

The Muslim Brotherhood and Political Participation in Jordan in 1989

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INTRODUCTION

The political participation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan in 1989 represented a pivotal turning point in the history of Jordanian political life. It came in the context of resuming parliamentary life after a suspension that lasted more than two decades, which allowed political forces to return to participation in the electoral process within the framework of the political openness witnessed by the Kingdom.

The Muslim Brotherhood was among the most prepared political forces to benefit from this stage, thanks to its cohesive organizational structure, broad social base, and accumulated experience in religious and social work.

In this context, the Brotherhood's early readiness for participation in the 1989 elections was reflected in its choice of candidates, organization of its electoral campaign, and formulation of an electoral program that focused on political, economic, and social reform within constitutional and legal frameworks. This contributed to achieving a prominent parliamentary presence and made the Brotherhood the most organized and influential political force in those elections.

The importance of the Brotherhood's participation in the 1989 elections lies not only in achieving advanced electoral results, but also in representing a turning point in the nature of the relationship between the Brotherhood and the Jordanian state. The Brotherhood shifted from focusing on its religious and social activities to playing a more effective political and parliamentary role, within a formula that combined expanding political participation with preserving the stability of the political system.

Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the political participation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan in 1989, by examining its preparations for the elections, its electoral program, the results of its parliamentary participation, and the impact of that participation on the development of its relationship with the Jordanian state. The study relies on the historical-analytical method, based on official documents, Arabic and foreign sources, and relevant academic studies.

Although many studies have addressed the democratic transformation in Jordan or the history of the Muslim Brotherhood, most of them dealt with these two topics separately. This study, however, seeks to highlight the Brotherhood's political participation in the 1989 elections as an entry point for understanding the nature of the relationship between the Brotherhood and the Jordanian state during the phase of political openness, and to analyze the impact of that participation on reshaping this relationship in the subsequent stage.

Section One: Preparations of the Muslim Brotherhood for Participation in the 1989 Elections

The 1989 elections represented a decisive turning point in the trajectory of the relationship between the state and the Muslim Brotherhood, as they reactivated parliamentary life after a long interruption. Muhammad al-Hajj Ali affirms that the 1989 elections "represented a relatively transparent experience that

produced organized political forces, foremost among them the Islamic current."⁽¹⁾

This gave the group an active parliamentary presence that reshaped its position within the political system and consolidated its transition from a phase of restricted containment to relatively influential parliamentary participation.

The Muslim Brotherhood's decision to participate in the 1989 parliamentary elections brought about an organizational turning point within its institutional structure, as it moved from extended advocacy and social work to organized involvement in parliamentary work⁽²⁾. In a speech in 1989, he stated:⁽³⁾"After the great success of the Islamists – including the Muslim Brotherhood – in the elections, the participation of religious forces in the parliament must be dealt with wisely, so as not to undermine the stability of the state and the democracy of the political process."

The Muslim Brotherhood played a central role in the 1989 parliamentary elections, as it was considered the best⁽⁴⁾, most effective and most influential organization on the Jordanian street . Although the (5)elections were held before the promulgation of the Political Parties Law, and were held without the public permission of the Jordanian political parties to participate in them, they were not included in the 1957 ⁽⁶⁾Prohibition of Parties DecreeThe Muslim Brotherhood has not been affected by this ban as a charitable association rather than a political party ⁽⁷⁾ . This legal status has earned it accumulated organizational experience and ease of communication with the popular masses, especially in light of the spontaneous popular sympathy for every individual or group with religious tendencies ⁽⁸⁾ .

The participation of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1989 elections was characterized by a high degree of organization and planning, as it paid (26) candidates distributed over a number of electoral districts, and competed within organized electoral blocs, to be the only entity that officially announced the names of its candidates and contested the elections with a clear program ⁽⁹⁾ . To achieve this, the

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- (1) - Muhammad Al-Hajj Ali, The Jordanian Parliamentary Elections 1989: The Experience of Transparency and Representation, Journal of Political Science and Strategic Studies, Amman, p. 15, 2005, p. 44.
 - (2) - Hani Al-Hourani, The Democratic Transition in Jordan, Amman, New Jordan Center, 1995, pp. 98-101.
 - (3) - Quoted from: The High Speech of King Hussein bin Talal (1988-1991), D.T., Volume 10, Royal Hashemite Court, Al-Sayel Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2013.
 - (4) - Arab Week Magazine, Kuwait, p. 1569, February 6, 1989.
 - (5) - Ibrahim Gharaibeh, The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan 1946-1996, The New Jordan Center for Studies, Amman, 1997, Journal of Awsat Affairs, Jordan, pp. 66-67, 1997, p. 55.
 - (6) - Al-Watan Newspaper, Kuwait, p. 5298, November 6, 1989.
 - (7) - Muhammad Sabri Hassan Khalil, The Role of Parliament and Political Parties in Political Development in Jordan, 1989-2004, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Jordan, 2005, p. 92.
 - (8) - Al-Qabas Newspaper, Kuwait, p. 6305, November 27, 1989.
 - (9) - Laila Adel Abdel Qader, Parliamentary Elections in Jordan (1989-1997): A Historical Study, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ibn Rushd College of Education for Humanities, University of Baghdad, 2019, p. 214.

group reorganized its internal mechanisms and formed a central committee that took over the management of nominations and the supervision of the electoral campaign according to an organized institutional coordination^{(10),(11)}.

Organizational discipline was one of the most important factors in the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1989 elections, as it enabled it to manage the process of selecting candidates and the electoral campaign according to centralized mechanisms based on shura and institutional coordination. Despite the ideological disparity between the doves and hawks, the leadership maintained the unity of the organization and prevented this disparity from turning into an institutional division⁽¹²⁾. This contributed to employing the group's da'wah and social assets to achieve an influential parliamentary presence, and showed its ability to adapt to political changes while maintaining its internal cohesion.

In the context of the 1989 election campaign, the Muslim Brotherhood focused on promoting direct contact with citizens, through the activation of public lessons, field visits, open meetings, and participation in social events, especially those aimed at youth, as a basic electoral mobilization base. The Brotherhood also employed multiple advocacy and media tools, including the distribution of educational materials, and the provision of limited forms of social support, with a focus on individual contact with new segments with the aim of Broadening the base of support and strengthening organizational discipline⁽¹³⁾. Subsequent press sources indicate a change in the official attitude towards the group, with the authorities taking measures to ban and monitor activities following accusations

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- (10) - Muhammad Abdul Qadir Abu Faris, *From My Memory and Memoirs*, Dar Al-Furqan for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2008, p. 109; *Journal of Society*, Kuwait, p. 940, Year 20, November 7, 1989, pp. 17-18.
- (11) - They are: Dr. Abdulaziz Jarrar, Dr. Ali Al-Hawamdeh, Sheikh Abdullah Abu Oud, Judge Ghaleb Abu Oud, Mr. Walid Shukri Nasour, Mr. Azmi Mansour, Dr. Hossam Saeed, Dr. Ahmed Abu Fares, Mr. Zakaria Tawfiq, Eng. Ahmed Nasr, Mr. Abdel Hafeez Allawi, Dr. Ahmed Al-Kofahi, Sheikh Abdel Karim Akour, Mr. Kamel Al-Omari, Sheikh Theeb Anas, Dr. Mohamed Ahmed Al-Hajj, Pharmacist Ibrahim Azouri, Pharmacist Farid Faraj, Eng. Khaled Al-Qudah, Sheikh Amud Tarawneh, Dr. Abdellatif Suleiman Arabiyat, Mr. Ahmed Al-Kafaween, Eng. Fouad Mustafa Khalaf, Dr. Abdullah Al-Akaileh, Ahmed Al-Azaida (died in 1992, and supplementary elections were held in which his cousin Mohammed Al-Azaida won), Yousef Al-Azm. *Electoral Program of the Muslim Brotherhood Candidates for the Eleventh Jordanian Parliamentary Assembly Elections 1989-1993*, 1989, Muslim Brotherhood, Amman.
- (12) - Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Abu Fares, *Pages of the Political History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan*, Dar al-Furqan, Amman, 2000, p. 57; *The Departure of Al-Gharaibeh, Developments of the Internal Scene of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan*, Presented by: Abdul Majeed Al-Thunaibat, Muslim Brotherhood Publications/Jordan (2), Amman, 2015, p. 21.
- (13) - Salem Yousef Al-Falahat, *The Islamic Movement in Jordan: The Muslim Brotherhood: An Analytical Study and Self-Criticism*, Part 1, Dar Ammar for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2016, pp. 25-26.

against some members, reflecting a shift in official policy compared to the period of electoral openness in 1989⁽¹⁴⁾.

Organizational discipline was one of the most important elements of the Brotherhood's strength at that stage, as it was not just an internal administrative commitment, but a tool for managing electoral competition, controlling political discourse, and unifying messages addressed to voters. This contributed to reducing the disparities between the two internal currents during the campaign, and preventing the ideological disagreement from turning into an apparent electoral division ⁽¹⁵⁾.

The group's electoral program expressed its vision for political and social reform, as it combined the goals of advocacy with political requirements, with a focus on organizational discipline, which prepared it to move from traditional da'wah activity to practicing political work in a more organized manner⁽¹⁶⁾.

The Muslim Brotherhood's electoral program included four main axes, namely: ⁽¹⁷⁾

Unity of the Nation and Society : Combating sectarian and regional strife and promoting communication and the spirit of cooperation among citizens.

Education : Developing Islamic educational curricula to promote religious values and national identity, with a focus on Islamic education in schools and the media to promote ethical and social behavior.

Economy and Social Development : Addressing financial and administrative corruption, reducing income inequality, addressing unemployment, and improving the tax system in order to achieve social justice and maintain the stability of living life.

Community Participation and Charitable Work: Direct communication with citizens through public lessons, individual and group visits, participation in social events, and providing material and moral support and social education⁽¹⁸⁾.

The electoral program, along with the institutional organization of the group, contributed to the management of the electoral campaign in a coordinated manner, and enhanced its ability to achieve an influential parliamentary presence. The results of the elections also revealed the success of the Brotherhood in employing its advocacy and social capital within the constitutional frameworks, despite the persistence of some challenges related to the performance of the parliamentary bloc and the geographical disparity in its spread.

The Brotherhood adopted the slogan "**Islam is the solution**" as an expression of its reform vision, but its program was characterized by a degree of generality in addressing some political and economic issues ⁽¹⁹⁾, and did not provide detailed executive mechanisms in a number of areas. After the elections,

(14) - Al-Safir Newspaper, Beirut, October 28, 1989.

(15) - Ghazi Odeh Murar Al-Lababdeh, Ghazi Odeh Murar Al-Lababdeh, The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Political Life in Jordan 1945-1999, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies – University of Jordan, 2020, p. 190.

(16) - Al-Saff newspaper, issue issued on July 1, 1987, p. 2.

(17) - Electoral Program of the Muslim Brotherhood Candidates for the Eleventh Jordanian Parliamentary Assembly Elections 1989-1993, 1989, Muslim Brotherhood, Amman.

(18) - Muhammad Qutaisat and Jamal Al-Asmar, Ibid., p. 50.

(19) - The slogan "Islam is the Solution" was part of the Muslim Brotherhood's discourse, and it first appeared in the Egyptian electoral context in 1987 when the Brotherhood used it in the People's Assembly elections under the leadership of Adel Hussein, before later

its deputies also faced challenges represented by the uneven parliamentary performance and the weak geographical spread in some regions, which relatively limited the effectiveness of their influence inside and outside the Council⁽²⁰⁾.

Although the electoral platform covered political, social and economic issues, most of its theses were general, and did not include detailed executive mechanisms. The parliamentary bloc also faced challenges represented by the uneven performance of the deputies and their limited spread in some districts, especially in the Bedouin and rural areas⁽²¹⁾.

Second Topic: Muslim Brotherhood's Participation in the 1989 Elections and Their Results

The Jordanian parliamentary elections held on 8 November 1989 represented a milestone in the process of political transformation in the Kingdom of Jordan, as they were held in an atmosphere characterized by unprecedented openness compared to the previous stage, and contributed to the resumption of parliamentary life and the reintegration of organized political forces, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, into the political process after years of stalemate. The elections were widely praised locally for their remarkable integrity and freedom of competition⁽²²⁾. Some international media outlets expressed reservations about the growing parliamentary presence of the Islamist movement, which reflected a discrepancy in the evaluation of the election results between inside and outside ⁽²³⁾ the country. He highlighted the political importance of this experience in the process of Jordan's democratic transition.

This political openness provided the Brotherhood with an opportunity to strengthen its presence within the constitutional institutions, having achieved remarkable electoral results that made it the most organized political force in the House of Representatives. On the other hand, the expansion of its parliamentary presence prompted the state to reassess the nature of its relationship with it, creating a new phase characterized by cautious cooperation and the pursuit of maintaining a balance between expanding political participation and the stability of the political system.

Despite this, the results of the elections, especially the progress of the Islamist movement, raised the reservations of some international media outlets that expressed concern about the increasing representation of Islamists in the Jordanian parliament, which the group saw as the beginning of an external media campaign aimed at questioning its political positions and public image. The difference

spreading as one of the movement's distinctive political slogans. Muhammad Abu Rumman, *The Islamic Solution in Jordan*, p. 73.

1- (20) - Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Abu Fares, *Pages of Political History*, p. 57; Khaled Abd al-Karim Mubarak al-Shaqran, *The Political Role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, 1989-1995*, unpublished master's thesis, Bayt al-Hikma, Aal al-Bayt University, 1997, p. 98.

(21) - Musa Al-Kilani, *Islamic Movements in Jordan and Palestine*, Dar Al-Bashir, Amman, 1995, p. 150.

(22) - See: Jordanian National Assembly, *Opening of the First Ordinary Session of the Eleventh National Assembly*, November 27, 1989; Jordanian Official Gazette Appendix, *Minutes of the House of Representatives, First Ordinary Session, 1989–1990*; Omar Dia' al-Din Dhannoun, previous source, p. 697 ; Qusay al-Ghazawi, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

(23) - Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Abu Faris, *pages of political history*, p. 58 ; Khalid Abdul Karim Al-Shaqran, *Ibid.*, p. 108.

between the Brotherhood's presence and political influence and the concern of some international newspapers about the increasing representation of Islamists in parliament is highlighted, which the Brotherhood's leaders interpreted as It is the beginning of a critical media discourse ⁽²⁴⁾.

The 1989 elections resulted in the Muslim Brotherhood winning 22 out of 80 seats in the House of Representatives, which represented the largest electoral achievement of the Brotherhood since its establishment, and reflected its success in employing its organizational experience and social presence to benefit from the phase of political openness that followed the April uprising. ⁽²⁵⁾

This victory can be interpreted as the result of the interaction of a combination of factors, foremost of which is organizational expertise, the breadth of social presence, and the political conditions that accompanied the stage of democratic openness.

The success was not limited to the candidates of the Muslim Brotherhood, but the Islamic current in its various directions won (32) seats, i.e. about (40%) of the seats in the House of Representatives, while the number of votes obtained by the group's candidates reached (143,803) votes, representing (27.4%) of the total voters ⁽²⁶⁾ ⁽²⁷⁾. In order to highlight the nature of this presence in terms of geographical distribution and internal affiliation of the currents, the table below shows the results of the Muslim Brotherhood candidates in the 1989 Jordanian parliamentary elections according to electoral districts and intellectual affiliations within the group⁽²⁸⁾:

Seq	Name	Governorate	Percentage	Number of Votes
	Dr. Abdel Moneim Abu Zant	Second Amman	45.0%	19343
	Dr. Hamza Abbas Mansour	Fourth Amman	39.7%	4260
	Dr. Hammam Saeed	Fifth Amman	28.0%	9842
	Daoud Kojaq	Fifth Amman	22.8%	8012
	Eng. Ahmed Qutaish Al-Zaida	Amman VI	32.5%	6534
	Abd El , Hafeez Allawi	Amman VI	29.7%	5953

(24) - Fawaz Muwaffaq Dhannoun, previous source, pp. 221–230.

(25) - Riad Yousef Al-Subh, *Jordanian Islamic Parties and Their Impact on Social and Political Life*, Al-Riyada Center for Information and Studies, Amman, 1998, p. 14; Al-Safir Newspaper, Beirut, October 28, 1989.

(26) - Muhammad Fadhil Ibrahim Al-Shafi'i, previous source, p. 113; An-Nahar newspaper, November 5, 1989.

(27) - Muhammad Kanoush Al-Shara'a, *The Democratic Experience in Jordan: The Roots of Reality, Challenges, Prospects*, in *Democracy and Democratic Development in the Arab World*, Beirut, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2004, p. 288 ; Laila Adel Abdel Qader, *Parliamentary Elections in Jordan*, p. 215.

(28)- The table is prepared by the researcher based on the information contained in: The Jordanian Official Gazette Supplement, vol. 7, p. 47, November 4, 1989, pp. 1-44.

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	Majid Khalifa	Amman First	25.0%	9708
	Abd El , Aziz Jabr	Amman First	28.8%	11188
	Dr. Ahmed Al-Kofahi	Irbid	20.5%	32651
	Abd El , Rahim Al , Akour	Irbid	14.4%	22920
	Nader Al , Dhahirat	Al , Koura and Al Shouna Al , Shamali	41.0%	6163
	Abd El , Majeed Al , Shraida	Al , Koura and Al Shouna Al , Shamali	50.8%	7628
	Dr. Ahmed Anab	Grind	65.0%	5208
	Ahmed Al-Kafaween	Karak	18.5%	13184
	Dr. Abdellatif Arabiyat	Balqa	20.0%	15451
	Fouad Al , Khalafat	Tafila	30.8%	4454
	Mohammed Bakhit Al , Maarar	Tafila	26.6%	3845
	Dr. Mohamed Ahmed Al-Hajj	Blue	31.5%	18905
	Ziad Muhammad Abu Mahfouz	Blue	10.8%	6513
	Dr. Abdullah Al-Akaileh	Mafrq	38.4%	4587
	Issa Al-Madanat	Karak (Christian)	14.4%	10274
	Ahmed Al-Zaida	Oman (Supplementary)	—	—

The table shows that the Muslim Brotherhood achieved a prominent electoral presence in the 1989 elections for the Jordanian House of Representatives, as its candidates were able to win a number of electoral districts in various governorates of the Kingdom, reflecting the breadth of its popular base and the diversity of its geographical extension. The results also reveal that the success of the group was not limited to a specific region, but included urban and rural districts, which indicates its ability to attract multiple social segments.

This success was attributed to a combination of factors, foremost of which were the tight internal organization, early preparation for the elections, the good selection of candidates, the electoral program that focused on political, economic, and social reform, as well as the political conditions that accompanied the resumption of parliamentary life in 1989, which provided a suitable environment for promoting political participation. These results contributed to the consolidation of the Muslim Brotherhood's position as the most present and organized political force in the House of Representatives during that period.

The Muslim Brotherhood worked to strengthen its internal organization through a clear administrative structure and mechanisms for monitoring and follow-up, in addition to planning its

advocacy and political activities, paying attention to the media and communicating with the public, and training and qualifying its members. These mechanisms contributed to raising the level of organizational discipline, coordinating efforts, and enhancing the Brotherhood's ability to effectively manage its political activity during the 1989 elections⁽²⁹⁾.

These measures contributed to strengthening the group's internal cohesion and increased its ability to manage its political activity in an orderly manner during the 1989 elections. Organizational discipline also enabled it to coordinate the selection of candidates and manage the electoral campaign efficiently, which helped it to invest its social capital and turn it into an active political presence within the House of Representatives⁽³⁰⁾.

Third Topic: The Parliamentary Performance of the Muslim Brotherhood after the 1989 Elections

The 1989 elections represented the first real test of the Brotherhood's ability to transform its social presence into political representation within constitutional institutions. Following the 1989 elections, King Hussein bin Talal tasked Mudhar Badran with forming his fourth government ⁽³¹⁾, as part of the completion of the process of political openness and the reactivation of parliamentary life.⁽³²⁾ The government offered the Muslim Brotherhood to participate in a number of ministries, including

(29) - Electoral Program of the Muslim Brotherhood Candidates for the Eleventh Jordanian Parliamentary Assembly Elections 1989-1993, 1989, Muslim Brotherhood, Amman.

(30) - Kayed Karim Al-Rukaibat, "The Muslim Brotherhood and the Jordanian Political System: A Study in the History of Relations and Political Interactions", published research, Journal of Law and Political Science, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2025, p. 207.

(31) - It consisted of Mudhar Badran as Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, Salem Al-Masad as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, Marwan Al-Qassem as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdel Majeed Al-Shraida as Minister of Social Development, Mohammed Adhab Al-Zaben as Minister of Health, Abdel Raouf Al-Rawabdeh as Minister of Public Works and Housing, Ibrahim Ayoub as Minister of Transport and Communications, Awni Al-Masri as Minister of Planning, Ibrahim Ezz El-Din as Minister of Information, Bassel Jardana as Minister of Finance, and Ziad Fariz as Minister of Industry and Trade. Abdel Baqi Jammo as Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mohamed Hamdan as Minister of Education and Higher Education, Youssef Al-Mubaydeen as Minister of Justice, Ali Al-Faqir as Minister of Endowments, Islamic Affairs and Holy Places, Qassim Obeidat as Minister of Labor, Ibrahim Al-Ghobabsheh as Minister of Youth, Abdel Karim Al-Kabariti as Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, Abdel Karim Al-Daghmi as Minister of Municipal, Rural Affairs and Environment, Daoud Khalaf as Minister of Water and Irrigation, Nabil Abu Al-Huda as Minister of Supply, Thabet Al-Taher as Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources, and Suleiman Arabiyat as Minister of Agriculture. Khaled Karaki is the Minister of Culture. Al-Dustour Newspaper, p. 8014, December 11, 1989.

(32) - Muhammad Shteivi et al., op. cit., p. 112; Omar Diaa al-Din Dhannoun, op. cit., p. 698.

education, higher education, endowments, Islamic affairs and sanctities ⁽³³⁾, but the divergent views between the two parties on the conditions of participation prevented the group from joining the government, preferring to exercise its role through the House of Representatives, stressing that its presence outside the executive authority does not contradict its continuation of parliamentary oversight and follow-up of the government's performance ⁽³⁴⁾.

In his government's ministerial statement to the Eleventh House of Representatives, Mudhar Badran affirmed the government's commitment to continue the path of political reform, through the gradual abolition of martial law, the release of political prisoners, the return of confiscated passports, and the guarantee of freedom of movement and work, in preparation for the termination of martial law in accordance with constitutional procedures⁽³⁵⁾.

During the discussion of the ministerial statement, the Muslim Brotherhood clarified that its non-participation in the government does not mean boycotting the political process, but rather confirmed that it will continue to support policies that serve the public interest, while exercising its oversight and legislative role from within the House of **Representatives**. ⁽³⁶⁾

Based on this, the deputies of the group focused on a set of priorities, including calling for the harmonization of legislation with Islamic law, promoting public freedoms, abolishing martial law, combating corruption, reforming economic policies, upgrading the education and endowment sectors, as well as paying attention to national and regional issues ⁽³⁷⁾.

Political openness has led to the emergence of a more pluralistic party environment, which has put the Muslim Brotherhood in front of a new political competition after years of relative isolation from organized work. In this context, the group has sought to balance its da'wah identity with the requirements of political action ⁽³⁸⁾, reaffirming its commitment to working within constitutional and legal frameworks, while continuing to advocate for the expansion of the Islamic marja'iyya's presence in the public sphere⁽³⁹⁾.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan has addressed the plurality of views on the most appropriate formula for Islamic political action in a pragmatic manner, as it has become accustomed to. The Brotherhood has supported the approach taken by the majority, considering the participation of members in the party as a personal choice rather than a mandatory one. At the same time, the Brotherhood has maintained its role as a comprehensive advocacy system that includes political action, without obliging itself to be fully subject to the Political Parties Law, while retaining the freedom to organize its activities and programs within the framework of its advocacy goals ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

(33) - The departure of al-Gharaibeh, op. cit., p. 10.

(34) - Khaled Abdul Karim Al-Shaqran, Ibid., p. 116; Wissam Fakhri al-Hazaymeh, op. cit., p. 48.

(35) - Minutes of the Eleventh Jordanian House of Representatives, First Ordinary Session, Sixth Session, December 19, 1989.

(36) - Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Abu Fares, pages from political history, pp. 118-119.

(37) - Bassam Ali Salameh Al-Amoush, Stations in the History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, Al-Academics for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2008, p. 137.

(38)- Kayed Karim al-Rikaibat, Ibid., p. 207.

(39)- Ibrahim Jibrin Atallah Juilis, The Politics of Sharia in the Thought of the Muslim Brotherhood: An Analytical Jurisprudential Study, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Al-Quds University, 2024, p. 138.

(40)- Ibrahim Jibrin Atallah Juiles, Ibid., p. 71.

The participation of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1989 elections showed organizational cohesion that enabled it to run in the elections with a coordinated list and a clear political program, which was reflected in the effectiveness of its presence in the House of Representatives ⁽⁴¹⁾. The results of the 1989 elections contributed to the consolidation of the Muslim Brotherhood's presence in the House of Representatives, which allowed it to exercise its oversight and legislative role more effectively. The Brotherhood's deputies focused on issues related to political reform, the promotion of public freedoms, and addressing the economic situation, within the framework of adherence to constitutional means, which reflected the Brotherhood's transition from the stage of readiness to participate to the stage of employing its parliamentary presence in influencing Jordanian political life.

The group saw the party as an open project, allowing existing and new members to join it, and also an opportunity to attract independents, especially after the emergence of the ideological divisions between hawks and doves ⁽⁴²⁾. These divisions led to the need for a third current that would be more interactive and open to political life and the relationship with the monarchy ⁽⁴³⁾.

This phase reflects the Muslim Brotherhood's keenness to balance involvement in society with student and social work on the one hand, and the preservation of its intellectual and organizational identity on the other hand. This period also illustrates the group's ability to build an integrated network of advocacy, educational and charitable activities, which helped it to strengthen its presence in the student and community space, while maintaining the independence of internal political and organizational decision-making.

The literature on the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Jordanian state during the period (1971–1989) indicates that this relationship was formed within a pattern of organized interaction through which the state sought to control the political sphere in order to maintain public stability. However, some studies show that this approach was not limited to being a unilateral measure, but was based on a state of relative equilibrium, where the state was keen to regulate political participation, while the Brotherhood worked to maintain its social presence and strengthen its organizational structure within the available limits. In light of this, the limited political participation of the Brotherhood can be interpreted as the result of an overlap of a range of factors, including the nature of the existing political environment, and the choices of the Brotherhood itself at that stage.

These results reveal that the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1989 elections was not the result of political openness alone, but rather the result of the interaction of three main factors: accumulated organizational experience, wide social spread, and the state's readiness to open up the political sphere in a disciplined manner after the events of April. On the other hand, the state sought to contain this rise within the constitutional framework without allowing it to turn into political dominance, which established a new pattern of relationship between the two parties during the Early 1990s.

Conclusion:

The study concluded that the 1989 elections constituted a major turning point in the path of the Muslim Brotherhood's political participation in Jordan, as it represented the beginning of a new phase

(41)- Muhammad Abu Rumman, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the Jordanian Elections 2007*, p. 44.

(42)- Nathan J. Brown, *Participation and Non-Domination of Islamic and Political Movements in the Arab World*, Translated by: Saad Mahio, Arab Network for Research and Publishing, Beirut, 2012, p. 152.

(43)- Muhammad Salman, *The Recent Elections and the Transformation of the Brotherhood's Leadership in Jordan*, *Al-Asr Magazine*, an electronic magazine published in London, p. 21, Year 7, 2003.

in which the group moved from focusing on advocacy and social activity to exercising a more effective political and parliamentary role in light of the political openness project that followed the events of April 1989. These elections contributed to the reintegration of organized political forces into parliamentary life, and reshaped the Jordanian political scene within the constitutional and legal frameworks.

The study showed that the success of the group in the elections was not the result of political openness alone, but came as a result of the interaction of a number of factors, foremost of which was its accumulated organizational experience, institutional discipline, the breadth of its social base, its ability to manage its electoral campaign and select its candidates according to clear organizational criteria, as well as its electoral program that focused on political and administrative reform, the promotion of public freedoms, the achievement of social justice, and the fight against corruption.

The study also showed that the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Jordanian state during this phase was characterized by cautious cooperation, as the political system allowed the Brotherhood to participate in the democratic process within the boundaries of the constitutional framework, while the Brotherhood was committed to peaceful and institutional political action, and sought to employ its parliamentary presence to defend its reform vision through constitutional means, which contributed to the consolidation of a pattern of political interaction based on organized participation rather than confrontation.

The results of the study confirm that the most prominent impact of the 1989 elections was not only the number of seats won by the Muslim Brotherhood, but also in the wider political legitimacy of its participation within the state institutions, and its transformation into one of the most prominent actors in Jordanian parliamentary life during that stage. The experience also revealed that the success of the group was the result of an interaction between the political openness adopted by the state and its organizational and political readiness, which made the 1989 elections a pivotal milestone in the development of political participation in Jordan, and one of the most notable turning points in the history of the relationship between the state and the Muslim Brotherhood..

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