 2018: 3).

Political parties may be a union between a group of individuals for the purpose of working together to achieve the national interest according to specific and agreed-upon principles. There are those who believe that political parties are a group of intellectuals with similar orientations. They work according to organized rules and through acceptable programs, competing with others to reach power under democratic political systems. A political party is a united group of individuals who work by various democratic means to win power, and to implement a specific political program. There are those who define a political party as "a group of people who have their own system, goals and principles that they rally around, adhere to and defend, and aim to achieve their principles and goals by reaching power or participating in it (Al-Dajjah, 2004: 44).

Article (3) of the Political Parties Law of 2022 clarified the concept and goal of forming parties. It stipulated that the party is a national political organization, consisting of Jordanians who are united by the values of citizenship, common goals, programs, visions and ideas. It aims to participate in political life and public work in sound and democratic ways and for legitimate purposes, by participating in elections of all kinds, including parliamentary elections, and forming governments or participating in them in accordance with Article (35) of the Jordanian Constitution, which stipulates that the King appoints the Prime Minister and ministers, dismisses them and accepts their resignations (Article (3) of the Political Parties Law of 2022).

Through the definition, the most important elements that make up the party can be shown as follows (Daish, 2018: 3):

1. Political Vision: This vision means the existence of a common ideology that is usually translated into the political party program presented to citizens to choose it through elections.
2. Political organization: It means the existence of an organization that enjoys generality and continuity, provided that the organization extends to the local level with organized internal communications and between local and national units.

3. Attraction: It indicates the political party's interest in popular support and attracting supporters, especially during election campaigns, voting, and important demonstrations.

4. Access to power: This indicates the relentless pursuit of accessing power or participating in it by establishing alliances in an attempt to influence the decisions and priorities of the ruling authority through the party's presence in the opposition ranks. In this context, political parties are based on a set of functions that contribute to strengthening democratic values and activating political participation and political pluralism in addition to their contribution to working on the circulation of power and producing the political elite.

The most prominent functions of political parties are the following (Musalha, 2006: 43):

1. Aggregate interests: This means transforming people's demands into alternatives to public policy in the form of a political proposal. Proposals become meaningful when they gain the support of strong political sources. The party then negotiates these demands to settle them and propose a specific alternative policy.

2. Political participation: The role of political parties in achieving political participation comes through raising awareness of the participation processes and the methods that must be followed to convey the ideas and demands of individuals and defining the obligations and duties imposed by the participation process.

3. Political recruitment: This is the process of assigning political roles to new individuals. Moreover, it means selecting elements that have certain characteristics and qualifications to perform specific roles, then training and refining them to develop their abilities to perform these roles, according to which citizens are chosen to engage in politics in general (Nasraween, 2017: 21).

4. Mobilizing public opinion: This is done by party organizations at the central and local levels undertaking the task of gaining the support of the masses, through party education and political propaganda for the party's ideas, principles, ideology and goals.

5. Qualifying leadership cadres: Political parties seek to train and qualify their party cadres in order to prepare them and then present them as candidates in elections and competitors to candidates of other parties.

6. Monitoring the performance of state institutions: Political parties may act as oversight bodies over the state's legislative and executive institutions, whether in the government or in the opposition, and revealing the shortcomings in the government to public opinion (Al-Naimat, 2016: 37).

7. Political socialization: This term refers to the process of learning political values, trends, values and social patterns with political significance. It is an ongoing process that a person is exposed to throughout the different stages of his life (Ammon News Agency, 2016).

8. Crystallizing the demands of the masses to the authorities: Since political parties are the link between the masses and those in power, they convey the needs and demands of the masses to decision-makers in order to meet them.

9. Parties as a tool for legitimization: The participation of parties in the political process grants the political system legitimacy, while the parties' boycott of elections, for example, may cast doubt on or reduce the legitimacy of the system, whether domestically or abroad. (Yasser, 2015: 35).

10. The awareness-raising role: Political parties, like educational institutions, “schools of the people,” as some have called them, educate and guide the people and provide them with the necessary information in a simple and clear manner.

In the Jordanian context, these general functions acquire particular significance in evaluating the 2024 elections, as the extent to which new parties succeeded, or failed, in performing roles such as interest aggregation, political recruitment, or policy monitoring directly shaped their contribution to parliamentary modernization.

5. The Royal Vision towards Modernizing the Political System

King Abdullah I called for the formation of political parties, their development, strengthening their tasks, and participation in them. In this respect, His Majesty King Abdullah II had a vision for forming parties, as He believes that parties should be national, formed by the sons of the nation and civil society institutions by launching a true national party movement. The royal vision also emphasized that political parties should be partners in national decision-making, considering this a vital and necessary matter for the modern state. This is done through applicable national programs capable of expressing the interests, priorities, and concerns of Jordanian society within national programs. This means that weak parties are unable to gain the trust of citizens and motivate them to engage in public life (Al-Abbadi, 2022: 4).

The royal message addressed by King Abdullah II to His Excellency Mr. Samir Al-Rifai on June 10, 2021 included the formation of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the Political System, whose final report (Royal Committee for Modernizing the Political System, 2021) laid the foundations for the new party and election laws. This is done by building a legislative framework that establishes an effective party life capable of convincing voters of its proposals. The aim of this is to reach a parliament based on programmatic blocs and trends, so that these political parties have national programs concerned with the Jordanian state in its future, development, construction and prosperity, and dealing with all its issues and problems. They also care about the Jordanian citizen and achieving everything that achieves a decent life for him, and that the programs are diverse in all economic, service, developmental, health, educational, public finance, management of public facilities, environment and media fields, improving the standard of living for citizens and addressing poverty and unemployment (Al-Sunaid, 2023: 1). The royal vision also emphasized that political parties should be established through popular bases and not through people who share immediate interests. They should have the ability to bring about the desired change and participate in building a new type of representative programmatic parties based on broad popular bases, so that political parties are inspired by the spirit of the constitution and adhere to the laws in force. Furthermore, political parties are committed to fair and honorable competition in order to reach the best ideas and solutions and understandings that adopt compromise solutions and achieve the interests of all Jordanians (Daasa, 2022: 2). The new Jordanian Political Parties Law of 2022 and the Election Law No. (4) of 2022 (Official Gazette of Jordan, 2022) are urgent necessities of the royal vision for Jordanian society to be included under the umbrella of political parties. Therefore, the issuance of the Political Parties Law of 2022 was an embodiment of the culture of the Jordanian citizen, who should be part of a party entity. This is because parties are a political and cultural entity that contributes to providing Jordanians with party knowledge so that the optimal choice of a party candidate is more aware and knowledgeable of his rights and duties (Nasraween, 2023: 3).

The draft law requires parties established before the law came into effect to reconcile their status within one year from the date of its entry into force. Besides, the founding members of

the party should not be, at its founding conference, less than a thousand people, representing at least 6 governorates, at least 30 people from each governorate. The percentage of youth and women should not be less than 20%, and that among the founders is at least one of the persons with disabilities, and that the face attendance is not less than the majority of the founding members (Kingdom Channel, 2023).

The new parties law, in Article 4, Paragraph (A), guarantees that Jordanians have the right to establish and affiliate parties in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and this law (Al -Malkawi, 2021: 1).

The importance of the new parties in political awareness is highlighted, given that engaging in political parties contributes to developing the knowledge aspects of individuals. Through partisan action, the concept of political participation, political empowerment and the practice of democratic behaviors can be realized in line with the Jordanian constitution. In this respect, the legal umbrella implies that the nation is the source of powers and that the system of government in Jordan is a royal representative (Al-Sunaid, 2023: 1).

The facilities for building party life in the new Parties Law of 2022 are a new stage. Therefore, there is no longer an excuse to fear the security authorities, but rather anyone who requests a citizen because of his party affiliation is held accountable. Therefore, political parties are bound by the provisions of the Constitution, which states in Chapter One "The State and its System of Government", that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, according to Article 1 of the Constitution, is an independent, sovereign Arab state, whose kingship is indivisible and cannot be relinquished. The Jordanian people are part of the Arab nation and its system of government is a hereditary parliamentary monarchy. Furthermore, Chapter Two states the rights and duties of Jordanians, Chapter Three states the general provisions of the authorities, Chapter Four states the executive authority, Chapter Five states the Constitutional Court, Chapter Six states the legislative authority, Chapter Seven states the judicial authority, Chapter Eight states financial affairs, and Chapter Nine includes general articles (Al-Ayasrah, 2022: 22). Article (15/A) of the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 stipulates that the party shall abide by the provisions of the Constitution and respect the rule of law in carrying out its activities. It is not limited to laws, but extends to include all sources of the legal basis, including the systems in force in Jordan (Al-Fadhilat, 2022: 6).

The King also stressed the need to develop and motivate political parties with programs so that these programs are clear, comprehensive and convincing, on the basis of which parties can gain the trust of citizens and motivate them to do the following (Nasraween, 2021: 2):

1. Engage in public life and join political parties.
2. Overcome the state of skepticism, hesitation and the view that parties are unable to achieve what is required of them.
3. Motivate voters to vote on party and programmatic bases.

The Royal Committee for Modernizing the Political System (2021) has contributed to taking into account the directives of King Abdullah II with all interest, whether in the Parties Law or in the Election Law for the House of Representatives, and explained this as follows (Al-Abbadi, 2022: 3):

1. Youth participation in parties and elections: Article (70) of the Constitution was amended by reducing the age of a member of the House of Representatives from thirty years to twenty-five years. This amendment enhances youth participation in political life and increases their

chances of reaching the House of Representatives. Article (11/A/1) of the Political Parties Law No. (7) of 2022 stipulates the following: (The percentage of young people between the ages of (18) and (35) years shall not be less than (20%) of the number of founders.

2. The presence of a young man or woman under the age of (35) years among the first five candidates is a must. This text constitutes a great opportunity for a number of young people who are not more than (35) years old to reach the House of Representatives by requiring the presence of a young man or woman among the first five candidates. The opportunity to win in the closed proportional lists is for the names advanced on the list.

3. The presence of at least one woman among the first three candidates, as well as among the next three candidates is necessary. These texts constitute a great opportunity for women to succeed in the parliamentary elections, as women's seats on the quota were increased from (15) seats according to the previous House of Representatives Election Law No. (6) of 2016 to (18) seats according to the current law. It was also required that there be at least one woman among the first three candidates as well as among the next three candidates in the closed proportional lists. Therefore, women's chances of winning parliamentary elections on these lists are great (Zayatneh, 2023: 2).

6. Political Participation of New Jordanian Parties in 2024

The 20th Jordanian parliamentary elections in 2024 represented an important test of the effectiveness of political parties and their role in political life, as these elections witnessed broad participation from various political and social spectrums. These elections reflected a new stage in the democratic transformation process in Jordan, especially after the activation of the political modernization system. They contributed to strengthening the role of political parties in parliament and giving them a greater role in forming governments and monitoring the executive authority (Al-Da'jah, 2024: 2).

The 2024 parliamentary elections witnessed great competition between political parties seeking to obtain the largest possible number of seats in parliament. The electoral process contributed to consolidating the concept of representative democracy, as parties now possess effective tools to influence the political decision-making process. This competition between parties reinforced the idea that parties are now able to provide political alternatives and development programs that meet the needs of citizens. According to the new party law of 2022, parties played a greater role in the 2024 parliamentary elections. In this regard, party blocs sought to present realistic electoral programs that reflect the aspirations of the Jordanian people (Abu Rumman, 2024: 3).

Despite the political participation of the new Jordanian parties, they faced challenges represented by the weakness of the popular base of the parties and the individualistic culture prevailing in the Jordanian society. Undoubtedly, Jordan was affected in various aspects by the conflicts, wars and regional crises surrounding it, and the weakness of political parties. Many voters tend to choose candidates based on tribal or personal affiliations rather than party affiliation. Parties also faced a challenge in convincing voters of their ability to bring about real change and that their electoral programs are not just slogans (Rantawi, 2024: 3).

Furthermore, there are challenges related to weak party funding, as some parties lack the financial resources necessary to organize their election campaigns effectively, making them less able to compete with other political forces enjoy better funding. Despite the state's attempts to provide financial support to political parties, these attempts did not completely solve the funding problem (Al-Ghabon, 2020: 1).

Moreover, the electoral system adopted in Jordan, which relies on individual voting in many electoral districts, has encouraged voters to vote for party lists in their entirety. It has also contributed to pushing them to vote on a personal or tribal basis. This has reduced the chances of parties obtaining large seats in parliament. Therefore, there are ongoing calls to adopt this system so that it enhances the role of parties and contributes to strengthening party democracy (Yahya, 2024: 3).

The parliamentary elections witnessed, through their electoral campaigns, a variety of communication methods to present their programs to the public. Social media was the most prominent means of communication with the public. In addition to this, political debates between party candidates contribute to raising the level of political awareness among voters and providing a clearer picture of the policies that parties seek to implement and disseminating slogans and programs in public facilities (Hasan, 2024: 4).

The 2024 elections constituted a real test of the ability of political parties to present realistic visions and development programs that meet the aspirations of citizens. It represents an opportunity for them to prove their ability to influence the Jordanian political scene and contribute to achieving the required political reforms. Therefore, the success of the parties will enhance their position in society and increase voters' confidence in them, contribute to consolidating the concept of party democracy in Jordan and constitute a turning point in the history of political life in the Kingdom (Al-Malkawi, 2024: 3).

The participation rate in the last elections of 2024 was only 32.25%, as voting behavior in Jordan was mostly tribal. Moreover, 697 candidates (males and females) ran for the general list, within party lists and party alliances, with 505 males and 192 females. The number of candidates in local districts was 937 (males and females), including 747 male candidates and 190 females (Rana, 2024: 2).

Table 1. 2024 parliamentary elections (the majority of votes from tribal districts)

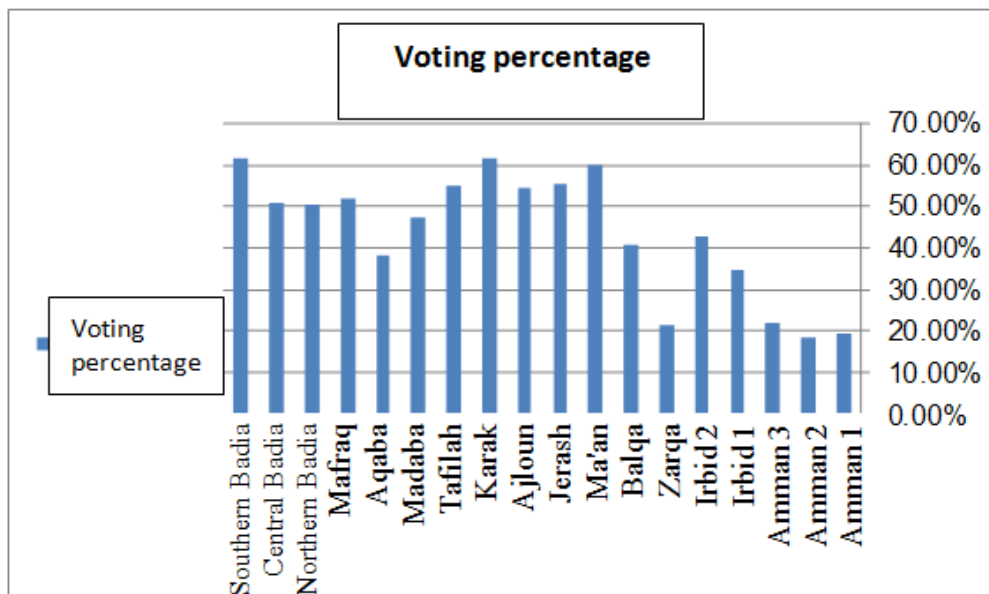
Region	Number of voters	Vote percentage
Amman 1	120513	%19.51
Amman 2	155953	%18.29
Amman 3	105412	%21.78
Irbid 1	197013	%34.57
Irbid 2	138918	%42.83
Zarqa	157448	%21.64
Balqa	143837	%40.75
Ma'an	34575	%60.22
Jerash	71386	%55.24
Ajloun	61948	%54.2
Karak	116829	%61.73

Tafilah	33943	%54.75
Madaba	59964	%47.45
Aqaba	30744	%38.07
Mafrq	57800	%52.1
Northern Badia	60313	%50.6
Central Badia	38803	%50.84
Southern Badia	52897	%61.54

Source: Al-Malkawi (2024).

It can be said that the majority of votes in the 2024 parliamentary elections came from tribal constituencies. Contrastingly, the urban cities of Amman and Zarqa witnessed the lowest voter turnout in both elections. In this regard, the voter turnout in the capital Amman and Zarqa did not exceed 21.2%. Significantly, the highest voter turnout in both elections came from the three Bedouin constituencies in Jordan, in addition to the cities of Karak and Ma'an, which have a tribal majority, as shown in Figure (1) below.

Figure1. Voter turnout in electoral constituencies in Jordan



Source: Designed by the researcher

The reason for the decline in voting and the low turnout is due to the decline in trust in the previous parliaments in addition to the regional circumstances that put pressure on Jordan due to the Israeli war on Gaza and Lebanon. Hence, political participation was limited and low, as the percentage of voters did not exceed 32%, which is not much higher than the 2020 elections, in which the participation rate was 29.9% at the time (Al-Arsan, 2024: 3).

Table 2. Number of seats from local districts (out of 97) and number of seats from the national list (out of 41)

Party	Number of seats from the national list (out of 41)	Number of seats from local districts (out of 97)
Islamic Action Front	17	14
Charter Party	4	17
Irada party	3	16
National Islamic Party	3	4
National Union Party	2	3
Blessed Land Party	2	0
Labor Party	2	0
Namaa Party	1	0
Civil Democratic Party	0	1
Labor Party	0	1
Youth Party	0	1

Source: Al-Arsan (2024).

The results of the 2024 elections, in which 38 parties participated and the number of its members was 88 thousand individuals, witnessed the Islamic Action Front Party winning 22.5% of the seats in parliament, with 31 seats out of 138, including 17 seats from the national list (the list allocated to parties) and 14 seats from the local list (allocated to candidates not affiliated with parties). In contrast, the other parties did not achieve significant results at the level of party lists. In this regard, the Irada and Mithaq parties, close to the authorities, won 40 seats combined, most of them on local lists. This aligns with findings by Agrali (2025), who noted the rise of loyalist parties under the new Political Parties Law. The total number of voters for the Front Party was 44.8% of the total number of voters. This is better than the results of the previous elections, when the Front Party won 10 seats in 2020, and in 2016 it won 15 seats out of 130 seats (Al-Naimat, 2024: 3).

The secret of the Muslim Brotherhood's win can be explained through three main hypotheses; the first, "the effects of the Israeli war on Gaza", as the state of sympathy with Gaza affected the electoral scene of the Muslim Brotherhood. The second hypothesis is the existence of a crisis of trust between governments and citizens due to rising prices and declining purchasing power. The third hypothesis is that programmatic parties do not work in a manner consistent with what is planned due to their short lifespan and lack real programs that can be implemented on the ground (Abu Rumman, 2024: 3). Returning to the Political Parties Law of 2022, which emphasizes the presence of a young man or woman under the age of (35) years among the first five candidates, the presence of at least one woman among the first three candidates, as well as among the next three candidates, 27 distinguished women succeeded in the 2024 elections, with a representation rate of 19.6%, with a rate of 11.5%, to increase by a difference of 13.8% due to the vacancy of 3 seats. Of the 27 winning women, 3 were former members of the 19th

Council, 9 were from party lists, and 18 women won the seats allocated to women, half of whom belong to parties. According to statistics published by the Independent Election Commission on voting rates, the female voting rate in these elections was 47.8% of the total number of voters, recording an increase from the rate in the 2020 elections, which recorded 46% (HalaAkhbar website, 2024).

At the level of the average age of the candidates for the 2024 parliamentary elections, the table below showed that the number of voters in the age group (46-55) was 485, representing 29%. The lowest percentage was the age group (over 66), which represented 10% of the general average for the candidate categories (Al-Malkawi, 2024: 3). Table 3 below shows the average age of the candidates for the 2024 parliamentary elections (Al-Malkawi, 2024: 2).

Table 3. Average age of the candidates for the 2024 parliamentary elections

Age Group (years)	Number of candidates	Percentage
60 or more	/	10%
56-65	449	27%
46-55	485	29%
36-45	324	20%
25-35	233	14%

Source: Al-Malkawi (2024).

The researcher believes that the 2024 Council elections, as the first parliament in the second century of the Jordanian state, embodied the royal vision to modernize the political system and the amendments it produced to the election laws for the House of Representatives and political parties. It constituted a success in setting a roadmap to stimulate political participation to achieve political development, enhance the values of democracy represented in political participation through parliamentary elections, and enrich the legislative and oversight role of the 20th House of Representatives by diversity in women and youth membership, thus contributing to achieving the desired national development.

Unlike previous descriptive accounts such as Karaki (2024), this study adopts a forward-looking analytical perspective, evaluating the sustainability of new parties' performance within the modernization project and projecting their potential to contribute to coalition-building in future parliaments.

6.1. Modernization Indicators and Party Performance

To assess the contribution of new Jordanian parties to the modernization of the political system, this study draws on internationally recognized indicators of political modernization such as broad-based political participation, women and youth representation, institutionalized party competition, programmatic accountability, and coalition-building capacity. When applied to the 2024 parliamentary elections, these indicators reveal mixed results. On the one hand, parties succeeded in increasing women's representation to 19.6% and integrating youth into candidate lists in line with the Political Parties Law of 2022, this supports the argument of Al-Zubi and Alrfoua (2025), who emphasized the role of the new election and party laws in advancing women's and youth political representation within the SDG framework. thereby partially

fulfilling modernization criteria. On the other hand, challenges persisted in areas such as weak programmatic platforms, limited financial capacity, and reliance on tribal affiliations, which reduced the effectiveness of parties as vehicles of democratic transformation.

Furthermore, when comparing actual party practices to the core functions of political parties; interest aggregation, political recruitment, mobilizing public opinion, training leadership cadres, and monitoring government performance, the evidence shows that the newest parties fell short of exercising these roles effectively under the dome of parliament. Their limited ability to influence legislation, shape public policy, or provide viable alternatives constrained their impact on modernization, leaving the Islamic Action Front as an exception due to its stronger organizational capacity and social base.

7. Conclusion, Results and Recommendations

7.1. Conclusion

This study addressed the political participation of the new Jordanian parties in the twentieth House of Representatives for the year 2024. It demonstrated the importance of political parties in promoting the values of democracy, awareness and development in societies, directing public opinion and encouraging citizens to participate in political and civil life. It also showed the extent to which political parties contribute to educating voters on political, economic, social and cultural issues. In addition, political participation is enhanced by organizing elections and election campaigns and guiding voters to participate in the democratic process, in addition to what political parties provide by developing developmental, economic and social policies and programs that reflect the needs of society and contribute to achieving sustainable development. Besides, political parties play a significant role in promoting dialogue and understanding between various political forces and civil society.

The study also showed that the twentieth House of Representatives elections contributed effectively to strengthening the values of true democracy. It revealed the importance of the participation of new Jordanian political parties in these elections as a fundamental pillar for the emergence of a strong House of Representatives that represents the will and aspirations of Jordanians in the second century of the Jordanian state.

The study also proved that the participation of new party forces in the parliamentary elections constituted a new step towards implementing political reform within the framework of the political modernization project and the new electoral laws. It contributed to strengthening participatory democracy, activating the role of parties and the House of Representatives, enhancing decentralization, and empowering women and youth in the political process, leading to the rotation of executive power between governments elected by the parliamentary majority and minority.

The study also revealed that the participation of the 41 party list seats in the parliamentary elections is an indicator of the application of the political modernization project in its three aspects: political, economic, and administrative, and building a new parliamentary stage in which parties strengthen the institutions of democratic practice embodied in strengthening the separation of powers through a House of Representatives in which the parties constitute the majority of its members.

The study highlighted the importance of the participation of new parties as an experiment that embodies the ability of parties to form a coalition government from the House of Representatives in the coming years, and to translate their announced programs through their

election campaigns into real work with the aim of creating a strong parliament capable of legislation and oversight and meeting the aspirations of Jordanians in the political, economic and social fields. Unlike previous works, this study does not merely describe electoral outcomes but critically evaluates the transitional role of new parties within Jordan's modernization project. The findings confirm both opportunities (greater women and youth representation, institutional reforms) and persistent challenges (tribalism, weak programmatic capacity). Accordingly, the study offers an original contribution by linking electoral data to theoretical modernization indicators, thereby enhancing the scholarly understanding of party development in Jordan.

7.2. Results

The results of the study showed that political parties in Jordan play an important role in promoting democratic values, guiding public opinion, and encouraging citizens to participate in political and civil life. The twentieth House of Representatives elections contributed to strengthening participatory democracy, empowering women and youth, and reinforcing the legal and institutional frameworks introduced by the Political Parties Law (2022) and the Election Law (2022). At the same time, challenges remained, particularly weak grassroots support, reliance on tribal voting patterns, and limited programmatic capacity of new parties.

In response to the research questions, the findings can be specified as follows:

- **In response to Q1 (What are the concept and main functions of political parties?):** The study confirmed that parties act as institutions of democratic participation, aggregating interests, mobilizing voters, and representing societal needs, in line with their legal and political functions.
- **In response to Q2 (What is the royal vision for modernizing the political system?):** The results indicated that the 2024 elections embodied the royal vision through the implementation of new laws and reforms that promoted decentralization, women's inclusion, and youth participation, thereby laying the foundation for a programmatic party system.
- **In response to Q3 (What role did the new Jordanian parties play in the 2024 elections?):** The findings revealed that while new parties secured representation through 41 party list seats and increased women's and youth participation, their impact was limited by structural and cultural obstacles, including financial constraints and the persistence of tribal voting. Thus, their participation represents a transitional stage toward building stronger, program-based coalitions in the future.

7.3. Recommendations

Based on the study findings, the following recommendations are proposed:

1. Political parties should strengthen their organizational structures and leadership training programs in order to perform their core functions effectively, including interest aggregation, voter mobilization, and representation of societal needs.
2. Parties should align their platforms with the modernization agenda, ensuring compliance with the Political Parties Law (2022) and the Election Law (2022), while promoting decentralization, women's empowerment, and youth participation as pillars of reform.

3. New political parties need to re-evaluate their strategies and address the causes of low voter turnout, focusing on realistic and program-based platforms that can build public trust and enable the formation of sustainable coalitions.

Additional recommendations:

- **Scientific recommendation (for researchers and scholars):** Future studies should examine the long-term impact of party participation on political reform using comparative and quantitative indicators of modernization, thereby filling the knowledge gap on the evolution of Jordan's party system.
- **Practical recommendation (for legislators, parliament, and decision-makers):** Policymakers should strengthen financial support mechanisms for parties, ensure fair media access during campaigns, and adopt legal reforms that gradually shift the electoral culture from tribal affiliations to programmatic, party-based representation.

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