

# Educated Elites and their Vision of the 2022 Constitutional Amendments among Youth and Women in Jordanian Society: A Field Study

Dr. Yousef Muhammed Al-Shurman<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Ayed awad alwraikat<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Hilda Ahmad E'layan Elbashabsheh<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, University Faculty of Ajloun, Al-Balqa Applied University, Jordan, Email: dr\_y\_al\_shurman@bau.edu.jo

<sup>2</sup>Sociology Department, University of Jordan, Jordan, Email: a.wraikat@ju.edu.jo

<sup>3</sup>Adjunct Professor, Fahad Bin Sultan University, Tabuk-Saudi Arabia, Email: helbashabsheh@fbsu.edu.sa

---

## Abstract

The aim of the study is to examine the vision of the educated elites in Jordanian society for the constitutional amendments that were made in 2022 to the Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the extent of the repercussions of these amendments on both youth and women in Jordanian society, to meet and achieve the ambitions and aspirations of the Jordanian people with all its components in the field of empowering these target groups from the amendments, and the methods were from the respondents' point of view. The results were the presence of statistically significant differences at the significance level ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) attributed to the effect of the party participation variable, as the value of ( $f$ ) reached (3.127) and statistical significance (.048), and there were no statistically significant differences at the significance level ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) attributed to the effect of: gender, age, educational level, monthly income, place of residence. As for the extent to which the constitutional amendments constitute a starting point for social and economic reform for youth and women, the study showed the existence of statistically significant differences ( $\alpha=0.05$ ) attributed to the effect of the party participation variable, where the value reached (3.287) with statistical significance (.041). The study concluded that these constitutional amendments formed a basis for social and economic reform for youth and women in Jordanian society and achieved some of the people's ambitions and aspirations in this regard, and the Jordanian people look forward to more reforms that lead to achieving the desired ambitions.

**Keywords:** educated elites, constitution, empowerment, reform, constitutional amendments.

## 1. Introduction

To achieve social justice among citizens on the one hand, and to establish a strong barrier to protect public rights and freedoms and to consolidate the principle of community security in society through laws issued by the competent authorities to regulate the lives of their citizens on

the other hand, the principle of equality is considered one of the basic pillars on which civilized societies are based. According to Al-Aqili and Al-Dhaheri (2018: P7-12). Any other law or regulation that conflicts with any article of the Constitution is considered null and void as the final law of the state, which is the general framework for all laws and regulations, and operates in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the declarations issued by the relevant authorities. Permitted to issue it, since any law, rule, or communication that contradicts the Constitution's provisions is deemed to be invalid under terms of the Constitution. The constitution is crucial in defining and enacting democratic processes in a way that upholds the fundamental ideals and values of society (McKay, 2015: 53: 97). Therefore, in order to achieve the best performance at the state and individual levels, constitutional amendments serve as the foundation for constitutional review in a way that guarantees the improvement of constitutional texts in a way that meets the modern era, its inherent social conditions, and the aspirations of citizens. (Brekhshti, 2013: p29–60). According to a Jordanian constitutional examiner, the Jordanian government regularly reviews the constitution's provisions to close gaps, fulfill goals, and stay up to date with obstacles in order to achieve reforms that improve the political, social, and economic spheres. (Howard, 2021:171). Because Jordanian lawmakers have been considering political change since the country's independence, the 1952 Constitution was created to structure Jordanian society around the principles of equality, fairness, and equal opportunity for all. (Khalayla, 2012: p. 37).

## 2. Problem Statement

In order to continue the democratic process, legislative work and amendments are a response to popular demands to maximize the benefits of popular needs, the effects of which must be felt by individuals and the state in a way that either fills a legislative gap, improves the effectiveness of current legislation, or supplements it. Since economic issues, particularly the lack of resources, inflation, and the high cost of living, have complicated society's reality and its various requirements, the state must now confront these challenges and pressures by identifying actual needs through ongoing constitutional reforms and amendments. Therefore, new legislation was required. It is compatible with the changes, so that the Jordanian legislative system includes rights to preserve the state and achieve real legal and political guarantees for society that protect rights and freedoms, especially for the group of youth and women who were deprived of political work before the last quarter of the twentieth century, and from here the problem of the study crystallized in the following main question: What is the view of the educated elites on the constitutional amendments related to youth and women?

The following sub-questions branch out from this question:

1. What are the most important new amendments to the Jordanian constitution for youth and women?
2. Did the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of youth and women from the perspective of the respondents?

3. Did the constitutional amendments constitute a starting point for social and economic reform for youth and women from the point of view of the respondents?

4. Are there differences in the answers of the respondents at the significance level (0.05) regarding the constitutional amendments related to youth and women due to the variables of gender, age, level of education, monthly income, place of residence by region, and participation in a party?

### 2.1. Significance

Theoretical importance:

The significance of this research lies in addressing crucial constitutional amendments in the new phase to align with modernity, development, and the current era. The constitutional changes in Jordan involved mainly constitutional provisions centered on the political function. Empowering women and young people by offering more chances to get involved in political parties enhances democratic processes and broadens political engagement.

Scientific importance: This study constitutes a scientific addition to the field of social studies, as it sheds light on the most important constitutional amendments that reflect positively on the legislative environment, in a way that may lead to benefiting from its results by parties interested in this matter, including members of the legislative authority.

## 3. Research Objectives

The current study aims to identify the new constitutional amendments to the Jordanian Constitution related to youth and women, and to identify the extent to which these constitutional amendments respond to the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of youth and women from the point of view of the respondents, as well as to identify whether the constitutional amendments constitute a starting point for social and economic reform for youth and women from the point of view of the respondents. The study also revealed the existence of differences in the respondents' answers at the significance level (0.05) regarding the constitutional amendments related to youth and women attributed to the variables of gender, age, level of education, monthly income, place of residence according to the region, and participation in one of the parties.

### 3.1. Study definitions:

The Jordanian Constitution is described as a collection of legal regulations found within the constitutional document, outlining the structure of public authorities within a monarchy that ensures the rights and freedoms of individuals (Al-Khatib, 2004:446). Regarding the procedural explanation of the constitution, it refers to the 1952 Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the subsequent amendments, with the latest being those made in 2021, serving as the focal point of this research. Gramsci argues that all individuals in society are considered intellectuals, with differences in cultural levels among them. Gramsci categorizes intellectuals as either traditional or organic. (Gramsci, 1994: 24-25).

#### 4. Previous studies:

The first study: Study (Al - Dalaien & Al - Enizi, 2021:1 - 19). It aimed to know women's rights and nationality: a comparative study of the Jordanian nationality law and the CEDAW Convention

The study examines women's rights and nationality in Jordanian law in comparison with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The study used the comparative approach and reached results, the most important of which are the necessity of correcting some constitutional defects, in line with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, to harmonize the Jordanian nationality law with the Constitution, and to preserve women's rights

The second study: a study (Al-Musaideen, 2018: 133). This study examined the impact of the Political Parties Law of 2015 on partisan participation in the elections for the eighteenth Jordanian Parliament in 2016, which aimed to identify the impact of the Political Parties Law of 2015 on party participation in the elections for the eighteenth Jordanian Parliament in particular. At the level of participation in it. The researcher followed the comparative approach and the systems analysis approach.

The third study: a study (Al-Tarawneh, 2018: 99). Which was tagged with The Jordanian environment and the possibility of establishing a parliamentary government: a study of the structure of society, the election law, and political parties?

By focusing on the importance of the amendments that occurred to the Jordanian constitution, its law, parties, elections, the structure of Jordanian society and its relationship with the political system and successive governments, the emergence of Jordanian political parties and their experiences in governments, this study relied on a systems analysis approach and focused on the period after 1989, until the amendments to The Constitution in 2011, 2014 and 2016,

The fourth study: (Strzelecka & Parejo, 2017: 115-142). Which dealt with constitutional reform and political change in the Middle East and North Africa?

The study resorted to knowing the constitutional reforms that occurred in the countries of the Maghreb and the countries of the Middle East, including Jordan, since 2011. The study used a comparative methodology in nine countries, focusing on the most important elements of constitutional change. The results of the study showed that constitutional reforms worked to reshape the social and economic in The Arab world and enabled reforms that included many aspects, especially the advancement of gender equality and women's rights, and had a great consensus emerging from the freely expressed will of the people.

The fifth study: A study (Nasraween, 2017: 527) on the impact of the 2014 constitutional amendments on the Jordanian constitutional system.

The researcher discussed the amendments that occurred to the Jordanian constitution in 2014 and determined the nature of those amendments introduced by the constitutional legislator to the powers of the Independent Election Commission, which is to expand its powers to include

holding municipal elections and any other general elections in accordance with the provisions of the law.

The sixth study: The study of Al-Hunaina (Hunaina, 2014: 125). The impact of the constitutional amendments in 2011 on the reform process in Jordan.

The study aimed to know the impact of the constitutional amendments made in 2011 on the reform process in Jordan. It was found through the research that the current constitution issued in 1952 needed amendments in order to remain comprehensive and meet the requirements of the Jordanian people. About a third of the constitution was amended, and amendments included legislative, executive, and judicial authority, as well as amendments that affected the rights and freedoms of Jordanian citizens.

The seventh study: The study of (Al - jazy & Nasrawi, 2011: 125). Positive trends in Jordan: Constitutional amendments of 2011.

The study aims to know the amendments that included the Constitution of Jordan for the year 2011. The results of the study found that most of the constitutional amendments proposed by the Royal Commission and approved were abolishing the dominance of the executive authority over the legislative authority, and enhancing the independence of the legislative, executive, and judiciary.

#### 4.1. Theoretical framework:

Countries advance in the democratic field on the efficiency of the constitutional system that governs them, which lies in the set of general written rules that define the system of government and the form of the state, the formation of public authorities and the tasks of each of them, the relationship of these authorities to each other, and the guarantees available to guarantee those rights and freedoms. (Alsamhan, 2021:171 - 173)

As Jordan has had a written constitution since 1928, during the period of the British Mandate, known as the Basic Law, a draft amendment to the Basic Law was approved. The amendment included that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is an independent, sovereign state and its system of government is a hereditary, representative monarchy. (Al-Tikriti and Taleb, 2018: 37 - 46) ,(Al-Madi and Al-Mousa, 1988: 490).

A new constitution was adopted that contained some modern constitutional principles as a result of important political developments, with the declaration of independence and the establishment of the monarchy in the year (Al-Khatib, 2019: 50), and with the issuance of a new constitution in 1952, which came as a result of political developments in the unity of the western and eastern banks, as it was distinguished by its contractual nature. On the principles and foundations of the parliamentary monarchy system, and expressed the Jordanian and Palestinian popular desire to pledge allegiance to King Abdullah bin Al Hussein as their king. (Al-Khatib, 2019: 54) King Talal bin Al Hussein made the most important political achievement by issuing a new constitution for Jordan in 1952, which authorized the formation of political parties and associations and carried out their activities openly. Its implementation marked the beginning of a new phase in Jordanian political life that extended until 1957 (Al-Sulaihat, 2012: 302). The Jordanian constitution was dedicated to the year 1952, giving Jordanians the right to form

political parties, and the Political Parties Law No. (39) Of 2015 was issued, which includes a set of legal rules for organizing political parties in Jordan (Nasraween, 2017: 1) the activity of parties was banned due to their activities in mobilizing the people against the government to serve foreign, non-national interests, and their ban continued for a long period until 1989. (Al-Sulaihat, 2012: 302). Jordan was about to begin a new political life by abolishing the state of martial law, after which the state allowed a return to party work and political pluralism. (Tarawneh, 2018: 105) (Al-Sulaihat, 2012: 303).

Jordan has entered the stage of transition towards democracy since 1989, during which the Jordanian constitution witnessed a state of stability, and in 2011, it brought a number of constitutional amendments (Al-Salim, 2013: 227). a legal manner by making constitutional amendments that regulate political life and opening dialogue with civil society institutions and political parties (Al-Khawalda, 2016: 16 - 17), many intensive dialogues were held with many civil society forces and political, social and economic actors in society, and in 2011 His Majesty King Abdullah II called for constitutional reform in response to the massive protests that coincided with what was known as the Arab Spring at the time, with the aim of putting an end to the political crisis (Strzelecka & Parejo, 2017 : 29 - 30 ) .(Al-Khalayla, 2012: 54). The constitutional amendments included more than (42) amendments. (Aljazy & Nasrawi, 2011: 117) to improve political and party performance and to make amendments that contribute to strengthening the democratic process (Al-Salim, 2013: 238) and had an impact on the process of political and economic reform in Jordan, meeting the requirements of the Jordanian people. (Hunaina 2014: 155) The amendment to the Constitution is considered the most important legal event that occurred in Jordan in the year 2011, as it carried with it many fundamental reforms, including the establishment of the first Constitutional Court as an independent and independent judicial body. (Saudi, 2018: 583) Another constitutional amendment was issued two years later, in 2016, and led to the establishment of accountability mechanisms for the government and parliament in Jordan (Strzelecka & Parejo, 2017: 30). The constitutional amendments were among the most important measures undertaken by the government to accommodate the demands of the protesters (Al-gadi, 2015: p. 29). The process of political reform is considered a legislative, social, and political process to bring about important changes to advance the forces of society. And the center of power in state institutions to work in accordance with the law and the constitution, in a way that guarantees freedoms, preserves rights, and preserves gains. (Al-Khalayla, 2012: 6) The process of political reform is linked to the will for change, as reform is closely linked to the will of any political system. Achieving political reform would fulfill the demands of the political forces calling for reform and enhance confidence in the system, which would contribute to stability in the internal environment in the state. (Al-Khazaleh, 2014: 36) that it leads to opening blocked political channels, expanding the base of popular participation, unleashing freedoms, and enhancing respect for Human rights and women's empowerment. (Bani Salama, 2007, 161).

With regard to the Jordanian political parties since the emirate period, they have been based on the forces of tribes, sheikhs and some intellectuals. In order to confront the British mandate, some parties were subjected to external interference. Which led to the cessation of party work in Jordan? (Tarawneh, 2018: 109) the country's independence and preserving public freedoms and equality. Among citizens and improving economic conditions. (Muhafthah, 1973: 75) Jordan did

not know the types of ideological parties until after its unity with the West Bank and amendments were made to the Political Parties Law in 1954 and 1955. (Al-Madi and Musa, 1988: 492) In view of the election law, it is considered one of the most important laws for democratic transformation and political pluralism, as it is a means of choosing representatives of the people in a democratic manner that guarantees equality in terms of the right to vote and the right to nominate and avoid all forms of discrimination between groups of society. Therefore, the Jordanian governments worked during this stage, a number of legislations were issued successively that were appropriate to the developments that Jordanian society had experienced. (Al-Khalayleh, 2012: 49) Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, women remained deprived of political participation and participation in the electoral process. After Law No. (8) Of 1974, women were allowed to participate in the electoral process, and this was a change for Jordanian women in political life (Alelaimat, 2019: 58).

the existence of a modern electoral law is considered to guarantee equality in the right to nomination and election for all citizens and to avoid all forms of discrimination (Tho Al-Hassan, 2013: 46), I participated Women in religious, national, and patriotic political parties (Al-Khalayla, 2012: 81). The country witnessed widespread controversy over a law for political parties until a law for political parties was issued in 1992. It replaced the suspended Law No. (15) Of 1955, and was received with popular approval (Hunaina: 2014: 163). The Jordanian political system became convinced that political life in the country could not be stable in light of restricting the work of political parties, as parties are organizational channels for organizing the masses. The people politically, to communicate with the authorities of the state and influence its decisions and politicians, and is considered a tool for controlling and monitoring the government's performance and actions (Al-Khalayla, 2012: 88).

(Alelaimat, 2019: 59) and empowering them socially to benefit from their abilities and working to provide them with opportunities in the field of leadership and decision-making. (Dababneh, 2012: 213). Anyone who tracks women's participation in political life in Jordan finds that Jordanian women participated in some political parties in the fifties of the last decade, and demanded, through some peaceful marches, their political and social rights. However, A woman ran for elections at that time, and in 1997. No woman succeeded in the parliamentary elections. (Al-Maaytah, 2002: 10-11)

According to a national public opinion poll study (2012: 19), the rate of joining political parties is small in Jordan, and the rate of refusal to join was 89% of the study sample, as it included several reasons for not joining, including lack of interest and conviction in joining, their lack of confidence in the party process, and their lack of conviction in its work. Because it works for their own agenda (national priorities, governance, and political reform in Jordan: 9), Political parties must improve their image by granting youth participation, giving young people the opportunity to participate in the local and national administration of the country, maintaining regular and open communication with citizens in an understandable language, educating them and helping them better understand the political, social and economic challenges facing the country. The Political Parties Law is connected to the Parliamentary Elections Law. It constitutes an essential step towards political reform (Hunaina, 2014: 165).

The reality of political participation after His Majesty King Abdullah II ascended the forefront of which is women and their role in building the new Jordanian society, in addition to the professional unions and their formations. (Al-Khalayleh, 2012: 78) In order to activate and empower the role of youth politically in society, the royal vision came with the necessity of motivating young people and enabling them to participate in national party work through affiliation, candidacy, and election in accordance with the Jordanian Political Parties Law No. (7) Of 2022. (Al-Sammadi, 2023:29-30).

Societal issues in exchanging information and experiences during dialogue. Political reform initiatives must take into account equality between Men and women, whether within parties or within political institutions and also within society. (Brekhshti, 2013: 125)

Women's participation in political life is weak and limited, as there is weak experience of women in political work, unlike men who provide services due to their holding leadership positions or by virtue of their tribal status and financial capabilities (Al-Khalayla, 2012: 81). as party positions in the political arena are subject to male control from some parties and their leaders (Brekhshti, 2013: 125). despite the fact that women have demonstrated high efficiency that has enabled them They were able to reach leadership positions and achieved multiple successes (Al-Khalayla, 2012: 82). There are also psychological beliefs that their equality with men is impossible, and their widespread belief is that they are unable to bring about political change (Aleimat, 2019: 57). women in political participation and party activities, but rather came with the aim of meeting the conditions for establishing a political party according to the minimum representation of women upon founding the party. (Abu Ablah, 2013: 10-14) The participation rate of Jordanian university students in political activities is still weak and low, as there is a weak turnout in voting in national and local elections, due to the marginalization of their role in the political field, especially females, due to tribal, patriarchal, cultural and economic restrictions. (Dababneh, 2012: 219-220) the number of young people affiliated with political parties is low, with the percentage of young people among them reaching 36.47 %. This low percentage of young people within political parties did not help young people reach leadership positions within their parties (Al-Kharabsheh& et al., 2020: 22).

People to clearly recognize their problems, and developing their abilities to mobilize all available capabilities to confront challenges and problems in a development manner. Political performance in line with the aspirations of society and the aspirations of the nation. (Mahfouz, 2004: 66). Political development requires raising political and democratic awareness among citizens, both men and women, to achieve political development by achieving intellectual and political pluralism within civil society institutions and its effective and influential forces that enable reaching a successful and stable political situation. (Al-Maaytah, 2002: 10)

People are able to understand the natural law and be guided by it, and to conform to the system that is in the interest of everyone. The social contract creates a limited obligation to obey as long as the sovereign rules in accordance with the natural law. Therefore, people must accept government measures. Jean Locke sees the social contract as an effective means of legitimizing the government and the government must serve the people (Lermack, 2006: 1412-1414).



charter for establishing the values of sound citizenship within society to preserve the public interest that expresses the collective will of the people of society, and works to unify and direct the existing forces. (Ayan, 2019: 261-279). The constitution is closer in nature to relational contracts, ensuring the intentions of the parties and activating them, providing the possibility of predicting the future, and a continuous direction of development that can be controlled, so that the constitution will last for the coming ages and with the possibility of adapting to crises in human affairs (Lermack, 2006: 1436- 1444). The constitution as a social contract and as a reference for governance. Society does not only stem from consensus on its content, but it also stems from the principle of representation and equal participation (Farouk, 2013: 1-2).

The intellectual is his membership striving towards the independence of the mass blocs and his relationship with the indirect controlling class and indirect institutions (Cairo Symposium, 1991: 226-233). Social exchange theory provides an explanation of the interactive relationships between humans, groups, and societies as a whole. The theory believes that social life depends on give and take between the two interacting parties for the continuity of relationships. The theory embodies the necessity of achieving a balance with what the individual gives to society and what society gives to the individual. The idea of social exchange is considered a source of social solidarity, as people's mutual activities aim to obtain the maximum benefit (Crip, 1999: 101).

## **5. Methodology:**

The study relied on a descriptive research approach, using the social survey method to study the phenomenon, describe it, and interpret it quantitatively by collecting data and analyzing it through the social package program (Social Statistical Analysis System (SPSS). A questionnaire was prepared and judged to meet the purpose of the study.

### **5.1. Study population and sample:**

The study population consisted of the educated elite, including academics, members of the House of Representatives, notables (former and current), thinkers, writers, and local community activists. The sample was chosen from among them in an intentional manner. This sample, to which the questionnaire was distributed, amounted to (1,200) educated men and women. Only (1113) questionnaires were retrieved, and when conducting the statistical analysis process, (41) questionnaires were excluded because they did not contain the answers or were not filled out correctly or because they contained anything indicating the personality of the subject. Accordingly, the study sample subject to analysis became (1071). The target characteristics of the sample were as follows, according to personal variables: gender, age, party affiliation/inclinations, income level, region of residence, educational level, and work. The number of males in the sample was (459), with a percentage of (42.9%), while the number of females was (612%), with a percentage of (57.1%). The largest frequency of the age variable was the youth segment, as it reached a total of 621 individuals in the age group 36 years and under, with a rate of (57.9%).

## 5.2. Study tool:

### 5.2.1. Virtual validity:

The questionnaire was presented to five arbitrators, professors of public and private Jordanian universities with experience and specialization, and specializations in: law, sociology, and political sciences. They reviewed all the paragraphs of the questionnaire and expressed their comments on them. The questionnaire was then reviewed and amended in light of the collected observations. The majority of arbitrators agreed upon it, and after making amendments in light of those observations, the questionnaire emerged in its final form.

### 5.2.2. Tool stability:

To ensure the stability of the tool, the reliability coefficient was calculated using the internal consistency method according to the Cronbach alpha equation, and it ranged (0.89-0.92), and these percentages were considered appropriate for the purposes of this study. The following table shows these transactions.

Table (1) Cronbach's internal consistency coefficient for the axes

The axis	Internal consistency
The constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the perspective of the respondents.	0,89
Constitutional amendments are a starting point for social and economic reform for youth and women	0,92

The statistical treatment used:

The social statistical analysis system (SPSS) (statistical package) was used, using frequencies, percentages, arithmetic means, and standard deviations. In addition to the necessary statistical tests necessary for this type of research, such as the Schiff test and the individual analysis of variance test to answer all the questions of the study.

Analysis and results of the study:

The first question:

The constitutional amendments were an important step to modernize the political system, which included 30 articles and included changes to the party and election laws, adding 3 articles to empower women and articles to empower youth and people with disabilities, all of which were made in the section on the rights of (Jordanians), The constitutional legislator, out of his keenness to empower women within the framework of political guidance and legal employment, deliberately placed the term Jordanian women side by side with the term Jordanian men at the beginning of the second chapter. The previous constitutional text said: (Jordanians are equal before the law, with no distinction between them in rights and duties, even if they differ in Race, language or religion) and when dealing with the text in the constitutional amendments, the title of the second chapter is amended by adding the phrase (and Jordanian women) after the word (Jordanians). (Official Gazette, 2022).

The electoral law also played a major role in empowering women and youth in political life, as it maintained the quota for women in local constituencies while increasing the quota rate so that

there was a seat for each electoral district instead of each governorate, stipulating that there be at least one woman among the first three candidates, as well as among the next three candidates on the formed list. Thus, the first six seats include two women, with the possibility of women competing for the remaining seats if the party deems it so. The election law also requires general party lists. It must include the presence of a young man or woman (under the age of 35) among the first 5 candidates on the party list running for the general district, and thus the election law will have responded to the constitutional amendment to Article (6), which aims to support women and youth. (National News Agency, 2024). The Jordanian constitutional legislator stipulated in Article (70) of this Constitution in the Election Law that he must have completed twenty-five solar years of age and meet the candidacy conditions stipulated in the Election Law (Official Gazette, 2022), and this will enhance youth participation in political life. Involving in political parties will enable young people at an early stage of life to participate in national decision-making and will enable young people to communicate their ambitions and aspirations regarding their lives and futures and reach the House of Representatives as representatives of the people. Articles in the Political Parties Law of 2021, Article (4/B), For the year 2022, the regulatory legislation contributed to joining political parties and guaranteed legislation protecting this right and providing legal protection for the practice of partisan activities, which opens the way for youth and women to participate in public life and empowers their active role in political life (National News Agency, 2022)

Table No. (2) The previous constitutional amendment and the amendment that occurred to it

N	Previous constitutional text	Current constitutional text
Title of the second chapter	The rights and duties of Jordanians	The rights and duties of Jordanian men and women
Amending Article 6 of the Constitution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Jordanians are equal before the law, with no discrimination between them in rights and duties, even if they differ in race, language, or religion.</li> <li>2. Defending the homeland, its land, the unity of its people, and maintaining social peace is a sacred duty for every Jordanian</li> <li>3. The state guarantees work and education within the limits of its capabilities and guarantees tranquility and equal opportunities for all Jordanians.</li> <li>4. The family is the foundation of society. Its foundation is religion, morals, and love of the country. The law preserves its legal entity and strengthens its bonds and values.</li> <li>5. The law protects motherhood, childhood, and old age, cares for and protects young people with disabilities, and prevents abuse and exploitation.</li> </ol>	<p>Amend the text of the fifth paragraph and replace it with the following text to read:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. The law protects the rights of persons with disabilities and promotes their participation and integration in different aspects of life. It also protects motherhood, childhood, and old age, cares for young people, and prevents abuse and exploitation. Adding two new paragraphs (6) and (7) to them with the following texts:</li> <li>7. The state guarantees the empowerment and support of women to play an active role in building society in a way that guarantees equal opportunities on the basis of justice and equity and protects them from all forms of violence and discrimination.</li> <li>8. The state guarantees the promotion of the values of citizenship, tolerance, and the rule of law, and ensures, within the limits of its capabilities, the empowerment of young people to contribute to political, economic, social, and cultural life, develop their capabilities, and support their creativity and innovations.</li> </ol>
Amendment to Article (70)	In addition to the conditions stipulated in Article (75) of this Constitution, a member of the House of Representatives is required to have completed thirty solar years of age.	The phrase (thirty solar years) was canceled and became the phrase (twenty-five solar years of his life), and he must meet the candidacy conditions stipulated in the electoral law.

Royal Commission to Modernize the Political System. (2021) (Official Gazette, 2022)

Table (3) Distribution of sample members according to personal variables (n = 1071)  
percentage

Variable	Level	Repetition	Percentage
Sex	female	612	57.1
	male	459	42.9
the age	Less than 25	99	9.2
	25- 35	234	21.8
	36- 46	288	26.9
	47- 57	279	26.1
	58 or more	171	16.0
marital status	bachelor	351	32.8
	married	630	58.8
	absolute	36	3.4
	Widower	54	5.0
education level	High school or less	72	6.7
	diploma	153	14.3
	University	477	44.5
	Postgraduate	369	34.5
Monthly income	260 dinars or less	234	21.8
	From 270 - 600 dinars	387	36.1
	More than 600 - less than 1000	180	16.8
	More than 1000 - less than 1500	108	10.1
	More than 1500	162	15.1
Place of residence by region	Northern Region	531	49.6
	Central Region	342	31.9
	South Region	198	18.5
number of family members	3 or less	225	21.0
	From 4-7	540	50.4
	8 and more	144	13.4
	nothing	162	15.1
the job	not working	252	23.5
	free work	180	16.8
	retired	153	14.3
	private sector employee	252	23.5
	Public sector employee	234	21.8
Are you involved in a party?	I'm thinking of joining	153	14.3
	no	405	37.8
	Yes	513	47.9
Favorite party	Islamic parties	45	4.2
	Nationalist parties	54	5.0
	Centrist parties	540	50.4
	Left parties	90	8.4
	Not interested in parties	342	31.9
Do you think that the constitutional amendments were in favor?	political parties	72	6.7
	Young	54	5.0
	woman	27	2.5
	all of the above	918	85.7
Do you think that the constitutional amendments will achieve reforms?	Social	27	2.5
	Economical	18	1.7
	all of the above	729	68.1
	Political	126	11.8
	Don't check	171	16.0
Does the Constitution need to make other amendments related to the	no	648	60.5
	Yes	423	39.5

political participation of women and youth?			
	the total	1071	100.0

The second question: Did the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the respondents' point of view? To answer this question, frequencies, percentages, arithmetic means, and standard deviations were extracted for the extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the perspective of the respondents, and the table below shows this.

Table (4) Frequencies, percentages, arithmetic means, and standard deviations of the extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the perspective of the respondents.

No	Z	Paragraphs	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		S M A	standard deviation	class
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
1	2	Constitutional amendments increase women's interest in participating in political life more than before	9	.8	27	2.5	135	12.6	639	59.7	261	24.4	4.04	.741	High
2	7	The constitutional amendments will enable increasing the number of youth seats in the House of Representatives	9	.8	45	4.2	126	11.8	657	61.3	234	21.8	3.99	.765	High
3	6	Constitutional amendments will increase the number of women's seats in the House of Representatives	9	.8	36	3.4	162	15.1	630	58.8	234	21.8	3.97	.764	High
4	3	Constitutional amendments guarantee more women's political rights	9	.8	54	5.0	189	17.6	639	59.7	180	16.8	3.87	.780	High
5	11	Constitutional amendments increase the role and effectiveness of parties more than before	27	2.5	63	5.9	135	12.6	639	59.7	207	19.3	3.87	.879	High

No	Q	Paragraphs	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		SMA	standard deviation	class
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
6	9	Constitutional amendments contribute to party pluralism	9	2.5	72	6.7	144	13.4	657	61.3	171	16.0	3.82	.873	High
7	5	Constitutional amendments enable youth to make decisions that ensure the advancement of Jordanian youth	18	1.7	81	7.6	180	16.8	603	56.3	189	17.6	3.81	.876	High
8	4	Constitutional amendments enable women to make decisions that ensure the advancement of Jordanian women	9	.8	72	6.7	234	21.8	567	52.9	189	17.6	3.80	.839	High
9	10	Constitutional amendments increase the activity of parties in society	45	4.2	63	5.9	144	13.4	666	62.2	153	14.3	3.76	.918	High
10	1	The constitutional amendments achieve civil and political rights for women equal to men	27	2.5	108	10.1	261	24.4	567	52.9	108	10.1	3.58	.897	Medium
11	8	Constitutional amendments contribute to freedom of popular expression related to public affairs	36	3.4	108	10.1	270	25.2	531	49.6	126	11.8	3.56	.945	Medium
12	13	Constitutional amendments will reduce the role of tribes in elections	45	4.2	135	12.6	261	24.4	468	43.7	162	15.1	3.53	1.032	Medium
13	12	Constitutional amendments weaken the role of ethnic and religious considerations in elections and party work	72	6.7	162	15.1	252	23.5	405	37.8	180	16.8	3.43	1.139	Medium
		The constitutional										3.77	.660	High	

No	Z	Paragraphs	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		SMA	standard deviation	class
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
		amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the perspective of the respondents													

Table (4): shows that the arithmetic averages ranged between (3.43-4.04), where Paragraph No. (2), which states, “Constitutional amendments increase women’s desire to participate in political life more than before,” came in first place, with an arithmetic average of (4.04), while Paragraph No. (12), which read, “Constitutional amendments weaken the role of ethnic and religious considerations in elections and party work,” ranked last, with a mean of (3.43). The arithmetic average of the extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the point of view of the respondents as a whole was (3.77). The second question: Did the constitutional amendments constitute a starting point for social and economic reform for youth and women from the perspective of the respondents? To answer this question, frequencies, percentages, arithmetic means, and standard deviations were extracted for the extent to which constitutional amendments form a starting base for social and economic reform for youth and women from the perspective of the respondents, and the table below shows this.

Table (5) Frequencies, percentages, arithmetic means, and standard deviations for the extent to which constitutional amendments form a starting base for social and economic reform for youth and women from the perspective of the respondents.

No	Z	Paragraphs	Strongly Disagree		not agree		neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		SMA	standard deviation	Class
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
1	14	Constitutional amendments constitute a starting point for political reform	18	1.7	72	6.7	135	12.6	702	65.5	144	13.4	3.82	.809	High
2	18	Constitutional amendments achieve fair and more transparent elections	18	1.7	72	6.7	171	16.0	657	61.3	153	14.3	3.80	.829	High
3	17	Constitutional amendments ensure reforms that serve the public interest	18	1.7	63	5.9	216	20.2	666	62.2	108	10.1	3.73	.789	High

No	Z	Paragraphs	Strongly Disagree		not agree		neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		SMA	standard deviation	Class
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
4	15	Constitutional amendments constitute a starting point for social reform	18	1.7	81	7.6	189	17.6	675	63.0	108	10.1	3.72	.812	High
5	16	Constitutional amendments ensure the consolidation of the values of equality and political freedom	27	2.5	90	8.4	234	21.8	603	56.3	117	10.9	3.65	.879	Medium
6	26	Constitutional amendments contribute to increasing citizens' participation in and involvement in political life	54	5.0	54	5.0	252	23.5	576	53.8	135	12.6	3.64	.945	Medium
7	25	Constitutional amendments ensure a new electoral law that is better than the previous one	27	2.5	90	8.4	270	25.2	549	51.3	125	12.6	3.63	.901	Medium
8	19	Constitutional amendments achieve greater political maturity	54	5.0	108	10.1	351	32.8	405	37.8	153	14.3	3.46	1.023	Medium
9	21	Constitutional amendments help create greater social stability	36	3.4	108	10.1	360	33.6	468	43.7	99	9.2	3.45	.918	Medium
10	23	The constitutional amendments ensure that the representative carries out the tasks of legislation and oversight and not the provision of services	54	5.0	144	13.4	288	26.9	468	43.7	117	10.9	3.42	1.021	Medium
11	22	Constitutional amendments help bring new investments to	45	4.2	117	10.9	378	35.3	423	39.5	108	10.1	3.40	.960	Medium



No	Z	Paragraphs	Strongly Disagree		not agree		neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree		SMA	standard deviation	Class
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
		the national economy													
12	20	Constitutional amendments improve the living conditions of citizens	81	7.6	153	14.3	369	34.5	360	33.6	108	10.1	3.24	1.065	Medium
13	24	Constitutional amendments reduce the negative use of black money in elections	63	5.9	216	20.2	297	27.7	396	37.0	99	9.2	3.24	1.063	Medium
		Constitutional amendments are a starting point for social and economic reform for youth and women											3.55	.757	Medium

Table (5) shows that the arithmetic averages ranged between (3.24-3.82), where Paragraph No. (14), which states, “Constitutional amendments constitute a starting base for political reform,” came in first place, with a arithmetic average of (3.82), while Paragraph No. (24) The text “Constitutional amendments reduce the negative use of black money in elections” ranked last, with an arithmetic average of (3.24). The arithmetic average of the extent to which constitutional amendments constitute a starting base for social and economic reform for youth and women from the point of view of the respondents as a whole was (3.55).

First: The extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the perspective of the respondents Table (6) Arithmetic means and standard deviations of the extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the perspective of the respondents according to the variables of gender, age, level of education, monthly income, place of residence by region, and participation in a party

Table (6) Arithmetic means and standard deviations of the extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people

variable	Categories	SMA	standard deviation	value a	Statistical significance
Sex	Male	3.78	.716	.048	.828
	Feminine	3.76	.619		
the age	Less than 25	4.00	.988	1.660	.165
	25- 35	3.80	.856		
	36- 46	3.77	.478		
	47- 57	3.60	.564		
	58 or more	3.89	.517		
education level	High school or less	3.79	.528	.904	.442

variable	Categories	SMA	standard deviation	value a	Statistical significance
	Diploma	3.59	.796		
	University	3.86	.628		
	Postgraduate	3.73	.665		
Monthly income	260 dinars or less	3.98	.731	1.176	.326
	From 270 - 600 dinars	3.77	.629		
	More than 600 - less than 1000	3.70	.575		
	More than 1000 - less than 1500	3.70	.431		
	More than 1500	3.61	.815		
Place of residence by region	Northern Region	3.64	.738	2.154	.121
Place of residence by region	Central Region	3.83	.563		
Place of residence by region	South Region	4.01	.517		
Are you involved in a party?	I'm thinking of joining	3.91	.538	3.127	.048
	No	3.61	.865		
	Yes	3.86	.458		

It is evident from Table (6) that:

1. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the gender variable, as the P value reached (.048) and the statistical significance reached (.828).
2. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the age variable, as the F value reached (1.660) and had a statistical significance of (.165).
3. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the education level variable, as the F value reached (.904) and had a statistical significance of (.442).
4. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the monthly income variable, as the F value reached (1.176) and had a statistical significance of (.326).
5. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the place of residence variable according to the region, as the F value reached (2.154) and had a statistical significance of (.121).
6. There were statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the variable of participation in a party, where the F value reached (3.127) and had a statistical significance of (.048). To show the statistically significant pairwise differences between the arithmetic averages, post hoc comparisons were used verbally as shown. In Table (5).

Table (7) Dimensional comparisons in a verbal way of the effect of participating in a party on the extent to which the constitutional amendments meet the aspirations of the Jordanian people in the field of empowering youth and women from the point of view of the respondents.

Yes	No	I'm thinking of joining	SMA	
			3.91	I'm thinking of joining
		0.30	3.61	no
	0.26	0.05	3.86	Yes

A function at the significance level ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ). It is clear from Table (7) that there are statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) between the non-joiner and both those thinking about joining and the joiner, on the other hand, and the differences were in favor of both those thinking about joining and the joiner. Second: The extent to which the constitutional amendments form a starting base for Social and Economic reform for youth and women from the respondents' point of view

Table (8) Arithmetic means and standard deviations of the extent to which constitutional amendments constitute a starting base for social and economic reform for youth and women from the point of view of the respondents, according to the variables of gender, age, level of education, monthly income, place of residence by region, and membership in a party.

variable	Categories	SMA	standard deviation	value F	Statistical significance
Sex	Male	3.56	.764	.012	.914
	Feminine	3.55	.758		
the age	Less than 25	3.66	.906	2.028	.096
	25- 35	3.61	.511		
	36- 46	3.32	.747		
	47- 57	3.45	.721		
	58 or more	4.02	.908		
education level	High school or less	3.51	.515	.620	.604
	Diploma	3.69	.730		
	University	3.29	.827		
	Postgraduate	3.50	.788		
Monthly income	260 dinars or less	3.77	.740	.409	.802
	From 270 - 600 dinars	3.49	.423		
	More than 600 - less than 1000	3.39	.991		
	More than 1000 - less than 1500	3.41	.650		
	More than 1500	3.58	.773		
Place of residence by region	Northern Region	3.69	.751	.846	.432
	Central Region	3.45	.777		
	South Region	3.64	.726		
Are you involved in a party?	I'm thinking of joining	3.44	.634	3.287	.041
	No	3.44	.925		
	Yes	3.68	.626		

It is evident from Table (8) that:

1. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the gender variable, as the P value reached (.012) and had a statistical significance of (.914).
2. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the age variable, as the P value reached (2.028) and had a statistical significance of (.096).
3. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the education level variable, as the F value reached (.620) and had a statistical significance of (.604).
4. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the monthly income variable, as the F value reached (.409) and had a statistical significance of (.802).
5. There were no statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the place of residence variable according to the region, as the F value reached (.846) and had a statistical significance of (.432).

6. There were statistically significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) due to the effect of the variable of participation in a party, where the F value reached (3.287) and had a statistical significance of (.041). To show the statistically significant pairwise differences between the arithmetic averages, post hoc comparisons were used verbally as shown. In Table (8).

## 6. Conclusion

The analysis results revealed the following information: The constitutional amendments led to political reform and then social and economic reform. These amendments aimed to establish equality in rights and responsibilities between Jordanian men and women, while benefiting the younger generation by lowering the age requirement for members of the House of Representatives from 30 to 25 years. Respondents' answers varied greatly due to factors such as party affiliation or interest in joining political parties. The researchers suggest the importance of reviewing the texts of the constitution periodically and making any necessary changes to adapt to the current political, social and economic conditions and the evolving nature of society. The study addressed the Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the extent of the repercussions of these amendments on both youth and women in Jordanian society, to meet and achieve the ambitions and aspirations of the Jordanian people in all its components in the field of enabling society to achieve its goals and aspirations.

## WORKS CITED

- Abu Ablah, Ablah (2013). Participation of Jordanian women in political parties and professional unions, Friedrich Eberat Foundation, Jordan Office, Amman. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4543-3702>
- Al Dalaien, A. A., & Al Enizi, Z. K. (2021). Women's rights and nationality: a comparative study of Jordanian nationality law and CEDAW. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 27(1), 1-19. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1268878>
- Alelaimat, M. S. (2019). Factors affecting political participation: (Jordanian universities students voting: field study 2017- 2018). *Review of Economics and Political Science*, 8(1), 54-66, <https://doi.org/10.4000/ema.3033>
- Al-gadi, Adel Turki. (2015). Popular Protests and Political Reform in Jordan: (2011-2014), *Al-Manara Magazine*, Volume 21, Issue 3. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1600965>
- Aljazy, I. & Nasrawi, L. (2011). Positive Trends in Jordan: Constitutional Amendemts of zoll. *YB Islamic & middle EL*, 16. 117- 125. <https://doi.org/10.4000/fty.30567>
- Al-Khalayla, Hisham (2012). The impact of political reform on the process of political participation in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 1999 - 2012, Master's thesis, Middle East University, <https://orcid.org/00453-3422-4675-3425>
- Al-Kharabsha, Dima; Al-Khawaldeh, Ahmed; Samarna, Fadi; Darwish, Muhammad (2020). Facilitating Jordanian youth's access to leadership positions in political parties, *Policy Papers for 2019-2020*, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Jordan <https://orcid.org/06534-0002-4543-6789>
- Al-Khatib, Noman (2004). *The Mediator in Political Systems and Constitutional Law*, 1st edition, Amman: Dar Al-Thaqafa for Publishing and Distribution.
- Al-Khatib, Noman (2019). Interpreting the Texts of the Jordanian Constitution (A Comparative Study), *Dirasat Journal: Sharia and Law Sciences*, Volume 46 (3), University of Jordan. <https://orcid.org/0098-6502-4543-3432>
- Al-Khawaldeh, Saleh Abdel-Razzaq (2016). The Impact of the Popular Movement on Political Reform in Jordan 2011-2014 *Journal of Law and Political Science*, Volume 2016 (5), Abbas Lagrour Khenchela University, Algeria <https://doi.org/10.1080/15544773456ty.98769>

- Al-Khazaleh, Youssef. (2014). Political reform and the political will for change in Jordan 2010 - 2013, *Al-Manara Magazine*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Jordan. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15545678juj.1701935>
- Al-Maaita, Noha (2002). Jordanian women, political participation, and women's achievements, report of the Jordanian Women's Union, Jordan <https://doi.org/10.1080/15544774456.ytr87665>
- Al-madi, Munib; Musa, Suleiman (1988). *A History of Jordan in the Twentieth Century 1900-1959*, 2nd edition, Al-Muhtasib Library, Amman <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2014.955406>
- Al-Musaideen, Youssef Salama. (2018). The Impact of the Political Parties Law of 2015 on Party Participation in the Eighteenth Jordanian Parliament Elections in 2016, *Journal of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science*, Volume 19 (1) - Serial No. 74, Cairo University, Page 133-16 <https://orcid.org/0567-8902-4543-3432>
- Al-Saleem, Osama. (2013). The impact of civil society institutions on strengthening the constitution within the framework of the transition towards democracy in Jordan (1989 - 2012). *Al-Manara Magazine*, Volume 19 (4) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1268870>
- Alsamhan, E. (2021). Jordan. Program on Constitutional Studies at the University of Texas at Austin and the International Forum on the Future of Constitutionalism, 171-173 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2021.1882826>
- Al-Sammadi, Issa (2023). The role of educational institutions in enabling youth to participate politically under the new political parties law, *Al-Zaytoonah University of Jordan Journal for Legal Studies*, Volume (4), special issue. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15544345.uy897.1701456>
- Al-Sulihat, Mallouh (2012). What is the degree of challenge facing party work in Jordan from the point of view of faculty members in the Department of Political Science and teachers of the National Education course in Jordanian universities, *Derasat Journal: Educational Sciences*, Volume 39 (2), University of Jordan. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1600965>
- Al-Takriti, Abdul Majeed; Talib, Muhammad (2018). Parliamentary life in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan from independence until 1951. *Journal of the College of Education for Girls for Humanities*, Volume 12 (22), University of Kufa <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2021.1882826>
- Al-Tarawneh, Bashar Awad. (2018). The Jordanian environment and the possibility of establishing a parliamentary government: A study of the structure of society, election law, and political parties, *Derasat Journal: Humanities and Social Sciences*, Volume 45, Issue 2, Jordan. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477ty65.178976655>
- Al-Uqili, Ali; Al Dhaheri, Lama (2018). Constitutional protection of the idea of public orders (1st Ed.). *Al-Arabi Center for Publishing and Distribution*. Cairo <https://doi.org/10.1080/15544rt56788.9876t6>
- Amending the Jordanian Constitution the Official Gazette of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan issued by the Prime Minister for the year 2022 issued on 1/31/2022, special issue 5770 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2021.1882826>
- Ayan, Cribb. (2019). *Social Theory: From Parsons to Habermas*, translated by: Muhammad Ghuloum, World of Knowledge Series, Issue (244) <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1600965>
- Bani Salamah, Muhammad Turki. (2007). Political Reform: A Theoretical Study, *Al-Manara Magazine*, Volume 13, Issue 5. Jordan <https://doi.org/10.1080/155447uyt675.1600965>
- Brekhshti, Kemp. (2013). *Political Party Dialogue: A Dialogue Facilitator's Guide*, International IDEA and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), Stockholm, Sweden <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554478654rt.1765433>
- Cairo Symposium Research Center (1991). *Gramsci and Civil Society Issues*, 1st edition, Dar Kanaan for Studies and Publishing, Cairo <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477y.6754322>
- Dababneh, A. B. (2012). Jordanian women's political participation: Legislative status and structural challenges. *European Journal of social sciences*, 27(2), 213-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2021.1882826>
- Farouk, Y. (2013). *Writing the Constitution of the Egyptian Revolution: Between Social Contract and Political contracting* (March 2011- July 2013) Arab Reform Initiative, 20- 21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2023.176548657>
- Gramsci, Antonio. (1994). *Prison notebooks*, translated by Adel Ghoneim, Egypt Cairo Dar Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1701935>
- <https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=200484&lang=ar&name=news>.
- Hunaina, Ahmed. (2014). The impact of the constitutional amendments in the 2011 reform process in Jordan. *Journal Sharia and Law*, VOL. 2014, NO. (57), Art. 3. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.20194532378>

- Lermack, P. (2006). The Constitution is the Social Contract of So it Must be a Contract.. Right- A Critique of Originalism as Interpretive Method. *Wm. Mitchell L. Rev.* 33, 1403 <https://doi.org/10.1080/155345234.2006.17865>
- Mahfouz, Muhammad (2004). *Political Reform and National Unity*, Beirut, Arab Cultural Center <https://doi.org/10.1080/5678954.2004.564326>
- McKay, Lyan. (2015). *Toward a Culture of the Rule of Law Exploring Effective Responses to Challenges to Justice and Security, A Practical Guide*, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 1st edition, United States of America
- Muhafthah, Ali. (1973). *Contemporary History of Jordan: The Emirate Era 1921-1946*, published with the assistance of the University of Jordan, 1st edition, Amman. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554434yu.2087.170432>
- Muhammad, Zayan (2019). *Citizenship values in modern and contemporary political thought - Jean-Jacques Rousseau as a model*. Doctoral thesis, University of Oran 2, Mohamed Ben Ahmed, Algeria <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554489io..1704325>
- Nasraween, Laith Kamal (2017). *The legal system for political parties in Jordan: a comparative study*, International Journal of Law, Hamad Bin Khalifa University Press <https://doi.org/10.1080/15544577.17015436>
- National News Agency (2022) Experts: Youth political and partisan participation enhances democratic life, according to A <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477u87655/6009987>
- National News Agency (2022) Experts: Youth political and partisan participation enhances democratic life, on the website <https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=220997&lang=ar&name=news>
- National News Agency (2024) Party and legal activities: Constitutional amendments enhance the political participation of women and youth on the website <https://doi.org/10.1080/56789.56498>
- National priorities, governance, and political reform in Jordan. (2012): National Public Opinion Poll (9), MIDDLE EAST MARKETING AND RESEARCH CONSULTANTS (MEMRC) <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1600965>
- Royal Commission to Modernize the Political System. (2021) Proposed constitutional amendments related to the election laws, parties, and parliamentary work mechanisms, on the website <https://tahdeeth.jo/Home/CommRecomm6https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1yu6547rtyi90>
- Saudi, Naseem. (2018) The defense of unconstitutionality in light of the Jordanian constitutional amendment of 2011, *Journal of the Research Professor for Legal and Political Studies*, Volume 1 (9). Mohamed Boudiaf University, M'sila, Algeria <https://orcid.org/0430-0902-4543-7658>
- Strzelecka, E. K., & Parejo, M. A. (2017). Constitutional reform processes. Political change in the Middle East and North Africa. After the Arab Spring. 115- 142 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.78654390>
- Tho Al-Hassan, Al-Sharifa (2013). *Political reform and its impact on political development in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, Master's thesis, Middle East University <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X453678uy.786549>
- Website of the Institute of Politics and Society. (2021). Jordanian youth demand a clear strategy for political reform and a timely plan of action. <https://politicsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/PSI-STRATEGY-.pdf>