



Assessment of the 2020 Parliamentary Elections in Jordan

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Introduction

Jordan held parliamentary elections on November 10, 2020 to elect the members of the nineteenth House of Representatives. They took place as the outbreak of corona virus was getting worse. The government announced a four-day lockdown after the elections.

As a result of the pandemic, an election date could not be set early.

The elections were supposed to be held between May 27, 2000 and September 27, 2000 according to the constitution, which stipulates that they be held within a period of four months prior to the end of the term of the previous parliament.

Up until February, there was no reason to change or postpone the date of elections. On February 25, his Majesty King Abdullah said: “Jordan is approaching the constitutional requirement of holding parliamentary elections this summer.”¹ King Abdullah’s remarks came at a meeting with the heads of the executive and legislative authorities, the vice president of the Judicial Council and chief commissioner of the Independent Election Commission.

Since mid-March 2020, Jordan found itself in a struggle to maintain public safety and respond to the Covid-19 pandemic. The corona virus spread around the world including Jordan. The country adopted a series of measures, chief among them was enforcing Defence Law No. (13) for 1992 and announcing a lockdown as of March 21, 2020.

While officials maintained that conducting the elections will depend on the severity of the pandemic, King Abdullah issued a Royal Decree on July 29, 2020 to hold the elections. Subsequently, the Independent Election

¹ Alghad Daily Newspaper, February 25, 2020

Commission (IEC) announced that the polls will be held on November 10, 2020.

In fact, the Royal Decree which ordered the dissolution of parliament as of September 27, 2020 sent a strong signal that the elections will be taking place according to schedule unless a virus outbreak disrupts them.

The elections of the nineteenth House of Representatives were held under the same Electoral Law No. (5) of 2016, based on an open list proportional representation (see annex 3).

Therefore, this paper includes several comparisons between the elections in 2016 and the elections in 2020.

Objective and Methodology of the Study:

The present study was conducted in the context of political reforms with a special focus on parliament, political parties and women's political participation.

The primary purpose of parliamentary elections is to elect a parliament that is representative of the people. They must reflect commitment to multi-party democracy and pluralism leading to a parliamentary government.

This overview of the 2020 parliamentary elections in Jordan examines the electoral system and the political behavior of voters, including their propensity to vote and the impediments to voting. It also analyses the representation of the winning candidates in their election constituencies, the election results attained by political parties, the number of votes cast and their implications. This also applies to the representation of women in parliament by virtue of the quota and competition for seats outside the quota system.

It is important to note that a multi-methodological approach was taken to analyse the election results.

In order to calculate the votes each party garnered, we have to take into account that the overwhelming majority of the parties did not run as party lists or as part of public alliances or coalition lists. Instead, they ran as part of mixed private lists and joint lists. Therefore, the methodology has taken into account the following criteria:

1. Pertaining to the political party which created public electoral lists regardless of the number of its members or those affiliated with it; in this case, all the votes that the list garnered are counted for the party, regardless if the list won one seat or more or if it did not win any seat. In such a scenario, the votes that each member in a list wins are not calculated since most of the personal votes are repeated. However, the only political party which fits the criteria is the Islamic Action Front Party, which participated in the elections under a broad alliance called the “National Alliance for Reform.”
2. Counting the votes of candidates who ran in joint lists takes into account the following criteria:
 - a. If a candidate was the only one running in a joint list, then each vote the candidate garners is counted for him/her.
 - b. If there are two or three candidates running, only the highest number of votes any of the candidates garner is counted.

There are several indicators related to the number of votes that the political party wins or the overall number of winners garner. They require special calculations such as: (a) If the political party garners 1% percent of the vote; then it is eligible for governmental financial assistance of 15,000 Jordanian Dinars. This percentage can be used (b) to assess the representation of

political parties; (c) the amount of “wasted votes”; i.e. the votes which do not help elect candidates; and the electorate representation index, which measures the percentage of voters who voted for the winning candidate. The percentage reflects parliamentary representation based on how many eligible voters cast their ballots.

Women did not win seats in direct competition (outside the quota system). This can be attributed to the political behavior of influential candidates who created the lists. Besides, political party leaders, except for the National Alliance for Reform list, directed their members how to cast their ballots for party candidates. This assumption explains how these influential candidates running within lists fret that women can grab seats in the list since the open proportional lists in a small constituencies do not provide candidates to win more than one seat. Finally, this methodology refers to the major findings of the election analysis. The following are the major recommendations. If approved, they will contribute to the political and parliamentary reform and enhance women’s participation in politics.

Voting: General Data

The total number of eligible voters stood at 4,647,835. Valid votes cast reached 1,387,698. Therefore, the voter turnout of 29.9 percent is the lowest since the 1989 elections, the year Jordan resumed its parliamentary life. The voter turnout is even lower than that of the 2016 elections which stood at 36.13 percent.

It is noteworthy to mention that the voter turnout rate dropped in all electoral constituencies and not just in the capital and Zarqa where turnout is usually low as seen in table (1) below.

In the 2020 elections, the Badia electoral district in the south generated the highest voter turnout in the Kingdom, with 65.7%, whereas Amman 3rd electoral district recorded the lowest voting rate of 11.7% only. Five constituencies succeeded in generating more than 50% of the voter turnout. These include the Bedouin constituencies in the north and the centre, where each had the same voter turnout rate of 56.7%. In Kerak, it stood at (54.6%), Ma'an (50.2%) and Jerash (50.9%).

The lowest turnouts were recorded not only in Amman 3rd district, but also in five other constituencies. These include Amman 5th electoral district (17.1%), Zarqa 1st electoral district (15.7%), Amman 1st district (14.8%) and Amman 2nd (13.9%).

It can be noted that these five districts also reported the lowest voter turnout in the 2016 elections; Amman 5th electoral district (24.6%), Zarqa 1st electoral district (22.9%), Amman 1st electoral district (22.8%), and Amman 2nd (20.7%) and Amman 3rd district (19.2%)

Table No. (1)

Percentages of Voter Turnout in All Electoral Constituencies

Constituency	2020 Elections	2016 Elections
Amman 1 st	%14.8	%22.8
Amman 2 nd	%13.9	%20.7
Amman 3 rd	%11.7	%19.2
Amman 4 th	%25.6	%29.8
Amman 5 th	%17.1	%24.6
Zarqa 1 st	%15.7	%22.9

Constituency	2020 Elections	2016 Elections
Zarqa 2 nd	%28.0	%32.6
Balqa'	%36.3	%41.8
Madaba	%45.1	%47.2
Irbid 1 st	%28.5	%34.9
Irbid 2 nd	%45.4	%51.8
Irbid 3 rd	%39.1	%43.7
Irbid 4 th	%43.8	%49.3
Ajloun	%49.4	%58.7
Jerash	%50.9	%58.0
Mafraq	%45.4	%53.0
Kerak	%54.6	%61.8
Tafila	%49.3	%59.6
Ma'an	%50.2	%52.2
Aqaba	%37.8	%42.7
North Badia	%56.7	%60.8
Central Badia	%56.7	%63.4
South Badia	%65.7	%68.4

Wasted Votes in the 2020 Elections

Wasted votes are counted based on the difference between the total number of voters and the votes cast for a winning candidate.

The high percentage of wasted votes was widespread under the system of a single non-transferable vote (SNTV) which was implemented in Jordan between 1993 to 2013. These votes exceeded 60% of the electorate votes.

The wasted votes cannot help any candidate to win the elections of the House of Representatives.

However, the proportional representation systems in general reduced the wasted votes. The percentage of wasted votes stood at 40% of the electoral votes as seen in table (2).

Table No. (2)
The Wasted Votes in the 2020 Elections

Number of Voters	Number of Winning Votes*	Percentage of Winning Votes Compared to the Number of Voters	Number of Wasted Votes	Percentage of Wasted Votes
1,387,698	832,998	%60	554,700	%40

(*) The features of the proportional list system implemented in Jordan calculates the number of winning votes based on the total number of votes cast for a winning list and not the number of votes candidates won. This is because the votes cast for the list represent the actual number of voters who voted for the list.

Representation Index

The electorate representation index has a significant implication for the actual representation of the winning votes. It is the index which measures the percentage of voters who voted for the winning candidate.

This index becomes significant when the voter turnout is low. Table (3) demonstrates that the value of this index stood at 18% in the elections of the nineteenth House of Representatives. This means that 82% eligible voters did not vote and therefore did not help any of the candidates to win. They either did not cast their ballots for the electoral list in their constituency

or they elected a list where none of its candidates won. As such, this weakened the representation of parliament. The result demonstrates the lack of public interest in parliament and its performance.

Table No. (3)
The Representation Level of Winners of 2020 Elections

Number of Voters	Number of Winners' Votes	Percentage of the Winners' Votes Compared to Voters
4,647,835	832,998	%18

Women Participation in Elections

Women's participation in the 2020 elections has declined significantly. Fifty three percent of women are eligible voters, but only 46% cast their ballots, down from 48% in the 2016 elections. Table No (4) shows that more than one quarter of women or 26 % voted compared to one third of men or 34%.

Table No. (4)
Women Voting in 2020 Elections

Number of Voters	Males	%	Females	%
4,647,835	2,200,456	%47.3	2,447,379	52.7
Number of Voters				
1,387,698	749,618	%54	638,080	%46
%29.9	34.12		%26.11	

Reasons for Low Voter Turnout:

These reasons are categorized as follows:

1. The environment in which the elections took place.
2. The political atmosphere of the country.
3. Jordanians living abroad were considered as eligible voters.

Pertaining to the election environment, the coronavirus took a heavy toll on the electoral process. The elections could not be held as required by the Constitution which stipulates that they be held within a period of four months prior to the end of the term of the previous parliament (May 27–September 27, 2020).

The decision to conduct the elections was postponed up until a Royal Decree decree was issued on July 27, 2020 to hold the elections on November 10, 2020. Still, there was uncertainty concerning the date of the elections due to the pandemic and whether the date could be postponed but not later than January 27, 2021.

The Independent Election Commission had to issue new instructions requiring the candidates to observe the public safety measures in their election campaigns, such as restricting the number of people attending election gatherings to a maximum of 20 in addition to social distancing.

Implementing a nationwide lockdown each Friday starting on October 20, 2020 till the end of December 2020.

A partial curfew continued, starting from 23:00 till 6:00 (22:00 for Businesses). This restricted the electoral campaigns. Campaigning shifted to the social media platforms.

The announcement of a four–day nationwide lockdown following the elections prompted citizens to focus on securing their bread needs and foodstuff. Many

families, especially women, who had concerns about contracting the coronavirus, did not go to the ballot boxes. The (IEC) took note of such concerns despite the fact that it had adopted strict measures to ensure public safety in the voting stations and during vote counting. The IEC extended the voting time by two hours; which helped increase the number of voters and dismissed concerns about contracting the virus.

But the main reason for the low voter turnout had to do with the political environment. The following are the main factors:

- Citizens' trust in the state institutions is very poor, especially the government and parliament. They are held responsible for the deteriorating living standards of citizens. Anti-corruption policies are ineffective and socio-economic policies have burdened the overwhelming majority of citizens. The government's repeated promises of political and socio-economic reforms failed to realize tangible achievements.
- The government did not respond to the demands of political parties who called for amending the electoral law in a manner that would improve and strengthen political parties' representation at the House of Representatives. It also did not respond to the king's letter of designation which directed the government to review laws- especially the Elections Law and the Political Parties law in order to boost political party representation in parliament and in political life.
- Since the election law was not amended, the leaders of several political parties did not run for elections.
- A year before the elections took place, the government's restrictions and violations of public freedoms created a tense atmosphere, let alone

the decisions to close the Teachers' Association – one of the largest professional associations in the Kingdom. The Islamic Action Front Party is influential at the association. This has prompted a large group of party members to consider boycotting the parliamentary elections. Candidates and activists said members of the association especially female teachers called on boycotting the elections.

- With regards to counting Jordanians living abroad as eligible voters, the electoral tables produced by the Civil Status Department included names of all Jordanians eligible for voting under the electoral law. According to Dr. Khaled Kalalkeh, the chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the IEC, there are one million Jordanians living abroad who are eligible to vote ². If they are excluded from the overall number of eligible voters since they live abroad and the authorities did not take measures to enable them to participate in the electoral process, then the remaining eligible voters account for 38%. This figure would make the voter turnout of 29.9% less shocking. If Jordanians abroad are included in the electoral tables, they must be able to exercise their right to vote like other countries in the world through their embassies and consulates.

Candidates Dashboards

Compared with 2016, the elections of the nineteenth House of Representatives saw a significant increase in the electoral lists and the number of candidates who ran for 130 seats distributed in 23 electoral constituencies.

The number of lists rose from 227 to 294, with an increase of 29.5%. The number of candidates increased by 33.7 %, from 1252 to 1674 candidates.

² In his statement during a talk show called: “A Public Session” - AlMamlaka TV on August 11, 2020.

Thus, the average level of lists contesting the elections increased from 1.75 to 2.25 lists per seat. Competition also increased from about 10 to 13 persons per seat.

In terms of the quotas for Christians, 83 candidates including nine female candidates competed for nine seats distributed in seven constituencies: one seat in each of: Amman 3rd district , Madaba, Zarqa 1st district, Irbid 3rd district, Ajloun; and two seats in both Balqa' and Kerak electoral districts. Accordingly, the average candidate contest stood at 9.2 candidates per seat

Twenty-three candidates competed for the quota seats allocated for Circassians and Chechens, including two female candidates. They competed for three seats Amman 3rd district, Amman 5th district and Zarqa 1st district. As such, the average candidate contest stood at 7.7 per seat average

Candidates from Political Parties:

Forty-one out of 48 licensed parties ran for elections. Six parties did not disclose their intention to participate in the elections and did not provide the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs (MPPA) with the names of candidates. The Partnership and Rescue Party – another Islamic Party boycotted the elections.

Three hundred and eighty-nine candidates or 23.2 percent of the overall number of contestants of 1674 were party members. Of these, 90 female party candidates ran for elections – slightly less than a quarter or 23.1%.

As seen in table (5), five parties did not nominate the minimum number of members (6 candidates) required for receiving financial assistance; seven parties nominated only six candidates each. Party nominations were

concentrated within the (7–11) category. This applied to 21 parties; i.e. more than half of the parties participating in the elections. However, only seven parties nominated a higher number of candidates. Three parties nominated 12–16 candidates: The National Conference Party (Zamzam), the Jordanian Green Democratic Party and the National Trend Party. Four parties nominated more than 20 candidates: The Islamic Centre (Wasat) Party (20 candidates), Al-Risala (20 candidates), the National Renaissance Front Party (28 candidates) and the Islamic Action Front Party (41 candidates).

Table No. (5)

Distribution of Political Parties per the number of candidates

Serial	Category (candidates)	Frequency (Number of Parties)
1	5-1	6
2	6	7
3	11-7	21
4	16-12	3
5	20+ candidates	4

Political parties ran in 1–14 lists and constituencies. The number of lists were between 1–14. Table (6) reveals that the number of parties that ran in nine constituencies or more was limited to three while the number of parties that ran in nine lists or more was limited to seven.

In cases where the number of lists was more than the constituencies: political parties who had more than three candidates – apart from the National Alliance for Reform list and the National Jordanian Party list – did not provide their own list of candidates. Instead, they formed alliances or shared lists with other parties.

Table No. (6)
Distribution of Political Parties as per the Number of Constituencies
and Candidates Lists

Serial	Electoral Constituencies' Category	Frequency/Party	Electoral Lists' Category	Frequency/Party
1	4-1	20	4-1	16
2	8-5	18	8-5	18
3	9+	3	9+	7

It is worth mentioning that the 2020 elections saw more political parties contesting the elections compared with the 2016 elections. It is attributed to major amendments to the bylaws governing the funding of political parties. The new amendments introduced a new formula whereby political parties are eligible for financial incentives depending on the number of candidates that the party fields, the number of votes garnered and the number of winning votes.

In the past, all parties used to receive 50,000 JDs each year.

Under the new amendments, a party receives 20,000 JDs annually until parliamentary elections are held, provided that it fields a minimum of six candidates in the parliamentary elections in three electoral constituencies at least. Another 15 percent would be added to that amount if women candidates are included or youth under the age of 35. A political party also receives financial support if it captures 1 percent of the electoral votes in the country in all electoral constituencies. This equals 13,877 votes. The third

component of the financial contribution consists of 3000 JDs for each seat a party candidate wins. However, the total amount cannot exceed 30,000 JDs³.

Women Candidacy

A total of 360 women ran for the 2020 elections. They ran in most of the electoral lists. The number of women candidates increased by 42.9% as seen in table (7), from 252 to 360, higher than the overall number of candidates who ran for elections. The percentage of women candidates into the overall number of candidates increased from 20% in 2016 elections to 21.6% in 2020 elections.

Table (7)
Development of Women Candidacy from 2016 Elections
to 2020 Elections

Item	2020 Elections	2016 Elections	Percentage
Number of Female Candidates	360	252	%42.9
Number of Male Candidates	1674	1252	%33.7
Percentage of Female Candidates to Total Candidates	%21.6	%20	

Women Lists:

The 2020 elections saw 34 women candidates running in eight lists for females in seven constituencies. These include two lists in Amman’s 3rd district and one in Amman’s 4th district, Irbid 2nd district, Zarqa’s 1st district, Ajloun and the central Badia.

None of these lists won a parliamentary seat. In fact, they garnered a low number of votes even though three of them were partisan lists. The first,

³ Refer to Bylaw No. (155) for 2019- the Bylaw of Financial Contribution to Support Political Parties.

garnered 28 votes, with four women candidates from three parties. Women candidates who ran in the second and third lists were members of one party. They received 95 and 189 votes respectively.

Apart from the women candidate list in central Badia electoral district which earned 989 votes, all the other aforementioned lists did not garner more than 359 votes. They received 346,318,156,120 and 95 votes respectively.

Reasons for the Increase in Women's Candidacy

The reason behind the increase in the number of female candidates was due to the fact that those who ran for elections were political party members. In fact, 90 women belonged to political parties.

It is related to the bylaws governing financial assistance which provide incentives if women run in party lists.

The fact that five women won the 2016 elections for the eighteenth House of Representatives encouraged others to run for elections, since they saw that there were opportunities for women to win parliamentary seats. Besides, the 15-seat quota for women was another factor.

A woman candidate described the electoral system as woman-friendly in terms of candidacy⁴ but not when it came to winning. Nominating female candidates to the women quota in the governorate is not part of the maximum number of seats for the electoral list. Practically, women compete with men for all the seats in a constituency. If they do not win, they compete with women who did not win in their governorate for the seats designated for women quota.

⁴ A comment by Dr. Maysoon Tleilan – President of the Jordanian General Federation of Women in an online workshop organized by Al-Quds Center in cooperation with Konrad Adanauer Stiftung entitled: A Reading in the 2020 Elections and the 19th House of Representatives: 2- the Results of Women Participation on 24.11.2020.

General Results of Elections:

One hundred and fifteen men and 15 women have won in the 2020 elections. This indicates that none of the women won competitive seats. They won 15 seats reserved for women under the quota system.

The 19th parliament included 99 first time winners and 31 former members as seen in table (8).

In fact, 22 representative were members of the eighteenth House of Representatives, while 8 others served in past parliaments.

Table No. (8)
Winning Candidates from Members of Previous Houses of Representatives

Members of Past Houses of Representatives	Number	Name and Constituency
Eighteenth House	22	Andrea Hawari, AbdulRahman Awaisheh, Mousa Hantash, Khalil Atiyyeh (Amman 1 st electoral district, Abed Elayyan (Amman 2 nd), Ahmed Safadi, Saleh Armouti (Amman 3 rd), Dr. Khair Abu Suaileek (Amman 4 th), Dr. Nassar AlQaisi (Amman 5 th); Moh'd Thahrawi (Zarqa 1 st); Ali Khalaileh (Zarqa 2 nd); Abdul Men'em Odat [Speaker of the House], Rashed Shouha (Irbid 1 st); Khaled AlAbdullah, Fawwaz Zu'bi (Irbid 2 nd); Wa'el Razzouq (Irbid 3 rd); Mejhem Squor (Irbid 4 th); Dr. Safa' Momani (Ajloun); AbdulKarim Dughmi (Mafrag);

		Haitham Zayadeen (Kerak); Hazem Majali (Aqaba); Habes Shabib (North Badia).
17 th House	5	Nidal Hiyari, Dirar Daoud, Moh'd Alaqmeh (Balqa'); Merza Boulad (Zarqa 1 st); Moh'd Saudi (Tafila).
16 th House	2	Nawwaf Khawaldeh (Mafraq); Ayman Majali (Kerak).
15 th House	2	Yehya Obaidat (Irbid); Jamil Hshoush (Kerak).

None of the electoral lists won any of the general seats categorized as “Muslim Seat”, whereas two lists won a general seat⁵ each in the 2016 elections.

If we exclude the quota seats distributed among the winning lists, this suggests that the results of elections do not differ from the single non-transferable vote (SNTV).

Results of Political Parties⁶

Twelve political party members won the elections including six others affiliated with two political parties.

- The Islamic Action Front Party: Five party members and five others affiliated with the party.

⁵ These two lists were: Watan List in Kerak and those who won general seats: Eng. Atef Tarawneh and Raja Saraireh and Kerak List where Musleh Tarawneh and Moh'd A'taika won a general seat.

⁶ The methodology used for counting the votes of political parties is based on the following: (i) the party with its own public electoral lists apart from the composition of such lists in terms of the number of party members and those affiliated with the party, the votes garnered by such lists whether winning one or more seats or not winning are all counted for the party.

In this case, the votes of members on the list are not accounted for. The only party which this limitation applies to all its lists is the Islamic Action Front Party the lists of which represented the “National Alliance for Reform”. (ii) calculating the votes of candidates on joint lists take into consideration the following: (a) if the candidate is only one member, the number of votes s/he achieves on the list are the ones accounted for her/him; (b) if the candidates are two or three, the highest number of votes garnered by any of them is accounted for them.

- The Islamic Centre Party: Five party members and one affiliated member.
- The United National Front Party: One party member.
- The National WAFA' (loyalty) Party: one party member.

Following is an analysis of the results of political parties' participation in the elections. There are three trends: parties with an Islamic origin, leftist, national, and civil parties and centrist parties.

1. Parties with an Islamic Origin

This trend consists of four parties: the Islamic Action Front Party, the Islamic Centre Parties, the National Conference (Zamzam), Partnership and Rescue Party, whose leaders were former members of the Islamic Action Front Party. However, they are currently not affiliated with the party. The Islamic Centrist Party finds itself closer to the moderate parties, whereas "Zamzam" and the Partnership and Rescue Party do not identify themselves as parties with a religious reference. These parties participated in the elections except for the Partnership and Rescue Party which boycotted the elections.

1.1. The Islamic Action Front Party

The National Alliance for Reform Lists participated in 13 constituencies: the five districts in Amman, Irbid^{1st}, Balqa', Kerak, Zarqa 1st, Zarqa 2nd, Madaba, Jerash and Aqaba. Three Islamic Action Front members asked for the party's permission to participate in the elections but not in the party's official lists. Two of these ran for elections in the Reform List of Balqa' in Balqa' electoral district while the third ran in a list called "Reform" in Ajloun electoral district. Table (9) shows that the total number of candidates who ran in the reform lists reached 84 including 14 women candidates or 16.7%. The overall

number of candidates includes 38 party members, five of whom or 13.2% are females.

Number of Lists:

The National Alliance for Reform participated in the elections with 13 electoral lists; i.e. an average of one list in each electoral district except for Amman 2nd district in which the alliance joined two lists – one called “REFORM” and the other “COOPERATION”. All of the Alliance lists were called “Reform” except for the “Cooperation” list in Amman’s 2nd district and AnNashama List in the district of Aqaba as well as the Reform Bloc in the district of Balqa’.

Table No. (9)
Dashboard of the Islamic Action Front Party Candidacy
for 2020 Elections

Constituency	List	Total Candidates	Females	Partisans
13	14	84 male and female candidates*	14	38 (5 females)

(*) By adding the three party members who ran outside the official lists, the number of districts where the Islamic Action Front Party members and their allies ran for elections increased to 14. Eighty– seven male and female candidates including 41 party members ran in 15 lists.

Party members accounted for 45.2% of the overall candidates, while female candidates accounted for 15.7%. Female party candidates accounted for 13.2% of the overall party members.

Two party members ran for the Circassian Chechen seat in each of Amman 5th district and Zarqa 1st district. A party candidate in Amman 5th electoral district won the Circassian Chechen seat. Two from the National Alliance for Reform ran for the Christian seat in Zarqa 1st district and Kerak; none of them won.

Results of the National Alliance for Reform Lists

These lists won 10 seats– five seats were won by party members and five others affiliated with the party (see Annex 1). Although the Islamic Action Front Party won the largest number of electoral seats among other political parties, it still equalled the number of winning candidates at the Islamic Centre Party. However, the election results of the Reform lists showed that there was a sharp drop in the votes by 47.2%. The number of votes they achieved decreased from 157,815 votes (10.6%) of voters in the 2016 elections to 83,356 votes (6%) of voters in 2020 elections (see table 10).

The number of the party's candidates dropped from about 9% of the total candidates in the past elections to 5% in the 2020 elections. This can be attributed in part to the fact that the party had expanded its party lists in the previous elections, nominating more than one list in an electoral district, circumventing the calculation method of counting the highest number of votes for winners. This method serves the weak lists with the number of their votes more than the strong lists. The party ran in two lists in Amman 1st district, three lists in Amman 2nd district, two lists in Amman 5th district and two lists in Irbid 1st.

In the 2020 elections, the party allowed candidates to run only in two lists in Amman 2nd electoral district. However, its second list, the Cooperation – in which the veteran Islamist Dr. Abdullah Akayleh won the 2016 elections and headed the Reform Bloc at the eighteenth House of Representatives – let this Islamist leader down this time since he was affiliated with his old party in his own capacity.

The votes that the Reform Lists garnered decreased as a result of the deteriorating condition of the party or because less Jordanians cast their ballots in the 2020 elections. However, the Reform List in Amman 3rd district

was taken by surprise when two of its candidates (Mansour Murad and Dr. Odeh Qawwas) withdrew unexpectedly, hence depriving the lists from two to three seats since it was too late to replace them.

Mansour Murad, who won the Circassian Chechen seat in the Reform List in the 2016 elections, explained that he withdrew from the list in response to a request from the Circassian tribes in order to make room for the young generation to run for elections. Dr. Qawwas – a former parliamentarian for the Christian seat in the same constituency, stated that he withdrew due to a herniated disc. Still, he agreed to become a member in the new House of Senate after the elections. After these withdrawals, the former representative Dima Tahboub lost the votes that could have probably helped her to compete for the women quota seat allocated for Amman, which she had won in the 2016 elections.

Table No. (10)

The Reform Lists' Results: A Comparison between 2020 and 2016 Elections

Item	2020 Elections	%	2016 Elections	%
Total Candidates	84	%5	111	%8.9
Votes	83,356	%6	157,815	%10.6
Voters/the Kingdom	1,387,698		1,492,400	
Constituencies*	13		15	
Lists	14		20	
Winners	10		15	
Winning Partisans	5		10	

(*): The number of electoral districts where party candidates ran varied. In the 2016 elections, the party lists ran in Mafraq electoral district, Irbid 3rd electoral district and Irbid 4th electoral

district. In the 2020 elections, the party lists did not run in any of these electoral districts. They ran in Kerak, as a new electoral district where the party did not run previously.

1.2. The Islamic Centre Party

Twenty candidates from the Islamic Centre Party ran in 12 constituencies. The party participated in 16 lists: Mawtini (my homeland) in Amman 3rd district, Sha'b (People) in Zarqa 1st district, Tajdeed (Renewal) in Zarqa 2nd district; Urdun AlGhad (Jordan of Tomorrow) and Al-Baraka Mawtini (the Blessing is my Homeland) in Balqa'; Taghyeer (Change) in Madaba; Wifaq (Conformity) and Mizan (Balance) in Kerak; Duha (Morning) in Aqaba; Najah (Success) in the Badia Central district; and Al-Majd (Glory) in the Badia south electoral district.

The Islamic Centre Party ranked second among the political parties running for elections (names of winners in Annex No. (1) since 20 party candidates won five seats including four female candidates. A woman affiliated with the party won a quota seat reserved for women in Madaba as seen in table No. (11). The nominations of the Islamic Centre Party were different from those of the National Alliance for Reform. The latter ran for elections in this capacity in the constituencies and lists, which means that the party created the lists and named party candidates and allies, whereas the Islamic Center Party tended to look for partnerships with independent parties and personalities with tribal influence to guarantee winning the minimum number of seats. It was hard to recognize the identity of the lists in which party members ran. These developments are in line with the party's participation in the 2016 elections since two of its members who won the elections did not disclose their party affiliation.

Candidates from the Islamic Centre Party achieved a total of 49,349 votes – 3.56% of the electorate votes.

Table No. (11)

Results of the Islamic Centre Party Participation in 2020 Elections

Candidates	Constituency	Lists	Approved Votes
20 partisan candidates	12	16	45,783
An allied lady/Women Quota *	Madaba	AlWafa' (Loyalty)	3,566
Grand Total: 20	13	17	49,349
% electoral votes	-	-	3.56 %

(*) The party announced that it won six seats; five party members and the sixth was a woman who won a quota seat in the governorate of Madaba. However, her name was not included in the list that was submitted to the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs. Besides, the names of eight other winners affiliated with the party were also not disclosed.

1.3. The National Conference Party “Zamzam”

Zamzam Party fielded 17 candidates including one woman. The Independent Election Commission turned down the application of one candidate. The party’s 16 candidates ran in 12 lists covering nine constituencies. None of its members won. However, the party was in a leading position compared with other parties running for elections in terms of the volume of votes it obtained – 17,053 votes accounting for 1,23% of the electoral votes as seen in table (12).

Dr. Nabil Kofahi, a leader in “Zamzam”, pointed out that the party could not create an electoral list with the party’s name. But in the 2016 elections it succeeded in creating such a list in Qasabet Irbid (Irbid Town) and called it “Zamzam List” even though the party back then was just established and had not obtained the license yet. It is worth mentioning that the “Zamzam List” did not win a single parliamentary seat. But five of other members who ran in their personal capacity won the elections.

Dr. Kofahi⁷, attributed Zamzam’s losses to the following reasons:

1. Candidates focused more on their personal interests rather than the party’s when it came to creating lists. They opted for the tribal list. Therefore, it was not possible to group them in several complete lists.
2. Unrealistic expectations regarding the Election Law. “Zamzam” candidates were taken by surprise when the results showed that they performed poorly.
3. The majority of “Zamzam’s” audience were inclined to boycott the elections since they disapproved of many official policies.
4. Influential figures from the party were absent from many constituencies and did not run due to valid reasons including their dissatisfaction with the law.
5. The party’s electoral campaign was conventional and failed to reflect its beliefs and political practices.

Table No. (12)
Results of the National Conference Party “Zamzam” in 2020 Elections

Candidates	Constituencies	Lists	Approved Votes
16	8	12	17,053
% of Voters	–	–	1.23%

2. Trend of Leftist, National and Civil Parties

2.1. Leftist Parties

This trend includes three parties: the Jordanian Communist Party, the Jordanian Democratic People Party (Hashd), the “sister” party of the

⁷ Quoted from a comment by Dr. Nabil Kofahi in an online workshop organized by Al-Quds Center for Political Studies in cooperation with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung entitled: A Reading of 2020 Elections. First Session: “Participation of Political Parties” held on November 21, 2020

[Democratic Front for Palestine Liberation Party], the Jordanian Democratic People Unity Party [affiliated with the People Front for Palestine Liberation Party]. Table (13) shows the volume of ballots obtained by each party and the three parties together. The leftist parties nominated 25 members including three females to run for elections but they did not win any seat. They just achieved 5,819 votes – 0.42% of electorate votes.

Table No. (13)
Results of Leftist Parties* in 2020 Parliamentary Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituency	Lists	Approved Votes	% of Voters
Jordanian Communist Party	7	0	6	6	2,506	%0.18
Jordanian People Democratic Party “Hashd”	11	2	5	5	1,557	%0.11
Jordanian Democratic People Unity Party	7	1	5	5	1,756	%0.13
TOTAL	25	3	*9	*10	5,819	%0.42

(*) There are several joint constituencies and lists. The leftist parties participated in 10 lists, but not all of them are leftist.

2.2. National Parties

National Parties include: the Jordanian Arab Socialist Ba’th Party (affiliated with Iraq), the Arab Ba’th Progressive Party (affiliated with Syria) and the National Movement Party. Table (13) reveals the number of votes each party obtained and the total votes. The parties had a total of 23 independent members including three females but they did not win any seat. All three parties received 8,064 votes or 0.58% of the electorate votes.

Table No. (13)

Results of National Parties* in the 2020 Parliamentary Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituencies	Lists	Approved Vote	% of Voters
Jordanian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party	6	1	5	6	4,206	0.3%
Arab Ba'th Progressive Party	7	0	4	4	947	0.07%
National Movement Party	10	2	3	3	2,911	0.21%
TOTAL	23	3	*9	*10	8,064	0.58%

(*) There are districts and joint lists. The ten lists that the national parties ran in do not all belong to them.

2.3. Civil Party Trends

Civil parties include both the Jordanian Social Democratic Party and the Civil Coalition party. Despite an attempt to merge both parties, the Political Parties committee at the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs objected because they claim it breaches the Political Parties Law. The case is still pending before the court. Meanwhile, a civil party branch participated in the 2016 parliamentary elections in 2016 via a list called Ma'an (Together) in Amman 3rd district and won two seats. The branch intended to work in party politics, but it did not do so. However, the election results show that Ma'an disintegrated and missed the opportunity to move forward. Therefore, in the latest elections they failed to pick up any seats.

The election campaign for the Ma'an list had slogans calling for a civil state and had six candidates running including one female. During the 2016

elections, the same party received 10,374 votes. They had less than half of these votes – 4,598 in 2020.

Meanwhile, another Ma’an list affiliate, which ranked second in the 2016 elections but did not win a seat in 2020 ran on a competing list against Ma’an in 2020 and one candidate from the competing list obtained 6,999 votes and won the general seat on the List.

The Jordanian Social Democratic Party

Table (14) reveals the disappointing results for the Jordanian Social Democratic Party, established in 2016. They had nine candidates including three females running but none of them gained any seat. The party won 4,933 votes or 0.36% of the electorate votes.

Table No. (14)

Results of the Jordanian Social Democratic Party in 2020 Elections

Total Candidates	Females	Constituencies	Lists	Approved Votes	% of Voters
9	3	8	9	4,933	0.36%

3. Trend of Centrist Parties

Only two parties from the center won a parliamentary seat. The Jordanian United Front Party which introduced 11 candidates including a female (table 15) won a total of 23,706 votes – 1.71% of electorate votes. In terms of votes, the party ranked third place among political parties.

The National Wafa' (Loyalty) Party won a seat in 2020. The party had ten candidates including three females. However, it only won 8,978 votes—0.65% of the electorate votes.

Table No. (15)

Centre Parties Winning a Parliamentary Seat in 2020 Elections

	Party	Total Candidates	Females	Approved Votes	% of Electorate Votes
	Jordanian United Front Party	11	1	23,706	1.71%
	National Loyalty Party	10	3	8,978	0.65%

3.1. Centrist Parties

Centrist parties tend to form political or electoral coalitions/alliances especially because the MPPA supports such political parties⁸. The government allocates 5,000 JDs for parties joining a partisan coalition that includes a minimum of 12 parties. However, these coalitions are unstable as demonstrated by the most recent of these coalitions which consisted of four groups and 25 party members. There are other 14 parties that have not joined any coalition so far. The four coalitions include:

- Centrist Parties
- National Reform Parties
- The Reformers
- The National Coalition of Political Parties

⁸ Bylaw (111) of 2016

Centrist Parties Trend

Eleven parties participated in the 2020 elections except for one party called AsShu'la (the Flame) [Former Wa'ad or "Promise"]. There were 74 candidates including 20 females. The Party of Justice and Reform obtained the largest number of votes as per table (16) although the votes only reached 1% of the electoral votes– 0.78%. "Tawad" Party ranked second with 0.41% of votes and AnNida' Party ranked third with 0.31% of votes. Other parties had an even lower percentage.

Table No. (16)

Results of Parties in the "Trend of Centre Parties" Participating in 2020 Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituency	List	Approved Votes	% of Voters
Justice & Reform Party	10	3	7	10	10,777	0.78
Jordanian National Democratic Assembly "Tawad"	6	2	3	4	5,630	0.41%
AnNida'	6	2	5	5	4354	0.31%
Freedom&Equality Party	7	2	3	3	3843	0.28%
Al Awn Jordanian Party	2	0	2	2	3364	0.24%
The Jordanian National Direction Party	13	5	7	9	2612	0.19%

The National Unity Party	7	0	3	3	1823	0.13%
Jordan Liberals Party	7	3	5	6	915	0.07%
Al Fursan (the Knights) Party	7	2	3	3	468	0.03%
Justice & Development Party	9	1	3	3	293	0.02%

3.2. National Reform Parties:

There are five political parties, two of which did not participate in the elections including Jordan our Homeland and the Conservative Party. The other three parties included 13 candidates including 6 females. As shown in table (17), the National Union Party garnered the highest number of votes in this category– 0.62% of electorate votes.

Table No. (17)

Results of Parties of the “National Reform Trend” Participating in 2020 Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituency	List	Approved Votes	% of Voters
Jordanian National Union	9	4	7	8	8660	0.62%
Jordanian Social Justice	2	1	2	2	2532	0.18%
AlBalad AlAmin (the	2	1	2	2	409	0.03%

Decent Country)						
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3.3. The Renewal Trend:

This trend of reform and renewal consists of three political parties as shown in table (18) all of which participated in the elections with 21 candidates including four females. The National Current Party received the largest number of votes in this group of parties– 0.60% of electoral votes.

Table No. (18)

Results of the “Renewal Trend” Parties in 2020 Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituency	List	Approved Votes	% of Voters
National Current Party	10	1	4	8	8254	0.60%
Al-Hayat Jordanian Party	5	2	4	4	4845	0.35%
Reform and Renewal Party (HASAD)	6	1	4	4	525	0.04%

3.4. The National Coalition of Political Parties

The coalition included six political parties; two of them lean towards Islam. The Islamic Centre Party won six parliamentary seats, one of which was won by an allied member, and “Zamzam” Party which is the only party that obtained more than 1% of the electorate votes although it did not win any parliamentary seats. There were 78 candidates including 16 females from this coalition. As shown in table (19), the National Renaissance Front Party had

28 candidates including eight females. It is nevertheless noteworthy that two parties in this group received more than 1% of the electoral votes (the Islamic Centre: 3.56% and Zamzam 1.23%) and two of them (AsShahama & ArRaya) received the least number of votes among all parties participating in the elections: 124 and 14 votes.

Table No. (19)

Results of the Parties in “The National Coalition of Political Parties” in 2020 Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituency	List	Approved Votes	% of Voters
Islamic Centre Party	20	3	13	17	49,349	%3.56
The National Conference Party “Zamzam”	16	1	8	12	17,053	%1.23
The National Renaissance Front Party	28	8	10	12	7541	%0.54
AsShura Party	6	1	5	5	4572	%0.33
AsShahama Party	7	2	4	5	124	%0.01
The Jordanian ArRaya Party	1	1	1	1	14	%0.00

3.5. Non-allied Centrist Parties

There are 13 non-allied centrist parties including two of which won a parliamentary seat – the United Jordanian Front Party and the National Loyalty Party. Two parties did not participate in the elections – the National Reform Party and the National Jordanian Shabab (Youth) Party. Nine parties participated in the elections with 82 candidates including 24 females. As shown in table (20), Stronger Jordan received 0.60% of the electoral votes whereas the Mustaqbal (Future) ranked second (0.45%) and the Green (Nature) Party ranked third (0.35%).

Table No. (20)
Results of Non-allied and Non-winning Centrist parties
in 2020 Elections

Party	Total Candidates	Females	Constituency	List	Approved Votes	% of Voters
Stronger Jordan Party	7	3	5	6	8350	0.60%
Jordanian Future Party	9	4	6	6	6231	0.45%
Democratic Green (Nature) Party	14	4	5	8	4789	0.35%
AlAnsar Party	7	3	7	7	4580	0.33%
ArRisala Party	20	3	5	6	4222	0.30%
AlHadatha and Taghyeer Party (Modernity & Change Party)	3	1	1	1	1631	0.12%
The Constitutional National Party	6	0	3	3	1552	0.11%
The Jordanian Musawa Party	9	3	3	5	397	0.03%
The Jordanian National Party	10	4	3	3	359	0.03%

Reasons of Poor Results Achieved by Political Parties:

Political parties performed poorly in the 2020 elections as a result of an environment that is not conducive to political parties, particularly the election law and the financing of political parties. Successive governments have failed to address the poor environment that political parties operate in. Despite the King's efforts to address the strengthening of political parties, we continue to see a failure on the part of the government and security apparatus to encourage their participation. However, political parties themselves have also

failed to attract voters. The poor results suggest that many parties use general slogans, don't have real programs and have failed to address and engage with their constituencies.

Most of the secretaries general of political parties abstained from running for elections; only 10⁹ out of 41 parties participated in the elections. Perhaps they predicted they would fail under the open list system. However, their participation in elections is important especially because political parties are weak. Their participation could have improved the results achieved by their parties.

Women Candidacy Results

Only 15 women candidates won out of 360 women candidates; they won via the quota seats only – one seat for each governorate and one constituency among the three Bedouin constituencies. Annex (2) provides the name of the female candidates who won, distributed according to governorate/area, constituency, list and number of votes.

Female candidates only won through the quota system, as shown in table (21) the votes received by female candidates decreased from 112,307 votes in the 2016 elections to 68,022 votes with a substantial loss of 44,285 votes.

⁹ These are: the United Jordanian Front, Stronger Jordan, the National Jordanian Democratic Assembly "Tawad", AlHayat, AsShura, National AlAwn, Jordanian Communist Party, Modernity and Change, AlFursan, and the Jordanian Shahama Party.

Table No. (21)

Comparison of Number of Votes of Women Winning the Parliamentary Elections of 2016 and 2020

Item	2020 Elections	2016 Elections
Number of Female Votes Received (Winners)	68,022	112,307
Successful Number of Females	15 (Quota)	15 (Quota) + 5 Competition

The female quota was introduced for the first time in 2003 and since 2007 women could win one or more seats via competition. Indeed, they won five seats outside the quota system in the 2016 elections but failed in 2020 to win even one seat via competition.

Many have attributed women's failure in the latest election due to the 'proportional list design' which pits men and women on same playing field. Therefore, many men, fearing their seats would be lost to women, began discouraging their constituents from voting for females. Below are the results achieved by women in the capital in order, number of votes and general seat winner from the list.

This comparison reveals that nine female candidates on the winning lists ranked second among 25 winning lists (table 22). This reflects a significant number of female candidates who struggled to win the only quota seat. A large number of female candidates came in the last place (4 candidates) and before the last place (5 candidates). Seven candidates gained third, fourth

and fifth positions. The result suggests that women candidates did not receive enough support from male candidates on the list.

Table No. (22)

Comparison of Female Candidate Votes with those of Winners of the General Seat on Winning Lists of the Capital

Order of Women Candidates on their Lists	Number
Second Position	9
The last and before the last positions	9 (4 in the last position)
Centre Positions	7
TOTAL	25

A comparison is also made between votes from females candidates who ranked second and the winning lists. On the one hand, the results revealed the level of support the list provides for woman candidates to compete for the quota seat and they could have been provided with better opportunities to compete via the quota seat.

Table (23) shows female winning the quota seat in Amman – Mayada Ibrahim received 76% of the votes. Other women candidates witnessed a drop of 40% but this excludes the results of females candidates in the Reform Lists. Du’a Jabr from Amman 1st District received 99.6% of the votes. There was only a difference of 22 votes between the female and male candidate. Dima Tahboub ranked in second place and received 98% of the votes compared to the men winning on her list. This suggests a different political behavior on the Reform lists, because these lists mobilize and encourage women participation with the largest number of votes.

Table No. (23)

Vote Percentage of Women Candidates Ranking in the Second Position Compared with the Winning Man

Woman Candidate	Constituency/List	Votes	Percentage	Remarks
Du'a Jabr	Amman 1 st /District– REFORM	5028	99.6%	22 vote difference
Dima Tahboub	3 rd /Amman – REFORM	3967	98%	
Mayada Ibrahim	1 st /Amman – NATIONAL REFORM	6346	76%	Lady winning the quota seat
Eilat Ajarmeh	5 th /Amman – AsSabah	2811	76%	
Dr. Mariam Lozi	5 th /Amman – AlAzm	2196	49%	Nassar AlQaisi List
Thurayya Mawwas	5 th /AmmanI – ArRaya	2847	48%	AlWafa' (Loyalty) Party List
Basima Khawaldeh	2 nd /Amman – AsShahama	1594	46%	
Su'ad Ali	1 st /Amman/AlAdl	1865	43%	Khalil Atiyyeh List
Khawla Armouti	3 rd /Amman – AlMustakbal [Future]	1496	40%	Ahmad Safadi List

Note: Woman candidate Ruwaida Abu Radi (5th/Capital – REFORM List) ranked 5 out of 7; however, she received 4431 votes at 89%, (i.e. the third best rate in the Amman Governorate in terms of closeness to the winner).

The analysis sheds light on the political behavior of lists where the female candidate won the quota seat. Table (24) shows that some of the female candidates who won received encouragement and support; or were strong candidates who were supported by social, tribal or family members.

Examples of this support include candidates such as Zainab Al-Mousa in the Southern Badia who received 90% of the winning votes on her list. Dina Al-Bashir in Balqa' and Dr. Safa' Moma'i in Ajloun whom each received 89% of the winning vote followed by Abir Jbour who received 87% of the votes. Meanwhile, Asma' Rawahneh won the quota seat in Madaba although her list did not win a general seat (Muslim) but won a Christian seat. However, Islam Tabashat won the largest numbers on her list despite her list not earning enough votes to win a general seat; she still won the quota seat from the list.

General Conclusions:

1. The failure of political party representation in this election prove yet again the flaws in the electoral system of the proportional open list which is not conducive to a progressive parliamentary representation.
2. The impact of the current bylaw governing the financial contribution to political parties no. (155) for 2019 was limited to increasing participation of political parties. However, the election results showed a lack of representation by political parties in the House of Representatives, thanks to the Elections Law which is not political party friendly.
3. Applying the proportional open list system for the second time showed a significant decline in the results:
 - Regarding the number of the general seats (apart from the women quota, Christian, Circassian and Chechen seats) that one list can win; no list won more than one seat in the 2020 elections. However, two lists won a seat each in the 2016 elections.

- The number of women who can win via competition; the opportunities presented via the proportional open list for women in 2016 elections to win five seats via competition in addition to the women quota seats were not guaranteed. This electoral system has impacted women the most. The more male candidates understood the way the electoral system works, the more it made females a target by male candidates who saw them as a threat. Women can win a general seat if they receive the largest number of votes on their lists.

General Recommendations: (Government, the House of Representatives, the House of Senates, and Political Parties)

1. The current election law with the proportional open list system should be amended so that at least half of the lower house seats be allocated to the proportional national list system in a single national constituency. This would give parties the ability to use their electoral influence in all governorates. The parties can create their electoral lists at this level.
2. Increase the quota for women to 30% to comply with the National Strategy for Jordanian Woman. Women should have at least 23 seats – one seat per constituency.
3. Amend the political parties bylaws by increasing the financial support for campaigns and candidates as well as additional financial support for women and youth candidates. As such, this financial support would be an incentive for political party leaders to run for elections.

4. An assessment conducted by each political party, including in the 2020 elections. Analysis that includes the challenges they faced but also concrete steps they should take should be shared to avoid failures in the next election.
5. Voting rights for Jordanians living abroad. There should be no legal or administrative justification to deprive Jordanians living abroad from voting. The (IEC) must be tasked with taking measures to ensure a smooth and transparent voting process with relevant cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates.

Annexes

Annex (I): Names of Political Party Candidates Who Won

Seria	Name	Capacity	Constituency/List	Personal Votes	List Votes
Islamic Action Front Party (National Coalition for Reform)					
1	Mousa Hantash	Partisan	Amman 1 st – Reform	5050	6369
2	Ayoub Khamees	Partisan	Amman 2 nd – Reform	4925	6500
3	Saleh Armouti	Allied	Amman 3 rd – Reform	4239	4598
4	Yanal Freihat	Allied	Amman 5 th – Reform	4956	9111
5	Adnan Mashouqa*	Partisan	Amman 5 th – Reform	4411	9111
6	Moh'd Abu S'eileek	Allied	Zarqa 1 st – Reform	6285	8687
7	Ahmed Qataweh	Partisan	Kerak – Reform	4773	10625
8	Marwa S'oub (Ms)	Allied	Kerak – Reform	3235	10625
9	Hasan Riyati	Partisan	Aqaba – Reform	3546	4135
10	Raw'a AlGharabli (Ms)	Allied	Aqaba – Reform	2655	4135
Islamic Centre Party					
11	Salameh Bliwi	Partisan	Zarqa 1 st	5164	14413
12	Moh'd Khalaileh	Partisan	Zarqa 1st – AlQimma	3241	9323
13	Moh'd Alaqmeh	Partisan	Balqa/AlBaraka Mawtini	4820	10579
14	Asma' Rawahneh (Ms)	Allied	Madaba/AlWafa (Loyalty)	3566	4900
15	Salem Omari	Partisan	Irbid 3 rd – Mawtini	5666	11671
16	Ja'far Rabab'a	Partisan	Irbid 4 th – AlFursan	4630	9906
The Jordanian United Front Party					

17	Khair Abu S'eileek	Partisan	Amman 4 th – AlQuds AsSharif	6249	8606
National AlWafa' Party					
18	Nimr Sleihat	Partisan	Amman 5 th – ArRaya List	5989	7276

(*) **Winner of the Circassian Chechen Seat**

Annex (2): Winners of the Women Quota Seats

(Comparing their votes with the votes of winners on their electoral lists)

Name	Governorate/Constituency/List	Winner Votes	Female Winner Votes	Order (Rank)	% of Winner Votes
Mayada Ibrahim	Amman 1 st District – National Reform	8345	6356	2	%76
Amal AlBashir	Irbid 2 nd District– AlAdala (Justice)	13600	9771	2	%72
Rahaf Zawahra	Zarqa 2 nd District – AlMustaqbal (Future)	5340	3840	2	%72
Dina AlBashir	Balqa' – AlKarama	4860	4341	2	%89
Marwa S'oub	Kerak – Reform	4773	3235	9 من 5	%68
Aysheh Hasanat	Ma'an – Petra	4004	3366	2	%84
Zeinab AlMousa	South Badia – AlWafa'	7568	6814	3	%90
Abir AlJbour	Central Badia– AnNashama	3435	2998	3	%87

Hadiya Sarhan	North Badia – AIMu'akha (Brotherhood)	6415	4708	2	%73
Raw'a AlGharabli	Aqaba – AnNashama	3546	2655	2	%75
Safa' Momani	Ajloun – AtTa'awon (Cooperation)	5426	4817	4 out of 4	%89
Fayzeh Shehab	Jerash – Ahl AlAzm	7286	3900	3 of 5	%54
Asma' Rawahneh	Madaba/ AlWafa'*	4615	3566	2 of 4	%77
Islam Tabashat	Tafila/AlMithaq*	1926	1926	1	%100
Rima AbuAlEls	Mafra – AlQuds Arabiya	8324	5729	%276	%69

(*) Lists that did not win a general seat

Annex (3): Main Features of the Election Law of 2016

- a. The Electoral System (Open Proportional List)
- b. Method of Counting Winning Votes
- c. Provisions of Classifying the Electoral Constituencies
- d. Right of the List to Use its Name and Logo in other Electoral Constituencies

a. Proportional Open List:

Article (9) of the Election Law No. (49) of 2016

Candidates register through lists on the district level with a minimum of three members on each list. The number of candidates on the list should not exceed that of the available seats in their district and usually don't exceed ten. Voters can cast their vote for the whole list, for different candidates on one list or for all candidates from the chosen list. Through the open list system, there is competition between the different lists as well as between the candidates on each list.

b. Method of Counting Winning Votes for Candidate Lists:

The electoral list wins seats based on the proportional system, depending on the number of seats in the electoral constituency and the number of votes it receives out of the overall number of voters. Calculating the percentage requires the following steps:

- Divide the number of votes that the list receives by the total number of voters in the electoral district, multiplied by the number of seats allocated for the constituency.
- Distribute the constituency seats (other than those designated for Christians and the Circassians and Chechens) according to the “ real numbers” that the lists achieved based on the aforementioned calculation
- Allocating the remaining seats is based on the lists that garnered the highest percentages to the lowest until the distribution of seats is complete

c. Classification of Electoral Constituencies:

According to Article (8), the Election Law divides the Kingdom into 23 electoral constituencies and allocates 115 seats according to a special bylaw issued for this purpose. As per such a division, there are three constituencies: the first comprises governorates where each of which forms one electoral constituency; this type includes nine governorates out of 12 total governorates in the Kingdom; the second type consists of three Badia districts; North, Central and South. Demographically, they are considered as closed zones. They are also seen as governorates in terms of their share of the women quota; the third type is the three major governorates – Amman, Irbid and Zarqa. As table (1) reveals, these governorates have the largest share of seats and they rank first in terms of the number of seats compared to the remaining constituencies. The Election Law dealt differently with these three governorates by dividing them into sub-districts.

Table (1)

Number of Constituencies and Seats of the Capital, Irbid and Zarqa Governorates

Serial	Governorate	Constituencies	Seats
.1	Amman	5	28
.2	Irbid	4	19
.3	Zarqa	2	12
Total		11	59

d. The Right of List to Use its Logo (Symbol) in other Constituencies:

Article (b/15) in the Election Law gives the right to the election list to use its own name and symbol in any electoral district. The reason for this is to encourage an enabling environment for parties to participate in elections.

e. Women Quota

- a. According to (articles b, c/8) in the Election Law, there are 15 seats allocated for women under the quota system – one seat in each governorate and one for each of the three Badia districts. The female candidates running for the seat designated for women must run on candidate lists. Based on the provisions of Clause (9/2d), a female candidate will not be within the maximum number

of candidates on the list. A female candidate can win a seat designated for women in each governorate based on the maximum votes she receives out of the total number of votes cast in her electoral constituency. Concerning Amman Irbid and Zarqa, they are divided into sub-districts. The female candidate wins if she receives the highest percentage of votes among female candidates divided by the number of voters in their constituencies (Clause 4/a/46).

b. Quota of Christians; Quota of Circassians and Chechens

Candidates for the seats designated for Christians and the Circassians and Chechens can run for elections on lists in the constituencies where they have seats (Clause 9/a/1d). The winners of such seats are the candidates who receive the highest number of votes in an electoral constituency. The electoral constituency bylaw No. (75) of 2016 allocates nine seats for Christians, two seats in each of the districts of Balqa' and Kerak and a seat in each of Amman 3rd district, Irbid, Ajloun, Zarqa 1st district and Madaba. Pertaining to Circassians and Chechens, three seats are allocated for them in Amman 3rd district, Amman 5th district and Zarqa 1st district.

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