

Middle Class and Political Stability in Jordan since 1999

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Abstract:

Across generations, political stability has been a concept of great significance in the economic growth which, in return, has a great impact on the social classes in a country, especially the middle class. In the same vein, the middle class is considered a driving force in ensuring a stable pace of economic development and a cornerstone for the political stability in a society. Hence, there are reciprocal effects between the middle class and political stability, that is what this paper attempts to explore. The purpose of this study is to analyze the impact of political stability on the middle class in Jordan since 1999, and to conclude in what extent this political factor is a condition for a stable middle class in Jordan. The study depends on both descriptive and statistical approaches, using a questionnaire as an essential tool for collecting the data needed. The Findings of the study have shown that the political reforms in Jordan have caused the middle classes not to play their roles, as well as economic declining has led to an increasing in the number of the poor, and finally that the political stability in Jordan helps not to marginalize the role of middle-class. Furthermore, the study ensures, in its recommendations, the necessity of activating the role of the middle class in political life and in achieving sustainable development. Moreover, it is highly recommended for a society to pay attention to the distribution of income among its strata in accordance with economic measures.

Keywords:

Political stability, Jordan, Instability, Middle class

الطبقة الوسطى والاستقرار السياسي في الأردن منذ ١٩٩٩م

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ملخص البحث

عبر الأجيال، كان الاستقرار السياسي مفهوماً ذا أهمية كبيرة في النمو الاقتصادي الذي، في المقابل، له تأثير كبير على الطبقات الاجتماعية في بلد ما، وخاصة الطبقة الوسطى. وعلى نفس المنوال، تعتبر الطبقة الوسطى قوة دافعة في ضمان وتيرة مستقرة للتنمية الاقتصادية وحجر زاوية للاستقرار السياسي في المجتمع. وبالتالي، هناك آثار متبادلة بين الطبقة الوسطى والاستقرار السياسي، وهذا ما تحاول هذه الورقة استكشافه. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو تحليل تأثير الاستقرار السياسي على الطبقة الوسطى في الأردن منذ عام ١٩٩٩، واستنتاج مدى كون هذا العامل السياسي شرطاً لاستقرار طبقة وسطى في الأردن. تعتمد الدراسة على المنهجين الوصفي والإحصائي، باستخدام الاستبيان كأداة أساسية لجمع البيانات المطلوبة. أظهرت نتائج الدراسة أن الإصلاحات السياسية في الأردن تسببت في عدم قيام الطبقات الوسطى بأدوارها، كما أدى التدهور الاقتصادي إلى زيادة عدد الفقراء، وأخيراً أن الاستقرار السياسي في الأردن يساعد عدم تهميش دور الطبقة الوسطى. كما أكدت الدراسة في توصياتها على ضرورة تفعيل دور الطبقة الوسطى في الحياة السياسية وتحقيق التنمية المستدامة. علاوة على ذلك، يوصى بشدة أن ينتبه المجتمع إلى توزيع الدخل بين طبقاته وفقاً للإجراءات الاقتصادية.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الاستقرار السياسي، الأردن، عدم الاستقرار، الطبقة الوسطى.

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1. Introduction:

Jordan is a small country that geographically lies at the middle of a lake of instability and threats. On the east, long period of war in Iraq; on the west, the Palestinian cause, and on the northwest lies the Lebanese crisis. Thus, it is natural for all these issues surrounding any nation to haunt its potential development at least for a while. Since King Abdullah ascended the throne in Jordan, his successive governments have adopted a series of economic reforms in order to face the challenges surrounding Jordan, especially after the Arab Spring, to improve business environment and to attract more investments which help grow Jordan's economy to meet the needs of the different classes of the Jordanians, at the heart of which is the middle class.

In the same vein, an understanding of the class structure of any society or nation is crucial to almost every aspect of social, economic, and political stability in that society. Accordingly, studying the class relations in Jordan is a key factor to understanding all features of the social and political structure of the nation such as social relations, level of individual and household income, life chances, educational opportunities, job opportunities, occupational structure, which all leads to political stability or instability.

Hence, all countries seek to achieve political social stability on their lands as it provides healthy environment which is vital for security, success, and development. The major factors

of political stability vary from society to another, so its concept is relative. Therefore, political stability does not occur because of military and security force, but rather it is a result of long political, social, economic, and cultural procedures.

The nature of the political system in the state determines the extent of political stability in the country. (Shaher, 2016).

Although the current paper does not address the structure of social classes in Jordan from a historical or social perspective, as social classes are not merely categories of people differentiated along certain criteria, the study is more concerned with the relationship between the middle class and the political stability. Furthermore, no attempt here will be made at exploring the subjective side of class existence, such as interclass relations, class politics, and culture. Rather this study will try to map out the middle-class structure at different points in time and its impact on the political stability in Jordan.

Significance of the Study:

The importance of this paper stems mainly from exploring the relationship between the middle class and political stability in Jordan. All political regimes aim at strengthening stability, especially in the Arab world after the events of the Arab Spring. Thus, the Arab library will be provided with significant contributions in this regard.

Research Problem:

The problem of the study lies in the loose meaning of the concept of the political stability especially in the developing countries, and its relation to several economic and social indicators such as case of the middle class in Jordan.

Objectives of the Study:

The main purpose of the current paper is to discuss the characteristics of a major social stratum in Jordan; the middle

class, and secondly to explore its role in political stability. Additionally, special attention will be given to the factors contributing to the rise of the middle class, the statistical data on the nature of this class, the common issues encountered in its structure and function. Going through that main purpose, the study attempts moreover, to shed light on the case of political stability in Jordan.

The Hypothesis and Questions of the Study

The current paper is based on a major hypothesis that there is a reciprocal relationship between the middle class and the phenomenon of political instability in Jordan since 1999, and that there are effects of political, economic, and social reforms on the middle class that led to its division and decline and consequently weakening its role, which negatively affected the phenomenon of political stability.

Hence, the study formulated one main hypothesis regarding the research problem as follows:

The greater marginalization of the middle classes leads to political instability and vice versa, meaning that the more the middle classes are empowered, this leads to political stability. In other words, there is a direct relationship between the role of the middle class and the phenomenon of political stability in Jordan since 1999.

Considering this and to answer the hypothesis of the research, the study raises several questions as follows:

- What is the nature of the middle class in Jordan?
- What is the impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999?
- What are the effects of the social and economic changes in Jordan on the middle class since 1999?

- What are the reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999 (ie, the debate of empowerment and marginalization)?

Methodology of the Study:

This is a qualitative quantitative research based on the analytical descriptive approach, which is defined as the study of political reality, events, and phenomena by describing it accurately and applying it to the Jordanian situation.

Participants who lived in Amman City were approached using snowball sampling by paid research assistants who lived in the neighborhood. A total of 150 participants from the eastern and western suburbs of Amman who ranged in age from 21 to 64 years made up the sample.

Limits of the Study:

Spatial Limits: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Time Limits: the study period is: 1999-2021.

Concepts of the Study:

Political stability refers to the ability of the political regime to manage effectively internal conflicts within the framework of state institutions. So, it can be defined as the degree to which formal roles and structures harmonize with a political system, the smaller the gap the greater the stability (Eli Margolis, 2010).

Political instability: the inability of the political system to deal successfully with crises, and its inability to adapt to and respond to political changes.

Middle Class:

The middle class exists in the middle of a social hierarchy, and is referred to according to occupation, education, income, or social status. Therefore, its definition is varied from one

theorist to another depending on the political, social, or economic implication. Modern social and political authors have defined and re-defined the term "middle class" to serve their particular social or political connotations.

However, the middle class can be defined as a description given to those people who exist between the working class and the upper class, have higher education and income than those in the working class, may own property, and are often employed as managers, professionals, and high professions. (Hayes, 2020).

2. Literature Review:

There are several relevant studies about political stability, and its impact on the middle class. Among the major studies that address the issue of political stability and the status of the middle class are the following:

In an analytical study, Choucair, 2006 investigates the stubborn Jordanian stability and discusses the political reforms undertaken by policy makers in Jordan since independence. The author points out that Jordanian regime has successfully faced the threats and challenges against the political system. The findings of this study exclude that the political system in Jordan is recently facing great challenges such as: the conflicts at the borders of Jordan, the lack of natural resources, the weakness in the economic development and the decline of support from the allies. The study asserts the response of the political regime in Jordan to the demands of democracy and supporters.

While Bani Salameh, 2013 aims in his study to explore the political orientations of the youth in Jordan after the Arab Spring, and to detect the reasons behind that youth mobility and the challenges facing the Jordanian activists, as well as their present and future achievements. The study has shown in

its findings that economic causes are the most significant factor for the appearance of youth mobility in Jordan. The results indicate that the reactions toward that political mobility were encouraging, and that the orientation towards speeches, tools, methods, and performance of the mobility were positive as well, especially regarding the peaceful mobility.

From a political perspective, the study of Miqdad, 2012 “The Impact of Democratic Transformation on Political Stability in Arab Countries”, detects the processes of democratic transformation in the Arab Spring countries. The study concluded that democracy is not only institutions and procedures undertaken by the policy makers, but a wide culture requiring a system of standards and principles that encourage democracy.

In a survey study, Al-Khasawneh Anis’s study 2015, the author explores the impact of political reforms in Jordan on the performance of government agencies after the events of the Arab Spring. The survey found that there is a positive impact on the work of government agencies.

Regarding studies dealing with the subject of middle class, Jameel Aljaloudi (2021) in a relevant study, detects the decline of the middle-class in Jordan, which is a lower middle-income country located at the heart of the Middle East. His paper asserts the fact that the middle class is a driving force for the economy, hence, there lies the importance of this class for any nation, and its role in forming a democratic system, as well as in ensuring a stable pace of economic development. The study aims at analyzing the level of decline in the middle class in Jordanian society during 2010-2017, according the several indicators such as average annual income, the national poverty line, and the share of the population that received an average of 60% of income. The findings of this study showed that during 2010-2017 there was a significant reduction in the size of the middle class in Jordan. Therefore, it suggests that

such negative dynamics will persist in the coming years, especially given the decline in economic activity due to the coronavirus pandemic.

While Osama Sweidan, 2016, in his study, attempts to understand the connection between the case of political instability and economic growth in Jordan. This country, for long time, has been surrounded with protracted wars, crises, and violence. Hence, these events have influenced the economic growth. The study has employed two econometric tools to detect its findings: ARDL model (OLS) and Kalman filter (ML) and use data over the period 1967–2009. The results have shown that political instability in Jordan has a statistically significant negative impact on economic growth as well as on real government spending.

3. Theoretical Framework

The Concept of Political Stability:

Political stability is the extent to which the political system can invest the conditions and the ability to deal successfully with crises to absorb the conflicts that take place within society, while not using violence, because violence is one of the most important phenomena of political instability.

Hurwitz, L. (1973) pointed out that the concept of “political stability” in general, refers to all things as different individuals attempt to measure the degree or amount of “political stability” present in their universe. Here, we attempt to delineate the major approaches to the term. The concept of stability is approached by most political scientists from the behavioral point of view, in the sense that that concept can be defined and measured through reproducible and verifiable techniques. The differing views and approaches to political stability are seen to be: a. the absence of violence; b. governmental longevity/ duration; c. the existence of a

legitimate constitutional regimes; d. the absence of structural change; and e. a multifaceted societal attribute. (Hurwitz, L. 1973, p. 449)

Regarding its definition, there's no a comprehensive one as a political term. But some authors have defined it in brief as: "the preservation of order within society and at the same time the ability to adapt to changing situations and events" (Al-Mashkabah, 2015). In another definition, Political Stability is defined as "the ability of a political regime to employ its organizations in flexibility and balance, in order to make the necessary reforms in response to the expectations of the people and to contain any crises that may arise without the use of violence, but only in a narrow range in support of its legitimacy and effectiveness". It is also known as a process of gradual and disciplined change that increases the legitimacy and efficiency of the political process (Khdeirat, 1990).

In the same context, the stable political system is also known to be free of various manifestations of violence, demonstrations, assassinations, and civil wars (Massad, 1988). Finally, it is defined as a state of security, economic development, and social justice in accordance with political legitimacy (Al-Rashwani, 2003).

Accordingly, the concept of political stability has vital elements as follows: (Abdellani, 2003).

1. Stability of the state institutions.
2. The ability of the political system to legally contain any potential conflicts or crises in the state.
3. The absence of political violence in the form of riots, rebellions, political assassinations, civil wars, and other forms of political violence may occur in the society.

In brief, political stability in any country, including Jordan, cannot be reached through armed forces, but rather through

the peaceful path and through several political, social, economic, and cultural considerations. In addition to that, all other measures affect strongly on the political stability, such as peaceful transfer of power, popular consent, adherence to the constitution and the rule of law, and the regime's ability to absorb new forces in society without recourse to political violence (Shateeb, 2013).

Political Stability in Jordan:

For decades, Jordan has survived amongst regional political conflicts, crises, and struggles. Economically, Jordan has witnessed economic storms with the invasion of millions of Palestinian refugees by whom the national economic has been affected. Fortunately, the Hashemite monarchy has maintained domestic political stability since it gained independence from Britain in (1947), to be an oasis of stability in a deeply troubled region, by the distribution of benefits and privileges among people and regime to create a cohesive support basis and a security foundation loyal to the existing political system. This long stability needed strict balance between politics and economy to be permanent, in addition to the social factors which affect any society. The status of political stability and economic must be understood in this context.

Reforms Under King Abdullah:

In the late 1990s, when King Abudullah succeeded his late father King Hussein, there were expectations that the Hashemite Kingdom would move forward with this political reform. King Abdullah, like his father, started his early years with attempts to contain the effects of the surrounding threats by strengthening the political base of the monarchy, encouraging national unity away from the challenges around Jordan's borders. "Jordan's democratic course would remain a

national and unwavering choice, these were words of King Abdullah in his first days after accession to the throne. (choucair, 2006, p. 8-10).

Economic Dilemma:

Since his first years in office, King Abdullah has given special attention to increasing the foreign investments and exports, hence, he made economic his major concern. Surrounded by economic specialists, the King has maintained Jordan's relation with the International Monetary Fund and launched economic and administrative changes that would lead to Jordan's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2000. Soon later, His government succeeded to sign the Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 2001, and the kingdom gain an entry to the Qualified Industrial Zone (QIZ) Program, which assist Jordanian manufacturers export to the U.S for tariff free.¹ Additionally, His government succeeded in privatizing parts of Jordanian assets such as railways and the telecommunication national company. Furthermore, the King focused on fighting corruption, nepotism and bribery by giving attention to fix the administrative system in Jordan. (choucair, 2006, p. 8-10)

Importance of the Middle Class:

Many economists believe that middle class help reinforce growth. Banerjee and Duflo (2008) defend this idea with three common arguments. The first stresses that most entrepreneurs come from the middle class and they foster innovation and economic growth. A second argument says that the middle-class have human capital as well as savings both of which are

¹ The rules specify that a minimum of 11.7 percent of the exported goods must be from Jordan, 7-8 percent from Israel, and the remainder from any combination of the United States, Jordan, Israel, or the West Bank and Gaza.

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vital for any developing economic. The last argument assumes that the middle class is characterized with its consumption power which leads to broadening and increasing the national markets that help the exploitation of internal and external economies (see Murphy et al., 1989). These arguments stress that the existence of a large middle class in a society has a highly positive impact on the economic growth.

Furthermore, the middle class plays a key role in supporting better governance, because unlike the lower social classes, the middle-class individuals demand continuously better public service and seek greater accountability from public officials (Birdsall et al., 2000).

For example, Kharas and Gertz (2010) compare the growth experience of Brazil and South Korea and suggest that the differential performance of the two countries can be explained by differences in the relative sizes of the middle class in the two economies.

Murphy, K., A. Shleifer, and R. Vishny, "Industrialization and the Big Push," *Journal of Political Economy* 97 (1989):1003–26.

Chun, Natalie et al, (2011), "The Role of Middle Class in Economic Development: What Do Cross-Country Data Show?", Article in SSRN Electronic Journal · January 2011, Review of Development Economics DOI:10.1111/rode.12265

The Middle Class in Jordan:

Policy makers in Jordan have given a special attention to the middle class as it is the cornerstone of any society. But this social class has recently faced several challenges which threaten its stability and existence. That domestic decline of economic conditions resulting from low economic growth rates and high unemployment rates, has pushed the governments in Jordan for decades to take tough procedures,

which affected extremely the Jordanian families especially those of the middle class, such as reducing or cancelling the support of many basic commodities.

While studies showed that no change found in the middle class size (51%) in Jordan between the mid and end of 2000s (Dang and Lanchoviching, 2016), other figures from Jordanian Institutions showed that the size of the middle class was 41.1% in (2008), to decrease by 10% in (2010). (Economic and Social council, 2008 & Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 2012).

To contain that decline, there were always royal directives to the recent governments to protect the social classes who were suffering. The governments in Jordan were demanded to expand the scope of social protection, develop the outputs of public education, and improve the level of health care and transportation. (Aljaloudi, 2021, p. 29).

4. Methodology

The main objective of this research is to explore the relationship between the middle class and political stability in Jordan. We will describe the research procedures in the field to achieve the research objectives, including the identification of the methodology used in the research, the research community, the research sample, the research tool and verification of its validity and reliability, and the statistical analysis used in the analysis of the results.

Research Methodology:

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the descriptive analytical method used which means that: "The specialized descriptive approach to data and facts collection, compilation and tabulation; in addition to analyzing the exact depth of adequate analysis; it also includes a degree of interpretation of these results; therefore is used measurement, classification and

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interpretation methods; in order to extract of significant conclusions, and then therefore used to extract meaningful conclusions.

Research sample:

The study population is represented in the different classes of society. A random sample of (150) individuals from the middle class of society was taken, represented by employees, doctors, teachers, etc.

Research Tool:

After reviewing the previous studies related to the subject of the study, a questionnaire was prepared. The main purpose of the current study is to explore the relationship between the middle class and political stability in Jordan, and to obtain the necessary information from the sample items to answer the research questions.

The study depended on the questionnaire as an essential tool for collecting the data needed to support theoretical research in the practical side to answer the research questions. The questionnaire contains a set of phrases that support the research topic through its direct relationship with the research objectives and questions.

Description of the search tool (questionnaire):

The questionnaire contained two main parts:

The first part: consists of demographic data on the research sample (gender –age-profession –income level - Housing unit type- Do you have a car)

The second part: consists of The axes of the questionnaire, consisted of(3) main axes serve the objective of the study.

The first axis: The impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999, consisted of (5) paragraphs

The second axis: The effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999, consisted of (5) paragraphs

The third axis: The reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999 (ie, the debate of empowerment and marginalization), consisted of (5) paragraphs.

To answer these paragraphs, we used third Likert scale with degrees from 1(disagree) to 3 (agree).

Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement.

The validity of search tool:

Virtual reality:

After the completion of the preparation of the questionnaire and the formulation of the statements, the initial questionnaire was presented to the supervisor of the research and to a group of professors in order to ascertain the extent to which each statement was related to the factor to which it belongs and also to check the clarity and integrity of the formulation of the statements until the questionnaire became in their final form consisted of (15) paragraphs

Validate the internal consistency of the search tool:

a. The validity of the internal consistency of the study axes:

We calculated internal consistency by calculated Pearson correlation coefficient between each paragraph and the axis that belonged it as shown in next table

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Table (1)

Pearson correlation coefficient between the paragraph and the axis

The impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999		The effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999		The reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999	
N	correlation coefficient	N	correlation coefficient	N	correlation coefficient
1	.812**	1	.698**	1	.716**
2	.851**	2	.686**	2	.635**
3	.729**	3	.675**	3	.861*
4	.742**	4	.867**	4	.787**
5	.752**	5	.589**	5	.790**

****.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

From the above table, we conclude that all Pearson correlation coefficients between each paragraph and the axis that it belonged, come with high degree and are significant at (0.01) which indicates a high degree of validity of the internal consistency of the terms of the second axis.

a. The validity of the internal consistency between axes:

We calculated internal consistency between axes by calculated Pearson correlation coefficient between each axis and the total degree of the questionnaire as shown in next table.

Table (2)

Pearson correlation coefficient between the axes and the total degree of questionnaire:

axis	correlation coefficient
The impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999	.852**
The effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999	.824**
The reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999	.901**

**** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

From the above table we conclude that all Pearson correlation coefficients between each axis and the total degree of the questionnaire with high degree and significant at (0.01) which indicates a high degree of validity of the internal consistency between axes.

Reliability of the questionnaire:

To ensure of the reliability of the questionnaire we used Cronbach's Alpha test as shown in the following table:

Table (3) Cronbach's Alpha coefficients

axis	Cronbach's Alpha
The impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999	.807
The effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999	.912
The reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999	.864
Total degree	.875

From the above table, we conclude that the reliability coefficients value of all axes of the questionnaire was all of high scores;

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approaching the correct one and the total degree of reliability to the questionnaire was (.875), which is of a high value and is approaching the correct one, and it refers to validity of the questionnaire for application and reliability of its results.

Statistical Methods:

According to aims of the study, we used (SPSS) tools as follows:

- 1- Frequencies and percentages
- 2- Means and standard deviations
- 3- Person correlation
- 4- Cronbach's Alpha
- 5- Equation of the range as the following :((1: 1.66) disagree, (1.67 : 2.33) Neutral , (2.34 : 3) Agree

5. Results & Discussion:

First: Studying demographic data;

Table (4) demographic data

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	106	70.7
	Female	44	29.3
Age	Less than: 30 years	37	24.7
	Between 30-45 years	83	55.3
	More than: 45 years	30	20.0
Profession	Government Sector	92	61.3
	Private Sector	37	24.7
	Freelance	16	10.7
	Unemployed	5	3.3
Income level	Low: from: JOD 500 to: 1000	9	6.0
	Middle: from: 1000 to: 2000	130	86.7
	High: More than 2000	11	7.3
Housing unit type	Villa	9	6.0
	Owning an apartment	112	74.7
	Living on rent	18	12.0
	Living with my family	7	4.7
	Homeless	4	2.7
Do you have a car?	Yes	128	85.3
	No	22	14.7

From the above table, we conclude that (70.7%) of the sample study are males. And the ages of (55.3%) of the sample study are between 30 and 45 years old, (24.7%) are less than 30 years old, (20%) are more than 45 years old. Therefore, we conclude that (61.3%) of the sample study work in Government Sector, (24.7%) work in Private Sector, (10.7%) work as freelance, and (3.3%) are unemployed. While the income level of (86.7%) is middle: from: 1000 to: 2000, (7.3%) are of High level: more than 2000, and (6%) are of low income: from: JOD 500 to: 1000. And finally, the Housing unit type of (74.7%) of the sample own an apartment, while (12%) are Living on rent, and (6 %) are living in villa, and (85.3%) own a car.

Second: Answers of questions of the study

The first question: what is the impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999? To answer this question we used mean, standard deviation and the rank for each paragraph in the first axis as follows:

Table (5) Mean and standard deviation for the first axis

No	axis	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank
1	Political reforms have weakened the middle class.	2.55	.499	3
2	Political reforms have led to the disappearance of the role of the middle classes politically.	2.59	.506	2
3	Political reforms have caused the middle classes not to play their roles.	2.61	.515	1
4	Political reforms have caused the middle classes not to get all their political rights.	2.49	.552	4
5	Political reforms have led to the absence of the role of the middle classes in achieving sustainable development.	2.39	.554	5
General mean		2.53	0.53	

From the above table, we conclude that the sample study agrees that there is an impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999 with degree (agree), mean (2.53) and standard

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deviation (0.53) low value, indicating homogeneity in the opinions of the study sample members on the impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999. Furthermore, all paragraphs were of low values of standard deviation, indicating homogeneity in the opinions of the study sample on those paragraphs.

In the first order (Political reforms have caused the middle classes not to play their roles.), with mean (2.61), a standard deviation of (0.515) and a degree of approval (agree), In the second order (Political reforms have led to the disappearance of the role of the middle classes politically), with mean (2.59), a standard deviation of (0.506) and a degree of approval (agree), The rest of the axis's paragraphs came with a degree of agreement (Agree).

The second question: What are the effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999? To answer this question we used mean, standard deviation and the rank for each paragraph in the second axis as follows:

Table (6)
the mean and standard deviation for the second axis:

No	axis	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank
1	The economic change has led to a decline in the conditions of the middle classes.	2.63	.549	4
2	Economic change has led to an increase in the number of the poor.	2.77	.424	1
3	The gulf between the rich and the poor is widening.	2.73	.447	2
4	Economic change has led to a lack of income distribution according to economic measures.	2.57	.670	5
5	The middle classes did not increase their share of wealth in their countries.	2.70	.528	3
General mean		2.68	0.52	

From the above table, we conclude that the study sample agrees that there are effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan

on the middle class since 1999, with degree (agree), mean (2.68) and standard deviation (0.52) low value, indicating homogeneity in the opinions of the study sample members about the effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999.

All paragraphs were of low values of standard deviation, indicating homogeneity in the opinions of the study sample on those paragraphs. In the first order (Economic change has led to an increase in the number of the poor.), with mean (2.77), a standard deviation of (0.424) and a degree of approval (agree), In the second order (The gulf between the rich and the poor is widening.), with mean (2.73), a standard deviation of (0.447) and a degree of approval (agree), The rest of axis's paragraphs came with a degree of agreement (Agree).

The third question: What are the reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999 (ie, the debate of empowerment and marginalization)? To answer this question we used mean, standard deviation and the rank for each paragraph in the third axis as the following:

Table (7) the mean and standard deviation for the third axis

No	axis	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank
1	Political instability has marginalized the role of middle-class thinkers and scholars	2.87	.341	1
2	Political instability led the middle classes not to obtain their job rights from high positions and positions.	2.70	.663	3
3	Political instability has marginalized the role of the middle classes in bearing the responsibility for financial stability	2.74	.484	2
4	The middle classes represent the backbone of society and its nucleus that carries its basic values, and promotes trust, stability, and social peace	2.63	.584	4
5	The middle classes affect society economically because they are the classes that carry the banner of productive work, which has consequences for political instability	2.57	.660	5
General mean		2.70	0.55	

Middle Class and Political Stability in Jordan since 1999

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From the above table, we conclude that the sample study agrees that there are reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999 with degree (agree), mean (2.70) and standard deviation (0.55) low value, indicating homogeneity in the opinions of the study sample members on the reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999.

All paragraphs were of low values of standard deviation, indicating homogeneity in the opinions of the study sample on those paragraphs

In the first order (Political instability has marginalized the role of middle-class thinkers and scholars), with mean (2.87) , a standard deviation of (0.341) and a degree of approval (agree), In the second order (Political instability has marginalized the role of the middle classes in bearing the responsibility for financial stability), with mean (2.74), a standard deviation of (0.484) and a degree of approval (agree), The rest of the axis's paragraphs came with a degree of agreement (Agree).

3. Conclusion and Recommendations

- The study sample agrees that the impact of the political reforms on the middle class in Jordan since 1999 with degree (agree), mean (2.53) and standard deviation (0.53). In the first order (Political reforms have caused the middle classes not to play their roles.), with mean (2.61) and a degree of approval (agree)
- The study sample agrees that the effects of the social and economic reforms in Jordan on the middle class since 1999 with degree (agree), mean (2.68) and standard deviation (0.52) In the first order (Economic change has led to an increase in the number of the

poor.), with mean (2.77) and a degree of approval (agree)

- The study sample agrees that the reciprocal effects between the middle class and political instability in Jordan since 1999 with degree (agree), mean (2.70) and standard deviation (0.55), In the first order (Political instability has marginalized the role of middle-class thinkers and scholars), with mean (2.87), and a degree of approval (agree).

4. Recommendation

According to the findings of the current study, the researchers have found that it is necessary to activate and support the role of the middle class in political life, that enhances the sustainable development in Jordan. Therefore, the policy makers in Jordan need to engage the middle class in making political decisions and enacting laws. Finally, they must pay attention to the distribution of income among the strata of society in accordance with economic measures.

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