

The Role of Protesting Public Political Movement in Strengthening the Operation of Political Reform in Jordan (2011-2014)*

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Abstract

The study goals can be summarized in knowing the effect of protesting Jordanian political movement on the strengthening the political reform in Jordan during the period (2014-2011) ,the political reform in Jordan appeared as a result of strategic environment on the regional and international environment and transformations that happened in them and the effects of the local environment of the Jordanian state which is connected with the openness on the usage to use the modern technology communication like the internet and social media network and others, and the feeling alienation and marginalization , and the appearance of corruption phenomena and abusing the public office , and in the addition to the economic conditions such as lowness of the living standard, high prices , inflation and the spread of poverty and unemployment , this produced a case of political congestion which promoted the political movement in the year 2011 to achieve some of the political and the economic needs depending needs depending on the peaceful protesting such as protests and argument and taking refuge . Despite that public and political opposing Jordanian movement started at the same time with the start of protests in other Arab countries, which led to resolutions, and changing ruling systems, the political results that this movement pushed towards are considered humble in comparison with what has been achieved. For example in Egypt, Tunisia ,Yemen and Libya and even in morocco, from here the importance of this study is set off in its attempt to shed the light on the reality of political roles for the Jordanian political movement which was set off in the year 2011 whether it pertains to (constitutional amendment revision of the laws connected with political correcting, Political participation, public freedoms) and achieving its goals that is connected with fighting corruption and administrative flabbiness.To achieve the study goals the descriptive analytical course will be used to describe the nature of nature public movement in Jordan and the roles that was done by it . its instruments and the stages it crossed and then the study of the political correcting operation through the study of the political variables witnessed by the operation after the year 2011and that pertains to constitutional amendment for the year 2011 and election laws and others.

Keyword: protesting public political movement, political reform

• Justifiers

The importance of the study is as follows:

- A. the political reform represents the main entrance to achieve the economic and social reform and starting with provides real conditions and guarantees to achieve comprehensive national comprehensive reforms which participates in building a nation of modern new establishments, which will be real reflection for the society's value and committed to achieve its interest , and the focal point here is represented in moving with political life from its apparent position to applied arena and actual practice , that is why the importance of reform operation in Jordan because of reflection of that on the political stability .
- B. it is concerned with the role of public political Jordanian and its effect on the political reform in Jordan (2014-2011) , there is shortage in studies and research that studied this subject despite its major importance , as a political phenomena that deserves study and analysis .

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C. it is possible that it will participate in the understanding of decision makers about development of mechanisms through which it is deal with public political movement in Jordan

• **Goals**

The study aimed at achieved the following goals

- a. Knowing the reality of the political public Jordanian movement and its goals needs and mechanisms it uses to send the system and the Jordanian.Society in light ondevelopment witnessed by the reform political march in Jordan.
- b. Measurement of the political public Jordanian movement on the enforcement of political reform through (constitutional, amendment, revision of the laws connected with political; reform, political participation , general freedoms (2014-2011)
- c. Conclusion with a group of recommendations that participate in enforcing the political reform in Jordan.

Previous Studies

One of the most important studies connected to the study is as follows:

The study of Marwan Al Muasher and Marina Otawi (2011)entitled :the Arab royal systems : a chance for reform not achieved yet (AL Muasher,2011) contrary to what could be reflected by the continued protests around reflected by the continued protests around the middle east and north Africa, the royal and ruling families enjoy an exceptional degree of legitimacy in the eyes of its people, most of the citizens in Arabic royal governments would like the governments not the whole system , and this matter gives a chance to the governors to walk on the political reform road more comprehensive without losing their thrones and to win praise inside their countries as well as outside. All royal countries took steps to quell their citizens but they provided material provisions hoping to satisfy them, or used narrow reforms that does not give them but a limited voice in the areas of political operation. These political arrangements went between procedures that are seemingly courageous but limited in reality in morocco, to others that are hesitant and not sure in Jordan and were absent practically in the gulf countries. And except few some partial exceptions, it does not seem that Arab royal countries are walking in the direction if representation wanted by protestors.

Study of the Jordan university strategic center (2011) entitled “study of the general opinion about suggested constitutional amendments”(Center for strategic studies in the university of Jordan,2011).

The study in essence presented and analyzed satisfaction about constitutional amendment in the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan for the year 2011 , and its importance of rising with the political life in Jordan, and appointing the senators of the senate, and the ideal election law from the perspective of the citizens , the study had reached many results , the most important of which the highest rate of satisfaction about constitutional amendment was in the governates of Madabah and Mafraq and Jarash , while the least satisfaction was in karak and Tafilah and Balqa and, as to the best choice about formation of senate , results showed that (54%) from the people who answered the national sample and the sample of opinion leaders prefer electing the members of the senate directly by the citizens.

Amin Mashaqba’s study (2010) titled “Political reform and wisely guided government “(Mashaqba, and, Alawi,2011)

The study came in two chapters for the concepts of political reform in all its indications , through following the reading course of the world’s successful experiments in launching war on corruption, and employing the academic to detect this phenomena that became rooted in one way or another in most of the world’s countries, this study wanted to explaining democracy through its meeting with political reform, in reaching to the best form of government , the study counted the democracy and government two faces of one equation which is the development equation.

Study of Marina Otawi and Michele D.N (2001) titled : “government systems and the problem of the king “ in the Arab world promises and do risks of the pyramid reform(Otawi,2007), the two researches in the Carnegie foundation , the problems of the growing leaderships of the reforming thought in the Arab world, globalization and the improving the possibility of people’s finding of information promote want for modernization , but history shows that reforms that are entered from the top of the pyramid even if was limited, increases instead of decreases the demand of the pyramid’s base to execute root changes, as was the case with the Iranian revolution, to face this threat , the Arabic ruling systems try to control the change operation through executing : managed reforms”: adopting official establishment reform without transfer of real authority (Bahrain and Egypt) , or conducting important improvement in the civil rights without establishment reform (Morocco) or achieving a limited participation of the legitimate opposition (Yemen and Algeria) the study concluded that reform operation from the top of the pyramid to the bottom did not generate except little affect , which means it didn’t , in the best of conditions, except marginal in limited issues , and it doesn’t lead to repeating distribution of wealth which is usually followed by any real operation to spread democracy, and not even to liberty . as to the local advocates of reform which is managed for above the pyramid as to the players from the outside opting for enforcing the change , it seems the resulting lesson is it is not possible at all that political reform empty from risks. The surest administration of reform will guide to prolonging the authority, in the case the reform operation that are not run results that are unpredictable.

Labib Kamhawi’s study (2005) titled:” Jordan’s future challenges affecting the reform democratic effort in Jordan 2010-2005” (Kamhawi, 2005)the study is based on research and analysis for three main axis: internal dimension , regional and international dimension , economics and technological dimension , with the aim of reaching to the real causes hindering the democratic reform, to enforce the chances of democratic reform in Jordan. the study concluded that the barriers of the democratic reform in Jordan, to enforce the chances and possibilities of democratic reform in Jordan, the concluded that the barriers to democratic reform in Jordan is essentially eternal barriers and challenges , stem from inside the Jordanian society and its democratic build, as for the external factors , including the regional and international dimension, their effect is secondary in comparison to internal factors . the researcher found from his surveying the research and studies which studied the subject of public political movement that these is scarcity in these studies despite the big importance of this subject as a political new phenomena which demand research in its dimensions reasons and tools and role in the political operation specially with respect to political reform operation.

The Course of Research and its Methods

The study applies the descriptive analytical course to describe the public movement in Jordan and the roles that it tools and its tools and the stages passes by and them a scientific study the political reform through the study of political variants witnessed by the year 2011 connected in constitutional amendments for the year 2011 and the election rules and others.

The Reality of Public Movements in Jordan

The characteristic of the public movement in Jordanwith the appearance of political changes in Tunisian revolution started with named internal political movement at the same time in Jordan in 7 Jan 2010 in the Ziban area in the governate , where hundreds of young men who were asking for improvement and economic situation , through this movement , external walk in Friday in the next Friday from the Hussein Mosque in the middle of the capital Amman , the walks of Hussein mosque encompassed most the forces demanding reform and opposition forces and campaigns and demanding change especially dropping Samir AL Rifai’s government and advancing in the political measurement done by the public international institute in year 2009 , the rising cost of living is the biggest concern for the Jordanian , followed by unemployment which the estimations are that it surpasses 30% (Hameed and freer,2011).

The previous prime minister, Sameer AL Rafai in 20 July 2001 in an attempt to stop bundle estimated at 230 million dollars, which will lower the cost of bread and fuel and help to create job opportunities , when this procedure failed in stopping the protesters , the prime minister presented a new support bundle of 550 million dollar for fuel and main food products like rice and sugar.

King Abdullah in the first of February solved the government and appointed the new Jordanian ninth government during eleven years, after resignation of Sameer AL Rafai's government the walks didn't stop, on the contrary the ceiling rose to demanding constitutional amendments or going to year 1952 constitution, despite the rise of demands ceiling, it didn't adopt the idea of "changing the Hashemite system: but rather "reforming the system"; in the midst of these movements, new movements that call for change and reform, like 1952 constitution movement and Jaen "we are coming: movement and nationalistic advanced current, people's advanced current, and other movements which were born at last in the same time with the Arab revolution and the public political movements, among the supporters of royal constitutionalism were political penalties and party leaders except that king Abdullah tackled this issue clearly (www.hs.facebook.com/pages).

The movement led by some opposition forces among which are Islamic work and some public movements refuses the gradual principle in the reform operation and it wants its demands to be met as soon as possible as imposed conditions on the system before commencement of political operation, and wants and practical thing.

This movement demands a dialogue with it seriously on the basis of haggling and participation, considering that people is an integral part of the state, so there is no place for conflict, in addition, the Jordanian systems works to enforce political participation for all constituents and spectrums and stratum of the Jordanian society, political reality is demanded from the leaders of this current in dealing with Jordanian situation because the practical and legal basis was put to track of the real reform in the state's structure and the state refuses the principle of extremism and being strict or resorting to violence that is not wanted by anybody, at the same time the government participates in "bridging the gap, and pushing towards dialogue that is built on the upper national interests, because the political will in the nation as long as the political operation is participatory, and the most important characteristics of the Jordanian political movement are as follows: (Mashaqba,2012)

Concentration on the service needs. The public movement that demands improving services, this movement is distributed in more than one area, it appears strongly especially in the time of crisis and contracts some other times, this kind of movement can be covered by presenting the essential pressing needs for the citizens such as water and electricity and improving wages, and improving health services and hiring, dealing with poverty issues and others, this falls on shoulders of governments and their establishments which have to follow the affairs of the citizen in all his need and wants, the element of the effectiveness of the governments is wanted through field work and facing challenging to reach a root solution, in result, the main titles for the invitations demanding reform are represented in big political reforms and clear specific procedures to combat corruption which, according to the opposition powers, is the largely responsible for what the economic positions have reached to from unemployment and poverty, these walks and declarations were able to form pressure tools on the system to launch a path to political reform system and its sustainability calls for the state which all its constituents and not by satisfying certain group or the protection of security establishments its members are the society's sons are affected at the same level that their social references are affected.

Which were represented in answering of the official sites to the walks and declarations through following the policy of containing and avoiding collision, so the government allowed launching the marches without any friction with the protesters, and dealing politely with political declaration.

A. The plurality of laws and making legislations Jordan faced a problem embodied in too much corrections with looking to the law in isolation from other laws, without paying attention to their contradiction, and not giving enough time for the its study and studying the need for them, which generated laws that contradicted each other sometimes and its being unconstitutional in other times, which affects negatively the stability of organization of the rights and duties of citizens that are devoted and maintained by the constitution, the most important reason of the existence of this case of non-stability of legitimacy is "weakness in directing legitimate operation: resulting from nonexistence of clear jurisprudence school in the foundations of industry and formation of legislation, then the nonexistence of lawful course for the foundations of legitimate formation which leads to the absence of establishments in the legitimacy operation, which reflects negatively on the different sides of daily life which prompted the public Jordanian movement to ask for limiting of temporary laws and importance of that the laws should take its constitutional stages entirely.

B. Openness on the establishments of civil society

The most important trait which makes an advantage of the political reform in Jordan is allowing the establishment of the civil society in practicing its economic, political and social roles, achieving the national goals and within the frames of the state and its establishment, searing the political reform operations, that is why we find that these establishments have constant connection with different public and private establishments, achieving its goals on the organization or the society on the society as whole, the first results for these meetings were represented in answering the street desires to dismiss the Sameer Rifai's second government, for the first time indications in the official letter that are geared towards political presented, through the governments agreement to establish teachers syndicate, which is an issue that was previously refused completely by the official letter, the government also declared its intention to do reform steps try stalized in allowing to establish gatherings without previous permission as the law previously conditioned, and gives a larger ancient of freedom. (Al Rai Newspaper, 2011)

C. Peacefulness of the movements, protesting and demanding reform: all reform movements concentrate on the peaceful course and not using violence in its reform demands this is clear through the protests and peaceful protest movements that happened in the kingdom since the year 2010, until now and the statistics of the public security directorate indicate that about 619 march and more than 438 protesting festivals in all kingdom's areas.(Security General directorate operation administration 2012)

Effective Powers in Jordanian Public Movements

The Hashemite kingdom lived about two years the public protests demanding political and economic reforms and destroying corruption, but it witnessed during this period a political congestion and public movement in a continuous way, especially from the Islamic side and tribal personalities and leftists who were inspired by the uprising of the Arab spring but they concentrated on fixing the government with political change, and limiting the king's authorities not changing him, the opposition looks for the Arab spring to its election and giving more fair representation to its citizen from Palestinian origin opposition sees that election laws were designed to limit their influence by devising the elector circles to the interest of the tribal areas that are least inhibited and government backing for most parliamentary seats were allocated to them, moreover the density populated cities that are traditional strong holds are not adequately represented, and they ask to solve the large economic troubles suffered by the country and to fix the deficiency in the government's treasury.(Abo Sikeen, 2012)

The Most Important Powers in the Political Jordanian Movement

A. Higher coordination committee for the Jordanian nationalistic opposition.

It is the committee that has the largest opposition parties in the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan with the leftist, nationalistic and Islamic direction, and the higher coordination committee the parties of public unity, unity ,and the Jordanian communist and the public democratic (hashed) and the socialistic Ba'ath party and advancing democracy (<http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki>,2012), the wants of these parties are concentrated mostly in political and economic reforms and solving the house of representatives and the consecutive appointed governments, demanding Jordanian policy changes internally and externally, this is clear in the walks of these parties in front of the husseini mosque or in front of the prime ministry or in front of the professional syndicates complex in shemisani, even in front of some embassies and international representation offices such as what happened in front of Israeli embassy during the war days on Gaza, and the united nations office in Amman or even in front of the embassies of Arab nations That witnessed revolutions lately. The secretary general of the public unity party Dr. Saeed Ziab is the official speaker in the name of the upper committee of opposition party in Jordan, the meetings of which in the party's headquarters in Amman.

B. The youth of 24 March or movement of March or movement of March 24. It is a peaceful movement organized by young men and woman who like their country and want its construction and reform, the movement does not belong to any certain party or site but it is a mix of young free men and women, who were fed up with put off and reform promises and who see the spread of economic situation, and set back of political life and the absence of freedoms and decay of social fabric. (<http://ar.wikipedia.org>,2012)

c. The national reform front. Was able its first administrative meeting after forming executive office consisted of 25 members who represent the six opposition parties, and the Muslim brotherhood, and women's union, 24 march movement, social lift, and patriotic independent personalities led by Mr. Ahmad Obiedat and this front was a try to unify the opposition line and ate efforts, but this front faced two problems: (Gharaibah,2011)

1- First problem: slowness, Lack of effectiveness, Difference in interests and directions.

2- Second problem: old flaccid penetrated parties, which form a part of the Arab system and the official Arab system, which the people rose against.

D. Public reform front. A new public frame which contains 37 pure public movements, doesn't follow the traditional parties except the Islamic movements it convened its first meeting which included 150 personalities from different governorates and regions of the kingdom, in this gathering, an administrative organizational frame, and many of the public protesting movements have appeared, and annex (B) shows most important of these movements. (Gharaibah,2011)

E- Movements in Jordanian cities. Participation movements appeared in the regions and cities we arrange them from north to south: Ramtha, Irbid, Kamim, AL Mafraq, AL Zarqa, Jarash, Ajloun, Kaferanja, Al Salt, Amman, Hai AL Tafilah, Basera, Al Shobak, Ma'an, Al Aqaba. In addition to tribal movements such bani Hassan and Bani Saqer and Diaga and haijia and AL Aisra, there was political movements such as: (constitutional monarchy and constitution 1952 movement, and youth movements like 24 march movement and 15 April and youth Jordanian movement and tribal sons and Jaeen movement. (AL lawama ,2012)

The weakness and low numbers in the movement reasons are as follows:

A. Lowness of the populations (6.3 million) in comparison with other countries in which public movements have occurred such as Tunisia 10 millions and Egypt 85 million and Syria 23 million and Yemen 24 million and Morocco 32 Million.

B. The difference between the Jordanian system and other Arabic systems in the level of freedom possessed by the citizen.

C. Fear suffered by many citizens from the oppression that might face the movement.

D. Fear by the citizens from the high ceiling calls which is launched by some of the movement's youth.

E. Unclearness of the citizen and the movement with respect to what would the situations be after walking in large numbers.

F. Non-agreement of unified demands agreed upon by most political currents, movements and opposition parties.

G. Nonexistence of effective leadership of the movement and its word is heard by everybody.

H. Dependence of movement on the parties in some areas even partially.

The challenges faces by public movement: (AL lawama, 2012)

a. Nonexistence of one unified leadership or the non-existence of information façade for the movement and the scarcity of participating of the movement from the silent stratum.

b. The non-clarity of the political effective stratum in the movement and the non-resolve of the complicated issues facing reform in Jordan.

c. Silence over the political stratum in Jordanian opposition

National and Public demands agrees upon by the movement: (AL lawama, 2012)

a. People are the source of authorities

b. National salvation government leading the reform operation in the country

c. Fair election law and uncorrupted election without interference from security apparatus in them.

d. Parliamentary elected government gaining the general ruler ship.

e. Recovering themonies, belongings, and capacities.

The complexities of Jordanian internal position are crossed with a number of regional and international calculations, the existence of Jordan regionally in the middle militarily economically, humanly, and ideologically different, made the political decision maker living in a security thought , Syria , Iraq and Saudi Arabia and Israel are nation, around Jordan each one of them has an advantage military or economic or human makes it in an advantage position , because Jordan has a shortage of oil and natural substances, water and energy and carrying the burdens resulting from the immigration of the Palestinians as a result of the Arab –Israeli conflict, which made it dependent on external help to finance the general budget of the state.(Abo Sikeen,2012)

Public Jordanian movement did not form under the influence of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt; rather it preceded them, its beginning happened in the movement of the Aqaba port workers late 2009, it is the movement that expressed about a national social sharp confrontation, it was the pinnacle of workers escalation of a new type, started by the daily workers committee in the public sector, which participated significantly in the return of the refuge method to the political and social Jordanian life but the year 2010 was the year of the dynamic birth in public movement of the public sector was launched. And that those who bet on a Jordanian copy of that Arab revolution or this were its originality stemming from the interference between the social classes knowledgeable to make the change and between the state's apparatus.

And it is apparent that the new opposition forces that is most effective is all from the public sector, workers and teachers and retirees and activities among them the limited elements from the leftist and the independent nationalist.

Evaluation of political Jordanian state through watching and detecting the type of behaviors point to that the government and decision makers in state's establishment reached a result that the revolution is obtaining and that what is happening in Jordan will not be in the strength or power of what was expected, therefore the strategies it is using until now is containing without resorting to using force a lot.

The public peaceful Jordanian movement is an advantage singles Jordan out, with all its constituents the state, and the system and the people in the same time with the situations, chaos and bloody confrontations happening in our Arab environment, that is why it is a national necessity in this stage, it has to develop its tool and the government had to support this development to keep the peacefulness and nationalism of the movement.

The economic factor was the most effective due to rise of unemployment and augmentation of poverty, the absence of social equality and the suffering of the middle class and one of the reasons that participated in that the absence of economic planning which goes with the nature of the Jordanian people through consecutive governments and absence of real true watching through representative councils.

What gives Jordan an advantage in the subject of reform is the harmony and intone between the people and the leadership, which realized and before Arab spring the necessity of starting reform-to-reform mistakes happened in the past dictate to correct by the higher interest and repeat the balance and economic in the society and start a new stage taking into consideration the real participation in making the decision, transparency and corruption and solving the youth's problem and restoring balance in society. (Ammari,2012)

Public Movement and its Effect on the Political Jordanian Reform

The first evaluation of the interaction between the objective boundaries and conditions and the ruling political environment for the reform directions in the kingdom is suitable to achieve comprehensive political stability and long range in the country, and that opposite pulling forces come of naturalistic and tight horizon interests, and that political will for the system represent corner stone in making the reform, and that strengthen Jordan regionally and internationally starts with strengthening its national unity and social cohesion in the frame of plural new political democratic developed all its sons participate and benefit from it on equal footing, this is considered the most important in protecting and presenting Jordan from any exterior dangers or internal temptations.

Factors that Participated in Reform Demands in Jordan

After the diagnosis of the main demands which pushed Jordanians to the declaration of the reform demands and confrontation with the executive authority with it, with asserting that those who demand reform are not all having one perception for all the mentioned reasons, but it is in their collective minds generally and not in individually or even in leaders agreements because large intervals have no party belonging or organized current, that is why the next question remains which pertains with what was mentioned from reasons, and can be summarized with what are political and societal circumstances that participated in enforcing and continuing of public walks in Jordan until now. (AL Migdad,2011)

A. Affection with the event which still touch most Arab countries, also the success of a number of them until now in the public demands, reinforced the people idea that the political system must realize that its reference remains the society's individuals and its establishments and not a certain entity or apparatus because the power of the political study justifiers and its goals.

- B. The existence of the internal security independence: this pushes toward success of dialogue between all the societies spectrum and its establishment, and not a certain cities and apparatus, because the power of the political organization and its continuity calls for guarding the state with all its constituent not by satisfying a certain group or guarding security apparatus because the security establishment consist of the sons of the society who get affected in the same level which affect their social references.
- C. The existence of political maturity for a wide slice of the Jordanian society's sons. this is referred to the role of the political upbringing tools in creating a comprehensive culture in all aspects of life, also the existence of education establishments with all their levels participated in enforcing the societal thought, in addition to augmenting the public sense for the civil right especially political and economic, which is supported and clearly guaranteed most of political units and the legal effective international organizations, which made it easy the communication channels because the success of technology resolution and its spread to all geographic areas worldly, this went in general with the citizens that the government does not take seriously with its necessary roles after a practical course in light of legislative basis represented in the constitution and national covenant, which means that the path to reform goes between the abortion or the freezing description, since first years for the return of democratic life which started its new march in the year 1989, and that government's changed their executive roles to participation in opening and encouraging the reform channels to information letters. Which resulted in negative results reaching all aspects that matter to the nature and the citizen. (AL Khateeb and others, 2011)

The resultant study for the number of public movements in Jordan since the year 2011 that year 2010 did not witness political reform as witnessed by year 2011 and 2012.

- A. National cohesion: this factor is connected with the general situation which proved the ability of the state and the individuals to melts all cultural constituents in one pot, is eager to frame the government work in eagerness for the public interest .and that the general cohesion is a guarantee in preserving the security of the country's soil and facing the needs of stages of reform and modernization therefore the environment of social cohesion in Jordan prompted individuals to make symposiums and organize marches demanding reform.
- B. Taking reform changes: Jordan started first political reform, and that is in main deplanes connected to general freedoms and information, relationship with parties and different national establishments, in the economic field with signing international agreement such as the world trade organization and the free trade agreements, and opening the external fields, and walking in the road of resources privatization, this in general changed the traditional exchange relationship between the state and the citizen and official establishment.

Local Environment

- A. Party Political: it is the most important in the political reform programs which its division and weakness an aiding factor to slow down the reform process. Islamic work front is considered the party most inviting and adopting for the political reform in the country.
- B. The social organizing forces I protisstional of syndicate: it is the establishments that represent the middle class in society, it is an active mass in the political reform and movement. Despite the attempts to marginalize it historically from the political life, it proved its political presentation of successful in tackling the issue of investment unemployment and poverty among its members with a degree that might embarrassed the government and revealed its weakness, that is why it is a positive and pressing factor to achieve political reform.
- C. Information: it is the sector of monitoring and support or deterrence, what it is exposed to from an illegal interference from the state's apparatus it witnessed an unprecedented movement in an attempt to be free from pressure, and it expressed its support for political reform.
- D. Business sector: it is the sector which controls the state's economy its investments and resources, therefore it is the sector for the society and plays a decisive role in its directions to support the political reform or not, and the ruling establishment takes it seriously, it has international and regional widely spread relationships, it is the sector that shows a contrast fear from change because of the uncertainty in the future of its business that is why it is one of the problematic sectors in the political reform that might need new and different approaches from other sectors. Whether from the state whether it heads for reform or from the powers of the social and political reform in the country.

Regional Environment

The region witnesses a public boiling which pushed in the directions of reform, the people of the region chooses many forms of this movement the most apparent of which was dropping the system in Egypt and Tunisia and invitation to drop other systems. The nations of the region were all affected by this culture in the direction of returning the authority to the people, the political movements shaped an important lifter from the reform lifters in the kingdom, the position of the kingdom in the change and political reforms so that it will keep its regional force and to submit to the will of the region's people and complement them in an Arab system, advanced and different.

The Arab Israeli conflict plays an important role in forming the political general opinion in the kingdom. It is directed to reform and participate in the Israel and the Palestinian issue. That is why the Jordanian position and its policies are an aid material to encourage the movement in the direction of political reform. The Jordanian people look with great anxiety to the chain of events in a number of the region's countries where resorting to excessive violence by the security pushed the peaceful revolution to bloody confrontations with it. And they think that Jordan is not qualified from the principle for that, but they want the speedy reform to make the possibility of this kind to be zero.

International Environment

The international environment currently works to encourage political reform in general without looking to its goals such as the international interference in Libya for example a source for Jordanian fears because of the destruction and crimes that is happening to Libya from the system as well as the NATO alliance.

The Jordanians believe that reform must stem from the inside and encourage the state to do and they see outside interference is not in the interest of anybody, that is why the general political environment is considered an encouraging factor to the directions of political reform in the kingdom and encourages to decrease the intensity of fears whether on the personal interests or the group's interest of the political elite or benefiting social forces or for the political and social and economic powers which look for peace and stability in the country. and that partnerships in political decision, and achieving public legitimacy, carrying responsibility and accountability with fitness, and changing hand for authority became one of the needs of political reform in the culture and symbols of the reform movement in the country.

Opportunities for the Success of Political Reform in Jordan

There are three main challenges in front the political reform in Jordan: (Abo Rumman,2012)

- A. First challenge : the "opposes to political reform" in the state's establishments, or the ones whose interests are contradictory with it, will work to "snag" the path and to slow its fast advance, even to empty the wanted changes from its content during the next stage; these "official tools" built the type of its work and thought on "keeping the status quo" and preventing expected change, even if these was from inside "state's establishments" someone who pushes in direction towards reform the opposed will look at him with suspension that he does not realize the dangers of the demanded reforms and they will work: to make him fail, it is expected that the "official tools" will move with each stage from the stages of executing the reform agenda, its compass and priorities, directions, among the political powers that move in the street. (Al Hamad,2011)
- B. Second Challenge : the demand vary between the ideological nature, and the demanding, economic, not only that, but these is a difference even in the definition of the demanded political reform, and the stages that are taken consecutively to reach it, behind this difference thrive the two firsts partyism and various and plural ideological which form a political background for the party's and forces which lead what is called "internal movement" today, specifically the leftist, nationalistic and Islamic powers. but there or more important than this what some people say about the citizens of Palestinian origins, they think that is one of the reasons and motivations to not do the reforms, that is postpone until solving the future of the issue and the refugees.

C. Third challenge: it is the economic challenge, the current financial givens cause a big worry about the level of the size of the budget deficit, debt size, weakness in the economic growth during the current year, in an atmosphere of unemployment, poverty and social congestion. This threatens with larger deterioration in the national economy, and then an explosion in the state of congestion, the official bet now is gaining foreign aid that decreases the pressure of economic conditions, another challenge from the financial burden on the budget which forbids economic procedures lately, it doesn't look like "Jordanian street: accept it, some of that is resorting to "cruel prescription" of international monetary fund another time, this are uncomfortable indications the danger of scenario" explosion of economic situation " explosion of economic situation " through violence waves, protests and crisis like what happened in 1989, now the result of which is not guaranteed, maybe in the context of the current weakness in the relationship between the state and society, and the decrease in its awe and the break in "The rule of law", feeling the political administration crisis, all that might push to a situation of chaos not easy to predict its results.) Hammad,2012)

Future Vision

What happened in Egypt, Tunisia and still developing is a public Arab revolution with all its dimensions, as for the concepts: the concepts of Arabism and Islamization, democratization and social justice were presented, in the shadows of freedom and democracy as central issue. It forms an answer to everybody who says or invites for these concepts to be absent during two decades of time. (Al Naqrash,2011) the nation goes back to basic origins in its thought after it was subjected all types of distortion and bluff and delusion, promoted by those suffering from liberal childhood, ones who have a feud against a murderer and civilization agents and politicians during decades. For a one who forgot or almost forgot, Arabism means in the end the unity in the identity of the nation, Islamization means the unity in the civilization of the nation, democracy means cancellation of political monopoly and the rule of the law, Social justice means that idea and the goal of the socialist context throw-out time, freedom is the focal meaning for the human existence what happened in the Arab world after the historical failure of the systems in Arab nationalist security confrontations, and in development and respect of the human rights and the human being himself. It resorted to concentrate security as a profession and director and controller of security in general. But as any "Dracula" the blooded sucking breeds new blood suckers. Until the diseases institution reached a point where a cure of destroying the dynasty, or organized fabric, is necessary. And the systems became in total inability to develop or adopt or even renew its self. It is inevitable when the holes are filled that the typhoon, a typhoon will destroy everything that meets it and obstructs its way. That is why situation of most of the Arab nations as if it is in the face of a typhoon, the peoples typhoon, a typhoon that has its destroying private course, whereas the systems behavior is limited to having barriers and obstructers that are useless, the typhoon is coming for everybody. The tribal fabric and the population structure in Jordan might secrete clear grouping in the opposition and socialist movement like they secrete this grouping in the organization of interests and roles. That is why socialist direct movement like they roles. That is why socialist direct movement will be affected with this equation. Because the group movement will not succeed in changing the rules of the games. That is why the Jordanian society in all its groups and irrespective of interests of each and its goals and role.

It is indeed in no need for Arab nationalism and Islam, these are two conditions imposed by history and the status quo and future. There is no possibility to achieve the unity of the society and its continuity outside these two concepts. This implies that each party bears its historical responsibility for its future and the future of his sons and grandsons, and in the aspect of resolving its strategic and tactical issues. (Al Naqrash,2011)

The solution in the changed world and the Arab world is a part of it especially in facing the calcified case and closure of hope doors, is the group national work in the road of achieving the unity of the society and its continuity outside these two concepts. This implies that each party bears its historical responsibility for its future of his sons and grandsons, and in the aspect of resolving its strategic and tactical issues.

The solution in the changed world and Arab world is a part of it especially in facing the calcified case and closure of hope doors, is the group nations; work in the road of achieving goals of human nature. Such as freedom and justice, that is why no certain group alone will achieve it. Also no cohabitation or achievement of historical deeds except with comprehensive societal unity.

It might appear to some people that mounting the roles and magnifying the interests and achieving private gains are fair and economic monopoly and social satisfaction . but this disappears in front of the power of the political systems its elements which perfected the play on fragmenting the society and exhausting it, and it is an old game as old as the systems themselves, it has arts and be causes and tools. To the degree that it has the ability to give all the constituents of the advanced letter and employing it in the way to achieve it backward goals . it is still the able one to play with the society's constituents are able to distribute the gains and polarizing the loyalties . although this will not solve its problem on the long range it also does not solve the people's problem on the long run and not on the middle range either. Movement in the Jordanian street didn't reach in its size , width and dynamics and the roof of its demands , the movement level in some Arab countries , and it is not destined for that until unknown time because of the particularity of the Jordanian position , despite what is provided by the general Arabic position from a given chance to achieve qualitative steps in the direction of political reform . the need for it doesn't constitute the need for the answer to street demands only but is also pressing need for the system to keep its power from weakening , the power to unify all the society in all its groups and political spectrum and absorbing new escalating powers especially the youth . (Elyas,2012)

The opinions differ in opinions in explaining what is the identity and goals in the Jordanian streets and what is the demanded and hoped from it , the opinions can be classified in three directions which intersect in many main points and differ I others.

A. The first direction: the followers of this direction see that the movements witnessed by the Jordanian street “ crystalize itself within its nationalistic particulars “as it is “ a revolution against neo liberalism and its corruption and direction which is clearly embodied in enriching this point of view by saying : “ that the liberal rights issues and the discussions about the political elections and constitutional and others, or issues such as toppling this security leadership or that or sizing this apparatus or that , it doesn't take priority for the people in the public movement whose priorities are about the battle with corruption systems and around social , local and national demands . a battle with economic- social-political way , it is the globalized market economy way, which led to the increase in general debt , deficit and decrease of central government ability to administer development and general services files”.

He adds saying: these demands revolve politically through realizing crossing of acts. : and around” societal powers that adopt the movement, owners of this direction assert that protests are led by political groups stemming from the cultural leftist and nationalist elites who don't belong to a party , in alliance with a broad current of military retirees , whose entrance to the political work :” a thought and political chock in the country , and attracted new elements of the traditional social groups ranks to practice the political works, public and independent demands. Based on that , the needed change in Jordan in the eyes of adopters of this point of view , as explained by the writer Hatter id subject to understand the equation of what is possible in light of these special and complex circumstances , among which the public awareness that sees that “ revolution might succeed inside the state because of root socialist reform for its programs and path. This awareness is backed by crossed piles that take into consideration several factors amongst them the geographical sensitive political position. and what faces the country from regional dangers , the local and international for the royalty , the possibility of starting social revolution inside it.

B. The second direction : contrary to mentioned opinion , experts in the Jordanian affairs think “ that change powers didn't reach the degree that it can be said that Jordanian people agrees on leading the transformation or to carry out its change project” Dr. Saudi Salem Abo Saif supports the belief by saying : the reform projects adopted by the government under pressure from the elite's movement or a minority of people's groups , and an answer that has no alternative for the large changes , that has no alternative for the large changes that took the region which is closer to being “ made” and not of “adopting to situation “ and not changing the situation this is the sensitive difference that puts all reforms projects in Jordan into idleness , delay ,awe and closer to “ forging “ than it is to reality. (Elyas,2012)

C. The third direction: opinions of the supports of this direction cross with opinions of the first direction supporters in considering the public Jordanian movements an extension for demanding movements, but this doesn't cancel , according to the third point of view , the possibility of considering it “ a direct extension of the public Tunisian – Egyptian earthquake that didn't discover all its echoes and repercussions in the Arab world yet .

the objective circumstances that exploded the Tunisian and Egyptian public uprising look alike to a large extent the objective circumstances in Jordan, among which : the explosive mixture of youth unemployment and the rise in their education level at the same time . improving the people in connection with spread of corruption which enjoying political protection at the highest levels. Squandering public for ones and subjecting the country to an extremist economic liberal economic course. following the foreign and pawning the sovereign decision by predomination outside forces. Seizing the political economics of the citizen and his right in deciding his own affairs , either in repressing direct way or through fake front such as the Jordanian house of representatives. Which were trailed after the sizes of security apparatus and executive authority.

The End

The major characteristics of the current stage of our Arab history is represented essentially in what is called the Arab spring or the public Arab movement which changed in an obvious manner the relationship between the governor and governed in our countries from one side and resulted in changing the head of the system in more than Arab countries on the other, and far from deciding a position from spontaneously of movement or its non existence or penetrating it the movement or its non existence of penetrating it or the talk about going around it from the powers opting to repress the destiny of our nation as a whole the most important of which is the Zionist American project. Frames appearing to gather those who demand issues that are demanding issues concerning the slice it represents, which is connected usually in the same burden or profession on reality of living which achieved some sectorial gains- other frames appeared to carry the burden of political movement in a frank manner , forming some parties –most of them occasionally – in partnership with independent groups –party wise- the main motor for it . which suffered from its limitation to the elite and their adherent people from one side , from other side it lived difference about the demands priorities adopted by the movement to the identifying the main contradiction.

The political movement in Jordan appeared as a result of the strategic environment on the regional and international level, and the effects of internal environment of the Jordanian state , such as increase in the political awareness phenomena , spread of education and increase in the public communications means and such as opens to use of communication technology such as internet and social communication technology and others, lowness in the political participation degrees , feeling of alienation , the appearance of corruption phenomena and abuse of public office , in addition to economic status such as low standard of living , high prices, inflation and spread of poverty and unemployment .

The Jordanian political system was the most responding and interacting with by the steps of political reform that happened since 2010 till now.

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