Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences, Volume 53, No. 11, 2026, 11934

Deanship of Scientific Research

Between Theory and Practice: Political Modernization in Jordan (2021-2024)

Lina Aloul* *, Amin Al Mashaqbah

Department of Political Science, University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan.

Received: 25/5/2025
Revised: 24/6/2025
Accepted: 16/7/2025
Published online: 18/8/2026

* *Corresponding author:*
lena.mahmoud@yahoo.com

Citation: Aloul, L., & Al Mashaqbah, A. (2026). Between Theory and Practice: Political Modernization in Jordan (2021-2024). *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, *53*(11), 11934. https://doi.org/10.35516/Hum.2026.11934

Abstract

Objectives: This study aims to analyze the distinctiveness of the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System, established by Royal will in 2021, and the recommendations it issued, as a critical milestone in Jordan's political reform path, compared to previous initiatives. It also examines the impact of the Committee's outcomes, current challenges to democratic transition, and future scenarios for political modernization. The study further proposes mechanisms to benefit from the theoretical frameworks of political modernization and democratic transition, in a way that aligns with Jordan's unique context and supports democratic progress.

Methods: The study adopts historical and descriptive-analytical approaches to trace the evolution of political reform in Jordan. It analyzes historical records, official documents, and academic sources to assess the reforms' nature and their impact on the political landscape.

Results: The findings indicate that the Royal Committee represents a qualitative shift in Jordan's reform trajectory, characterized by a unique political context, broad and diverse membership, and relatively effective implementation of its recommendations, compared to previous efforts. Nevertheless, persistent political, economic, social, and cultural challenges continue to hinder full democratic transformation.

Conclusions: Achieving the Committee's goals requires ongoing and intensified efforts. The study underscores the importance of building on the accomplishments of the first phase and utilizing lessons learned to strengthen democratic practice. As political modernization constitutes Jordan's most realistic path toward democratization, the study calls for a context-sensitive hybrid approach that draws from both modernization and transition theories to guide future reform.

Keywords: Jordan, political modernization, political reform, democratic transition, Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System.

التحديث السياسي في الأردن: بين النظرية والتطبيق (2021-2024)

لينا العالول*، أمين المشاقبة

قسم العلوم السياسية، كلية الأمير حسين بن عبدالله الثاني للعلوم السياسية والدراسات الدولية، الجامعة الأردنية، عمان، الأردن.

ملخّص

الأهداف: تهدف الدراسة إلى تحليل حالة التفرد التي تمثلها اللجنة الملكية لتحديث المنظومة السياسية، التي تشكلت بإرادة ملكية عام 2021، وما صدر عنها من توصيات، باعتبارها محطة مفصلية في مسار الإصلاح السياسي في الأردن، مقارنة بالمبادرات السابقة. كما تسعى الدراسة إلى استعراض تأثير مخرجات اللجنة، والتحديات الراهنة على مسيرة التحول الديمقراطي. كما تقدم الدراسة استشرافاً للسيناريوهات المستقبلية لمشروع التحديث السياسي، وتقترح آليات للاستفادة من أدبيات نظريتي التحديث السياسي والتحول الديمقراطي، بما يتناسب مع الحالة الأردنية، ويسهم في تحقيق التحول الديمقراطي.

المنهجية: اعتمدت الدراسة على المنهجين: التاريخي، والوَصفي-التحليلي في تناول تطور مسار الإصلاح السياسي في الأردن. حيث يتم دراسة وتحليل السجلات التاريخية، والوثائق الرسمية، والمصادر العلمية، لفهم طبيعة الإصلاحات المنبثقة عن مشروع التحديث، وتقييم أثرها على المشهد السياسي.

النتائج: خلصت الدراسة إلى أن اللجنة الملكية قد شكّلت تحولًا نوعيًا في مسار الإصلاح السياسي في المملكة، لما اتسمت به من خصوصية في السياق، وتنوع واسع في العضوية، وفعالية نسبية في تطبيق توصياتها، مقارنة بالجهود الإصلاحية السابقة. وعلى الرغم من ذلك، لا تزال هناك تحديات سياسية، واقتصادية، واجتماعية، وثقافية تُعيق الوصول إلى التحول الديمقراطي المنشود.

الخلاصة: إن تحقيق ما سعت اللجنة الملكية لتحقيقه عبر توصياتها يتطلب مواصلة الجهود المبذولة وتعزيزها. كما تُبرز الدراسة أهمية البناء على ما أُنجز في المرحلة الأولى، واستثمار الدروس المستفادة في تطوير الممارسة الديمقراطية. وانطلاقًا من أن مشروع التحديث السياسي يُشكّل المسار الأجدر والأكثر واقعية؛ لتحقيق التحول الديمقراطي، تؤكد الدراسة على ضرورة اعتماد مقاربة مركبة، تتوافق مع السياق الأردني، وتدمج بين مبادئ نظريتي التحديث السياسي والتحول الديمقراطي، لتوجيه الجهود نحو تحقيق الديمقراطية المنشودة.

الكلمات الدالة: الأردن، التحديث السياسي، الإصلاح السياسي، التحول الديمقراطي، اللجنة الملكية لتحديث المنظومة السياسية.

© 2026 DSR Publishers/ The University of Jordan.

This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY-NC) license https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

Introduction

In 2021, few could have anticipated that Jordan would launch a bold reform process reshaping its political landscape. At the time, the country was focused on recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic, navigating economic challenges, and adapting to global shifts that had touched all sectors—including politics.

In 2020, Jordan held its parliamentary elections under strict health measures, contributing to a historically low turnout of 29.9% (Independent Election Commission, 2020). However, attributing the low participation rate solely to the pandemic would be an oversimplification. Previous elections, along with public opinion surveys, reveal a steady decline in citizens' willingness to engage in elections or other forms of political participation over recent years.

On June 10, 2021, Jordan witnessed a significant moment in its political journey with the formation of the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System. Initiated by H.M. King Abdullah II, this bold reform effort aimed to transform the dynamics of political and parliamentary life, fulfill long-standing aspirations for a more democratic public sphere, expand participation in decision-making, and elevate new leaders who reflect the hopes and demands of citizens.

The modernization project also focused on empowering women, youth, and persons with disabilities by fostering a legal and political environment rooted in justice, equality, and pluralism—enabling their active role in shaping the country's democratic future. Achieving these goals required a comprehensive review of the legislative and constitutional frameworks governing elections and political parties, alongside enacting new laws to ensure political structures are more representative and inclusive, fostering active and meaningful political participation.

While opinions differ on the motives behind this bold royal initiative, it clearly reflects a recognition of the need to rebuild trust and strengthen the socio-political bond between the state and its citizens. This initiative has created a safer, more inclusive space for political participation, particularly in decision-making, agenda-setting, and policy prioritization. It also offers an opportunity to renew the political elite, moving beyond the recycling of familiar figures, and enabling the rise of new and capacitated leaders committed to addressing contemporary challenges with fresh perspectives.

Political reform in Jordan is neither new nor unprecedented, it reflects a long-standing trajectory embedded in the country's political development. The 2021 reforms represent a continuation of this trajectory, building on decades of efforts to adapt to shifting global and regional dynamics while responding to domestic demands. Since the resumption of democratic life in 1989, Jordan has faced economic crises, political pressures, and regional upheavals, including the 2008 global financial crisis and the Arab Spring.

Amid regional turmoil, Jordan has managed to balance stability with progress. While navigating the Arab Spring and the rise of terrorism, the country has remained a model of resilience, demonstrating a commitment to reform that respects its unique context while aligning with international standards of good governance.

Key reform milestones—such as the National Charter of 1991, the National Agenda of 2005, the 2011 National Dialogue Committee, and the Royal Discussion Papers by H.M. King Abdullah II, all have aimed to establish a foundation for greater social justice, pluralism, and the rule of law.

These efforts sought to address structural challenges, strengthen the separation of powers, expand political participation, and reinforce democratic institutions. Yet, Jordan knows that building a functioning democracy requires more than just legal frameworks and electoral processes. It involves building a strong civil society, ensuring citizen participation, and fostering political pluralism. While Jordan has made strides in these areas, significant challenges persist—particularly in addressing economic constraints and enhancing the capacity of state institutions to effectively respond to citizens' needs and foster an inclusive environment in which diverse voices actively contribute to policymaking and the country's prosperity.

Study Problem

The study provides an in-depth analysis of the Royal Committee's work, highlighting its distinctiveness, and evaluating its implemented outcomes. It examines the broader context of Jordan's modernization project, key challenges, and possible future scenarios. Additionally, it assesses the role of domestic and international power centers and political actors, and offers informed recommendations, to support the success of Jordan's modernization efforts.

Significance of the Study

This study aspires to serve as an authoritative national reference on Jordan's political modernization project, and the Royal Committee that shaped its strategic framework. It offers a comprehensive exploration of the royal reform initiative, aiming to capture its scope, significance, and multifaceted impact. Furthermore, the study examines Jordan's top-down reform model, emphasizing the balance between stability and democratization. It bridges global theory and local context by drawing on modernization theorists like Pye and Huntington, and transition theorists such as O'Donnell and Schmitter, integrating structural and agency-based perspectives to interpret Jordan's trajectory.

Focusing on a recent and ongoing national initiative that remains underexplored, this study examines the formation of the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System, its dynamics, and the implementation of its recommendations, particularly in relation to the 2024 parliamentary elections as a key milestone. It concludes with practical insights and recommendations to address challenges encountered during the first phase, contributing to academic and policy discourse on democratic reform in Jordan and similar contexts.

Objectives of the Study

1. Analyze the 2021 Reform Initiative and Its Outcomes: Examine the initiative's context, goals, challenges, and the impact of its legislative and non-legislative reforms on Jordan's political scene.
2. Contextualize Jordan's Modernization within Existing Theories: Assess how Jordan's modernization aligns with existing modernization and transition theories, identifying which elements best apply to or can explain Jordan's case.
3. Project Future Scenarios: Explore potential scenarios for the modernization project, considering domestic and external factors that may shape its trajectory.

Hypotheses of the Study

The study hypothesizes that the modernization project represents a unique turning point compared to previous reform efforts in Jordan, achieving tangible progress in implementing its recommendations. However, the real challenge in establishing a stable democratic system and forming party-based governments lies in overcoming a complex mix of political (domestic and external), structural, and actor-driven challenges, alongside economic, social, and cultural obstacles. These challenges continue to pose significant barriers to achieving the desired democratic transformation.

Research Questions

1. What are the most significant recommendations introduced by the Royal Committee, and how have they influenced Jordan's political landscape?
2. What are the primary obstacles hindering Jordan's political modernization from advancing toward a full democratic transition?
3. What are the potential future scenarios for political modernization in Jordan, and what practical recommendations can strengthen democratic consolidation and ensure the initiative's success?

Theoretical Framework

This study applies democratic transition and political modernization theories to analyze approaches suited to Jordan's unique context and proposes a tailored framework with practical recommendations to support its democratic reform trajectory.

1. Political Modernization Theories

The study draws on modernization theories developed by prominent scholars, as Lucian Pye, Robert Dahl, Gabriel Almond, and Samuel Huntington. These scholars argue that certain prerequisites—economic, social, and cultural conditions—are essential for the establishment of an effective democratic system. Economic growth, for instance, expands the middle class, enhances education levels, and raises incomes, creating societal pressure for democratic change. Huntington's *"The Third Wave of Democratization"* emphasizes the transition from traditional to modern systems, involving structural changes in political, economic, and social spheres (Huntington, 1991). It underscores the necessity of building institutions capable of sustaining democracy and socio-economic development.

2. Democratic Transition Theories

The second theoretical perspective, emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, challenges modernization assumptions. Scholars like Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead argue that democracy does not depend on specific preconditions, such as, economic development or advanced education. Instead, they highlight strategic choices made by political actors as the key determinant (O'Donnell, Schmitter, & Whitehead, 1986). Case studies from Spain, Portugal, and Latin America illustrate that successful democratic transitions often occur when political elites, both ruling and opposition, agree on democratic frameworks as the optimal path forward. This process, referred to as the "pact phase," lays the foundation for democratization.

Methodology

This study adopts a dual-method approach, combining the historical and descriptive-analytical methods to ensure both depth and contextual accuracy. The historical approach analyzes official documents, academic literature, and surveys to contextualize recent political reforms. The descriptive-analytical method evaluates the impact of modernization on Jordan's political system, identifies reform gaps, and supports recommendations to advance the modernization agenda.

Previous Studies

1. Al-Miqdad Study (2012): "Calls for Reform in Jordan and the Problematic Relationship with Government Policies: Indicators of Political and Economic Stability (2001-2010) – An Analytical Study".

Al-Miqdad's study explores the driving forces behind reform movements in modern states, focusing on how political and social dynamics contribute to democratic development. Using a multidimensional theoretical framework, the study draws on modernization, transition, and structural approaches to analyze reform trajectories.

It highlights the connection between democracy and economic development, citing Lipset's argument that democratic governance advances individual and collective well-being. It also incorporates Rustow's emphasis on political elites as key actors in shaping national identity and guiding democratic transitions. The structural approach further stresses the need to empower individuals—particularly elites—through legal frameworks and shared values to establish robust institutions that protect both public and private interests.

Al-Miqdad underscores the importance of understanding the conditions that enable reform, including the relationship between citizens and political authority. He emphasizes the role of political systems and executive leadership in fostering development, enhancing civic awareness, and encouraging meaningful participation. The study ultimately views institutional strength, elite responsibility, and societal engagement as essential to sustaining democratic modernization.

2. Hashmi, Mohammed (2023): "Introduction: Here and Now – On the Urgent Need for an Arab Contribution to the Field of Democratic Transition Studies"

In his study, Hashmi offers an Arab contribution to democratic transition literature, framing it as a critique of the structural determinism in modernization theory. He traces the field's roots to comparative political science, crediting Dankwart Rustow's 1970 article *"Transitions to Democracy"* for introducing the concept of "transition" and shifting focus from democratic consolidation in the West to its emergence in regions like the Middle East and Latin America.

Hashmi also engages with Thomas Carothers' 2002 critique, *"The End of the Transition Paradigm,"* which challenged the assumption that moving away from authoritarianism inevitably leads to democracy. Drawing on O'Donnell and Schmitter's *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule,* Carothers argued that transitions could result in hybrid regimes or reversals—a point later clarified by O'Donnell in defense of the field's scope.

He highlights the shift from structuralist models to an emphasis on elite agency and decision-making in driving democratic change. This perspective, aligned with Rustow's critique of misreadings of Lipset's *"Some Social Requisites of Democracy,"* underscores the need for analytical precision. His study offers a valuable lens for understanding Jordan's modernization, emphasizing the role of political actors in navigating reform amid regional complexities.

3. Al-Mashaqbeh, Amin (1989):"Modernization and Political Stability in Jordan"

In *Political Development and Political Culture and Their Role in Reform*, Dr. Amin Al-Mashaqbeh argues that political

development and culture are central to meaningful reform. He emphasizes that raising political awareness, as pursued by developed nations since the mid-20th century, enables citizens to better engage with their rights and responsibilities.

Al-Mashaqbeh sees political development as a means to foster equality and democratic values by building trust between citizens and the state. He highlights the coexistence of diverse political subcultures shaped by social and economic structures. Constructive dialogue is central to his vision, alongside transparency and independent media, which he views as essential for informed political participation. He also stresses the role of political pluralism and constructive opposition in strengthening democracy and ensuring peaceful transitions of power.

4. Abu Rumman, Mohammad (2022): "On the Brink of Democratic Transformation – A Field Analysis of the Reality of Political Parties and Expected Trajectories"

In his book, Dr. Mohammad Abu Rumman analyzes the challenges facing political parties in Jordan after the 2021 Royal Committee's recommendations. He highlights the party system's fragmentation, noting that most parties lack institutional depth and popular support, limiting their electoral viability. Only a few possess credible programs and real public backing. Abu Rumman examines key reforms—particularly the Political Parties Law and the Election Law—designed to reshape the political landscape. While these may lead to the dissolution or merger of weaker parties, structural obstacles remain, including the disconnect between party activity and the broader political culture.

He reviews reforms such as higher membership thresholds, gender and youth quotas, leadership term limits, and financial incentives tied to inclusivity. He also notes the adoption of a closed proportional list system, which is expected to strengthen party influence. Abu Rumman concludes that these changes present a critical opportunity for parties to rebuild, expand their social base, and evolve into programmatic entities aligned with Jordan's political modernization.

Gap Identification

While existing literature on democratization in Jordan addresses key reform themes, significant gaps remain. Few studies offer a comprehensive analysis of the 2021 reforms, their implementation, impact on political participation, or alignment with broader modernization and democratization theories. The structural and programmatic weaknesses of political parties—and the extent to which recent reforms have addressed public skepticism and institutionalized party life—remain underexplored, particularly post-Royal Committee. Moreover, the influence of traditional loyalties and identity politics on formal institutions lacks sufficient scrutiny. This study seeks to fill these gaps by situating Jordan's experience within a global theoretical framework and examining the interaction between socio-cultural dynamics and systemic reforms to offer actionable insights for advancing democratization.

Study Structure

The study is divided into three chapters, along with an introduction and conclusion. Chapter One explores the historical context and trajectory of political reform in Jordan. Chapter Two examines the formation and role of the Royal Committee in reshaping the political landscape. Chapter Three discusses the future of democracy and the prospects of the political modernization project in Jordan.

The Revival and Evolution of Parliamentary Life in Jordan (1989–2024)

Jordan's revival of parliamentary life in 1989 marked a pivotal moment in its political evolution, driven by economic crisis and public protests (Yom & Al-Momani, 2008). King Hussein responded with reforms that reintroduced elections and political pluralism, further institutionalized by the 1990 National Charter (Awad, 2000). However, the 1993 adoption of the one-vote system undermined party development and reinforced tribal voting, shifting parliamentary dynamics toward service-based representation (Abu Khalil, 2024).

Under King Abdullah II, modernization efforts intensified, but elections from 2003 to 2016 continued to prioritize individualism over programmatic competition. Reforms such as quotas and national lists had limited impact, as the rise of business elites and opposition boycotts eroded public confidence.

Post-Arab Spring reforms, including the creation of the Constitutional Court and Independent Election Commission, aimed to improve governance, but low turnout and skepticism persisted. The 2020 elections saw historic voter

disengagement (29.9%)(The Independent Election Commission, 2020).

The 2024 elections marked a potential turning point. Aligned with the Royal Committee's roadmap, which introduced a mixed system of open local and closed national lists. Women gained 27 seats, youth won six, and 104 party-affiliated candidates entered Parliament. Despite regional volatility, turnout slightly increased to 32.25%,%) (The Independent Election Commission, 2020), signaling cautious progress toward inclusive, party-based political development.

The Royal Committee and Reshaping Jordan's Political Landscape

Critics often argue that the Royal Committee was another iteration of previous reform efforts that did not yield tangible or sustainable political results. However, the evidence presented in this study suggests otherwise.

1. Timing and Context

Unlike previous initiatives, the Royal Committee was established during a period of relative stability, free from acute internal unrest or external pressure. Formed on June 10, 2021—amid Jordan's centennial celebrations and early recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic—the Committee reflected a proactive rather than reactive approach to reform. The regional context also contributed to its distinctiveness; with the decline of external pressure from the Trump administration's "Deal of the Century," Jordan was able to redirect focus toward its domestic agenda. This absence of immediate crisis set the initiative apart from earlier reform efforts, allowing for a more deliberate and nationally driven process.

Notably, the timing signaled a proactive approach to reform. Unlike earlier committees—such as the 1990 National Charter Committee, formed amid economic crisis, or the 2011 National Dialogue Committee, established during the Arab Spring—the Royal Committee was forward-looking. It sought to shift Jordan from decades of political reform toward a comprehensive framework for political modernization.

2. Representation, Diversity and Consensus

The Royal Committee stood out for its unprecedented size and diversity, comprising 92 members—the largest and most representative reform body in Jordan's history. It included 18 women, the highest number in any such committee to date, and representatives from over 11 political parties. This level of inclusivity surpassed that of previous efforts, such as the 1990 National Charter Committee (60 members) (The Royal Heritage, 1990) and the 2011 National Dialogue Committee (52 members) (Ammon News, 2011)

Youth were a central pillar of the Committee's vision. For the first time, 10 members under the age of 35—including two young women (Lina Aloul, and Mai Abu Edad)—were included, signaling a generational shift in decision-making (Aloul, 2021). Furthermore, despite ideological differences, members agreed to operate on a consensus-based model rather than majority voting. This approach minimized polarization and ensured that recommendations reflected broad agreement.

What Distinguishes the Royal Committee's Recommendations from Previous Reform Efforts?

1. The Royal Guarantee

One of the most significant factors underpinning the Royal Committee's credibility and influence was the unequivocal royal guarantee. The committee was not only formed by royal decree but also enjoyed H.M. King Abdullah II's unwavering support. This royal endorsement bolstered public trust and signaled a clear governmental commitment to adopt and implement the Committee's recommendations, without alteration.

2. Integrated Legislative and Constitutional Frameworks

The committee's outputs addressed a longstanding inconsistency in Jordan's legislative framework—the disconnect between party and electoral laws. Historically, while party laws supported political organization, electoral laws remained centered on traditional affiliations, undermining the development of party-based politics. This structural dissonance perpetuated an electoral process reliant on tribal and regional loyalties rather than political programs or ideologies. As Bani Salameh and Aldabbas (2023) argue, the persistence of malapportionment and the single non-transferable vote system has "favored tribal candidates over party-based ones," reinforcing electoral outcomes shaped more by identity and geography

than by programmatic competition.

The Committee sought to correct this imbalance by harmonizing party and electoral laws and aligning them with recent constitutional amendments. This integration redefined political representation and reinforced party structures, positioning them at the core of the political process.

3. A Legally Anchored Gradual Approach to Reform

Acknowledging the complexities of democratic transition, the Committee adopted a gradual reform approach to ensure a balanced and stable shift. This strategy facilitates the integration of emerging political actors while preserving the interests of traditional stakeholders, thereby minimizing resistance and enhancing the sustainability of reform. The phased introduction of party representation in Parliament exemplifies this incremental, consensus-driven model. The electoral law of 2022 allocated 30% of seats to party lists in the 20th Parliament, rising to 50% in the 21st and 65% in the 22nd (The Prime Ministry, 2022). This incremental increase ensured a manageable adjustment period for parties and voters alike.

4. Bold and Progressive Outcomes

The Committee's recommendations marked a turning point in Jordan's political development, introducing ambitious reforms that redefined the role of political parties and partisan engagement. They signaled a clear departure from a history of marginalizing parties and public disengagement, ushering in a new phase in which citizens—including public sector employees—are actively encouraged by the state to join parties and participate in political life.

5. Institutionalizing Party-Based Political Activity

One of the most significant outcomes was the institutional recognition of political parties as central to Jordan's democratic future. The reforms mandated party-based representation in elections, shifting parties from the margins to key players in governance. For the first time, electoral laws allocated a substantial share of parliamentary seats to party lists, promoting collective political platforms over individual ambitions. The 2022 election law marked this shift by reserving 30% of seats for party lists, with plans to raise this to 50% in the next election and 65% thereafter.

6. Empowering Women, Youth

The Committee's recommendations introduced substantive reforms to the Election Law and the Political Parties Law aimed at increasing the political participation of women and youth.

Election Law Reforms:

National Electoral lists Quotas: The 2022 Election Law mandates that political party lists competing for the 41 seats in the national electoral district must include:

- At least one woman among the first three candidates and another among the next three, ensuring female representation in prominent list positions.
- At least one candidate under the age of 35 among the first five candidates.

Increased Women's Quota: The quota for women's representation in the House of Representatives was raised from 15 to 18 seats.

Lowered Candidacy Age: The minimum age for parliamentary candidates was reduced from 30 to 25 years.

Political Parties Law Reforms:

Youth and women Inclusion: The law requires that at least 20% of a political party's founding members be youth (ages 18–35) and another 20% be women.

These legal reforms appear to reflect, and potentially reinforce, emerging patterns of political engagement among Jordanian youth. According to Arab Barometer's Wave VIII (2024), youth in Jordan demonstrate political interest levels comparable to those of older generations, a finding that distinguishes Jordan from many other MENA countries where youth are typically less engaged. However, the data also reveal that educational attainment remains a key determinant of

political participation, with youth from lower educational backgrounds significantly less likely to express political interest or engage in party life (Arab Barometer, 2024). This shows the importance of coupling legal reforms with broader and more inclusive strategies, such as integrating civic education across all upper-grade levels in schools rather than limiting it to the final two or three years, expanding political awareness programs to include technical and vocational training centers rather than focusing solely on universities, and improving equal access to reliable political information.

7. Redefining Electoral Practices

The committee's recommendations sought to recalibrate electoral practices to prioritize national unity and programmatic governance over regional or tribal affiliations. By implementing proportional representation at both the local and national levels, the electoral process was designed to encourage coalitions, align political platforms with national priorities, and reduce the influence of parochial loyalties, and overcome entrenched elite dominance, as elite circulation in Jordan has remained limited, with traditional figures maintaining control over parliamentary representation from 1989 to 2016 (Aledwan, Bani Salameh, & Shdouh, 2021).

Additionally, legislative safeguards were introduced in the elections law to ensure fairness and transparency in the electoral process. These included measures to ensure equitable access to campaign resources and the enforcement of strict guidelines to prevent vote-buying or other malpractices that could undermine the integrity of elections.

8. Linking Political Reform to Broader Modernization Tracks

For the first time in Jordan, political reform was strategically aligned with economic and administrative modernization efforts. This integrated and comprehensive approach highlighted how all three tracks—political, economic, and administrative—are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Political modernization supports better governance, which enhances economic performance and public sector efficiency, while economic growth and improved services, in turn, create a more stable and inclusive environment for democratic development, and overall quality of life for citizens.

This interconnectedness also reflects how Jordanians themselves perceive democracy. According to recent public opinion data, 84% of Jordanians affirm that democracy is the best political system. However, their understanding of democracy extends beyond the procedural aspect of elections. Instead, citizens are more likely to define democracy as a system that ensures the protection of basic human rights and the provision of essential services and basic necessities to all (Arab Barometer, 2024). This perception reinforces the importance of integrating political reform with broader governance and service delivery improvements, as democratic legitimacy is increasingly tied to tangible outcomes in the everyday lives of citizens.

The Implementation of the Royal Committee's Recommendations

The Royal Committee's recommendations outlined a twelve-year roadmap for democratic reform, spanning three electoral cycles. These recommendations were classified into two categories:

1. **Legislative Recommendations:** Focused on constitutional and legal amendments, these aimed to provide a solid foundation for the structural transformation of Jordan's political life.

2. **Non-Legislative Recommendations:** Aimed at fostering a supportive political and social environment for democratic participation, these extended beyond legal frameworks to address cultural, institutional, and societal dimensions of reform.

Legislative Milestones

1. Elections Law (Law No. 4 of 2022)

The Law introduced sweeping changes to the electoral system, aligning with the Committee's vision and recommendations. Its key provisions included:

- **Proportional Representation:** The law established 18 local districts and one national district, allocating 138 parliamentary seats. Of these, 97 were elected through an open-list proportional system at the local level, while 41

were reserved for national closed-list proportional representation.

- **Dual Voting System:** The law introduced a two-vote mechanism, granting citizens one vote for a local candidate and another for a national party list—replacing the previously criticized single-vote system.
- **Inclusion Quotas:** The law required party lists to include women and youth, mandating at least one woman within both the first and second sets of three candidates, and at least one candidate under the age of 35 among the top five.
- **Lowering Candidacy Age:** The minimum age for candidacy was lowered from 30 to 25 years, encouraging greater youth participation.
- **Electoral Integrity:** To enhance transparency, fairness, and prevent electoral malpractice, the law introduced spending caps and mandatory funding disclosure requirements. Campaign expenditure was capped as follows:
    1. 100,000 Jordanian Dinars per list in local electoral districts.
    2. 500,000 Jordanian Dinars per list in the national electoral district.

Additionally, candidates found guilty of electoral violations—such as fraud or corruption—may have their election annulled and lose their parliamentary seat.

2. Political Parties Law (Law No. 7 of 2022)

Key provisions include:

- **Foundation Requirements:** Parties are required to have at least 1,000 members from six governorates, with a minimum of 30 members from each. This provision seeks to ensure a broad national base, and promote greater cohesion and inclusiveness in political representation.
- **Inclusivity Quotas:** Parties must include 20% youth (aged 18-35), 20% women, and at least one individual with a disability among their founders.
- **Legal Protections:** The law introduced safeguards to protect party members and their relatives from discrimination, intimidation, or retaliation due to their political affiliation.
- **Independent Oversight Body:** Responsibility for party registration and related matters was transferred from the government to the Independent Election Commission, aiming to reduce bureaucratic interference and enhance impartiality, transparency, and credibility in the oversight of political party affairs.

3. Electoral Constituency Bylaw (No. 52 of 2023)

Under the 2022 Elections Law, Jordan was divided into 18 constituencies, allocating 138 parliamentary seats: 97 for local districts and 41 for national party lists. Amman comprises three local constituencies, Irbid two, and all other governorates one each. Additionally, the northern, central, and southern Badia each form a separate constituency with three seats. The law also reserves 18 seats for women—one per local constituency—alongside two for Circassians and Chechens (in Amman and Zarqa) and seven for Christians (across seven governorates).

The 2023 bylaw redefined district boundaries to foster national cohesion and reduce parochialism through expanded districts and equitable representation across geographic and demographic lines.

4. Financial Contribution Bylaw to Support Political Parties (No. 15 of 2023)

A new funding mechanism was introduced, tying financial support for political parties to their electoral results. This approach aims to incentivize active participation, encourages competitiveness, and reward parties that demonstrate electoral success and public support, as the following:

- **Performance-Based Funding:** Parties received monetary incentives for meeting vote thresholds and electing candidates.
- **Inclusivity Bonuses:** Additional funding was allocated to parties that include women, youth, or persons with disabilities among their elected members.

- **Encouraging Mergers:** Financial incentives were also introduced to encourage party mergers, promoting the consolidation of smaller parties into larger, and more effective political entities (The Prime Ministry, 2023).

5. Regulating Partisan Activities in Higher Education Institutions Bylaw

In 2022, the Cabinet approved a landmark bylaw (No. 68 of 2022), permitting partisan activities on university campuses for the first time. Aligned with the goals of political modernization, the bylaw affirms youth as central to political life. It guarantees students the right to engage in partisan activities without fear of reprisal and obligates universities to amend internal regulations accordingly. The bylaw also mandates that universities lead structured, educational, and awareness-raising initiatives to promote student political participation. It further requires the establishment of student councils, unions, associations, or clubs, ensuring that all students—regardless of party affiliation—have the right to run for and vote in student elections (The Prime Ministry, 2022).

Key Non-Legislative Recommendations Implemented

1. Civic Education and Curricula Development in Schools and Universities

The National Curriculum Development Center introduced new educational materials titled *"Democracy and Participation in Public Life"* for 10th -grade and 11th -grade (Ministry of Education, 2022). These materials aim to instill foundational knowledge of democracy and related concepts such as rule of law, citizenship, national identity, and political engagement.

Parallel efforts were undertaken in higher education, with the Higher Education Council incorporating key themes from the Royal Committee's recommendations into university-level National Education courses started in the 2022/2023 academic year.

These updates emphasized legal safeguards for partisan activities and the protection of political affiliations. Faculty capacity-building workshops were organized to equip educators with the tools to effectively communicate political modernization concepts and foster student engagement. However, the broader initiative to unify "the National Education curricula" across universities, launched in 2022, remains incomplete (Talaba News, 2022).

2. University Student Council Elections

University elections—an essential platform for preparing youth for broader political participation—were revitalized following the Royal Committee's recommendations. Although some universities had previously held elections, these efforts were often inconsistent, frequently disrupted by administrative issues or sociopolitical concerns, including fears of campus violence.

In line with the political modernization framework, many universities revised their electoral systems to mirror the proportional representation model introduced in the national electoral law. For example, the University of Jordan adopted a dual-vote system, allowing students to cast one vote for closed proportional lists at the faculty level and another for university-wide lists. The 2024 elections saw unprecedented engagement, with a record 52% voter turnout—the highest in the university's history (Al Mamlakah News, 2024).

The Royal Committee's Recommendations and Their Impact on Reshaping the Political Landscape

1. Fostering National Dialogue

The Committee's work sparked a nationwide political discourse, moving conversations beyond elite circles into broader society. This shift was driven by extensive outreach efforts by Committee members, civil society actors, and political parties, who organized hundreds of dialogue sessions across the country. These engagements empowered citizens to actively participate in political discussions and to explore partisan options in ways not previously seen in Jordan. This emerging political dialogue appears to align with a broader increase in public political engagement. According to the Arab Barometer Wave VIII (2024), political interest among Jordanians has increased significantly in recent years, with 25% of respondents in early 2024 expressing some level of political interest, an eight-point rise compared to 2022 levels (Arab Barometer, 2024).

2. Breaking Taboos and Removing Barriers

The Committee's recommendations dismantled long-standing barriers to political participation. For the first time, civil servants, except those in sensitive positions, were permitted to join political parties. Public employees were also allowed to run for parliament without resigning, instead taking unpaid leave. Strong legal protections were introduced to prevent discrimination or retaliation based on political affiliation. Together, these measures created a more supportive environment for political engagement, especially among groups that had previously been less involved in politics.

3. Emergence of Mass Political Parties

The new Political Parties Law reshaped Jordan's political landscape by promoting the development of larger, more structured parties. It raised the membership requirement from 500 to 1,000, leading to a decline in the total number of parties but paving the way for the emergence of mass parties like the National Charter and the National Union parties. Unlike in the past, parties that barely met legal thresholds and rarely exceeded a few thousand members, these new parties boast broader bases, with memberships sometimes reaching 10,000, signaling a shift toward more institutionalized and representative political organization.

4. Enhanced Representation of Youth and Women

The 20th Parliament (2024) marked a turning point. Guided by the Royal Committee's recommendations, it introduced a mixed electoral system combining open local and closed national lists. Women won 27 seats, youth secured six, and 104 partisan candidates were elected (Independent Election Commission, 2024). Despite regional instability, turnout rose modestly to 32.25% (European Union Delegation in Jordan, 2024). Surveys showed 73% of voters viewed the elections as transparent (Strategic Studies Center, 2024).

Modernization & Democracy: A Contextual Reflection on Jordan

This study examines Jordan's political reform through the lenses of modernization and democratic transition theories. Classical modernization theory, led by scholars like Lipset (Lipset, 1959) and Huntington (Huntington, 1968), links economic growth, education, and middle-class development to democratic stability. Transition theory, championed by O'Donnell and Schmitter (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986), emphasizes elite agency and negotiated change over structural preconditions.

Jordan has neither fulfilled the structural conditions for democratization nor undergone a negotiated elite transition. Political modernization has been largely top-down, driven by King Abdullah II, who is positioned not as part of the political elite, but as the initiator of reform. Nonetheless, elite resistance, identity-based politics, weak parties, and a fragile middle class continue to obstruct democratic progress (Alakayleh, Bani Salameh, & Emambocus, 2024).

Furthermore, economic liberalization since 1999 has not fostered political pluralism due to state-private sector entanglement and social inequities. Moreover, traditional loyalties dominate political behavior, sidelining parties and limiting institutional trust.

Furthermore, economic liberalization since 1999 has not yet led to strong political pluralism in Jordan. One key reason is the close relationship that has developed between the state and parts of the private sector, along with ongoing social and economic inequalities. These factors have continued to shape voting patterns through traditional loyalties and informal networks, which can limit the growth of political parties and affect public trust in political institutions. While economic reforms carried out between 1989 and 2016 helped improve some areas of governance and supported civil society development, their effect on expanding political participation and party life has remained limited (Salameh, Ananzeh, & Daradkah, 2018). In a similar way, researchers have noted that the strong connections between public institutions and leading economic actors can slow the progress of broader political inclusion by keeping decision-making in the hands of a few (Schlumberger, 2008).

To navigate these complexities, the study proposes a dual-path reform model: one structural, focused on economic empowerment, education, and civil society; the other political-institutional, emphasizing elite consensus, legal reform, and gradual democratization. Jordan's hybrid model illustrates the need for context-sensitive strategies that integrate global theory with local realities.

Future Scenarios for Political Modernization in Jordan

Before exploring Jordan's potential scenarios, it is useful to frame its political trajectory within broader comparative literature. Many scholars have shown that many regimes adopt democratic reforms without deep change, resulting in hybrid models (Carothers, 2002; Levitsky & Way, 2010). Similarly, the "defective democracies" framework describes systems where democratic structures exist but are functionally constrained (Merkel, 2004).

These global perspectives underscore that post-reform trajectories are rarely uniform across countries; instead, they vary based on a complex interplay of context-specific dynamics. In the case of Jordan, this helps explain why modernization could unfold along divergent paths—ranging from gradual, substantive reform to mere symbolic gestures or even stagnation—depending on internal and external factors

Scenario 1: Sustained Political Modernization – Gradualism and Accumulation as Driving Forces

This scenario envisions Jordan advancing democratization through incremental reforms rather than abrupt shifts. It reflects a trajectory of expanding political openness, institutional development, and increased party participation.

Jordan's political history supports this gradualist approach. Despite occasional stagnation, key milestones—such as the Royal Committee and subsequent legislative reforms—demonstrate an enduring institutional commitment to modernization.

Democratization here is framed as a multi-phase process grounded in constitutional frameworks and regular elections. Political participation gradually expands beyond quota-based inclusion, with youth, women, and persons with disabilities gaining representation through evolving merit-based norms. While elite resistance may persist, the long-term outlook remains positive, anchored in strategic vision, policy coherence, and the consolidation of democratic practices.

Key enabling conditions for this scenario include:

- Sustained political will from the highest levels of the state, particularly H.M. King Abdullah II.
- Institutionalization of democratic norms through legal reforms and the normalization of partisan activity in public life.
- Emergence of political parties with broad-based, national constituencies, alongside active civil society organizations.
- Jordan's demonstrated adaptability in navigating internal challenges and regional instability.

Scenario 2: Symbolic and Procedural Continuation of Political Modernization

In this scenario, political modernization is maintained in form but not in substance. Reform rhetoric persists, but changes are largely superficial, preserving existing power structures and stalling democratic consolidation.

Political parties remain formally intact but lack effectiveness due to declining state support, limiting their ability to organize, compete, or influence policy—further weakening their role in the democratic process. Amendments to political laws may appear reformist but are largely symbolic—serving to contain dissent and entrench elite dominance. Examples may include:

- Shifting from closed to open party lists, or raising electoral thresholds or redrawing districts to dilute partisan influence.
- Modifying the legal allocation of party list seats to favor traditional over ideological and programmatic loyalties.

Governments may include partisan members, but they would largely reflect pro-government orientations, leaving limited space for independent or genuinely reformist voices. Political pluralism persists but is relatively regulated. Over time, this managed pluralism risks eroding institutional trust, reducing voter turnout, and undermining the credibility of reform. Many observers view this scenario as plausible, arguing that reforms in Jordan reflect a recurring pattern of superficial initiatives that preserve existing power while projecting an image of change (Bani Salameh et al., 2024).

Scenario 3: The Abandonment of Political Modernization Project

This scenario contemplates a retreat from reform, where the state halts or reverses its modernization agenda. Though unlikely in the current context, such regression could be triggered by major internal or external disruptions, including:

- Regional instability, such as forced displacement of Palestinians or threats to sovereignty.
- Sharp reversals in U.S. foreign policy, leading to economic or political strain.
- Rising influence of anti-reform elements within state institutions advocating centralized control.

A reversal would likely dismantle emerging political parties and undermine gains made since 2021, eroding public trust and jeopardizing future reform credibility. This would mark a significant deviation from Jordan's modernization roadmap, reinforcing a model of centralized governance over participatory democracy.

Reflections on the Three Scenarios

Jordan's political future remains contingent on a complex mix of internal dynamics and external pressures. While precise predictions are impossible, the likely trajectory will fall within one of these three scenarios, shaped by institutional responsiveness, elite alignment, and societal engagement. Successful modernization requires sustained commitment, resilient legal frameworks, inclusive institutions, and a supportive political culture. Internal and external pressures may affect the pace, but the process will ultimately hinge on Jordan's ability to balance stability with openness and align reform with public aspirations.

Conclusion

This study offers a comprehensive analysis of Jordan's political modernization between 2021 and 2024, with a focus on the outcomes of the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System. Framed through modernization and democratic transition theories, it identifies the 2021 initiative as a turning point that shifted reform from fragmented legislative changes to a coherent modernization framework.

The Committee's work represented a qualitative leap in Jordan's democratization, harmonizing party and electoral laws, introducing legal safeguards for participation, and enhancing youth and women's inclusion. It redefined reform as a long-term, institutionalized, and inclusive process.

However, the implementation phase revealed persistent challenges: entrenched conservative resistance within state institutions, fragile party structures, and identity-driven electoral behavior. Despite legislative progress, cultural and institutional inertia continues to hinder reform sustainability

These findings underscore that democratization requires more than legal changes; it demands the creation of a participatory, pluralistic political culture capable of internalizing and sustaining reform. The study highlights that the Jordanian case does not align neatly with either classical modernization theory or democratic transition paradigms. Instead, it reflects a hybrid model in which top-down reform, elite consensus, and gradual structural transformation intersect in a context-specific manner. Accordingly, the study proposes a dual-path approach to democratic transition in Jordan—one that combines long-term socioeconomic and institutional development with short- and medium-term legal and political reforms, underpinned by inclusive and consultative processes.

The study also examined the trajectory, and future prospects of Jordan's political modernization amid a rapidly evolving regional and global context. While notable progress has been achieved, democratization remains a dynamic, non-linear process shaped by institutional constraints, competing forces, and shifting societal expectations.

If Jordan continues to invest in this modernization project—anchored in inclusive governance, youth and women empowerment, and a resilient civic sphere—it may not only sustain its own transformation, but also emerge as an inspiring model for democratic reform in the region.

Recommendations

General Recommendations for Advancing Political Modernization in Jordan

1. Reaffirming Political Commitment

The state must consistently and unequivocally reaffirm its commitment to political modernization. Public trust is not

fostered by regulations alone, but through coherent political messaging across all institutions, reinforced by tangible, cumulative actions that demonstrate a sincere commitment to reform.

2. Comprehensive Legal Reform for Public Freedoms

Creating a healthy political environment requires a comprehensive legal reassessment of the frameworks governing the public sphere. This includes revisiting key legislation impacting political and media freedoms, as well as civil society—such as the Penal Code, Crime Prevention Law, Press and Publications Law, Cybercrime Law, Anti-Terrorism Law, Law on Associations, and the Right to Access Information Law. Ensuring that these laws are balanced, clearly articulated, and aligned with the principles of political modernization is essential to building public trust and fostering a democracy.

3. Expanding Political and Civic Education

This requires broad-based political education that extends beyond elites and academic circles to reach schools, universities, youth centers, and civil society organizations. This effort should be anchored in updated curricula, community dialogue, and responsible media content aimed at dispelling inherited fears of political engagement and fostering a culture of democratic values.

4. Enhancing Parliamentary Performance

A credible political transition requires a strong, independent legislature. Jordan can draw on models from the UK, France, Germany, Egypt, and Lebanon by establishing a parliamentary training institute to strengthen MPs' capacity in law, oversight, and policymaking. Such an institute would enhance legislative effectiveness and rebuild public trust. Training should also include parliamentary staff, with assistants focused on research, policy, and legislative support.

5. Enhancing the Rule of Law and Promoting Citizenship Values

Democratic reform rests on upholding the rule of law and promoting equal citizenship grounded in rights and responsibilities. This entails dismantling favoritism and reinforcing genuine belonging within a modern, inclusive civil state. H.M. King Abdullah II's Sixth Discussion Paper emphasizes that true citizenship must be rooted in equality, justice, and the constitution—not personal or group affiliations (King Abdullah II, 2016). Advancing this vision calls for a shift toward meritocracy, where competence—not nepotism—guides opportunity and public service, reinforcing institutional trust and credibility.

Recommendations for Effective Political Parties

1. Institutional Capacity and Internal Development

- Establish political schools to train future leaders, instill party values, and build governance skills.
- Empower women and youth wings with financial autonomy and roles in decision-making.

2. Public Engagement and Communication

- Develop digital and in-person channels for citizen feedback and policy input.
- Organize community gatherings to build trust and two-way dialogue.
- Launch local development initiatives to increase party visibility and relevance.

3. Political Identity and Strategic Messaging

- Define a clear ideological vision and core values to guide recruitment and messaging.
- Disseminate simplified versions of party programs to improve public understanding.
- Collaborate with media professionals to ensure consistent, credible communication.

4. Parliamentary Bloc Institutionalization

- Appoint spokespersons and technical coordinators to strengthen discipline and visibility.
- Create policy support units for MPs to enhance legislative impact.

- Hold regular MP–constituent meetings.
- Align parliamentary activity with the party's platform for coherence and influence.

5. Grassroots and Local Talent Development

- Recruit university students and local activists for leadership roles.
- Strengthen local offices through performance indicators, and capacity-building.

REFERENCES

Abu Khalil, A. (2024). *Parliamentary elections in Jordan: A story of the decline in political representation*. Hibr. https://shorturl.at/RoWOC

Abu Rumman, M. (2022). *On the brink of democratic transformation*. (1st ed.). Amman: Politics and Society Institute & King Abdullah II Fund for Development. https://shorturl.at/mIvDL

Al Mamlaka News. (2024). *University of Jordan: 52% voter turnout in Student Union Council elections*. Retrieved from https://shorturl.at/uVlW6

Aledwan, K., Bani Salameh, M., & Shdouh, E. (2021). Elite Circulation Case Study of the Jordanian Parliament. *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, *45*(4). Retrieved from https://archives.ju.edu.jo/index.php/hum/article/view/13819

Al-Ghad Newspaper. (2024). *6 young people in the House of Representatives... How do they influence the Parliament performance?* Retrieved from https://shorturl.at/yoG62

Al-Miqdad, M. A. (2012). Calls for reform in Jordan and the problematic relationship with government policies and indicators of political and economic stability: An analytical study (2001–2010). *Journal of the Union of Arab Universities for Literature, 9*(2). https://shorturl.at/HVHtP

Aloul, L. (2021). *The youth era*. *The Jordan Times.* https://jordantimes.com/opinion/lena-aloul/youth-era

Ammon News. (2011). *The Council of Ministers forms a national dialogue committee with the participation of Islamists*. https://www.ammonnews.net/article/82666

Arab Barometer. (2024). *Jordan public opinion report – Wave VIII*. https://www.arabbarometer.org/media-news/arab-barometer-reveal-findings-from-major-jordan-survey/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Awad, T. (2000). *Democratic transformations in Jordan 1989–1999*. (1st ed.). Ramallah: MUWATIN – The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy. Retrieved from https://muwatin.birzeit.edu/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/Taleb%20Awad%20-%20Democratic%20Transformation%20in%20Jordan.pdf

Bani Salameh, M. R., Ananzeh, H. M., & Daradkah, M. M. (2018). Impact of economic reform on political reform in Jordan. *American Journal of Industrial and Business Management*, 8(7), 1632–1652. https://doi.org/10.4236/ajibm.2018.86105

Bani Salameh, M. T., Alakayleh, M., & Emambocus, W. (2024). The endless reform process: Realities behind Jordan's political modernization efforts. *Digest of Middle East Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12335

Bani Salameh, M. T., & Aldabbas, K. M. (2023). Electoral districts' distribution in Jordan: Political geographical analysis. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231173599

Carothers, T. (2002). The end of the transition paradigm. *Journal of Democracy, 13*(1), 5–21. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2002.0003

European Union Delegation in Jordan. (2024). *EU Election Observation Mission to Jordan report*. https://www.eods.eu/library/EU%20EOM%20JOR%202024%20Final%20Report.pdf

Hashmi, M. (2023). Introduction: Here and now – On the urgent need for an Arab contribution to the field of democratic transition studies. In *Reference articles in democratic transition studies*. Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies.

https://lnk.ink/X82jF

Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political order in changing societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Independent Election Commission. (2020). *Turnout in parliamentary elections*. https://www.iec.jo/sites/default/files/Report/FinalReport2024.pdf

Independent Election Commission. (2024). *Final results of the 2024 House of Representatives elections*. https://www.iec.jo/ar

Independent Election Commission. (2024). *Political parties' platform*. https://parties.iec.jo/

King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein. (2016). *Sixth discussion paper: Rule of law and civil state*. https://kingabdullah.jo/en/discussion-papers/sixth-discussion-paper-rule-of-law-and-civil-state

Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2010). *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511781353

Lipset, S. M. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *American Political Science Review, 53*(1), 69–105. https://doi.org/10.2307/1951731

Mashaqbeh, A. (1989). *Modernization and political stability in Jordan.* (1st ed.). Beirut: Dar Al-Jeel.

Merkel, W. (2004). Embedded and defective democracies. *Democratization, 11*(5), 33–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340412331304598

Ministry of Education. (2022). *Democracy and participation in public life: Book for the tenth grade*. https://moe.gov.jo/sites/default/files/newsfiles/shr_30-8-2022_compressed.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2022). *Democracy and participation in public life: Book for the eleventh grade*. https://moe.gov.jo/sites/default/files/newsfiles/lmy.pdf

National Charter. (1990). *National Charter 1990*. The Royal Heritage. https://royalheritage.jo/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AB-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A4%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-2/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%AB%D8%A7%D9%82-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A-1991/

O'Donnell, G., & Schmitter, P. C. (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, G., Schmitter, P. C., & Whitehead, L. (Eds.). (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Comparative perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Schlumberger, O. (2008). Structural reform, economic order, and development: Patrimonial capitalism in the Arab world. *Review of International Political Economy*, 15(4), 622–649. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/247513114_Structural_Reform_Economic_Order_and_Development_Patrimonial_Capitalism

Strategic Studies Center. (2024). *The opinions of Jordanians on Dr. Jaafar Hassan's government formation and the parliamentary elections*. University of Jordan. https://lnk.ink/Yl52a

Talaba News. (2022). *A committee will be formed to unify national education curricula in universities*. https://talabanews.net/ar/%D8%B9%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%B3-%D8%AA%D9%86%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%B0%D8%A7-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%AC%D9%8A%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%84%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%88-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%88%D8%B1-%D9%85%D8%B9-%D8%B1%D8%A4%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%AA-

%D8%AA%D8%B4%D9%83%D9%8A%D9%84-%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%86%D8%A9-%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%AC-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9

The Prime Ministry. (2022). *Law No. (4) of 2022: Elections Law of the Lower House*. https://lnk.ink/jJKDT

The Prime Ministry. (2022). *Law No. (7) of 2022: Political Parties Law*. https://lnk.ink/u5KKd

The Prime Ministry. (2022). *Regulating Partisan Activities in Higher Educational Institutions Bylaw*. https://lnk.ink/WzaZm

The Prime Ministry. (2023). *Electoral Constituency Bylaw*. https://lnk.ink/SRTdT

The Prime Ministry. (2023). *Financial Contribution Bylaw to Support Political Parties*. https://lnk.ink/j2pg8

Yom, S. L., & Al-Momani, M. H. (2008). The international dimensions of authoritarian regime stability: Jordan in the post–Cold War era. *Arab Studies Quarterly, 30*(1), 39–60. https://www.scienceopen.com/hosted-document?doi=10.2307%2F41859035