POLITICAL MODERNIZATION AND ITS FUTURE EFFECT ON EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITIES IN JORDAN

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This study aimed at identifying political modernization in Jordan and its future effect on the executive and legislative authorities (the house of representatives) based on the amendments to the constitution as well as the laws of parties and elections passed in 2022 in accordance with the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System in 2021.

Method: the analytical descriptive approach, the legal approach, and content analysis approach.

Results: firstly, political modernization will have a significant positive effect on the legislative authority (house of representatives) in terms of structure in the future; and secondly, political modernization hasn't affected the executive authority in terms of the way through which it has been introduced; however, when the parliamentary action is completed in all its forms in the Jordanian political system in the future, the way of its emergence will be addressed in order to identify the titles of partisan governments.

Conclusion: the first being the necessity of continuing the political modernization efforts started by the Jordanian state in the legislative authority (house of representatives) and the executive authority; the second being the maintenance of the texts of the elections law without change while taking into consideration the possibility of amending articles as necessary in the future, in accordance with the aspirations that will take place to the legislative authority (house of representatives) and executive authority.

Keywords: political modernization in Jordan, executive authority, legislative authority (house of representatives).

Resumo

Objetivo: Este estudo teve como objetivo identificar a modernização política na Jordânia e seu futuro efeito sobre as autoridades executivas e legislativas (a Câmara dos Representantes) com

RESUMO

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base nas alterações à Constituição, bem como nas leis dos partidos e eleições aprovadas em 2022, de acordo com o Comitê Real para Modernizar o Sistema Político em 2021.

Método: a abordagem analítica descritiva, a abordagem legal e a abordagem de análise de conteúdo.

Resultados: em primeiro lugar, a modernização política terá um efeito positivo significativo sobre a autoridade legislativa (câmara dos representantes) em termos de estrutura no futuro; e em segundo lugar, a modernização política não afetou a autoridade executiva em termos da maneira pela qual foi introduzida; no entanto, quando a ação parlamentar é concluída em todas as suas formas no sistema político jordaniano no futuro, o caminho para a sua emergência será abordado a fim de identificar os títulos de governos partidários.

Conclusão: o primeiro é a necessidade de continuar os esforços de modernização política iniciados pelo Estado jordaniano na autoridade legislativa (Câmara dos Representantes) e na autoridade executiva; o segundo é a manutenção dos textos da lei eleitoral sem alterações, tendo em consideração a possibilidade de alterar artigos conforme necessário no futuro, de acordo com as aspirações que ocorrerão à autoridade legislativa (Câmara dos Representantes) e autoridade executiva.

Palavras-chave: modernização política na Jordânia, autoridade executiva, autoridade legislativa (câmara dos representantes).

1 INTRODUCTION

Political systems vary in legislative and executive authorities, where the difference is mainly centered in the nature of the ruling method in the political system and the legislations that govern its work. Indeed, the process of political modernization is necessary for any political system, given the importance of introducing more development to the political life in general, and to legislative and executive authorities in particular. This is particularly true when things are related to participation and representation that come through people's choice, where people always aim to achieve more development in all the domains of political life.

The Jordanian state did extended efforts in the domain of political modernization which has a considerable role in political life in general; indeed, political modernization has been closely related to the legislative and executive authorities, where it was manifested in the area of legislation in the basic law, represented by constitution, usual laws as well as the laws of parties and elections for the house of representatives.

This study is mainly centered around political modernization and the future of the legislative and executive authorities in Jordan in accordance with the effect of the modernization that considerably took place in these two authorities in 2022, in terms of the amendments to constitution and to the laws of parties and house of representatives'
elections. These two authorities are viewed among the most important elements of political life in Jordan.

Furthermore, the stages of political modernization or political reform in Jordan won't be satisfied without the existence of several elements, including the serious political willingness that is viewed as a vital guarantee towards going forward in the process of political reform in order to achieve the targeted objectives. In this vein, the political willingness in Jordan—under the king's sponsor—was established (Al-Owaimer, Al-Mosai'deen, 2017: 215). This situation was more obvious within the sequence of this study, especially after the directions introduced by king Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein, who confirmed the necessity of making reforms that mainly aim to modernize the legislations that affect the Jordanian political life, particularly the domains relating to Inserting new frameworks to the executive and legislative authorities.

This context prompts us to believe that the upcoming stages in the Jordanian state will witness more changes, in terms of the form and content of the executive and legislative authorities in the future within the domain of democratic development targeted by the Jordanian state in order to cope with the democratic developments that took place in the political systems all around the world.

1.1 STUDY PROBLEM

The study problem lies in identifying the main pillars that encouraged the Jordanian state to adopt the approach of political modernization in all the domains, especially in the legislative domain. In fact, Jordan achieved good achievements in order to promote the political life, particularly the parliamentary life; these achievements included passing several election laws after 1989 till the year 2016, passing the laws of parties in 1992 up to 2015, as well as making constitutional amendments in 2011, 2014, and 2016. Furthermore, the Jordanian state established a committee in order to reconstruct the Jordanian internal affairs, in terms of the political life in general, and the legislative and executive authorities in particular. In this vein, the committee suggested some amendments to constitution and to the parties and election laws that were lately passed and published in the official newspaper in 2022. The modernization of this stage revealed that the previous reforms didn't satisfy the aspirations of the Jordanian people or the political system, and that is why the current study was conducted.
Also, the study problem lies in identifying the amendments that took place and the effects of these amendments on the legislative and executive authorities in the future. Indeed, the first conceptualization in this modernization implies that political life in Jordan is directed towards a modern political work, especially with regard to the partisan governments by encouraging the participation of parties in the upcoming elections, and the possibility of establishing a partisan government in the future.

1.2 STUDY QUESTIONS
The current study aimed to answer the following questions:
1- What are the stages of political modernization in Jordan?
2- What is the future effect of political modernization on the executive authority in Jordan?
3- What is the future effect of political modernization on the legislative authority (house of representatives) in Jordan?

1.3 STUDY OBJECTIVES
The study aimed to achieve the following objectives:
1- Identifying the stages of political modernization in Jordan.
2- Identifying the future effect of political modernization on the executive authority in Jordan.
3- Identifying the future effect of political modernization on the legislative authority (house of representatives) in Jordan.

1.4 STUDY PERIOD
This study examined a certain period through which the researcher addressed the processes of political modernization in Jordan. The first period extended between (1989-2016) and the second period between (2021 – 2022); the researcher referred to these periods as the stages of political modernization. However, the period is open, since the study takes the form of an investigation in the future in relation to the legislative and executive authorities. This investigation was based on the stages of political modernization, particularly the political modernization that took place in accordance with the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System in 2021, where this committee cited recommendations and declared them officially after approving them constitutionally.
and applying them in reality; in this vein, the vision of King Abdullah II and the aspirations of the Jordanian people will be applied.

2 METHODS

The study used three approaches. First, the analytical descriptive approach to describe the first stage of political modernization and the second stage in 2021 based on the directions of the Royal Committee to Modernize the political system, and then analyze the stage and the modernization to legislations, while focusing more on analyzing the constitutional amendments and the modification to the laws of elections and parties in 2022 as well as their future effect on the legislative and executive authorities in Jordan. Second, the legal approach to display the legislative texts of legislative and executive authorities, such as the constitutional amendments and the laws of elections and parties in 2022, particularly those related to the work of those authorities. Third, content-analysis approach by analyzing the message of King Abdullah II to the Royal Committee to Modernize the political system, and the methods that should be used to reach a new stage in the Jordanian political life.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

First of all, we should confirm that modernization has several types, including economic, social and political modernization. Indeed, political modernization is considered as the foundation in the structural system of any country; if any country desired to achieve development according to the modern pattern, it should adopt the domain of political modernization, where such a modernization extends to include the other domains (Hussein, 2011:5). As for the concept of political modernization, it has a socio-legal nature that is related to the type of policies adopted by the state through its institutional departments that organize the general affairs and control their domains (Amzian, 2019:143). Also, political modernization is viewed as one of the concepts that attracted attention in the domain of political modernization. In his book "the political system in the domain of political modernization", Samuel Huntington addressed several domains related to political modernization, including the meaning of modernization, political institutions, and political participation, in addition to addressing the stages through which communities pass during their political development (Al-Holwa, 1983:142).
He suggested that the concept of political modernization refers to "the process of moving from a traditional political system to a modern political system". It also refers to the attempt to converge the state's various parts as well as the social and political systems to be in a more developed level. He viewed political modernization as a social phenomenon that is related to establishing new societal values, such as the political culture, the efficiency in performance and the advancement in the economic systems. Modernization is also based on change in order to establish new bases in development. Samuel Huntington defined political modernization as "replacing a large set of traditional, political, religious and ethnic authorities with a standardized secular, national and political authority". James Coleman defined political modernization as "a set of cultural and structural changes in the political patterns of the modernized communities, which means that political modernization refers to the processes of distinguishing the political structure and secularizing the political culture which, in turn, enhances the ability of the political pattern and its effectiveness" (Ahmad, 2018).

Most concepts relating to political modernization are mostly western in nature which, in turn, overlooked the importance of political modernization in some political Arabic systems, especially the monarchy systems which seek to establish a political modernization without affecting citizen's values and culture, and change the traditional communities into modernized ones (Altarawneh, 2018: 25).

The researcher defined political modernization as "a stage in the state's development through which that state is changed from a traditional country in doing its political work into a developed country by setting the legislations which aim to promote the political life while considering the prevalent cultural values that never contradict with the modernization process targeted by that state".

As for the relationship between the concept of political modernization with other concepts, such as political change, the concept of political change is determined based on the nature of this change. If the change is positive and aims to combat corruption and make reforms, then it is closely related to the definition of political reform per se, which is "changing and modifying the ruling system, either partially or totally, in addition to combating the manifestations of corruption by different means in order to satisfy the targeted legitimate objectives". However, if the political change doesn't aim to achieve these objectives, where it promotes corruption or combats good deeds, then it refers to "changing and modifying the ruling system either partially or totally by different means,"
without considering the targeted legitimate objectives” (administration of researches and studies, 2016: 6).

Some scholars suggested that social and economic development don't necessarily lead to a political development; sometimes, social and economic advancement that lacks political modernization may lead to a political crisis and civil war. Usually, social and economic development raises the citizen's demands and aspirations. In case there was a lack in the political institutions that are prepared to deal with such aspirations, then political crises are expected (Al-Holwa, 1983: 141). Therefore, there should be a political modernization that prevents the occurrence of crisis in the community.

Furthermore, the process of political modernization in the structural context has multi-dimensional political effects that may lead to changes in the way of practicing political authority, since political modernization has the potential of reestablishing the relationship between the various governmental agencies and determining the authority of each agency, and it may result in establishing institutions that frames the practices of the ruling system (Al-Dakheel, 1996: 223-224).

Modernization is a process that is closely related to community, history and ideology; therefore, it is a three-dimensional entity. As for the historians of social and political thought, modernization is a set of methods used by thought and community to consider social change, as well as the implicit or explicit political transformation accompanying that change or resulting from it (Al-Tahir, 2014: 36).

Based on the above mentioned, we can see that addressing political modernization is a wide-range context and requires more accuracy in description. However, the topics of any political phenomenon should be customized in order to project the theoretical framework on the targeted phenomenon.

Accordingly, we conclude the following:

1- Political modernization is a western phenomenon; however, it overlooked the specification of the Arab communities that adopt political modernization while maintaining their specificity in the religious, political, economic and social domains.

2- The most prominent achievement of political systems while going forward is the gradual modernization to the law system in a way that makes those political systems more accurate in their work.
3- The concept of political modernization is related to other concepts, such as political change and political reform, where all these concepts aim to achieve more progress in the future.

4- Political modernization should match with the community's thought, and the community's need for modernization should be identified.

4 THE PREVIOUS STUDIES

(Altarawneh, 2023) conducted a study entitled "the impact of the legitimate limitations on the participation of parties in the Jordanian political system (1946-2020): a comparative political historical study. The study aimed to identify the internal legitimate limitations in the Jordanian political system affecting the participation of parties during (1946-2020). The study used three approaches: the historical approach, the analytical descriptive approach, and the comparative approach. The results revealed that the internal legitimate limitations considerably affected the participation of parties in the Jordanian political system, where each limitation was different from others in the impact degree. The study recommended modifying some articles in the Jordanian constitution of 1952, where more articles should be dedicated for the participation of parties in the Jordanian political system, either by mentioning the right of the participation of parties in the elections or their right to establish a partisan government. The study also recommended the necessity of amending the law of parties, where it should include a condition related to representing a number of members based on a certain percentage from the Jordanian governorates; i.e. referring to the text of parties law of 2012 concerning that condition, so that there won't be excessive number of parties, where some established parties aim to obtain financial support. The study recommended modifying the law of elections, where a certain number is specified for political parties which, in turn, helps those parties to compete in the process of forming governments later on.

(Al-Khalaileh, 2020) conducted a study entitled "the role of the political parties in the formation of parliamentary government, a prospective study: (Jordan as a case study). The study aimed to demonstrate the extent to which the Jordanian political parties can establish parliamentary governments in the light of the legislations and the constitutional texts governing that. In order to achieve the study objectives, the researcher used the analytical descriptive approach, the historical approach, the legal approach, and system approach. The results revealed that the partisan activity in Jordan passed through several
political stages starting from the pre-independence stage (1919-1946) until the year (2019). The most prominent stages are related to the role of the political parties in establishing parliamentary government, referred to as Sulieman Al-Nabulsi government in 1956.

The study revealed that the weak political partisan participation and the lack of real programs for these parties aim to finding solutions for social and economic problems. Also, the weak foundation upon which parliamentary groups are based and building that on the personal interests of their members represent a real obstacle in front of the establishment of parliamentary governments in Jordan.

(Al-Sarhan and Al-Shodouh, 2019) conducted a study entitled "the political reforms in Jordan: between the monarchy stakes, the stressors of the opposition and popular mobilization". The study aimed to highlight the political reforms in Jordan, especially after the revolutions of Arab Spring by investigating and analyzing the royal vision of political reform (represented by the letter of designation, royal initiatives, and discussion papers), the vision of the executive authority of the political reform, as well as the popular and partisan vision of political reform. The study concluded that the political reforms in Jordan are still below the desired level, and that the power balance between the political system and the forces of popular mobilizations didn't reach until now to a stage that leads the political system to accept making concessions. This situation contributed to the success of the political system to applying its reform vision and dividing the forces of popular mobilization into local movements, where each side cites its reform vision in accordance with the local agenda, with the absence of integrity and coordination between these movements.

(Al-Oweimer and Al-Mosai'deen, 2017) conducted a study entitled "the political reform in the thought of King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein (1999-2014), the throne speeches as a source". This study addressed the topic of political reform in the thought of King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein during (1999-2014), based on the throne speeches as a source for the study. Throne speeches are particularly important in terms of several domains, such as monitoring the national affairs and determining the manifestations of the future work. The study aimed to identify the thought of King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein based on the throne speeches and identify the mechanisms that he views as suitable to achieve the political reform, in addition to identifying the extent to which those speeches contributed to setting the laws relevant to political reforms. The study concluded that the ideas and directions for the throne speeches of King Abdullah II have an obvious effect
on the reality of political reform in Jordan, and this obvious based on the laws approved quantitatively and qualitatively.

This study is distinctive from the previous studies as follows:

- This study is complementary to the previous studies that addressed political reform in Jordan. The current study depended on the previous studies in describing the political modernization during the first stage (1989-2016) basically.
- This study addressed a new stage concerning the political modernization in Jordan, which came immediately after the directions of King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein to establish a consultation committee with all the categories in the Jordanian community in an attempt to reach a legitimate progress that promotes the legislative and executive authorities.
- This study addressed the future effect for political modernization during (2021-2022) on legislative and executive authorities in Jordan.

5 THE POLITICAL MODERNIZATION IN JORDAN, THE STAGES OF RESUMPTION, COMMITTEE

Jordan passed through two stages concerning the political reform and modernization. First, since the return of the political life to its nature; i.e. after resuming the political life in 1989 until 2016. Second, the recommendations of the Royal Committee to Modernize the political system in 2021, and the publishing of those recommendations in the official newspaper in 2022.

5.1 POLITICAL MODERNIZATION DURING AND AFTER THE STAGE OF RESUMING THE POLITICAL LIFE (1989-2016)

The process of reform in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has started from the inside since 1989 before imposing the external reform projects (Al-Khalaileh, 2012:1). Indeed, 1989 is considered as the start point in Jordan, where it represented a new case of political work, particularly in relation to the legislative authority (house of representatives). The political work is a basic element in Jordan, especially when the Jordanian state depends considerably on the parliament in order to establish the democracy that is mainly based on surveillance and legislation by the members of the house of representatives towards the government (executive authority). This period (1989-2016) witnessed modernization and reform in legislations and constitution, in
addition to the reforms that included the laws of parties and elections. All those passed legislations had a positive effect on the parliamentary work, and thus there has been a need to make reforms and instill the foundation of real parliamentary work.

Jordan suffered from the absence of democracy, till the year 1989 that witnessed the resumption of the parliamentary life; Jordan made secure and political reforms to ensure the sustainability of the democratic process and avoid the faults of the previous experiences. This was accomplished by setting the national charter and confirming the freedom of press, in addition to commitment to pluralism and human rights to build the new state and civil society based on political stability and modernization (Allawzi, 2012: 25-26). This stage witnessed several activities, including:

1- Making the parliamentary elections in 1989 based on a new law known as the open list. During (1993-2010), elections were held based on the law of one vote which, in turn, weakened the political parties. In 2013, elections were held based on the mixed law, and that improved the level of parties' representation in the house of representatives. However, the elections of 2016 and 2020 were held based on the law of open relative list, hoping that the partisan representation will improve, but the situation remained without any positive change.


3- Establishing an independent election commission to monitor all the stages of the electoral process in Jordan; it was previously controlled by the executive authority.

4- Innovating a new election type in Jordan, Governorate Council (Decentralization) which took place in conjunction with the municipal elections, where they were first held together in 2017.

5- Some researchers suggested that the constitutional amendments that took place in 2011 contributed to eliminating some manifestations of the dominance of the executive authority on the legislative and judicial authorities, and established balance in the relationship between the three authorities in Jordan. As for the judicial authority, the modified constitutional texts included provisions that enhance the Independence of the judicial system in facing the government by establishing the high judicial council and reconsidering the discretion power of the State Security Court in order to determine the cases that are heard by military
judges as well as establishing the constitutional court as an independent judicial authority to have control over laws and systems and explain the constitutional texts (Nasraween, 2013: 235).

6- Some researchers suggested that the constitutional amendments that took place during (2011-2016), in relation to the relationship between the three authorities revealed that the Jordanian constitution has become more flexible and more effective in responding to the current and future requirements through the rapid response to external and internal events (Hayajneh, 2016: 598).

7- The political parties during (1989-2020) were characterized by fragility as they obtained few seats in the house of representatives. The fragility of those parties is attributed to legislative causes either in the texts of constitution or in the laws of elections and parties (Altarawneh, 2023: 104).

When we view the reforms that took place, we will certainly confirm that they didn't promote the level of political life, particularly the legislative authority (house of representatives); this can be seen in the light of regression of partisan work and participation in the political life, especially when we refer to the variation in the number of seats obtained by the political parties in the parliamentary elections, in addition to the decline in the performance of the house of representatives in encountering the governments whose policies resulted in higher levels of poverty and unemployment in Jordan. In this vein, we suggested that the political officer should promote the citizen's living level; however, things were opposite. Indeed, we don't deny that governments made their efforts and set several laws and legislations; however, those legislations weren't well-investigated in terms of improving political life. In this vein, there should be a legislation that serves the principle of collective participation, particularly the political parties, especially as the state passed through bicentenary. However, we can say that there are several internal and external political conditions that affected the Jordanian experiment in the partisan work during the first stage, particularly after the return of the political life in Jordan (Al-Khalaileh, 2020). It is well-known that the political parties in Jordan existed before this return, especially since the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan.
5.2 THE POLITICAL MODERNIZATION DURING THE STAGE OF THE ROYAL COMMITTEE TO MODERNIZE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN 2021

On June, 10, 2021, King Abdullah II directed a letter to Sameer Al-Rifa'I, ordering him to head the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System, where the committee was responsible for setting a new law project for elections and a new law project for political parties, and consider the constitutional amendments related to the laws and mechanisms of parliamentary work; the committee consisted of (92) members who represented the various thought and political groups. The committee was divided into (6) sub-committees: elections committee, political parties committee, youth-empowerment committee, woman-empowerment committee, local management committee, and the committee of constructional amendments relevant to parties and elections laws and the mechanisms of parliamentary work (the Royal Committee to Modernize the Political System, 2021).

When analyzing the content of the letter of King Abdullah II, we can see that he focused on the political issues, including the parliamentary work. The king's letter has been inclusive and urged the committee to instill the values of democracy in the Jordanian state and to continue the efforts of reform and development to ensure the rights of male and female Jordanians to practice a partisan parliamentary life. The king stressed the necessity of setting a legislative framework that lays the foundation stone to an effective partisan life that has the ability to convince electors with its suggestions in order to reach the parliament that is based on blocs, and program-based parties, in addition to empowering the youth and searching for the best ways to enhance their participation in the parliamentary and partisan life, empowering woman to have an effective participation, and enhancing the values of citizenship. We suggested here that the king recommended referring to the seven discussion papers and using them as an Instructional document in the committee's work (the letter of King Abdullah II to Sameer Al-Rifa'I, 2011). The discussion papers introduced by king Abdullah II to all the groups of the Jordanian community are considered amongst the most important themes that received more discussions and several researches and studies were conducted about them.

In this vein, the head of the committee stressed the importance of the discussions inside the sub-committees, where those discussions should reflect the work's integrity in order to achieve general agreement about the tasks of the committee. The head of the committee also stressed the necessity of achieving the contents of the king's letter and
making more communication with the various community groups in order to enrich and enhance the general discussion about the targeted themes and issues (Amman Net, 2021).

Table (1). The mechanisms of the committees' work within the general frame of the royal committee to modernize the political system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Committee work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Election Law</td>
<td>The committee received (392) recommendations from organizations and individuals in Jordan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parties law</td>
<td>The committee conducted (89) dialogues with the various political and partisan currents about the proposed scenarios for the draft law of parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Local Administration</td>
<td>The Committee participated in (113) dialogue sessions with stakeholders and related parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empowering youth</td>
<td>The committee held (227) meetings with stakeholders and reviewed more than (80) researches, references and studies about the priorities of youth in Jordan and frameworks for empowering them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empowering woman</td>
<td>The committee carried out (73) activities that varied between meetings, dialogue and discussion sessions with relevant parties and study centers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the royal committee to modernize the political system, 2021 (designed by the researcher)

After a 4-month working period by the royal committee to modernize the political system, through which work was performed in specified committees concerning the (basic legislations in constitutional amendments, and normal amendments in the laws of elections and parties), the committee introduced its final report to king Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein, who directed the work of the committee to achieve its targeted objectives.

The king received the report of the royal committee to modernize the political system on October, 4, 2021. In this report, several issues were stressed (the prime ministry website).

"The democratic model that we all seek to achieve expresses a political willingness and a national interest. This system represents a new stage within the paths of the state's modernization at the start of bicentennial. The process of modernization and development is regular and undergoes regular evaluation and revision. This system represents a basic pillar that contributes to making a tangible development in the parliamentary performance that is based on programmed partisan work. Parties and political powers should develop their instruments and accountability tools to ensure more effective and productive participation in the political life. The desired model in local administration should ensure delegating authorities from the center to governorates. The results of the committee work will proceed according to the constitutional requirements.

Concerning the extent of trust felt by the Jordanian citizen about the royal committee to modernize the political system, the center of the strategic studies in the university of Jordan conducted two surveys about the committee. The first survey was
conducted on September, 19, 2021, where the results revealed that (32%) of the Jordanian people trust the royal committee to modernize the political system. The second survey was conducted during (15-21) of September, 2021, and the results revealed that (49%) of the Jordanian people trust the royal committee to modernize the political system after delivering its outcomes to the king (Al-Eses, 2021).

In order to achieve the constitutional requirements, the outcomes of the royal committee to modernize the political system were referred to the legislative authority, represented by the house of representatives (representatives, senates). In this vein, several discussions took place in the house of representatives and senates concerning the amendments to the law of elections and the law of parties as well as the constitutional amendments relevant to those two laws, in order to reach more collaborative political life by all the groups in the Jordanian community, particularly the participation of parties in the Jordanian political life and laying a foundation for performing more extended tasks relevant to forming the government, while taking into consideration some perspectives about the amendments that took place in the constitution and elections and parties laws as well as their future effect on the executive and legislative authorities in Jordan, where those amendments were published in the official newspaper in 2022.

6 THE POLITICAL MODERNIZATION AND ITS FUTURE EFFECT ON THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITIES IN JORDAN

Any change or modernization at the legislative level in any political system affects both present and future; however, the change should take into consideration the positive domain while suggesting that change. Also, legislative modification should be gradual, where it considers the societal culture, especially the political aspects. In Jordan, the modification to constitution, and to the laws of elections and parties was gradual and prospective, particularly in the domains related to the executive and legislative authorities.

6.1 THE POLITICAL MODERNIZATION AND ITS FUTURE EFFECT ON THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

The executive authority is considered as the least modified authority in the political life in Jordan, particularly in relation to the way through which the government was introduced and the ministers assigned in it. However, we can say that change is more
related to constitution, followed by the other political domains, especially the normal legislations that affect the form of the executive authority. In this vein, the second stage of political modernization will certainly affect the executive authority in the future.

The change resulting from the stage of modernization mainly targeted the executive authority in terms of the mandates, as we can see later on in relation to establishing the national security council, government resignation, and the membership between the executive authority and the legislative authority and some military institutions. Indeed, the constitutional amendments affected the executive authority, where those amendments included the king's rights, the ministry, constitutional court, and innovating the national security council. In this context, article (40) of the constitution omitted the phrase (gendarmerie director) mentioned in paragraph (f) and added the phrase (the director of public security and accepting their resignation). Also, article (127) of the constitution was amended as follows: the phrase (gendarmerie and police) in paragraph (2) was omitted and replaced by the phrase (public security). Before the constitutional amendments of 2022, gendarmerie had an independent director; however, the director of the public security is the direct responsible for both gendarmerie and public security. Here, we refer to a previous context about the establishment of a partisan parliamentary government stated in article (127) of the constitution, where this article grants the king the right to, individually, assign the director of intelligence and the commander of army; and thus these two positions are away from any political or partisan conflicts that may take place between the king and the prime minister in the parliamentary government. This context neither negatively affects the structure of constitutional system in Jordan, nor affects the nature of the ruling system which is the parliamentary and hereditary monarchy (Nasraween, 2014).

As for the government, the new modification in paragraph (2) of article (74) in the constitution provided adding the phrase (prior to the last four months preceding the end of the council's term) after the phrase (in its era). Also, prominent amendments included paragraph (1) of article (76) which stated: it is not allowed to combine the membership of a- the house of senate or the house of representatives and a position in the ministry, b- the house of senate or the house of representatives and any public position whose holder is paid public money, including Amman municipality, other municipalities and governorate councils, c- the house of senate or the house of representatives.
This article included a statement that is different from the parliamentary work recognized all around the world, particularly not gathering between the membership of the house of senate or the house of representatives and ministry jobs. Hence, we can say that regardless the power of political parties in the parliament, they can't form a partisan government based on the results of elections, since the representatives and the winning party head won't be in the executive authority and the legislative authority at the same time.

As for the national security council, paragraph (1) of article (122) in the constitution provided that: the national security council is established and consists of: a- the prime minister, b- the minister of defense, c- minister of foreign affairs, d- the minister of interior, e- army commander, f- director of intelligence, g- the director of public security, h- two members assigned by the king according to the provisions of paragraph (2) of article (40) in this constitution. Based on paragraph (2), the council is responsible for the higher affairs related to security, deferens, and external policy. This council meets when necessary under an invitation from the king, with his attendance or the attendance of a deputy. The decisions of the council are applicable after the king's approval.

Based on the above concerning the executive authority, we can notice the following:

1- The stage of political modernization corrected some of the constitutional matters, particularly those related to military institutions, such as the gendarmerie dependency to the director of public security. This modification took place after the changes in the mandates of some military institutions and the other institutions dependent on them.

2- These amendments included not combining between the minister's membership and the membership in the house of representatives or the house of senates. This situation is contradicting to the previous case, but without a practical application.

3- The national security council was established, and based on the constitution, all its members belong to the executive authority. The council has the missions of security, deferens and external policy.
6.2 THE POLITICAL MODERNIZATION AND ITS FUTURE EFFECT ON THE LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY (HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

The political modernization in Jordan during (2021-2022) included modifications that have effects on the executive authority, particularly the house of representatives; these amendments included the constitution, elections law and parties law. The effect will be on the structure of the council based on the existence of two independent parties, and parties for woman, youth and disabled people. The political modernization that took place confirmed the existence of a legislative basis, which is the constitution, where it guarantees all the issues related to legislative authority (house of representatives). In this context, we will address the most important modifications that will affect the house of representatives in the future by showing the texts of the constitution and the issues related to the law of elections and parties.

The constitutional amendments of 2022 paid more attention to general freedoms and rights, particularly those related to woman, youth and disabled people which will, in turn, affect the structure of the house of representatives in the future (the Jordanian constitutions, 2022). As for the legislative authority for the house of representatives, law No. 4 of 2022 was passed, and article (2) of the elections law provided that there is a public electoral district and a local electoral district. This situation implies that there is a partisan list and a local list. The law provided that there is an electoral threshold. Article (49), paragraph (a), item (1) provided that the winning local list should exceed (7%) of the total number of voters in the district. Article (50), paragraph (a), item (1) provided that, in the partisan list, the electoral threshold should exceed (2.5%) of the total number of voters in the electoral district. Article (71) paragraph (a) stated that, when electing the 21st parliamentary council, it should be considered that the percentage of the seats specified to parties and parties alliances reach (50%) as a minimum limit of the number of seats stated in paragraph (a) of article (8) of this law. Paragraph (c) provided that when electing the 22nd parliamentary council, it should be considered that the percentage of the seats specified to parties and parties alliances reach (65%) as a minimum limit of the number of seats stated in paragraph (a) of article (8) of this law. According to the system issued for this purpose, the connection between the local list and the general list should be taken into consideration (the Jordanian elections law, 2022).

Based on the above, and while displaying the law of elections, we can see that there are some changes that will take place in the house of representatives in the future.
The context that contributes to the occurrence of such a change is that the law of elections adopted the partisan list and the local list, where the partisan list is applied to the public district, while the local list is applied to the local electoral district. The age of nominating to the Jordanian house of representatives was reduced from (30) solar years to (25) solar years, where the constitutional text of this matter is stated in article (70). Also, reducing the age of nomination reveals that the Jordanian state encourages the youth participation in the future. The new matters that are considered as basics in the elections system are related to the (relative list) that has been included in the new elections law, where a threshold of (7%) was specified for the local list, and a threshold of (2.5%) was determined for the partisan list. Also, the law determined (50%) of seats to the political parties; however, this ratio was raised to (65%) when electing the 22nd parliamentary council in the future.

As for the elections law No. 7 of 2022, this law added a new phrase to definition of the political party in Jordan, which is forming governments and participating in them according to article (35) of constitution. Indeed, this context supports the idea of establishing partisan parliamentary governments in the future. The other ideas included in the new elections law are related to not offending any partisan person, either from an official or non-official side, and not abusing the students of the higher education institutions; those offended individuals can resort to the Jordanian judicial system which provides for compensating them for any physical or spiritual harm. This context is viewed as a message from the government to all people, implying that the time of fear from affiliating to political parties has come to an end. This context enhances the partisan work in Jordan inside the parliament in the future. In this vein, the law provided that the number of establishing members at the time of holding the founding conference should exceed (1000) people. Also, the law provided that there should be a prevalence to the party, where the law stated that the members in the party should come from (6) governorates. The law also provided the existence of the youth, women, and at least one disabled person. This context has a text in the constitutional amendments of 2022, where article (6) of the constitution provided that the state empowers the woman, and that the law protects the rights of disabled individuals and promotes their participation. Article (7) also provided the necessity of empowering the youth. In fact, this gives a partisan power for the future during the meeting of all thought members in the various Jordanian governorates. During their work, those parties can establish political relationships with other internal and
external parties, or with international political parties or associations, where those relationships shouldn't form an organizational connection for that party with the other parties or associations with the necessity of compliance with the provisions of law and constitution. This context is beneficial to parties, where they are closely informed about other partisan experiments outside the Jordanian state. This indicates that parties may select one or more international sides that apply the idea of partisan government to learn from their experience which, in turn, lays the foundation for a new start towards the work of the partisan government in the house of representatives.

Based on the above-mentioned data about the legislative authority (house of representatives), we can notice the following:

1- The text relating to the change in the election laws for the house of representatives and the political parties was mentioned in the constitution, especially the rights of youth, women and disabled people.
2- The law of elections to the house of representatives included new texts that will have a future effect on the structure of the council, especially the partisan structure.
3- The law of political parties will establish for the existence of a diverse structure inside the house of representatives, which such a structure will have a positive effect based on the conditions set by law concerning the membership inside each party.

7 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1- The Jordanian kingdom passed through two stages of political modernization. The first stage was during (1989-2016), where the legislations, particularly the law of elections for the house of representatives remained unchanged, and the elections of 2020 were conducted accordingly. However, this stage was characterized by legislative rigidity, especially in relation to the laws of parties and elections, where parties didn't achieve their desires relevant to real representation and participation in the Jordanian political system. This situation necessitated the emergence of a new stage of modernization in Jordan during (2021-2022), where legislations were enshrined to serve the legislative and executive authorities in order to make a gradual future transformation in political work.
2- The political modernization that took place in the constitution and the laws of elections of the house of representatives and political parties in 2022 will have a positive effect, where the constitution assured the participation of youth, women and disabled people in all the domains of political life, including the legislative authority (the house of representatives). Also, the law of the council's elections added new articles to elections in Jordan, such as adopting the system of lists, at the general and local levels, where the political parties have power while practicing the democratic and competing for the seats of the house of representatives. Also, the law of elections stressed the importance of partisan work which, in turn, paves the way to establishing the idea of a partisan government based on the following partisan experience in the legislative authority (the house of representatives).

3- The political modernization to the constitution and the election laws for the house of representatives and political parties in 2022 didn't affect the legislative authority, as there is a continuity for the way of selecting the government and ministers. Indeed, the effect was related to correcting some constitutional texts, especially the military institutions as we as establishing the national security council relating to supreme affairs, particularly the external policy. Furthermore, the constitutional amendments will affect the membership between the house of representatives, house of senate and a position in the ministry.

8 CONCLUSION

1- The continuity in political modernization started by the Jordanian state in the executive authority and legislative authority (house of representatives).

2- Maintaining the texts of elections law they are, with the possibility of modifying articles as needed in the future, in accordance with the aspirations for both executive and legislative authorities.

3- After achieving the objective of parties and reaching the real partisan work in the legislative authority (house of representatives), the texts of constitution should be modified in order to serve the partisan work in the future and allow parties to form governments, in that there will be a common trait between the legislative authority (house of representatives) and the executive authority.
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